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Devoted to the Interest
of the Socialist and La-
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Labor In Finish Fight On Rail Board

SOCIALISTS FIRST GERMAN PARTY

Election Again Restores Social-Democrats to Strongest Position in Reich.

BERLIN.—The Social Democratic Party of Germany is coming back. After having touched their post-war low-water mark in the Reichstag election of May 4, last, when their Deputies were cut from 171 to 100 and their popular vote to 6,014,380, the Socialists went to the polls last Sunday nearly 8,000,000 strong and elected at least 130 Deputies, according to the as yet incomplete returns. Thus the Social Democracy is again the most powerful party in the Reichstag, as the Nationalists, with their allies, the Land Leaguers, have only advanced from 105 to about 110. The Socialist percentage of the total estimated vote of about 30,000,000 is likely to be 26, compared with 21 on May 4.

The Communists weathered the storm of condemnation for their obstructive tactics at home and their efforts to stir up troubles abroad, coupled with the arrest of many of their ablest leaders and the driving underground of the others by the Government authorities, better than was expected. They will probably have 45 members in the new Reichstag, against 62 in the old one. The Dudenroff-Hitler combination of anti-Semitic reactionaries (which could hardly be called a combination in the last days of the campaign because of the dissension among its principal leaders), mis-labeled the National Socialist Freedom party, had its Reichstag strength cut from thirty-two to fourteen. The changes in the other parties were not important.

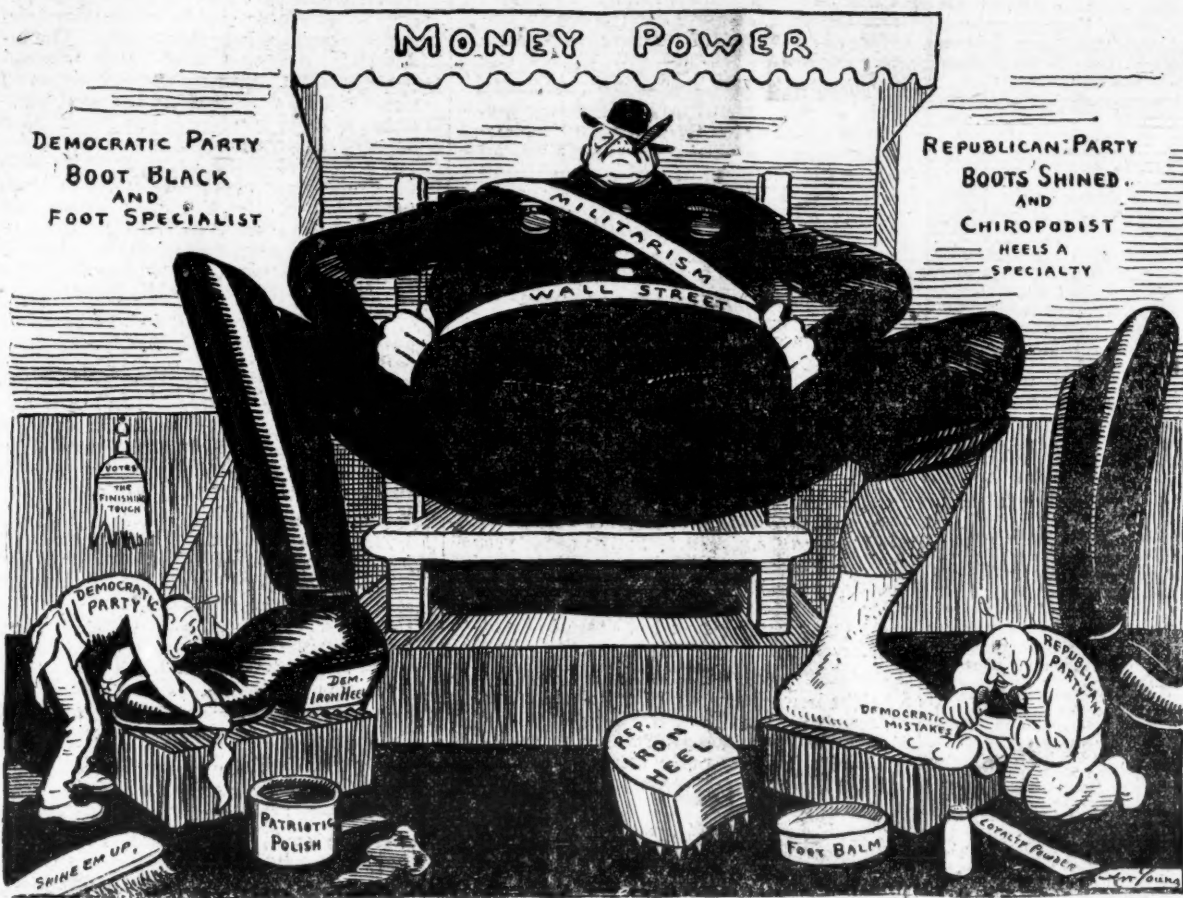
The outcome of Sunday's voting justified the predictions of those who asserted that the top-notch of the strength of both the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left had been reached last May, when the country was still in a turmoil over the question of accepting the Dawes reparation plan and the masses of the people were in a desperate condition. Since then the reparation plan has gone into effect, and economic conditions, while still bad enough, are not hopeless, especially with the Social Democratic Deputies pledged to do their best to obtain gradual modifications of the plan of reparation payments so, as to allow the raising of wages and the nation-wide restoration of the eight-hour working day.

Unfortunately, the swing toward republicanism Sunday did not go quite far enough to ensure a working Reichstag majority for the Socialists, Centrists and Democrats, as their combined forces will hardly exceed 230 Deputies out of a total likely to be 495. Even the addition to their ranks of the twenty deputies of the Bavarian People's party (the little sister of the Centrists) would not make an absolutely workable Governmental combination. Consequently, it is probable that the present Government of Centrists, Democrats and People's party men will be continued, with the benevolent Parliamentary assistance of the Socialists. The People's party is made up of big business interests rather inclined toward monarchism, but more anxious to obtain concessions for the capitalists than to fight for a lost cause; so its leader, Foreign Minister Stresemann, is likely to forget his pro-Monarchist campaign pronouncements and continue to work with Chancellor Marx.

If the Socialists should change their minds and accept an invitation to enter into the much-talked-of "big coalition" with the Centrists, Democrats and People's party, the opposition on the Right and Left would be practically impotent. The prospects for such a coalition are not bright, however, as the Socialists and the People's party men are very bitter against each other. The Governmental status quo is likely to be maintained, but with the Socialists determined to put more pressure than before upon the Cabinet in the interest of the working class. The talk of a "bourgeois bloc" Government, embracing Nationalists, Centrists, and the People's party, is not taken seriously.

As far as the results are known, the make-up of the new Reichstag. (Continued on Page 9)

BACK AT THE OLD STAND



CONGRESS IS IN SESSION AGAIN

STRIKE OF 75,000 VOTED IN WEST

Brotherhoods Resent Interference by White House to Kill Barkley Bill.

WASHINGTON.—The railroad unions have come to grips with the Railroad Labor Board in a final struggle to eliminate that arbitrary factor from American industrial life.

The upshot of the latest ruling of the Railroad Board—a cleverly worded edict raising salaries on the Southern Pacific five per cent, while authorizing changes in the working rules which will more than offset the increase granted—may bring a strike within a few days which will be felt all through the West and Middle West.

As The New Leader goes to press, early returns on a strike vote indicate that the men are set for a walk-out.

Within a few days after the Railroad Board, had demonstrated its clear bias in favor of the Southern Pacific as against its employees, the railroad workers have received further evidence of the inability or unwillingness of the Board to take a firm stand where the interests of the unions are involved.

Following a secret vote held by the Board of Telegraphers employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad on the question of who shall be considered the representatives of the unions before the Board, the count was 4,258 in favor of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers and 318 for the Pennsylvania Company "union."

Despite this overwhelming vote in favor of the bona-fide union, the Pennsylvania Railroad has given notice that it will ignore the results of the poll, held under the direction of the Labor Board, and will continue its arrogant refusal to deal with its employees. In the face of this, the Railroad Labor Board has not indicated its intention to force a showdown.

All this has added to the determination of the railroad union leaders to force through Congress this session the enactment of the Howell-Barkley bill which would abolish the Railroad Board and officially recognize the unions as the representatives of the railroad workers.

The indications are that the reactionaries of both parties in Congress will not let the bill pass even though it has a majority of the members behind it. The Democratic and Republican "die-hards" have indicated that they are again ready to filibuster rather than permit the measure to come to a vote.

In an attempt to save the face of the administration, which has thus far been silent in the face of the filibustering, President Coolidge is reported to be planning a "compromise" measure, which White House spokesmen claim "will be satisfactory to the railroad unions." The railroad unions do not place much faith in a last-minute conversion by Coolidge to legislation "satisfactory to the unions," and his intention to interfere at this stage of the game is regarded as a deliberate attempt to raise a stir and smoke-screen, in the midst of which the really important features of the Howell-Barkley bill will be lost sight of.

The changes in rules on the Southern Pacific might very easily take more out of the men's pay envelopes than the wage increase put in.

The Board rendered this decision, affecting approximately 75,000 workers, in the face of the fact that the employees had submitted no evidence in the case and therefore the Board

Official Returns Show Big Gains for Socialism

CONGRESS TO GET PROTEST

Meeting of Porto Ricans in Brooklyn Organize Campaign.

SAN JUAN.—Undiscouraged by a cablegram from Washington to the effect that the head of the Committee on Insular Affairs was not disposed to take the charges of irregularities and violence in the last elections in Porto Rico seriously, the leaders here of the Socialist-Republican combination feel sure that when the Committee of Protest arrives in Washington with the written evidence of the high-handed outrages committed by the tools of the winning Unionist-Republican alliance it will have no trouble in getting a hearing by the Committee. They note that Representative Fairfield qualified his negative attitude by saying that if a fair-sized number of members of the Committee should ask for a special meeting on this subject he would be glad to call it.

Referring to the fact that Fairfield had opined that the proper place for the Committee of Protest to present its complaints was in the courts in Porto Rico and had voiced his confidence in their probity, leading Socialists and Republicans said that evidently Washington had lots to learn about how things were done in the island possession.

The Committee of Protest is also expected to tell the American officials and people that unless there is a guarantee of fair elections in the future, the granting of the request for an elected Governor to be presented to Congress by Antonio R. Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate and chief of the parties that benefited by the election frauds, would simply deliver the workers of the island into the hands of their bosses without any immediate chances of winning their freedom through the ballot box.

That Horace Coats, Attorney General of Porto Rico, would submit a report on the November elections practically whitewashing the Alianza crowd had been discounted in Labor circles here, so reference to this report in Washington cablegrams excited no surprise. To offset this report, the Committee of Protest will submit what it considers incontrovertible proof of its charges.

According to the election returns prepared by the Porto Rican officials, the total vote on November 4 was 253,282 against 249,431 in 1920. The Socialist vote fell from 59,140 to

Jingo Venture Labor Killed Is Revived by Tory Gov't

LONDON.—Through the medium of the King's speech from the throne in opening Parliament, the traditional way a British Cabinet has of outlining its tentative activities for the session, the victorious Tory party has boldly proclaimed to the world its intention to go ahead with the building of an enlarged naval base at Singapore, a jingoistic venture which the Labor Government sidetracked in the interests of international amity.

Following as it does upon the heels of the Tories' heavy-handed method of dealing with the unpunished Government of Egypt, this brazen decision comes as a douche of cold water in the face of a nation that, during the healing regime of the Socialists, had been thinking along the lines of peace and understanding as between people.

The additional decision to establish Imperial tariff preferences, the issue on which the Baldwin Government was so heavily defeated a year ago when it was the turning point of the election, is further indication to the British people of the kind of rule they may expect from the Tories pending the come-back of the Labor party.

Practically the ignoring of the interdependency of the vital interests of the nations, and a selfish and Imperial concentration upon the relationships of the component parts of the Empire—such, by the token of the speech put into the King's mouth, is the policy to be followed by Britain for the next few years under the rule of the Tory party.

MORE PROGRESSIVES FOR PERMANENT PARTY

MADISON.—Strong sentiment for a new political party swept the meeting of the executive committee of the Wisconsin State Conference for Progressive Political Action here last Sunday. Retention of the organization which carried Wisconsin for La Follette was favored. William Coleman, State secretary of the Socialist Party, is a member of the executive committee, which will soon call a State conference.

SAN FRANCISCO.—At a recent meeting, the Liberty Bell Ringers of San Francisco, by a unanimous vote, decided to continue the fight for the organization of a national progressive Labor party.

NEW JERSEY SOCIALISTS INCREASE THEIR VOTE BY OVER 200 PER CENT

The New Jersey State Board of Canvassers have just announced the official results of the recent elections. Their statement shows that the average vote received by the fourteen La Follette-Wheeler electors was approximately 100,000 in a total of somewhat over a million.

Congressional and Assembly Vote. Although, for various reasons, the Socialist Party did not nominate Congressional candidates in all the districts, or Assembly candidates in all the counties, in such districts and counties where the party did run candidates, the vote increased enormously over that of two years ago, as the following tables will show:

CONGRESS			
District	1924	1922	
*First	3606	958	
Sixth	2852	982	
Seventh	2969	745	
Eleventh	2356	964	
ASSEMBLY			
County	1924	1922	
Bergen	2363	984	
*Camden	3492	982	
Essex	2305	1675	
Hudson	5347	2756	
Passaic	1682	834	
Salem	135	834	
	15494	7231	

(*Socialist candidates ran as "La Follette-Wheeler-Progressive.")

Ten per cent of the total Assembly vote cast throughout the State is required to secure recognition as an official party. In 1922, the Socialist Assembly vote was slightly less than 1 1/4% of the vote cast in the counties where the Socialists had candidates, and less than 1% of the total Assembly vote. This year, the Socialist Assembly vote was somewhat less than 3% of the vote where the party ran candidates, and slightly less than 1 1/4% of the total Assembly vote.

Cincinnati La Folletteites For Permanent Party

The La Follette Club, the united front organization in which many groups and individuals in Cincinnati and vicinity made the fight for the Progressive and Labor ticket, at a crowded meeting by a large majority declared for a new party.

N. Y. AND JERSEY VOTE SWELLED

Two Hundred Per Cent Increases—Rule for Candidates in New Jersey.

By ALGERNON LEE

Analysis of the vote cast for candidates on the State ticket gives Socialists food for thought at several points, and shows a state of affairs full of promise for our party if it knows how to use its opportunities.

As reported last week, the vote for Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Governor, is almost identical with that cast for Edward F. Cassidy, running for the same office, two years ago—99,178 as against 99,244.

So far as concerned the head of the ticket, we were just able to hold our own in face of the exceptional Smith boom this year.

But two other facts stand out.

The first is the big vote cast for the rest of the State ticket. Solomon, for Lieutenant-Governor, received 126,679 votes; Vanden Bosch, for State Treasurer, 134,039; Crosswaith, for Secretary of State, 135,273; Karapetoff, for State Engineer, 138,182; Waldman, for Attorney General, 140,424; and Mrs. Wiley, candidate for Comptroller, headed the poll with 142,312 votes.

If anyone thinks the discrepancy between the Thomas vote and that for Mrs. Wiley was due to a lack of revolutionary fervor in our campaign, let him look at the record of the seven times revolutionary Socialist Labor party, whose vote for Treasurer was 8,747, while its gubernatorial candidate got only 4,923; or that of the seventy times more revolutionary Workers' party, which mustered 9,983 votes for Sec-

(Continued on page 6.)

Eyes On Washington

The interest of unionists, Socialists and progressives will be centered for the next few days on Washington.

The national committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action convenes in that city this week to lay plans for the momentous national conference, which will meet in January or February to consider the organization of a permanent third party, which may soon become a second party.

As soon as the sessions of the national C. P. P. A. committee are over, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will go into session and make plans for the Convention of the Socialist Party, which, in accordance with previous decisions of the N. E. C., will be held in the same city and at the same time as the C. P. P. A. conference.

RAND GRADS AND STUDENTS TO MEET

Convention Plans Discussions on the Educational Problems of Workers.

Former and present students of the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East Fifteenth street, have issued a call for a convention to be held in the Debs Auditorium, beginning Saturday, December 27, at 3:15 p. m. Sessions will be held Saturday afternoon and evening, and Sunday forenoon, afternoon and evening, the closing session being an open meeting of students and friends of the School with invited guests of fraternal organizations.

The purpose of the convention as stated by the temporary secretary, Miss Minnie Goldman, of the full-time class of 1922, is the discussion of problems of workers' education, and especially of the Rand School by students and teachers of the School. It is expected that the convention will result in the formation of a Rand School Alumni association.

"The attempt is being made," said the secretary, "to reach all students possible, and thousands of letters are being sent out. Because of changes of addresses, many will not be reached by mail, and attention is therefore called to this notice in the hope that many will be interested in the questions raised and will attend. All present and past students and teachers of the School will be eligible to take part in the discussions on the floor. The balcony of the Auditorium will be open for visitors not taking part in the discussions."

The call for the convention follows: "We, the undersigned, believe that it is time for the former students of the Rand School of Social Science to form an alumni association. For this purpose we have organized ourselves into a temporary committee and are calling a RAND SCHOOL STUDENTS' CONVENTION, to take place in the Debs Auditorium, to take place in the Debs Auditorium, on Saturday, December 27, and Sunday, December 28, 1924. All present and past students are eligible to take part in this convention.

"The enclosed circular with questions will indicate the general line of program and discussion which the undersigned have agreed to submit to the convention. These questions are for your consideration. Please give thought to them, and be ready to discuss and suggest others.

"We urge you to show your loyalty to the Rand School by attending this convention. Now is the moment for the education of the workers to be extended far beyond its present

Mrs. Nearing Presents Mexican Laborites With Bust of Eugene V. Debs

JAUREZ.—Before the adjournment of the Mexican Federation of Labor here, the delegates expressed their appreciation to the President of the United States for his assistance in permitting the Obregon Government to secure arms during the de la Huerta rebellion. It urged the Mexican Government to deposit funds in Labor banks in the United States. It agreed to interchange scholarships with the American Federation of Labor under the Samuel Gompers Fellowship Plan. It placed itself at the disposal of Comrade Calles, the President, through its leader, Morones, Comrade Iglesias of Porto Rico, Dr. Nellie Leeds Nearing of the Rand School and others addressed the Congress. Mrs. Nearing, presenting amid much enthusiasm, the bust of Eugene V. Debs to the Federation.

limits, and we who have had the privilege of studying in the Rand School are the persons who should be the first to help in that movement."

The call is signed by the following former students of the Rand School:

Abe Beckerman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; John Burke, Paper Makers' Union; August Claessens, Walter Cook, Emanuel Deutsch, Pierre Di Nio, Carpenters' Union; Mollie Friedman, I. L. G. W. U.; Louis Goldstein, Julius Hochman, I. L. G. W. U.; Helen Holman, Jacob Kant, I. L. G. W. U.; Rudolph Koller, Patrick Leonard, Bakery and Confectionery Workers; Joshua Lieberman, Clara Hanks Michelson, Sadie Moskowitz, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Rose Perr, I. L. G. W. U.; Edna Peters, Celia Rotter, I. L. G. W. U.; Matilda Terrace, Clara Walters, Blanche Watson, Clement Wood, Minnie Goldman, Millinery Workers' Union, Secretary.

The following list of questions is sent out with the call as a basis for the program of the convention:

1. What are the aims of Workers' Education?
2. What are the aims specifically of the Rand School of Social Science?
3. What factors determine the forming of the course of study for:
 - a. Full Time Students.
 - b. Part Time Students.
 - c. Lecture Groups.
4. What part can students take in determining course of study and methods of teaching?
5. What can former students do for the Rand School in:
 - a. Attracting more students?
 - b. Building up financial support?
 - c. Encouraging social life of the current body of students each year.
6. In what specific ways may the Rand School be of more service to the Labor and Socialist movement?

CHILD LABOR MUST GO!

Child labor in the United States must go! It is an abysmal disgrace and an outrage that the blood and tissues of children are still sapped in American factories to enrich their owners. The emancipation of these little slaves of modern industry by State action is hopeless. Federal power must be invoked and by one stroke the chains must be stricken from the limbs of these little toilers in factories, mines and stores.

Child labor is a heritage of our Puritan ancestors of the seventeenth century and the early days of the factory system. For 300 years thousands, and today about 2,000,000 children have been deprived of the leisure and the play that we associate with the healthy development of childhood. The cradle has been robbed, the home invaded, and the children have been taken to fertilize the fortunes of indifferent or heartless exploiters.

There was some excuse for the dreary fate of children in Puritan New England. It was a part of the Puritan faith that idleness was a sin. The child at play was an offense in the sight of God. Idle children were seized by the constables and bound out to others. Parents of idle children were punished. Moreover, the struggle of the colonists in the bleak winters and upon the rocky soil of New England made it necessary to use all the Labor power available.

The industrial revolution which began in the United States after the Revolutionary War witnessed the beginnings of factory production, the application of machinery and steam to the production of goods. The very year that Washington took office, 1789, a petition in behalf of the first cotton mill in Massachusetts stated that it would "afford employment to a great number of women and children." In the same year Samuel Slater established the first mill with a complete set of machinery. All of his "hands" were women and children. The old Puritan traditions had come to be reinforced by the greed for profits of the rising manufacturing class.

The new government favored the manufacturers. Hamilton, Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, frankly urged the exploitation of women and children. In his "Report on Manufactures" he said: "Women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they otherwise would be." This was his argument for a protective tariff, the only argument made while the workers were disfranchised.

The factory system slowly developed and after the War of 1812 it became firmly established. It repeated some of the horrors of the British factory system. Children worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day. Travellers who came to the United States were shocked by the brutalities they observed. Children fell asleep standing at their work. They were awakened by a dashing of cold water in the face. There were frequent cases of flogging. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor reported as late as 1870 the use of a "leather strap, eighteen inches long, with tacks driven through the striking end," for whipping children in the factories.

Down to 1860 there was no legislation for child laborers in this country. For sixty years the children were at the mercy of factory owners. The early trade unions and a few humanitarians alone demanded the abolition of this curse. Slave owners cynically pointed to it as evidence of the hypocrisy of the Northerners who opposed slavery. It was accepted as rational by editors, politicians and public men in general who translated the profits from child labor into religious cant and moral hypocrisy.

When the trade unions became stronger just before the Civil War and the demand became hot for the emancipation of the children, the same arguments were presented by the manufacturers, their retainers and tools against the proposal that are heard today. Those who sapped the vitality of children in their factory hells became much concerned about the child who had nothing to do but play. They feared the intervention of the State and its consequences, or pretended that they feared them. But the Government that fostered their industries with tariff schedules while it permitted the destruction of childhood appeared perfectly rational to the destroyers of child life.

With the extinction of chattel slavery in the South, old masters or their descendants became interested in textile industries which expanded into this region. The industrial history of the North was repeated. The pallid cheeks, hollow eyes, rickety limbs and shrunken bodies of thousands of child laborers in the South tell a story of childhood despoiled and of futures blasted. Riding the backs of these children and sweating a good part of their incomes out of the children's bodies, the National Association of Manufacturers, in the name of childhood and the home, is waging war against the proposed Federal amendment to prohibit child labor!

The modern Southern masters have forgotten the sneers made by the slave owners and their politicians against the Northern defenders of child labor. The modern ruling class of the South now has big investments in the child slaves of its own section and there is little doubt that these Southern despoilers of childhood will prevent most of the Southern States from ratifying the amendment.

Northern and Southern manufacturers have formed an alliance in this matter. Standing on the tired bodies of the child slaves of both regions they are fighting to the last ditch to prevent the ratification of the amendment that will release children from the factory prisons. A similar alliance was formed before the Civil War to perpetuate chattel slavery. To the eternal infamy of New England textile manufacturers, be it said, they supported the slave oligarchy against all anti-slavery movements because of the cheap slave cotton they could get from the South. That alliance is no more infamous than the present alliance which has for its object the robbing of children of the full measure of development which they should enjoy.

The opposition of these fat Babbitts to this humanitarian proposal stamps them as reactionary as the Bourbons who resisted until their oligarchy collapsed in ruins about their heads. They and the earlier Babbitts have sapped the vitality of children for more than a century. They have left cruel scars. Many a child never reached the age of maturity because of these vampires. Many fortunes today are spattered with the tears and blood of children.

IT IS TIME TO ACT. IT IS A GLORIOUS BATTLE THAT FACES US, ONE THAT SHOULD INVOLVE ALL THE RESERVE ENERGY OF THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENT. ORGANIZE YOUR FORCES. CALL ON ALL WHO CAN SERVE. HOLD MEETINGS. ADOPT RESOLUTIONS. GET PUBLICITY. HARASS THE BABBITTS. ANSWER THEIR PROPAGANDA. PUT THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT ACROSS. GET TO WORK NOW!

No Jobs in Fall River

FALL RIVER, Mass.—Reports published on Saturday that there would be a general reopening of Fall River cotton mills today caused thousands of operatives to report this morning at plants that had been closed in whole or part for weeks. In most cases the workers were disappointed.

Lectures

The Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street
Sunday, Dec. 14, 8 P. M.
EDWARD MEAD EARLE
"The Egyptian Nationalities vs. the English Tories"
11 A. M.—The Community Church
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"Why Pray?"

THIS Monday Night!

at 8:15 P. M.
Oscar Wilde's Prose Fiction
Literature Lecture and Reading
Given by
DAVID GOODMAN
Park Palace, 5th Ave. & 110th St.
ADMISSION 25c.

The People's Institute

COOPER UNION
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Great Mass Movements of History"
"Crown Psychology and the Crusades"
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14
CHALMERS CLIFTON, Cond'r
Concert by the American Orchestral Society
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16
S. H. CLARK
"Galsworthy's Strife"
Eight o'clock Admission Free
OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

LABOR TEMPLE

14th St. & Second Ave.
Sunday, December 14
5 P. M.—LECTURE, at 9 Second Ave.
DR. WILL DURANT
Goldsmith and Sheridan; and Sheridan's "School for Scandal"
8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.
GEORGE LLOYD
"Single Tax"
7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 239 East 14th Street
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
"Is Christianity Democratic?"

Rand School of Social Science

7 East 15th Street, New York
Saturday, December 13th—1:30 P. M.
SCOTT NEARING
"Mexico Inaugurates a President"
Saturday, December 13th—3:30 P. M.
JESSICA SMITH
"Three Years in Russia"
Wednesday, December 17th—8:30 P. M.
JOHAN SMERTENKO
"The Firebrand"

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

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BOYS' QUALITY CLOTHING

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

THE F. & S. STORE

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

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

Neckwear Cutters Honor William D. McNulty

The Neckwear Cutters' Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L., tendered a banquet last Wednesday evening, at the Debs Auditorium to William D. McNulty, who is an honorary member of the union and has been its legal adviser for many years.

The toastmaster was Nathan Uiman, secretary, and the speakers were Louis D. Berger, Leo Safian, Gus Levine, and Louis Fuchs who spoke on the progress made in the national organization drive.

Bonnaz Embroiderers Confer with Employers

The Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U., has held two conferences with the Bonnaz Embroidery Manufacturers' Association at the Hotel McAlpin, for the object of renewing its agreement with some modifications.

Both sides presented demands, the union asking a 40-hour week and unemployment insurance, and the employers ask for a reduction of the number of legal holidays with pay, and a number of minor changes.

The conference will be continued next week. The union feels confident of gaining its points. The union's representatives include Max S. Essenfeld, manager, Nathan Riesle, secretary-treasurer, Z. L. Freedman, president, Leon Hatab, business agent and Max Halebsky.

Debate! THIS SUNDAY at 3 p. m.

Should the United States continue the policy of

PROHIBITION?

As Defined in the 18th Amendment

CLARENCE S. DARROW says NO!

(Famous Attorney in Leopold-Loeb Case)

REV. JOHN HAYNES

HOLMES says YES!

(Brilliant New York Preacher)

CHAIRMAN
HON. ROYAL S. COPELAND
United States Senator from New York

THIS SUNDAY, December 14, at 3 p. m.
MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE

Tickets, \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.30 (Including War Tax)

ON SALE AT:

The Box Office, Macy's. Obtainable through any Theatre Ticket Agency, or at the following places: Manhattan—Jimmie Higgins' Bookshop, 127 University Place and Gothic Art Book Store, 176 Second Avenue. Harlem—Hauer's Book Store, 1285 Fifth Avenue. Bronx—Stern's Jewelry Store, 1337 Wilkins Avenue.

also at the offices of and by mail from

THE LEAGUE FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION
500 FIFTH AVENUE Phone Longacre 4447-10434

Prospects for Trade Union Unity in Europe Brighter

AMSTERDAM, Holland.—Prospects for some sort of a meeting between representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red Trade Union International (or at least its Russian section) at which the possibility of holding a joint congress of the two international organizations for the purpose of trying to effect unity seem to be more favorable than they have been for a long time, judging from reports recently sent out from Moscow and London by capitalist news agencies.

According to these reports, the British trade union delegation to the Sixth All-Russian trade union convention, held in Moscow the middle of November, was so favorably impressed by the conciliatory spirit shown by the Russian trade union leaders and even by Gregory Zinoviev, chief of the Communist International, that an Anglo-Russian committee was formed for the purpose of promoting international trade union unity. The fact that A. A. Purcell, the prominent British Labor man who is chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, headed the delegation sent to Russia by the Hull convention of the British trade unionists and that he and his fellow delegates are regarded as practical men lends color to the talk of a unity conference, although many of the hard-headed Dutch Labor leaders are inclined to be skeptical regarding such an eventuality.

Russian Ideas Outlined

In reply to a request by the Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U. for some definite statement in writing as to what they would consider a basis for discussion of world-wide unity, M. Tomskey, President of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, and A. Dogadov, Secretary of that organization, have sent a letter dated October 23 to Amsterdam outlining their ideas. This letter begins by saying that there is no use going into the question of what party was to blame for the present split in the trade union movement and continues:

"We on our part are striving to create unity within the trade union movement on an international and national scale, that is to say, as far as possible to get the closest unification of all trade union organizations, those affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions or with the International Federation of Trade Unions as well as those standing completely aside from any international federated bodies, on the necessary condition that these organizations outside the federations recognize the principle of the class struggle.

"We think that there is no need to explain why we are striving to achieve this unification, this alliance of trade unions with an orientation genuinely anti-capitalist. You know as well as we do that the unity of the international trade union movement is the very first prerequisite for a successful fight both against the offensive of capital and the Fascist reaction and against the capitalist order as a whole."

Differences Not Insurmountable
After stating the belief of the writers that the differences in policy between the two internationals were quite susceptible to discussion at a joint congress the letter goes on:

"We are pleased to confirm the fact that there is a desire on your part—no matter what may be the real divisions between us—to do all that lies in your power to find a common line of action. As we on our part have the same desire, we declare that the chief and most important guiding principle in the activities of the trade union and workers' organization, as we hold, is to get free of the irreconcilable contradictions in interests between Labor and capital, this demanding a class war to the knife between the wage slaves and the capitalist classes for the final abolition of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the proletariat from the oppression of capitalist exploitation and the beggary, barbarism and slavery which it brings in its train. Hence the reason for our proposal: a complete break with every form of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a common fight of the workers and their organizations on a national and international scale against world capital. Thanks to this, the full readiness of all genuine militant organizations fighting for the emancipation of the working class might be rendered possible.

"We await your reply, particularly as to when and where, in your opinion, the first negotiations between your representatives and ours might be held."

Shortly after giving out the Russian letter, the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. drew attention to a recent article in the news sheet of the Communist International, headed: "The Day on Which the International Trades Union Movement is United Will Be a Day of Triumph for the Red International of Labor Unions," and reading in part as follows: ...

Fimmen for Unity

"The united front is a question of life or death for Labor. Therefore, the greatest task of Labor during the next few months is to work and fight energetically for unity. The day on which we shall have attained this goal will be a day of victory for the R. I. L. U. and may be regarded as another 'October Revolution'."

Another factor in the international trade union situation is Edo Fimmen, the well-known secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, who since his return from a visit to Russia is redoubling his campaign for unity. Fimmen was much impressed by the

power exercised by the Russian working class and declares that, while the Russian workers' living conditions are not the best in the world, they are steadily improving and that their control of industry by the proletariat is absolute. Fimmen's critics say that he was carefully guided by Russian union leaders and only saw what they wanted him to see, but he vigorously denies this.

STRIKE OF 75,000 VOTED IN WEST

(Continued from Page 1)

had nothing before it except the railroads' side of the story.

When it became known that strike ballots had been distributed, the management of the Southern Pacific communicated with the Labor Board.

The Labor Board did not follow its usual practice of ordering all parties to maintain the status quo and to report at Chicago for a hearing.

Instead, the Board rushed through its decision on wages and rules.

To Embarrass Brotherhood

The clear intent was to further embarrass the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in their efforts to secure for their members on Western railroads the same consideration which has been accorded to the men employed in the Eastern and South-eastern territories.

The action of the Board, however, will not prevent the Brotherhoods

From The New Leader Mail Bag

ORGANIZATION NECESSARY

Editor, The New Leader:
I have threatened many times to write, but have so far postponed it. I appreciate the paper more than I can tell you.

It seems to me that we are all a little slow on driving home the necessity of organization. It seems that most people have no thought of helping to make a political platform what it should be. They are willing to read it over and vote for what suits them best, that is, if they are not followers of some pretended religious dogma.

All political parties are controlled by the dues paying members. In the Republican and Democratic parties dues are paid in the form of contributions. A party that is to be a party of the people must of necessity collect its dues from the people it represents in somewhat near equal proportions.

As a matter of fact, no organization can be carried on without incurring some expense. This expense must be met in one way or other and so far I have never come in contact with a better way, in my opinion, than the way adopted by the Socialist Party.

Victor, Utah. D. C. GRUNDVIG.

PANKEN "OPPORTUNISTIC"?

Editor, The New Leader:
Judge Panken states: "The Socialist vote in the State of New York fell by many thousands." This observation is offered, presumably, as proof of "the failure" of what he calls "opportunism" in the Socialist Party's support of La Follette. To pass judgment on the success or failure of the party's policy with the votes as a basis of consideration strikes me as being a rather "opportunistic" method of thinking.

If the votes of the party's State candidates are to be the test, then the party's support of La Follette must be marked down as a success. The same issue of The New Leader in which Judge Panken heralded the decline of the Socialist vote in New York by "many thousands" recorded the exact figures—a remarkable gain for the Socialists State ticket. Norman Thomas came within 900 votes of holding our vote of two years ago, despite the most extraordinary obstacles; all others on our ticket increased the vote of two years ago by many thousands; 43 of the 62 counties reported an increased vote for the head of the ticket; 16 counties doubled the Socialist vote.

EDWARD LEVINSON.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE

Editor, The New Leader:
I have noted the editorials on the small Communist vote in the last few issues of The New Leader, and also note that there has been no increase in Socialist prestige. In fact, we find that as ex-comrade Trachtenberg says, many Socialists voted for "Al" Smith. How can we account for this except that these people are not real thorough and economical Socialists? The fact is that in the past few years we have found the Socialist vote slumping every year from 145,000 votes to 48,000 votes at the last election. Can it be that Socialist propaganda does not

RAND SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Lecture on Toller

On Friday, December 12, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Marius Hansome will talk on "Ernst Toller: His Life and Work," under the auspices of the Rand School Students' League, in the Studio, 7 East 15th street. The league, which has been recently organized, meets weekly with a program of music, reading or speaking. It is hoped a group of debaters will be developed who can meet with other groups outside the school. There are games, dancing and refreshments at each meeting.

On Friday, December 12, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Herman Epstein will give a lecture-recital on "Rubinstein, Grieg and Tschalkowsky," and others of the more modern composers.

Mexico and Russia

On Saturday, December 13, at 1:30 p. m., Dr. Scott Nearing will talk on "Mexico Inaugurates a President," in his Current Events Class. On Saturday, December 13, at 3:30 p. m., Miss Jessica Smith will speak at the Camaraderie on "Three Years in Russia." She will discuss briefly the economic situation in Russia, the peasantry and education. Miss Smith worked with the Friends as a district supervisor and

from carrying to a conclusion their program on the Southern Pacific, the El Paso and Southwestern, and the Arizona Eastern, for the brotherhoods are determined to obtain a satisfactory settlement of the wage controversy, not only on the railroads mentioned, but on all Western railroads.

The Southern Pacific has not only refused to grant the men's demands, but it has refused to meet the chief executives of the Brotherhoods and the committees duly authorized to represent the employees.

The road has never taken this position before, and would not do so now were it not for the illegal and unjustifiable interference by the Labor Board in the negotiations between the road and its employees.

also spent a year in Moscow studying conditions.

On Tuesday, December 16, at 8:30 p. m., Dr. Morris H. Kahn will discuss "Social Hygiene and Preventable Disease." Dr. Kahn explains in language intelligible to laymen how men and women may use their knowledge about their own bodies to maintain their health and vigor.

On Wednesday, December 17, at 7 p. m., Mr. David P. Berenberg will discuss "Walt Whitman's 'Salut au Monde.'" This is of particular interest at this time, as a dramatic version of this poem, with music, will soon be presented by the Neighborhood Playhouse.

Smertenko on Drama

On Wednesday, December 17, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Johan J. Smertenko will discuss "Art On the Stage" as illustrated in "The Firebrand." Mr. Smertenko is a dramatic critic and a constant contributor to the Mercury and other publications.

Women's Committee

The Women's Committee of the Rand School, recently organized to further the activities of the School, is arranging a Cabaret, Dance and Midnight Supper for New Year's Eve at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The Auditorium will be appropriately decorated by a committee of artists.

The following, and others to be announced, will appear: Madame Bliss, mezzo-soprano, a well-known international singer of folk songs, will sing. Madame Bliss has had many popular recitals and will appear at Aeolian Hall very shortly. Madame Jesse Darwell, also a famous singer, will contribute towards this evening. Mildred Back, who, although only eleven years old, has already gained a reputation as a marvelous classic toe dancer, will dance. A classic orchestra of a number of musicians supplied by a member of the New York Symphony Orchestra, will play dance music until three o'clock in the morning.

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If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

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Three Views of the Political Future of Labor and Socialism

Minnesota Wants A National Party

Socialism, Labor and Politics

By WILLIAM MAHONEY

The author of this article has been active in the political and economic movements of the workers for more than twenty years. He is editor of the Union Advocate of St. Paul and is one of the most prominent and influential figures in the Farmer-Labor movement of Minnesota.

It is to be regretted that the Farmer-Labor movement in Minnesota has not been understood by those in other States. If it were, the election would not be considered a defeat. Naturally the failure to return Senator Magnus Johnson and to elect a large part of the State ticket will be considered the best proof of failure to the ordinary individual.

While it was hoped that the highest expectations of the most enthusiastic might be realized, the leaders in the movement are not in the least discouraged or discouraged. The outcome shows comparatively great progress in the face of general reaction and terrific opposition. To go forward under these conditions demonstrates the solid character of the State movement and is the best guarantee of its permanency.

Movement Tried By Persecution

We have often stated that the Farmer-Labor movement of Minnesota is built on the rank and file and the mass of its supporters are such from conviction. They know what they want, they are agreed on how to get it, and are determined to fight it out until victory is won. Extensive educational work has been carried on for years among the farmers and workers and a deep sense of loyalty and responsibility has been developed, which cannot be shaken by threats or misrepresentation.

The movement was tried by fire in the crucible of war. The courage and intelligence of the men and women who launched the movement and who have fostered it were put to the test during the war period. A method of building the party was then adopted and has been followed out ever since. The result speaks for itself. While the Farmer-Labor party did not elect its nominees, it added an average of about seventy thousand to its vote. This shows a substantial increase that gives the supporters of the movement assurance that complete success is a matter of another election.

Of course it must be admitted that some of the more enthusiastic Farmer-Laborites showed disappointment when the result was first announced, but further analysis satisfies nearly all the members of the party that intensive education and organization work must be continued with unrelaxed vigor. In fact many feel that it is not an unshared misfortune to have failed in winning office as it will afford better opportunity.

tunity to solidify and discipline the movement and furnish a substantial force to sustain Farmer-Labor nominees when the State is finally won.

Growth of the Movement

The vote in Minnesota, from the launching of the Farmer-Labor movement in 1918, shows continuous progression. A hundred and ten thousand votes were secured in 1918; two hundred and fifty thousand in 1920; two hundred and ninety-five thousand in 1922, and three hundred and seventy thousand in 1924. A proportionate increase in the next election will give the Farmer-Labor party a clear majority and already action has been begun to win these votes.

Political parties in Minnesota have no power to carry on the activities vital to the success of the Farmer-Labor movement. The so-called Non-partisan Primary Law practically destroyed effective party organization and has turned the State over to a ring controlled by big business which dominates the Republican party. The Farmers' Non-partisan League and the Working People's Non-partisan League jointly established the Farmer-Labor party. Last year these organizations merged and formed an auxiliary known as the Farmer-Labor Federation which includes Labor unions, farmers' organizations, district political clubs, and progressive organizations of business and professional groups. Upon this organization rests the responsibility of unifying the party supporters to carry on the work of organization and education between campaigns.

Already this work has begun and the response from the party supporters shows clearly that the needs of the movement are recognized. Speakers and literature will be employed to widen the circle of influence of the party. Those who have made a close survey of the situation in Minnesota feel absolutely certain that with intelligent and persistent dissemination of Farmer-Labor principles, the party will triumph in 1926.

Minnesota is for a national Farmer-Labor party and will contribute its full support for such an organization; but it must be a truly representative movement. The State has not heretofore aligned itself or affiliated with any national movement. It participated in the La Follette campaign as a temporary condition. It

is generally recognized that a national movement should be started and sustained. This of course implies that such national movement will foster and promote powerful State movements.

State Movements First

Until every State has its vigorous progressive movement, it is not probable that a national organization will be of much consequence. It is vital that State movements, built along the line of the Minnesota movement, be developed. With the right kind of a national organization steps might be taken to launch State organizations in every State in the Union. This should be done immediately so that a real national movement may be in existence in 1928.

It is generally recognized that the great problems that concern the wealth producers are national in character, and little genuine relief can come to the workers until they

(Continued on Page 9)

The La Follette campaign has taught all who were engaged in it a very necessary lesson. The near 5,000,000 votes cast for Mr. La Follette for President of the United States has left nothing concrete behind. Even if the Senator had been elected to the Presidency, that would not have formed a legal or political party in any of the States of the Union, and certainly not in the nation. Nothing of permanence was established. It will in ensuing elections be necessary, if an independent party were desired, to nominate by petition all candidates for public office.

The laws of the State of New York, in fact the laws of the other States as well, prescribe the manner in which political parties are to be formed.

No political party, it seems to me, is possible in America by merely rallying to the standard of an indi-

By JACOB PANKEN

(Judge of the Municipal Court, New York City)

III. What Next?

(This article is the last of a series of three dealing with political Labor scene in the United States today.)

It is the individual who receives the votes, and with him the political flurry or manifestation ends. The Roosevelt movement is an historic example of this. Some who opposed the formation of a party in July realized this, even during the campaign, and now on all sides it is admitted that a party should have been formed.

The biographer of Mr. La Follette, Mr. Chester C. Platt, who is secretary of the Non-Partisan League in Wisconsin, has this to say, in effect:

"If a party were organized, the handicap of an independent column on the official ballot would have been avoided and a more serious handicap, that of a political movement with only two candidates in the field for public office." He points out, properly, that State, Congressional and local candidates in the field, with the help of their friends, would have aided the National ticket. He, however, questions whether there was sufficient time to perfect such an organization.

Some Important Views

In the same tenor speaks Alfred Baker Lewis. He says, quoting a candidate on an old party ticket in the State of Maine who was not only sympathetic with the La Follette movement, but received the support of the State Federation of Labor:

"I cannot join the La Follette party because you have not got any." When he was asked to support the La Follette movement, Mr. Lewis says: "The other glaring weakness in the La Follette campaign was the almost total lack of local candidates for local offices from Assessor to Congress." He comes to the same conclusion that Mr. Platt does.

The New Leader, commenting upon the campaign and its lesson in its issue of November 15, in an editorial on the State of Iowa, says: "When the Socialists urged the immediate formation of a party to make the La Follette movement more than a mere political insurgency, the reply was the plea that such action would either drive Brookhart, Norris, Hudleston and the rest out of the movement, or it would drive them out of the old party." It, however, fails to note in this editorial that those gentlemen and the rest were actually not a part of the movement. Quoting further, it says: "A few legislators in the hand were more than a party in the future."

It then points out that though Mr. Brookhart, who is a Republican candidate, had the support of the La Follette group, his majority was about 1,000 votes over that of his Democratic opponent; though Mr. Davis only received 153,000 votes and the combined Coolidge-La Follette vote came to 800,000. Not at all, it would seem a safe method to protect so-called progressives in their offices. It is certain that the confusion in Iowa did not help the La Follette vote. In any event, nothing was gained, not even the formation of a legally established political party.

The Progressives Mistake

Under the laws the status of a political party is determined by the number of votes cast for State offices, but the progressives did not nominate candidates for State offices. Enough votes were cast in the United States in the last election for La Follette to create legal political parties in every State of the Union, if candidates for State offices had been nominated.

Summing up the gain of the last election, it may be put in the language of James O'Neal: "For the first time in our history the political and economic organizations of rural and urban Labor have united in a National campaign." This may be debatable, but at best it is all that occurred. However, there is no sense in crying over spilled milk.

The question is, What are we to do now? The organization plan adopted in Cleveland provided that the National Committee of the C. P. A. should meet immediately after the election and prepare a call for and organize the convention for January, 1925. The purpose was to prepare for the launching at that convention of a political party. Deference to Mr. La Follette's wishes and the dominant desire of many delegates who were in favor of the launching of a Labor party at that time resulted in this plan—it was a compromise.

A view of the situation at this moment shows that conditions are favorable for the formation of a third party. The press reported on several occasions during the month of October that both Senators La Follette and Wheeler were in favor of a third party, and that such a party would be launched after elec-

tion. Since then, the action taken by the Republican caucus in excluding the insurgents, so-called, stripping them of their committee memberships and seniority rights, should tend to strengthen the desire of Mr. La Follette and his friends for the formation of a third party. They have been thrown out of the Republican party; they have attacked the Democratic party; they will not come into the Socialist Party. What else is there for them to do? It must now be evident to Mr. La Follette and his friends that it is not possible to fight the Republican party machine and retain the position that goes with membership in that party.

At the National Committee meeting at Washington in December, plans will have to be laid for the January convention. Our experience at Cleveland proves that the plans of the National Committee are the decisions of the convention. It is safe to assume that whatever plans will be decided upon in December will become the decisions of the convention in January.

Importance of Discussion It is therefore important that policies should be thoroughly discussed, plans considered and the attitude of the Socialist Party clearly defined before plans are formulated by the

(Continued on Page 11)

The Coming Party

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

It is very evident that the millions of votes which fell away from the two old parties in the election just held means a new factor in politics. What shape this will take remains to be seen.

The Mitter capitalist press did all it could to restrict the La Follette vote to those who were willing to be called Socialists. That there are no less than five million voting Socialists is rather flattering. No wonder the Tories quaked in their boots.

As a matter of fact, however, the terror they registered prior to the election was not over a probable social convulsion. They did not imagine the red spectre was about to enter their offices and empty their cash boxes. But they did fear that La Follette might carry the election. They know only too well what a flimsy hold they have upon the public. Without the bank of their press, the junk of their polished retainers and the spunk of their strong-arm political thugs, they see their throne totter. And their guess is not altogether wrong.

How come it then that La Follette did not run much stronger? There are several explanations.

First and foremost, of course, the vote was not counted. Without effective political organization, the stealing of the ballots in the big cities especially was a matter of course. Without any undue malice, every old party office holder is aware that the tenure of his job depends upon the majority he rolls up on election day. It is a matter of bread and butter. He delivers all the goods he can, begged, borrowed and stolen.

Next to the lack of effective organization for counting the vote was the need to get the vote out. You cannot have a whirlwind campaign in a back lot. You must have the means to catch the public eye right smack at the intersection of the main streets and keep it there. The resources were wanting.

Then comes the mistake of failing to concentrate upon the big industrial issue. The mark was not sharply enough made between those who gain everything from the old parties and those who have to struggle for mere subsistence. Worse than that, tampering with political reform measures, like the curbing of the despotic power of the courts, led up a blind alley.

The courts will be curbed. The Supreme Court will be stripped of the legislative power it has usurped, to declare acts of Congress and the President unconstitutional. But that can be done much more effectively than by amending the Constitution. The Constitution now permits it. A President who does not want a majority of the members of the bench to be Tories, has only to appoint a number of representatives of the people. Americans will not long tolerate the arrogance of any little clique assuming absolute power over the nation.

What matters is that political reform has spent itself. It has been given its chance, has accomplished some good and can do more. But it does not bring home the bacon. And the people want their bacon.

That carries us to the next phase of the situation which accounts for the conservative drift in the election. Most people are enjoying bacon. Industry has been slowing down. Millions are unemployed. Some are in distress. The charities are doing a bigger business than ever. But the bulk of the population takes a cheerful view of things.

Work has been fairly good for a few years. Hours of toil have been reduced rather than lengthened. Pay has dragged behind the cost of living, but American Labor has been better off than Labor in Europe. So the workers like to feel that they have only themselves to blame if they are not prepared for rainy days. They imagine they can supply themselves with all the umbrellas they want if they will only try hard enough.

When the stormy times come, they do not get into the puddle and croak. They whistle to keep their courage up.

As a consequence, the perfectly filthy corruption the old parties have been guilty of does not shock a great number of citizens. Too many do not put in their Sundays swallowing Sunday-school homilies but under or in their autos. Morality is at a low plan in civic matters. Bootleg ethics reach to political corruption. The poor have no horror except over the failure to get "theirs."

This is perfectly natural. In business what matters most is to make money. Not how but how much. The coin does not tell how it got to the holder's hands. Only plenty of it is what counts.

Everybody knows that fortunes are not made by work. They are made without work. They are made by doing those who work. They are made by resorting to every despicable trick to cheat competitors, to bribe legislators, to corrupt judges and to control governmental executives. So when politicians dip their fingers into unearned public money, they are not stooping down. They are reaching up to the methods of regular business. None should be shocked except those who are against the present system of unearned incomes.

Of course there should be drastic education of civic purity. That goes without saying. Political corruption should be impossible. But it may be the evil will hardly be scotched without a frontal attack on the cause—industrial exploitation.

Industrial exploitation is the bull's eye. The tiniest handful of plutocrats are the gainers; the rest of the nation are losers. It is a 90 per cent proposition to mass those who are entitled to more out of industry. That is where the line should be drawn.

First of all, there must be an exact statement of how the gross product of the country is divided—how much goes to the idle financiers who control industry, and how little goes to the people as a whole.

Then there must be a careful setting forth of how the wealth of the country is now owned—what a puny fraction is held by the farmers and workers and small dealers against the rich pudding of the plutocrats.

From that a program of constructive measures can be drawn to unite the vast majority of useful producers against the insignificant minority of financial spoilers.

Here it must be at once understood that American conditions and American psychology are to be dealt with.

America is unlike any other country. The craze for a duplication of the Russian revolution is thoroughly over. None were burnt except those who played with fire, to a great extent. But America is not like any European country, not even England, although nearest to it.

America is almost half agricultural. The farmers, including the large numbers who hold title if not ownership to their farms, are not all impoverished peasants. Nor are the city workers so badly off as their European brothers. As a consequence, they can often more nearly be reached as consumers than as producers.

Cutting costs will have to be stressed equally with bettering conditions of employment in the appeals for public ownership. And the wide program of possible concessions out of industry even before public ownership is reached will have to be presented in plain arithmetic.

Social change is taking place. Free and easy capitalism is giving way bit by bit. Governmental interference is growing. Farmers and workers are going into cooperation and banking. Labor representation on industrial boards has begun. These are chips off the old block. Pretty soon the swing of the axe at capitalist wrongs will be healthier.

In this task, none has a more responsible position than the Socialist Party. It must keep itself fit, give of itself generously and welcome the growth gladly of the elements which are to furnish forth the civilization of industrial democracy and socialized humanity.

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Sweden's Third Socialist Cabinet Faces Severe Tasks

The following summary of the events leading up to the present interesting situation in Sweden, where Hjalmar Branting heads a Socialist Cabinet, was written by Comrade Lindstrom, who is secretary of the Swedish Socialist Party, for the International Socialist Press Agency of Brussels.

Danger of Conservatives Seizing Control Should the Social Democracy Be Forced to Resign Dictates a Prudent Policy for the New Ministry—Masses of Workers Realize Need for Restraint.

By RICHARD LINDSTROM

The first Swedish Socialist Cabinet succeeded the Liberal-Socialist coalition Cabinet in March, 1920. The elections of the fall of 1920 having resulted unfavorably for the Socialists, this Cabinet resigned and was replaced by a business ministry. The elections of 1921 gave 99 seats to the Socialist Party, which since then has remained the strongest group in Parliament. In October, 1921, Branting formed his second Cabinet, which functioned until April, 1923, when the attitude of the Liberals on the question of aid for the unemployed caused its fall.

Control then passed into the hands of the most important of the bourgeois parties—the Right. Thus, thanks partly to the attitude of the Liberals, we witnessed the somewhat paradoxical sight of the Swedish people, which since the last elections had turned radically toward the Left parties, being governed by a minority of the Right.

This Cabinet, headed by M. Trygger, began to function in April, 1923. At the head of its program was the question of the reorganization of national defense, a question that already had long been the subject of an inquiry confided to a Parliamentary Commission headed by the Liberal-Socialist Government in 1919.

The Trygger Cabinet submitted its proposals regarding reorganization of the national defense to the Riksdag of 1924. These proposals, compared with the established order, embraced certain reductions. Nevertheless, they were far from corresponding to the much more radical program of disarmament laid down by the majority of the Swedish people. For its part, the Social Democracy during the debates made a proposal much more radical, the principal characteristics of which were the following:

The Socialist Proposal.
1. Reduction of one-half of the forces of the land army, to be done at once and at one stroke; (2) reduction of the period of instruction in the infantry to 140 days (the Government had proposed 195 to 225 days); (3) reduction of the regular annual defense budget to a normal maximum of 85,000,000 crowns [about \$22,000,000], from the present expenses of more than 140,000,000 crowns. On the other hand, the Social Democrats, in consideration of the geographical situation of Sweden, proposed to maintain the naval strength about as it was and to reinforce the system of air defenses. Thus we see that it was not a question in their minds of disarmament pure and simple. On the other hand, they nevertheless were aiming at putting through a series of radical measures in order to push the disarmament of Sweden to the limits held compatible with the general situation and the country's international obligations.

The Social Democratic proposal won in the Second Chamber, while the First Chamber supported a project practically the same as that of the Government. As no compromise could be reached on this point, the debates in the Riksdag resulted negatively.

In the manifestos issued during the recent electoral campaign all parties placed the question of national defense in the first line. It soon became apparent that Swedish public opinion was frankly inclined toward a more or less radical program of disarmament. As this sentiment soon became evident to the Government leaders and to the Right in general, they began to doubt the possibility of improving their position in Parliament by harping constantly upon their militarist sentiment and demands calculated to impose an excessive armament upon the country. So M. Trygger concluded to hurl a new slogan at the country: "The popular consultation that is being prepared is principally for the purpose of determining to what extent the voters are for, or against, the Social Democracy." It was thus that the great problem on the order of the day was relegated to second place through a gross propaganda maneuver devised in the interest of the Right.

Socialist Gains. However, M. Trygger had his trouble for his pains. He did not escape defeat. It is true that his party gained two seats and increased its popular vote by 11,527. It is also true that the Agrarian group, whose program differs very little from that

of the Right, won three new seats, despite the loss of a certain number of popular votes. But no matter what may be said, the party that really triumphed in the last elections was the Social Democracy, which captured five new mandates and increased its popular vote by 48,658, bringing its total up to 725,844. Thus the Social Democratic party has 104 seats in the Second Chamber, and, if we add the five Communists, the workers' representatives number 109 of a total of 230.

At present the party holding the balance of power is the party, or rather the fraction, of Liberal Prohibitionists, which is recruited among the petite bourgeoisie and which, especially in the matter of national defense, professes opinions that may be reconciled with those of the Social Democracy. From now on it is certain that these two parties constitute an absolute majority determined resolutely to enter upon the road to disarmament. In the last elections there were 1,040,600 votes favoring disarmament, while only 651,186 persons voted for the Trygger Government. The significance of this popular consultation, we see, leaves no place for chicanery.

It is under such conditions that the third Branting Cabinet, purely Socialist, was organized. This Cabinet has no majority in either of the two Chambers, but it is supported by the most numerous party in the Riksdag and there is a chance that it will be supported also by the bourgeois Left in certain matters of far-reaching importance. This is particularly the case in the question of national defense, where it seems that the parties of the Left easily ought to reach an agreement upon the kind of defensive organization that should be adopted for the country. So it seems extremely probable that the present Social Democratic Cabinet will succeed in getting under

way a project of radical disarmament having every chance of being approved in its essential parts by the Riksdag of 1925. And it is disarmament that leads the Government's program.

In laying down its program, the Branting Cabinet took up the question of Sweden's attitude toward the protocol of Geneva. [The League of Nations' plan for compulsory arbitration now being held up at the request of the Tory Government of Great Britain.] In this program it is stated that Sweden's adherence cannot be decided in principle until it is known to what extent other States will consider it their duty to rally to the protocol. While waiting, the Swedish Government announces that it intends to submit the whole problem to a profound investigation. As a matter of course it will be up to Parliament to take a definite decision in this matter. Although the ministerial declaration was silent on this point, we have reason to believe that the attitude of England will exercise a powerful influence upon Sweden's final decision in this affair.

The Party's Program. And finally, the Government announces that it intends to pursue the work of social reform previously inaugurated along several lines. Here, too, it may count upon the support of some of the members of the bourgeois Left. In this connection we are thinking, first of all, about the problem of unemployment and also about the interesting problems of the allotment of land. It will also be necessary to take up very soon the solution of certain phases of fiscal legislation. On the other hand, Swedish legislation regarding the eight-hour day has only a provisional character. The present law expires December 31, 1926. It is to be foreseen that the Social Democratic party will try to make this reform, so im-

portant for all the working classes, a permanent part of Swedish legislation.

As is apparent, the program outlined above is not at all "revolutionary." It is just a plain program which clearly describes the reforms necessary on the political and social fields and which covers most of the demands that have a chance to be realized in Sweden under the present Parliamentary régime. At the same time this program quite naturally attaches itself to the work undertaken with such success in this country since about 1918.

The Branting Cabinet will put into effect a prudent policy right from the beginning. The situation demands it. There is every reason to believe that a Government of the Right would again seize control if the Socialist Cabinet should be obliged to resign. And even though the Government of the Right would hardly be able to put through reactionary legislation of any kind, the very fact of its controlling the administrative power would seriously compromise the interests of the working class and of democracy.

The actions of the late Trygger Cabinet supply considerable evidence along this line. Consequently, there is no doubt that the Swedish workers have every interest in seeing a Social Democratic ministry maintain itself in power in order to prevent the return of such a régime, even if this ministry therefore has to impose upon itself a certain restraint in its reform policy. Fortunately, the Swedish working class is quite aware of the situation. It does not demand anything impossible from the men who represent it in the Government. The two former Social Democratic Cabinets were in about the same position. The Communists tried to make the Social Democracy suspect because on many occasions

it had to exercise a very prudent policy.

The agents of Moscow failed miserably. They lost two mandates in the last elections and today they have only five in the Second Chamber, despite a coalition policy followed by the Social Democrats and despite the Cabinets formed by the Social Democratic minority.

Personnel of the Cabinet

The men composing the new Branting Cabinet have been known and valued by the Swedish working class for many years. At their head we see Hjalmar Branting, the great popular Swedish leader, almost universally loved and admired, and whose glory today shines far beyond the ranks of the Social Democracy.

Citizens F. V. Thorsson, Minister of Finance; Victor Larsson, Minister of Roads and Communications; Gustaf Moller, Minister of Social Welfare; P. Albin Hansson, Minister of National Defense, and Sven Linders, Minister of Agriculture, all of whom have sprung from the ranks of the workers, are remarkable men, possessing great political abilities.

As for the citizens Osten Unden, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Olof Olsson, Minister of Public Instruction and Cultures; Rickard Sandler, Minister of Commerce, and Ernst Wigfors, Minister without Portfolio, they are university Socialists who have belonged to the Social Democratic party since their first years of study.

All these men have been members of the Social Democratic party for twenty, thirty or forty years and they have exercised a profound influence upon it. Another member of the Government, one who came to the Social Democracy comparatively late, is Torsten Nothin, Minister of Justice, who today is counted one of the most competent jurists of the country and who has already had occasion to manifest his Socialist

To a Defeated Striker

By S. A. De WITT and BOARDMAN ROBINSON

LOST again? Down again? The master leers
His gloating over you as if this were
The end of a fierce wrestling with the years
Of drudge and plodding through a stupid blur.

DOWN again? Lost again? Aye, down in flesh
Flattened to earth and stunted utterly
But for a senseless moment . . . then afresh
The numbed brain clears and sets the body free.

YOU rise and brace your shoulders firm and square
To the four ends of earth and wind and sky,
And though the pain of wounds be cruel to bear
You shrug the torment down without a sigh—
But shout these words into the ears of men—
"Tomorrow, masters, we will meet again!"

A. De WITT.



The Great War,—The Test of Character

By Havelock Ellis

It occurs to me, as I wander here, afar from the mad world, over these sunny and undulating Cornish Downs, tasting the belated summer I missed amid the sad ruins of tortured Ireland, it occurs to me that the day will come, and is indeed now here, when the men of today will be judged by their attitude towards the Great War.

When I look into myself, I seem to see that I already apply that test instinctively. I think, for instance, of my attitude toward that poet—surely I have not forgotten his name?—to whose work I had been drawn before he won a definite public recognition. I had even bought his poems—which one hardly does for the sake of the beautiful eyes of any obscure poet—rather arid poems, indeed, a little dark, not always musical, yet, it seemed, the outcome of a personality with a genuine vision and subtle emotion, some of which made an intimate appeal. But he published a book in which were some feeble little patriotic verses about the War. The great poet knows how to show love of his country greatly, even sometimes by chastising it. But here was merely the overflow of the feminine hysterical mob passion, however altered in external guises. There was nothing more to be said. One may smile tenderly when a frightened woman

screams and runs, but one scarcely feels called upon to acclaim a gesture of greatness. One is merely in the presence of weakness.

Yet perhaps we should resolutely determine to see more in it than that. The Great War has not merely been the test of a man's nobility of character; it has been the test of his devotion to the cause of humanity, to the supreme good of the world. Little enough, as we know, the herd cares for that. But if we want to find out what our would-be spiritual and intellectual leaders are worth, let us search diligently to find out their records during the War. Have they in speech or action encouraged that War? Have they spoken evil of those who fought on the other side? Have they pharisaically asserted their own superior self-righteousness? Have they like imbeciles accepted the empty catchwords of their politicians? If not, it is well, and we may hold up our heads. But else they are judged—and we who made them leaders are judged—for by their own mouths they are declared foul emanations of the passions of the crowd, Poison Gas made Flesh. It is meet they are branded on the brows with the Mark of the Beast to which they have sold what they call their souls.

So all their fellows may know whom they had to thank for the blessings of the Great War. And if they show their gratitude by hardening the muscles of their arms, and gathering all the serpents they can find to make a scourge to lash the back of these leaders until not one of them is left, perhaps after all, there might not be less joy on earth.

Impressions and Comments, Third Series. By Havelock Ellis, Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass. \$3.00.

Darrow-Holmes Debate on "Booze" a Timely Topic

In the face of the Recent Rum Ring revelations, the debate on Prohibition which is to take place next Sunday afternoon, December 14, between Clarence Darrow, the famous Chicago attorney, and Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, of the Community Church, is significantly timely.

The issue to be argued is whether the United States should continue to enforce the policy of Prohibition as defined in the Eighteenth Amendment. Mr. Darrow will uphold the negative and Dr. Holmes will support the affirmative. United States Senator Royal S. Copeland will preside as Chairman of this debate which has been arranged by the League for Public Discussion.

convictions in several sensational affairs. A specialist in questions directly or indirectly affecting agriculture, he will be able to render great services to the Government.

On the other hand we find that M. L. Levinsson, Minister without Portfolio, is entirely outside the Social Democratic party. His role in the Cabinet is exclusively that of a legal expert. In this field he possesses a well established reputation.

The third Branting Cabinet is a "great ministry," that is an honor to the party it represents. The very élite of the Swedish Social Democracy aided in its organization. And it also enjoys the complete and unreserved confidence of the working class. Our political comrades throughout the world may have full confidence in this Cabinet.

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Through the States

NATIONAL

Aarne J. Parker, National Director, Y. P. S. L., has been selected by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to serve as National Director of the Young People's Department. Socialist Party members and members of the Young People's Socialist League everywhere are urged to give Comrade Parker their fullest cooperation. His address is the Y. P. S. L. headquarters, 64 Pemberton Square, Boston.

The National office recalls with gratitude the assistance it had from Comrade Parker some years ago. After the emergency convention at which time the then National Director joined the forces of disruption, it was found that the records of the Young People's Department were in such a chaotic condition that it was impossible to compile a mailing list of the League circles. Comrade Parker gathered the fragments together in the East and with the efficient help of our young Finnish comrades the League was rebuilt, slowly and painfully rebuilt from the wreckage of the once splendid Young Socialist organization, but more solidly than before. What happened five years ago cannot be repeated today.

The Y. P. S. L. is preparing for its annual convention which will be held in New York City on January 1.

Our National Executive Secretary, Bertha Hale White, leaves next Tuesday, December 8, for Washington to attend a meeting of our National Executive Committee and the all-important December meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

PENNSYLVANIA

TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS

Information concerning the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania may be obtained from the State Secretary, Darlington Hoopes, 415 Swede street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning Pennsylvania Socialist activities should be sent to that address.

Local Berks Elects Officers

At the regular monthly meeting of Local Berks on Thursday night the following officers were elected for the coming year: Recording Secretary, Fred W. Goetz; Financial Secretary, J. Henry Stump; Treasurer, Raymond S. Hofsee; Organizer, Howard McDonough.

In accepting the nomination for the office of organizer, comrade McDonough outlined his plans to build up the organization, which includes social and revenue producing enterprises and educational activities. Watch these columns from week to week for notes from the organizer.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven Rally a Success
The New Haven rally in behalf of the candidacy of Comrade Plunkett for the U. S. Senate was a marked success. Excellent addresses were made by Comrades Plunkett, Morris Hillquit and Abraham Tuvim, of New York. Morris Pike and Karl C. Jursek, who was chairman. About \$100 was collected for party work.

Beardsley and Panken to Speak
On Sunday evening, December 14, Samuel E. Beardsley, of the Jewelry Workers' Union, New York, will be the chief speaker at a rally which will be held at Trades Council Hall, 215 Meadow street, New Haven.

It is expected a very large meeting will be held in Bridgeport Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., at which Judge Jacob Panken will speak.

Comrades Plunkett and Jursek will address a meeting in Waterbury, Friday evening, December 12.

Samuel E. Beardsley of New York City, organizer of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, will speak at the Labor Educational Alliance, 287 Windsor avenue, Hartford, Sunday, December 14, at 3 p. m., in behalf of the Socialist candidate for United States Senate, Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford. Beardsley is a well-known and favorite speaker in Hartford, and many will welcome this opportunity to hear him again.

NEW JERSEY

The regular monthly meeting of the State Committee will be held on Sunday, December 14, at State headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City. The meeting will be called to order at 3 p. m.

ROBT. LEEMANS, Secretary.

Study Group in Camden

A Socialist study group will be organized in Camden under the leadership of C. W. Thompson. Each member of the group will select a subject for special study following a reading list furnished by the class leader and will deliver one or two addresses on his subject before the class during the winter. The initial meeting of the group will be held Sunday, December 14, at 8 p. m., at 205 North 28th street, Camden. All who are interested are urged to be present. No fees will be required.

Claessens' Lecture in Camden
August Claessens will deliver his lecture on "The Instinct of Workmanship," Saturday, Dec. 13, 8 p. m., at Maennerchor Hall, 1031 North 27th street, Camden. This is the fourth lecture of the series on social problems which Claessens is delivering under direction of the Eleventh Ward Branch of Local Camden County, Socialist Party.

New York Activities

BUFFALO

The Town Meeting, a Forum conducted Sunday evenings at the Lafayette Presbyterian Church Parish House, during the winter months, has announced a partial list of speakers. Among other progressive speakers scheduled are Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; William E. Du Bois, editor of The Crisis; and Rabbi Silver of Cleveland, Ohio.

The Town meeting is conducted by a large committee, Eustace Reynolds is the only Socialist on this committee. This Forum started last winter and has been a success from the very start.

The Erie County vote seems to indicate three things, first, that most of the La Follette supporters desire a new political alignment, a Labor party with the Socialist Party in this party; rather than favoring a mere Liberal or Progressive party. Secondly, that when the new party is formed locally it will be the second party not a third party, for despite the lack of funds and a real functioning organization La Follette polled practically the same vote as Davis. Thirdly, that until a Labor party is formed the Socialist Party will continue as the only independent party with any considerable following.

NEW YORK COUNTY

Party Policy Discussed
At a well-attended meeting in the Labor Temple last Tuesday, Local New York discussed the possibilities of the future of the political Labor movement of the country. Judge Jacob Panken, who led the discussion, expressed the view that if a Labor Party is not possible at the forthcoming national progressive conference, no party be formed at all. He urged, however, that the C.P.A. be kept intact.

Discussion from the floor showed that the sentiment of most of the comrades were inclined toward a Labor Party, there being no sentiment whatsoever for a "Liberal Party," despite Comrade Panken's fears.

Comrade Morris Hillquit analyzed the situation as having three possible developments. The first,—the creation of a Labor Party by the C.P.A. in January; second,—creation of a Labor Party from among a part of the organizations which will be represented at the conference; and, third,—the continuance of the status quo. In that case, Comrade Hillquit said, the Socialist Party would find its opportunities greatly enhanced, having fallen heir to all the sentiment for independent political action crystallized during the recent campaign.

W. M. Feigenbaum Lectures at 8th A. D.
Wm. M. Feigenbaum will lecture tonight (Friday, Dec. 12) at the

8th A. D. headquarters, at 207 E. Tenth st.
His subject will be "Literature and Life." All members are urged to come.

BRONX

The educational activities of Local Bronx will commence on Friday evening, December 19, when August Claessens will begin a series of twelve lectures on "Social Progress and Human Nature." The subject-matter of the lectures is modern social problems, and the lecturer will analyze these in the light of the Socialist philosophy and the recent literature of sociology and allied sciences. The topics are as follows: 1st, The Origin of Society; 2nd, Man's Wants, Desires and Passions; 3rd, The Cultural Factors; 4th, The Influence of the Environment; 5th, Man Makes His Own History—But?; 6th, The Measure of Progress; 7, The Distribution of Wealth; 8th, Selfishness; 9th, The Odium of Menial Labor; 10th, The Instinct of Workmanship; 11th, Incentive and Ambition; 12th, Genius.

Local Bronx is undergoing unusual expense in advertising these lectures in order to attract every Socialist, sympathizer and progressive within reach and to obtain a record crowd. Tickets for the entire series are now on sale at the headquarters, 1167 Boston road, which is also the location of the lecture hall. Course tickets \$2.00, single admission 25 cents. Lecture starts 8.30 promptly.

When the Branches Meet

2nd, 4th and 5th Assembly Districts Branch meets Tuesday, December 16, at Headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

3rd Assembly District Branch meets Monday, December 15, at Martiniue Mansion, 156th and Beck streets.

6th Assembly District reorganization meeting, at home of August Claessens, 3209 East Tremont avenue, Wednesday, December 17.

Y. P. S. L. Circle One meets every Friday at 1167 Boston road. Package Party and Dance this Saturday evening, December 13. Young and old are cordially invited.

7th Assembly District Branch meets every second and fourth Thursday at its Headquarters, 3rd and Tremont avenues.

J. Rogers, of Scotland, formerly instructor in the Scotland Labor College, will lecture before the 2d, 4th and 5th Assembly district branch, December 16, at 1167 Boston road. His subject will be "England Before the Norman Conquest."

BROOKLYN

Science Discussion at 5th A. D.
At the 5th A. D. meeting, Sunday

night, December 14, at 14 Howard avenue, there will be a reading and discussion of "Daedalus" and "Icarus," Bertrand Russell and J. S. Haldane's books on science and the future.

SUNDAY, December 14

August Claessens will lecture on "The Distribution of Wealth." Audiences, Workmen's Circle, 76 Throop avenue.

Brownsville Sunday School

The Brownsville Socialists will hold a reunion and dance at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Saturday evening, December 13. The comrades in charge are making plans for a big affair to attract the party members and their friends from every part of the city.

YIPSELDOM

Circle Eight, Manhattan

Circle Eight will hold an entertainment and dance on Saturday evening, December 20, at their headquarters in the Amalgamated Building, 207 East 10th street. Every circle in the City League should be represented at this affair, which will be a general get together for all Yipsels. A good time is assured to all.

Circle Six, Manhattan

Circle Six of the Harlem Y. P. S. L. will hold a dance on December 26, at Clairmont Hall, 62 East 106th street. All circles should aid by cooperating to make this affair a success—the first to be held as a senior, this having previously been a junior circle.

N. Y. AND JERSEY VOTE SWELLED

(Continued from Page 1)

retary of State and only 7,613 for the head of its ticket.

The S. L. P., by the way, having no candidate of its own for Comptroller, all good De Leonites voted with the Communists, giving them a total of 16,866 for that office. Perhaps this foreshadows an S. L. P. W. P. United Front.

The second notable fact—and a still more significant one—is the changed distribution of the Socialist vote.

Two years ago we had 57,218 votes for Governor in New York City and 42,726 in the rest of the State. This year we have 44,852 in the city and 54,326 up-State.

Considering what we all know as to the political demoralization which has prevailed this year in the ranks of what we commonly call the progressive unions in this city, the miserably small campaign fund at our disposal, and the damage wrought by Communist activity—for any able-bodied Communist can drive two voters back to Tammany for every one he wins over into his own camp—considering these things, our loss of votes in the city is not surprising. If, instead of lamenting over it, we set to work at once to overcome its causes, there need be

no difficulty in making a complete come-back next time.

But it is surprising, in view of the very small amount of campaign work and the still smaller amount of pre-campaign propaganda and organization work done throughout the State, to find our up-State vote increasing 27 per cent in these two years.

This was a widespread and healthy growth. Of the fifty-seven up-State counties, forty-two increased their Socialist vote. Seven of them made gains ranging from 52 to 92 per cent. Twenty of them more than doubled the straight vote of 1922.

Nor is this a case of making 100 per cent gain by getting a dozen votes where we had half a dozen. There are twelve up-State counties that have more than 1,000 votes each, the largest being Erie, with a record of 11,272, followed by Monroe with 7,104, and Westchester with 5,843. Then come fourteen counties with over 500 each, and twelve others with more than 250.

Any county with 250 boom-proof Socialist voters in capable of having at least one vigorous and steadily active party local—provided the State office is enabled to keep two or three organizers in the field till such locals are fairly on their feet, and then to route lecturers in winter and open-air speakers through the summer months. And once firmly established, those locals will do more than their share to support the State organization.

There is more to be said; but the rest can wait till next week.

To sum up the election returns for the whole State: We have 475,000 men and women advanced enough to vote for La Follette and Wheeler; 269,000 of these not afraid to vote for them under the Arm and Torch of Socialism; 140,000 who voted for one or more Socialists on the State ballot. Out of these, 99,000 who are Socialists for good, in spite of the world, the flesh, and Al Smith.

CONGRESS TO GET PROTEST

(Continued from Page 1)

54,913, while the Unionists (the Barcelo party) rose from 126,446 to 133,303. The Republicans in 1920 cast 63,845 votes. This time the group linked with the Unionists, (called Porto Rican Republicans) polled 31,783 votes, while the other group allied with the Socialists (called Pure Republicans) got 33,556.

An immense mass meeting was held Sunday afternoon at the Diana Hall, Brooklyn, by the Porto Rican Protest Committee of New York, in their effort to explain to the American people the conditions of force and undemocratic principles under which the November elections in Porto Rico were held.

Very important resolutions approved at the Educational Hall at a previous meeting and sent to the President of the Insular Affairs Committee in Congress, were ratified by the assembly together with numerous telegrams addressed to Congressmen and Senators, and a cablegram to Governor Towner, expressing the protest of the Porto Ricans in New York at the last "mock" election in the island and hoping that Porto Rico would not become one of those unfortunate, standardized South American dictatorships, so fatherly attended to by our Wall Street statesmen.

Unity and protest was the keynote through the whole meeting. Joseph Viola, general organizer of the Socialist Party in Brooklyn, pronounced sentiments of solidarity, counsel and confidence in the ultimate triumph of the cause the Porto Ricans are fighting for. Among the salient points of his speech were urgency of the need for the formation by the Porto Rican American citizens of a progressive group in the United States that will make the politicians sit up and take notice when they protest; the mutual knowledge and cooperation of this group with other English-speaking institutions of the same liberal tendency. Only thus will there be any hope that the reactionary forces ruling in this country today will consider any change in regard to their atrocious Latin-American and colonial policies, Viola said.

It is unanimously agreed that the Porto Rican Labor Alliance, of which comrade Jesus Colon of the 6th A. D. is the present secretary, will be the organization heading the new movement.

Among the other speakers were E. Caban, Secretary of the Protest Committee, Joaquin Colon of the Brooklyn organizers, Bernardo Vega, indefatigable worker for the cause of Labor, Santiago Iglesias Jr., son of Senator Iglesias, and Luis Munoz Marin, President of the said committee.

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LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Transport International Growing
The far flung lines of the International Transport Workers' Federation continue to gather in organizations from the four corners of the earth. At a meeting of the Executive Committee held in Geneva October 18, 19 and 20, the Finnish Transport Workers' Union (4,000 members), the Dutch East Indian Railway Clerks' Union and the Czech Seamen's and Watermen's Union were admitted to membership in the International. Since then applications for affiliation have been received in the Amsterdam headquarters.

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Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone 9758
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
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MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)
Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday Executive Board Every Monday
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FUR FINISHERS' UNION LOCAL 13
Executive Board meets every Monday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
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L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 1
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H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

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HERMAN WISNER and JOE DEMING, Organizers.

ters from the Brazilian Cab Drivers' and Carters' Union (8,336 members) and the Swedish Seamen's Union (3,000 members). Steps taken by the Secretariat to help the Rumanian seamen and the railroad workers of British India, Yugoslavia and Palestine in their fights for the right to organize and be recognized were approved by the Executive. The Secretariat was instructed to pay special attention to the union situation in the East and to obtain the affiliation of more Eastern unions. It was decided to transfer the street car workers from the Railway Men's to the Transport Workers' section. An interview between the Executive Committee and officials of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations resulted in promises of cooperation in inquiries and other acts aimed at improving the condition of workers in the transportation industry.

Miners To Have Secretariat
In line with the sentiment expressed at the Prague Congress of the International Mine Workers' Federation last August, the Executive Committee, at a meeting held in Brussels November 6, decided to elect a full-time international secretary at a meeting to be held in Hanover in January. The necessary funds for the maintenance of the secretariat and the publication of an international organ will be raised by a levy of one cent apiece on the some 1,972,000 members of the affiliated unions, to be paid in January. The committee accepted, in principle, to send a delegation to Russia to study the condition of the Russian miners. The British members said their union had determined to make such an inquiry, but that it would be suspended if the International wanted to do the job.

Japanese Labor Waking Up Slowly
Although Japanese workers are frequently reported of late as being engaged in strikes and demonstrations, their union organization is as yet comparatively feeble. According to data gathered by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, only 3,000 of the some 400,000 mine workers are organized and the whole membership of the Japanese Federation of Labor, headed by Bunji Suzuki, is only about 24,000. There are 23,000 members in the Seamen's Union, which cooperates with the Federation, and 45,000 farm workers belong to the Land Workers' Union which is linked with the Federation through a system of interlocking directorates.

Seamen's International Booming—Miners' Secretariat—Unrest in Japan—Greek Rail Union Under Fire—More Members for Dutch Unions—

several of its Executive Committee members being also on the Federation's Executive Committee. There are some 5,500,000 families engaged in agriculture, of whom 3,800,000 are tenant farmers struggling desperately to keep alive. The general program of the Federation calls for the eight-hour day, a legal minimum wage, abolition of night work, no police interference with Labor meetings, recognition of Russia, May Day as a holiday and cooperation of all workers in a "national economic movement." An encouraging sign of solidarity was noted in Tokyo recently when the manual workers of the Nippon Electric Company, a concern said to be dominated by American ignorant of Labor conditions in Japan, struck in sympathy with the lower grades of clerical employees who are demanding a wage increase of 30 per cent and the abolition of the bonus system. On the other hand, during a strike of the 7,000 workers of the Osaka Municipal Electric Bureau some students, reservists and young clubmen volunteered to scab. A strike involving several thousand workers of the big Mitsui corporation's mines in Miike resulted in a partial victory when terms negotiated by the Mayor were accepted. Industrial conflicts in the western provinces are becoming very common.

Greece Wars Upon Railroad Unions

Because the Greek Railwaymen's Federation threatened to strike in sympathy with the street car workers of the Athens-Piraeus line last September, the Government mobilized the railroad men and proceeded to do its worst to stamp out their union, according to reports received in Amsterdam. No meetings of the workers or committees were allowed without a permit and the members of the Executive Committee were forbidden to perform their duties. In Saloniki seven leaders of the local union were arrested for calling a meeting, tried for violating martial law, convicted and sentenced to eight months in jail and fines of 1,500 drachmas (about \$30). The railroad men's organization is the strongest in Greece and the authorities evidently think that if they put it out of business they will have made a good start in cleaning up what the conservatives brand as a Bolshevik menace. Some of the union men are Communists, which gives a pretext to the Government. An Associated Press cablegram sent from Athens on November 11 told of a clash at Kavala between striking tobacco workers and the military resulting

in the killing of a woman and a lieutenant and the wounding of several civilians and soldiers.

Union Comeback in Italy

After having been smashed nearly to bits by the Fascista reign of terror, the Italian trade unions are rapidly coming back in strength and enthusiasm, according to reports found in the European press. It is averred that even the Italian employers, tired of their experiences with the hand-picked "unions" created by the Fascisti, with a former Anarchist at their head, are protesting against Fascista interference with industry and are urging Mussolini to restore enough "normalcy" to allow the real unions to function naturally and do business with the associations of industry. President d'Aragona of the Italian Federation of Labor recently stated that his organization had 400,000 members, a big gain during the last year, but still a long way from the pre-Fascista strength of nearly 3,500,000. Recent press stories about the "complete failure" of the Seamen's Union's cooperative shipping enterprise "The Garibaldi" are branded as highly exaggerated and as based upon the troubles got into by the enterprise since it was forced by the Government to come under an administration made up mostly of Fascisti.

Dutch Union Gains Members

Through the affiliation of the organized school teachers of Holland, the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (the Social Democratic organization) made a net gain of 5,749 members during the six months ended July 1, last, bringing its total up to 188,642. If the teachers had not come into the Federation its membership would have shown a loss of 1,741, but compared with the other Dutch unions it more than held its own, as its main competitor, the Roman Catholic Union Federation, declined from 101,110 to 99,242, and the other smaller national organizations lost even more, on a percentage basis. The religious and nationalist divisions among the Dutch workers have always made it difficult to unite the Labor organizations. Many efforts along that line had been made and at present there is a strong agitation for real solidarity, regardless of faiths or politics. There is also considerable discussion in the press about the feasibility of setting up a Labor party on the British model, but most of the leaders of the Social Democratic Labor party are not enthusiastic over the idea.

The Radical and His Sins

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

"Arrogance, dogmatism, shut-mindedness, intolerance, uncharitableness and unbrotherliness," said Rev. John Haynes Holmes, speaking at the Community Church, Sunday, "are the sins of which the radical ought to be ashamed—and the greatest of these is, unbrotherliness." In conclusion, he declared, "What we have uncovered is in reality, however, a universal problem. We have found out that the radical, after all, is but human." Where the conservatives have, variously, pride of place, birth and education, the radicals have pride of opinion, i. e., they have not arrived at the Socratic finality, that all we know is that we do not know! Over-against the sin of dogmatism of the Catholic and the Protestant

conservative religionist he placed the dogmatism of those who accepted with equal blind and unthinking fidelity the doctrines and conclusions of a Henry George, a Thomas Paine, a Marx or a Bakunin. "In this particular sin," pointed out Mr. Holmes, "the Communist and the Catholic are brothers under the skin; and whatever comes today from the Kremlin at Moscow is taken in the same spirit as the pronouncements that emanate from the Vatican. Neither group feels any necessity of thinking for themselves. They are automatons in the intellectual field."

Then comes the sin of the closed mind—the mind that will listen to nothing but his own brand of thought from his own sort; that causes its possessor to down the speaker who has the misfortune to differ with him either in his premises or his conclusions. Closely allied to this type of radical (or conservative, although the speaker did not stress this point) is the intolerant man or woman, whose intolerance reaches such a pitch that he must perforce penalize all who disagree with him. The Socialist Party, for many years, has had its machinery of excommunication, by the workings of which people were "read out of the party," comparable in kind if not in degree to the same sort of excommunicating process that obtains among the Catholics, and is not absent among Protestant denominations. "The Puritan radicals of early colonial times," instanced Mr. Holmes, "wanted freedom of religious thought for themselves, but denied it to the Quakers, Baptists and any others who did not suffer themselves to be measured by their standards"; and just so the Bolsheviks of this day and age imprison those who disagree with or disapprove their ideas. In other words, they believe "in freedom for Communists."

Uncharitableness is a conspicuous shortcoming of us radicals (it was just here that the speaker appeared to remind himself that he, too, had a reputation for radicalism—a fairly well substantiated one)—not so much uncharitableness against one's opponent's opinions as against the character and the sincerity of the man himself. This engenders a bitterness, very often, that works to the heart of the radical's cause and his own personality as well. It is all too often the reflex, he declared, "of the hardness of the conservative," the injustice and the condemnation that he meets out to his more far-visioned brother who is, after all, the speaker pointed out, "working for the

fuller expression of the highest qualities of human nature." The irony of the situation, Mr. Holmes felt, lay in the fact that the radical longed for a finer ideal of brotherhood to prevail in the world, and yet was conspicuously wanting in this quality, which sin he catalogued as the last and perhaps the most unfortunate and dismal of the sins of which radicals might well be ashamed. "The radical," the preacher reminded his hearers, "thinks it militates against his loyalty to his group to mix with the conservatives (or else he is afraid that his opinions will not stand under their fire); he flocks with or by himself; his corners are sharp when they ought to be round; he is and always has been so busy fighting within his own circle that he has not the time or energy sufficient properly to fight the enemy." Jesus of Nazareth, in the mind of Mr. Holmes, was the sort of radical that should serve as a model for all who desired to function constructively and well in this field of idealism—for radicals, he said, are idealists, living in the spiritual rather than the material realm; living not for reward but for the ideal of a better future for all mankind; thinking not of themselves but of humanity; the bravest and sincerest people of the world, when all is said and done. Did not Jesus, he recalled, associate with all, walking with the fishermen and consorting with Zacharias, one of the richest men of his day, making himself the friend of the Magdalene as of Nicodemus of high degree, healing the centurion along with his own humble comrades and countrymen? The dream of John Ball portrays this real brotherliness—the dream of a time when—

man shall help man, and the saints in heaven shall be glad, because men no more shall fear each other; and the churl shall be ashamed, and shall hide his churlishness till it be gone, and be no more a churl; and fellowship shall be established in heaven—and on the earth. "The radical must be charged with the greater part of the blame for his sins," was the speaker's conclusion, "but next to him should the conservative be blamed." The conservative, too, lacks the element of true brotherliness that would make nonexistent these human, but devastating short-comings that divide humanity today in every country on the earth. "Let us not forget," he said, "that the radical is the salt of the earth. But—if the 'salt hath lost its savor whereof shall the earth be salted?'"

Roads To Freedom

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

III. UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

THE foregoing outline of a Socialist commonwealth is held in general by the vast majority of modern Socialists. This might come as a surprise to many critics of Socialism who have falsely supposed that the organized Socialist movement has as its goal the Government ownership of all industry, a highly centralized and bureaucratic industrial control, minute regulation of the private lives of the citizens of the commonwealth, a system of "free love" and absolute equality of compensation.

Many of these false conceptions are due to systematic misrepresentation of Socialist aims. In considerable measure, however, they are due to the confusion that exists in many minds between utopian Socialism and modern "scientific" Socialism.

Utopians—For some centuries past social thinkers of the type of Sir Thomas More, Robert Owen, Fourier, St. Simon, Edward Bellamy, etc., have in minute detail portrayed systems of social organizations which they regarded as ideal future states. These writers contributed much to social progress through their powerful indictment of the injustices and social wastes of their day. Their pictures of future states have undoubtedly stimulated the social imagination of millions, and have strengthened their belief in the possibility of a more orderly and a more brotherly social order.

However, they have led others to confuse utopian dreams with the more practical program of modern Socialists, while the failures of their experiments—inaugurated with a view to prove the desirability of their particular schemes—has been put forward, unjustly, as proving the impracticability of a Socialist commonwealth.

Utopian Socialists made the mistake of believing that a social thinker of one generation could work out in minute detail a plan of a future society and could induce society to accept this plan in toto. They had little conception of the evolutionary tendencies in industry. They did not realize the role of the workers by hand and brain in industrial evolution. They believed that men were influenced primarily by ideas and reason, rather than by interests and emotion, and that all that it was necessary to do was to present a model of their plan to have it universally accepted. And after their system was adopted, they conceived it as a static social order, rather than as one in constant flux.

Marxian Socialism—The school of Utopian Socialists was gradually superseded, beginning with the middle of the nineteenth century, by that of the Marxian or "scientific" Socialists, under the intellectual leadership of Karl Marx (1818-1883). The first great pronouncement of this school was the "Communist Manifesto" (1848), the work of Karl Marx, then a young man of 29, and of Frederick Engels, 27 years of age.

Scientific Socialists refuse to present a detailed scheme of a future state, as did the utopian writers, satisfying themselves with suggesting the broad outlines which any social order dominated by the producing class must necessarily have.

They maintain that Socialism is coming, not as a result of plans of closet philosophers, but as a result of the revolutionary forces in the capitalist system of production and distribution, not least important of which are the modern machine and the modern working class.

Development of Industry—Industrial society, they claim, has passed through many stages of development, among them slavery and feudalism. Feudalism has evolved into capitalism, the present system. The first stage in industrial development was the handicraft stage. With the use of steam and electricity the small handicraft shop evolved into the factory, which was first dominated by the individual owner, then by the partnership, and, increasingly, by the corporation, trust and combine.

Emergence of Class Struggle—This evolution has developed distinct classes in society. Formerly, the worker owned individually the inexpensive tools with which he worked, or, as an apprentice in the shop, he felt assured that, within a few years, he would become a master worker. At present, however, he is but one of hundreds employed in the great industrial plants, and realizes that this status as a worker is, generally speaking, permanent. He receives a wage or salary and is employed only if he

Problems for Discussion—What are some of the differences between the utopian and Marxian schools of Socialism? Do the failures of early utopian efforts prove anything regarding the practicability of Socialism? What lessons should be drawn from the utopian phase of Socialism?

What are the main tenets of "scientific" Socialism as originally formulated? Which of these principles have stood the test of time? The economic interpretation of history? The class struggle? The theory of surplus value?

To what extent should Marxian Socialism be modified, if at all, in view of recent social and economic development? What have been the greatest contributions of Marxian thought to economic and social development? How far can one proceed to formulate a plan for a Socialist society without becoming utopian in one's philosophy (see "The Day After the Revolution" in Kautsky's "Social Revolution.")

yields a profit to the owner of the machinery. This wage does not depend on his product so much as upon that which the employer is compelled to give him, and this amount is determined by the number of competitors for his job, the strength of the organization of the workers, and the standard of living which the worker regards as a minimum. The owner of land and industry, on the other hand, receives a return of rent, profit and interest as a result of this ownership.

This condition, according to the Marxian school, has given rise to a struggle between the service-income group and the property-income group for as large a part of the social product as each can secure, and this struggle is known as the class struggle.

Growing Power of Workers—The intellectual and manual workers, with the progress of industry, organize in trade and industrial unions, become ever better educated, perform increasingly important tasks in industry, through consumers' and producers' cooperatives and control of shop conditions, receive new accessions from the ranks of the middle class, who find it longer impossible to compete against big business; steadily develop as a political force, and become ever more determined to secure the full social product of their toil.

On the other hand, the property-income class becomes a decreasing minority of the population and, with the development of the corporation, performs, as capitalists, little or no useful service in industry. Its function is only to save, invest and receive rent, interest and profit.

No one, declares the "scientific" Socialist, can watch this struggle for the social product between these two classes without realizing that it can never cease until the majority, that is, the educated, organized, disciplined, useful class of intellectual and manual producers, receives the entire social product, and this is impossible under any system of private ownership; it is possible only under a system of collective ownership, a system of Socialism. The workers, furthermore, are assisted in their struggle by other idealistic elements in the community who see in the Socialist society a happier life for all humanity.

Aid of Idealists—This movement toward Socialism, Marxists assert, is also aided by the appearance of industrial crises, and by economic imperialism, which is one of the main causes of modern warfare. The only effective remedy lies in the introduction of a cooperative system.

Main Tenets of "Scientific" Socialism—In formulating his economic theory concerning the inevitable coming of Socialism, Marx also formulated a general theory of industrial development, known as the economic interpretation, or the materialistic philosophy, of history, in which he declared that economic factors were fundamental in the evolution of society, and traced the effects of methods of production and distribution on the whole social, political and ethical life of the community. Contrary to popular fancy, this theory does not exclude ethical factors, nor should it be confused with the materialistic philosophy of life.

In the economics of Marxian Socialism may be found the Labor theory of value and the theory of surplus value, which theories many

Socialists consider inadequate and unessential parts of the Socialist system. Without an acquaintance with them, however, no student has mastered the subject of Socialism.

Revision of Theory—The Marxian theories have been necessarily revised to a considerable extent in the light of recent developments during the last generation or two. It has generally been admitted that the early Marxians miscalculated the time element—the change from private to social ownership has been a slower process than the founders of "scientific" Socialism predicted. The Marxians also miscalculated somewhat certain of the very complex industrial developments that have taken place the last three-quarters of a century—no human being could appraise these tendencies with perfect accuracy. They depicted, however, in quite a remarkable fashion, the general tendencies of industrial development. The economic interpretations of history which they formulated has been accepted, with slight modifications, by the majority of outstanding present day historians.

The organized Labor movement, which, at the time of the "Communist Manifesto," was scarcely in existence, has grown tremendously in its trade union, cooperative, political and educational phases, and Labor seems likely within the next generation or so to take the role portrayed by Marx and Engels in practically every advanced country of the world.

FOR DISCUSSION GROUPS

Literature—Pamphlets: Engels "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (Chic.: Charles H. Kerr, 25c); Marx and Engels, "Communist Manifesto" (N. Y.: Rand School, ed. of 1919; originally written in 1848, 56 pp., paper, 15c); Karl Marx, "Value, Price and Profit" (Chic.: Charles H. Kerr, 128 pp., originally written, 1865, 10c); Morris Hillquit, "From Marx to Lenin" (N. Y.: Rand School, 1921, 25c, paper edition).

Books—Joyce C. Hertzler, "History of Utopian Thought" (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1923, 321 pp., \$3.00); Lewis Mumford, "The Stories of Utopias" (N. Y.: Boni and Liveright, 1922, 315 pp., \$3.00); Morris Hillquit, "History of Socialism in the U. S." (N. Y.: Funk, Wagnall, 1910, Part I, out of print); Savel Zimand, "Modern Social Movements," pp. 21-84; Louis B. Boudin, "Theoretical Systems of Karl Marx" (Chic.: Kerr, 1910, 286 pp., \$1.25); E. R. A. Seligman, "Economic Interpretation of History" (N. Y.: Columbia Univ., 1907, 166 pp., \$2.50); Laidler, "Socialism in Thought and Action," Chs. 3-4; Hillquit and Ryan, "Socialism: Promise or Menace"; Bertrand Russell, "Proposed Roads to Freedom," pp. 1-31; Jessie Wallace Hughan, "American Socialism of the Present Day" (N. Y.: John Lane, 1911; out of print); M. Beer, "The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx" (London: National Labor Press, 8 and 9 Johnson's Court, E. C. 4, 1921, 132 pp., 3½ shillings); John Spargo, "Karl Marx, His Life and Work" (N. Y.: Huebsch, 1910, 359 pp., \$3.50, temporarily out of print); Eduard Bernstein, "Evolutionary Socialism" (N. Y.: B. W. Huebsch, 1919, 224 pp., out of print); O. D. Skelton, "Socialism; a Critical Analysis." (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1911, 329 pp., \$2.00)—best anti-Socialist treatise; V. Simkhovitch, "Marxism vs. Socialism" (N. Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1923, 298 pp., \$2.50)—an anti-Marxist book; I. M. Rubinow, "Was Marx Wrong?" A reply to Prof. Simkhovitch (N. Y.: Marx Institute of America, 1914, 60 pp., out of print).

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La Guardia-Johnson to Debate Immigration Act Here on Sunday, Dec. 21

A debate of unusual interest will be held in which Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington against Congressman F. H. La Guardia of New York will participate. The subject of the debate will be, "Resolved, That a rigid restriction of immigration is necessary for the welfare of the United States."

Congressman Johnson is the sponsor of the recently enacted anti-immigration laws, while Congressman La Guardia, of the 20th Congressional District, is known as a firm opponent to immigration restriction.

The debate will take place at the New Star Casino, 107th street and Park avenue, on Sunday afternoon, December 21, 1924, at 2:30 p. m.

The debate is arranged under the auspices of the National Labor Forum of this city. Tickets may be obtained at the office of the Jewish Daily Forward, at 62 East 106th street, office of the Harlem Educational Center.

Man is born in chains, but is everywhere struggling to be free.—L. T. Hobhouse.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS Union Local No. 230 Office and Meeting Room: 104 Seventh Avenue. Phone Chelsea 9549 Regular Meeting Every Monday. Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 p. m. GEO. R. HOFFER, JAS. F. CONLON, President. Bus. Agent. J. J. COOGAN, Rec. Secretary. D. J. NAGLE, Sec. Secretary.

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON! I. U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56 Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue. Regular Meetings Every Monday evening. 3944. Office hours 1 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M. Room 14. F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORTFOLIO MAKERS' UNION 62 University Place. Stuyvesant 6558 The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Gardiner, Crv'r. H. Kaplan, Sec'y.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday. Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday 243 East 84th Street, New York City. Frank Walter, H. Kramer, President. Rec. Secretary. A. Fugate, Wm. Detelbach, Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec. H. Vols. August Schrempf, Treasurer. Business Agent.

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PAINTERS' UNION LOCAL 892 Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St. Tel. Regent 2625 Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening John Barry, President. Clarence Barnes, Rec. Secretary. Peter Goldie, Vice-President. J. J. Connelley, Fin. Secretary.

WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS Local 219, H. & E. L. & B. L. of A. Office & Headquarters 170 E. 93 St., N. Y. LENOX 1874 Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M. Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Lowy, President. Bus. Agent & Sec.

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The Realm of Books

Irving, Junior

YOUNG ARCHIMEDES. By Aldous Huxley. New York: Doran. \$2.

The title page calls these six presentations "stories," the cover calls them "sketches." The best of them are neither; they are tales. In "Uncle Spencer" at somewhat too great length, in "Young Archimedes" in excellent proportion, Aldous Huxley has woven his sophisticatedness upon the old technique that gave us Rip Van Winkle. Not so deliberately, and literally as Joyce, he has followed the same impulse that in unproductive periods sends artists for inspiration to the past, and he has, with deft decadent skill, woven a new cloth of the old threads.

Young Archimedes obeys all the "rules" of the tale. It is discursive, rambling. It gives us lengthy description, building up the countryside with a love of natural scenery for its own sake; it gives us effective portraits and character studies; three persons grow real to us in the course of the development. It pauses on every occasion to carry along a thought; offering two methods of proving that the square of the hypotenuse of a right angle triangle equals the sum of the square of the other two sides; reflecting (as Irving on Rip's wife) that "the physicist talk of deriving energy from the atom; they would be more profitably employed nearer home—in discovering some way of tapping those enormous stores of vital energy which accumulate in unemployed women of sanguine temperament, and which, in the present state of social and scientific organization, vent themselves in ways that are generally so deplorable; in interfering with other people's affairs, in working up emotional scenes, and in bothering men till they cannot get on with their work"; observing that it is easier to get angry when difficulties come than to face them with calmness and intelligent will to overcome them—always stopping to welcome an application or a reflection. The least obtrusive element is the story itself; the plot grows in the midst of all these other elements of life, obdurate, unnoticed in the daily preoccupations with music and children and ideas. Yet through all of these develops a genuinely tragic tale, the life of a little prodigy wrecked by a selfish patron.

The shorter stories are less successful, retaining many of the over-sophisticated traits of the author's earlier writing; leaping in successive sentences from the imprecision of "the real thing" to the preciousness of "Hubert would seize with avidity on the least velicity of an unhappiness." But in the title tale the book is justified.

Souls of Men

FIVE TALES. By Emile Verhaeren. New York: A. and C. Boni. \$2.00.

To what degree the younger "expressionists" in modern literature have been influenced by Emile Verhaeren, the Belgian poet and playwright, I do not pretend to know, but anyone interested in the intensely nervous transmutation of life will find in Verhaeren's "Five Tales" an artistic integrity rarely met with among many scribbles identified with that "school." For here is revealed the tremendous insight, refined passion and love of the author of "Le Cloître" and other work of a classic nobility; not merely the screeching sensations of aesthetes affected by a jangling machine age.

With an economy of speech, ably turned into English by Keene Wallis and illuminated in all its vivid grotesquerie by the wood-cuts of Frans Masereel, "Five Tales" lays bare by implication the horror of man's interior life. Verhaeren succeeds in at least four of these tales about simple Flemish folk to convey the mournful overtones of this almost inarticulate existence.

I think he succeeds most ably in the opening tale, "The Inn of Gentle Death," though "The Three Friends" may rival the former through its more subdued effect. "The Inn of Gentle Death" reveals the hatred of two brothers for each other, one a farmer, the other a priest; they have inherited their father's inn whose profit drops in decay as a result of this silent, fatal feud. They end by poisoning each other to death.

Verhaeren makes no attempt at plot, but he succeeds in revealing the souls of two men by simple scratches of the pen. "The Three Friends" is as bare of rhetorical flourishes; you cannot escape the thunder of th starved lives of these three old women.

The concluding tale, "One Night," while an honest sketch of how the core of fear spreads in a timid man, strains too much for an effect of horror, to seduce the reader.

A beautiful piece of work.

RICHARD ROHMAN.

That Bandit

THE SULTAN OF THE MOUNTAINS. The Life Story of Raisuli. By Rosita Forbes. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Rarely does the reading public get a book realistically depicting the "other side" of imperialism, the side that suffers and is despoiled in the process of capitalistic exploitation. "The Sultan of the Mountains," proves to be the exception. A curious fact about this book is that it is neither a biography nor an autobiography, as those two terms are commonly understood. Rather, it is a cross between the two, a bookified interview—if it may be pardoned the coinage.

The reader who is searching for sheer entertainment will not be disappointed if he is expecting those much-heralded tales of murder and barbarism which are supposed to characterize Mulai Ahmed el Raisuli, the bandit. Nor will the student of politics find any reason to regret having analyzed Morocco through Moorish eyes.

According to Raisuli's own account, his early life was spent in robbery and plunder until his very name was enough to inspire dread in desert caravans. But to the poor, tyrannized peasantry he was a Moorish Robin Hood in a time and in a place where Robin Hoods were all too rare. But soon the Sultan put an end to Raisuli's wild predations, and the young outlaw languished in physical agony for five years at the vermin-infested prison of Tazart.

After a sensational escape, he vanished into his beloved mountains where he soon collected a band of young bloods with the avowed purpose of protecting the country from that Spanish influence which was first manifesting itself.

As soon as he had made himself the directing power in Moroccan politics, Raisuli came into sharper and sharper friction with the Spanish imperialists. By 1919 the foreign policy of aggression culminated in open conflict. Raisuli was hastily declared leader of a Holy War, and the long, devastating struggle was on.

At a time when Raisuli thought that Spanish resources were gaining the upper hand, he gave voice to this quaint aphorism:

"I heard that the harbors were never empty of ships, and that from them were landed aeroplanes, and bombs with gases in them that men cannot breathe. Allah! What strange people you are! You say it is cruel to cut men's heads off when they are dead, and their bodies without feeling; but it is civilized to stifle the living man with poisonous fumes, so that he dies slowly, and his body decays while his spirit is in it. Allah will decide between us!"

The author has penned her side-lights of Morocco in a style which is literally bursting with charm and enthusiasm. It is that type of refreshing vigor which can be displayed only by the amateur traveler who has wandered, open-eyed and fascinated, into a strange land to see a still stranger man.

COLEEN MEYER.

Adventure

CITADEL. By Joseph Husband. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co.

Modern novels have a habit of requiring their readers to consider more or less seriously some problem. One continually finds in them what at least purports to be psychology or philosophy and most of them try very hard, and sometimes unfortunately, for realism. There is left a great field for the adventure novel, something light but engrossing, and utterly and frankly unreal. A jaded reader might turn to such a tale if it were well done, with delight and relief.

"Citadel" by Joseph Husband, is an adventure novel. The adventures, however, have not the distinction of novelty. There is, of course, no attempt at the drawing of character, but even the wicked people, who are usually the only human creatures in a work of this sort, have no very interesting faults.

It is a tale of San Domingo in the year 1814, and of John Bush's adventures there and on the seas. John Bush is a quaker from Philadelphia and, of course, the hero. The heroine is the beautiful Virginie Goutier who, until nearly the last chapter, is in danger of being forced by her guardian to marry a "man of color"—Pierre Nicholas, the villain. There are the usual devices of the poisoned wine, the duel, the prison, the firing squad, and the chain gang. One might hope that less conventional things would happen in San Domingo. The novel takes its name from the citadel which is being built by gangs of prisoners for the Negro king, Henri Christophe.

Mr. Husband visualizes keenly and succeeds in realizing his tropical setting, but the sense of strain in his style is almost painful. He has some annoying tricks, for instance, this: "But of this side of

Generals as Pacifists

The vital interests of Labor demands it should be anti-militarist. The recognition of this fact has now penetrated the Labor movement as deeply as the much older idea of class-consciousness. The same idea is making its way, but more slowly, through the other sections of the peoples. A notable fact which must have struck many people, is the number of generals who are now advocating the cause of peace with all the zeal of the convert, although many of them come from circles which have really profited by war mentality and false nationalism. A few military men of high rank have recently become active members of the pacifist movement, and some of them have spoken out boldly in spite of the pressure of public opinion. Unfortunately, their work in the cause of peace is not as effective as it might be, since they fail to recognize capitalism as the most deep-rooted of all causes of war; but in spite of this, the consequent failure to grasp practical possibilities and necessities in the combating of war, they are able to do useful spadework in furthering a peace mentality among wide circles who escape the influences of labor. This will be seen from the following instances of their activities.

Koolmans Beynen, a retired Dutch Lieutenant-Colonel, has published a pamphlet in which he declares that "Dutch territorialism have never been of any practical use," and "the working class has little inclination to be led again like a lamb to the slaughter." The writer rejoices in the accession of the working class to political power, and compares the peace policy of MacDonald with the militarist policy of the Conservative Dutch Government.

The French General Verraux stated, on the occasion of the recent World Peace Congress at Berlin, that the real weapon against war is the refusal of the workers to manufacture war material, and a general strike of the workers.

He added, amid the enthusiastic applause of his audience, that the generals would also have to join in the general strike! An excellent, but perhaps not a very likely step for generals to take!

Similar statements were made by the German Generals Daimling and Schoenaich. The last-named has written an anti-war book "From the Last to the Next War," which is strongly to be recommended. The

writer is, as he himself says, no specialist on the details of the necessary organization for peace, but he keeps his eyes open to the main developments. The real importance of the book, however, lies in the fact that the writer lays bare, with admirable candor, all the painful inner struggles which he had to go through before he could resolve to break with the friends, traditions and ideals of his whole past life. The book strengthens our hopes of the rise of a new Germany even outside the ranks of the Labor movement; a Germany which can learn to overcome the "Deutschland uber Alles" spirit, to take her place on an equal footing with other nations, and to work hand in hand with them in solving the tremendous problem of the organization of peace.

Schoenaich goes on to give a concise outline of the glaring political antagonisms now distracting Germany, placing special emphasis on the danger of territorialism, which are under political influences, and the gulf which separates the officers of the German army, who are mostly reactionary, from the rank and file, who are mainly republican and democratic. He throws a strong searchlight on the tremendous strength of the war mentality which is still to be found in parts of the German nation. He combats the widespread opinion of Germany that France is militarist, and criticizes the contradictory interpretations of the question of war guilt. Turning to international questions, he discusses such economic questions as the international distribution of raw materials, the formation of an Economic Pan-European League, genuine disarmament, and the part which should be played by church and school in the anti-war campaign. He concludes with a terrifying picture of the War of the Future, with its invisible weapons, as described by Wells in his well-known book on the subject.

The book is prefaced by introductions by the French General Percin, and the British General Hamilton, both of whom comment on the economic background of the war, and the horrors of future wars. (Schoenaich's book may be obtained from the "Verlag der Neuen Gesellschaft," Fichtenau, near Berlin, or it may be ordered direct from the Publication Department of the I. F. T. U., Teselschadestraat 81, Amsterdam.)

Short Notes on Books

Vivid pictures of the Russian Revolution are presented in Pitrin Sorokin's "Leaves from a Russian Diary," which the Duttons have ready for immediate publication. The author, who is now professor of sociology in the University of Minnesota, begins his account with the end of February, 1917, and continues it through the five and a half years until his banishment in the late summer of 1922. Prof. Sorokin was a member of the faculty of the University of Petrograd, an author of note and a highly respected member of the intellectual life of Russia.

One of the most interesting autobiographies of recent years, Samuel Gompers' "Seventy Years of Life and Labor," is promised for early publication, probably in December, by E. P. Dutton & Co.

Bandello's "Tragic Tales" forms a new volume in the Broadway Translations series which is being brought out in the United States by E. P. Dutton & Co. Bandello, who lived and wrote his "novelle," of short stories, in Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century, was one of the pre-eminent producers of this new form of literary entertainment evolved by the renaissance and he was highly popular among his countrymen. A hundred years later the complete novels were translated into English by Geoffrey Fenton and published in 1567, and it is his version, modernized and edited by Hugh Harris, that is here published in this new volume. There is an introduction by Robert Langton Douglas who illuminates the life, work, and times of both Bandello and Fenton.

Books Received

Social Science
Is Unemployment Inevitable? New York: Macmillan.
Recent American History. By Lester Burrell Whipple. New York: Macmillan.

Literature
A History of the Public Land Policies. By Benjamin Horace Hibbard. New York: Macmillan.

The Letters of Glaucon and Sarai. By David P. Berenberg. Northampton, Mass.: Norman Pitts.

The Golden Treasury of Modern Lyrics. Selected and arranged by Lawrence Binyon. New York: Macmillan.

Charles Lamb, A Play in Five Acts. By Alice Brown. New York: Macmillan.

The Poets of the Future. College Anthology for 1922-1924. Edited by Harry T. Schnitzler. Boston: Stratford Co.

Feats on the Flood. By Harriet Martineau. New York: Macmillan.

The Illiterate Digest. By Will Rogers. New York: Albert and Charles Boni.

The Enchanted Wanderer. By Nicolai Lyeskor. New York: McBride.

Miscellaneous
Woodrow Wilson. By William Allen White. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Joseph Pulitzer, His Life and Letters. By Don C. Seitz. New York: Simon and Schuster.

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Minnesota Is Ready

(Continued from page 4)

have control of the national Government. This fact is fully appreciated in Minnesota and for this reason there is great readiness to help in the formation of a national party, with powerful State branches.

It is clearly seen now that the possibilities of bringing relief to the wealth producers and promoting their fundamental interests cannot be done within the State alone. It must be done through national action. The question of money and credit, transportation, and natural resources lie at the bottom of our industrial ills. The voters cannot be converted to the support of these demands during a political campaign. It must be done when their minds are free from a distraction and misrepresentation employed during campaign periods.

Great Need of Education

There must be a well organized and an intelligent movement to take care of this vital educational work. The Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota has won its following by this educational process. It must now be applied to all parts of the nation. The recent campaign demonstrated

the futility of trying to carry an election by an appeal to emotions and by spectacular demonstrations. The other side may employ such methods effectively, as they have control of the agencies specially adapted for that purpose, but the progressive movement must build by continuous educational efforts until conviction is implanted in the minds of the masses. When this is done there need be no fear that the crafty methods employed by plutocracy will prevail against the forces of progress.

Minnesota is ready for the launching of a national Farmer-Labor party, as it is necessary for the accomplishment of the great purposes for which its progressive movement was organized. It is not vital that a strong central national movement be formed. It is only necessary that an agency be set up that will initiate and promote State movements and coordinate their activities. It is best that a simple form of organization be launched at the outset and develop with experience. This can be done with very little difficulty at the present time. Let us have a national party at once.

SOCIALISTS FIRST PARTY

(Continued from Page 1.)

compared with the former, stands as follows:

	New	Old
Social Democrats	130	100
Nationalists	102	95
Centrists	68	65
People's Party	50	45
Communists	45	62
Democrats	32	28
Bavarian People's Party ..	20	16
Ludendorff-Hitlerites ..	14	32
Land Leaguers	8	10

The rest of the seats are divided among half a dozen minor groups, and the exact standing of the new Reichstag will not be determined until the official count. A deputy is elected for every block of 60,000 votes cast by his party, but there are many votes lost by being cast for parties which do not poll 60,000 votes in any single electoral district and consequently are not entitled to any deputies on their national lists. Furthermore, no party is allowed more seats on its national list than it has won on its local lists.

Among the prominent Socialists sent back to the Reichstag are Philip Scheidemann, Rudolf Hilferding, Hermann Mueller, Otto Bauer, Clara Bohm-Schuch, Otto Wels, and Karl Severing.

The result of the election for the new Prussian Diet, also held last Sunday, was in line with that of the Reichstag battle, as, while the Socialists lost and the Communists gained, it must be remembered that the old Diet was elected February 20, 1921. If the Diet election had been held last May the Socialists would have lost much more. The new

Diet, according to unofficial results, compares with the old one as follows:

	New	Old
Social Democrats	116	114
Independent Socialists ..	—	29
Nationalists	111	75
Centrists	79	81
People's Party	50	58
Communists	47	31
Ludendorff-Hitlerites ..	12	—
Democrats	26	26
Economic Party	16	4
Hanoverians	5	11
Poles	1	—

Since 1921 the Independent Socialists have united with the Social Democrats and the Ludendorff-Hitlerites have sprung into existence. The changes in the Diet are not radical enough to affect the position of the present coalition Government, headed by Otto Braun, a Socialist, and composed of Socialists, Centrists, Democrats, and People's party men.

Neckwear Workers to Hold Elections

The Neckwear Workers' Union of Greater New York will hold election of all officers Tuesday, December 16, at Union Headquarters, 7 East 15th street. The polls will be open from noon to six-thirty p. m.

The present manager, Louis D. Berger, will be opposed for reelection as will also be Edmund Gottesman, as secretary-treasurer and Louis Fuchs as business agent.

The union reports good progress in its national organization campaign to organize the workers in this industry all over the country. Celia Abramowitz, an active member of the New York organization, is taking charge of the organization drive in Chicago after Louis Fuchs has laid the ground work there for a number of weeks.

DEBATE ON IMMIGRATION

"Shall Immigration Be Rigidly Restricted?"

Congressman Albert Johnson says "YES" (of Washington)

Congressman F. H. LaGuardia says "NO" (of New York)

at
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Auspices National Labor Forum

THE NEW LEADER ASSOCIATION

Members of The New Leader Association are requested to take notice that the annual meeting of The New Leader Association will be held on

Tuesday, December 30, at 8 P. M.

at the

PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 E. 15th St.

In addition to the Election of Officers and Members of the Board whose term of office will expire, there will be very important matters to be acted upon and the attendance of every member of the Association is earnestly requested.

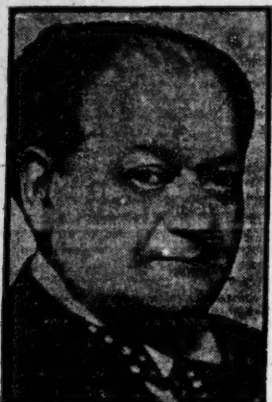
ALEXANDER KAHN, President.
JULIUS GERBER, Secretary.

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D R A M A

A Handbook for Filmgoers



RUDOLPH SCHILDKRAUT
will play the leading role in "The Mongrel," adapted by Elmer Rice from the German of Herman Bahr, coming to the Longacre Monday night.

Charming Comedy

"The Student Prince," an Adaptation of "Alt Heidelberg," at Jolson's Theatre.

The sweeping of steins through the air and the burst of a rousing drinking song from the mouths of students who are stirring and stirred, carries the audience on a wave of enthusiasm that once started, seems unable to stop, in the face of "The Student Prince," which the Shuberts are presenting at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre. The book and lyrics, by Dorothy Donnelly, tell an old sentimental story, but its precise charm is in this very fact, in that (always with a good Viennese waiter), it recalls to us the good old musical plays, from Herlin rather than Paris that in the age of tender memories we once saw. The music, by Sigmund Romberg, is at once old and new, old in its suggestion of constant walks, in its rousing strains of alternate cheer and love and sadness, new in the particular tone combinations that give it color and life. The settings were attractive, and the costumes, especially those of the court scene, were a mass of whirling beauty. The general direction, by J. C. Huffman and dances by Max Scheek, gave evidence, in the ease and unity of movement, of careful and skillful handling.

"The Student Prince," in addition to being a glorification of the old days of Heidelberg, is a story of the prince who loved a simple country maiden, but whom duty recalled to a throne, and a regal marriage. There is nothing else to say of the story; all is as usual. But the music and the choral activity develop through a succession of songs that move the audience into a mood that makes the whole a blend of dear old sentiment and charm—with a dash of humor to season. The charm is chiefly supplied by the excellent whimsy grace of Lisa Marveng, whose Kathie is as gay and as loving as one could wish—until the final endearing sacrifice. A touch of pathos comes through Greek Evans, singing the old instructor of the prince, who revives his own memories at Heidelberg. The comedy springs from George Hassell, ever reliable, as the prince's valet, from his assistant Charles Williams, with the help of Violet Carlson and the (dis)graceful Florence Morrison. In the court scene there is a delightful dance by Martha Mason. And Howard Marsh as the prince is the head of a large band who, as students of Heidelberg, spread over the evening the spell of their resounding cheer and evident delight in living. The evening is thus doubly pleasant, in the good of the present play, and in the memories, now distant enough to be time-mellowed that it evokes.

J. T. S.

"The Hairy Ape" in Russia

Eugene O'Neill's Working Class Play Produced in Moscow

The management of the Provincetown Playhouse has just received word that Eugene O'Neill's play, "The Hairy Ape," done here a season or two back with Louis Wolheim in the leading role, was produced by the Kamerny Theatre of Moscow. The Kamerny is a radical, "expressionistic" theatre, which made a tour of Paris, London and the principal Central European cities last season. "S. S. Glencora," O'Neill's sea plays, and his "Desire Under the Elms," are now holding the boards in this city.



PHOEBE FOSTER,
with Lowell Sherman, in Willard Mack's drama, now in its fourth month at the Eltinge Theatre.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE MONGREL," adapted by Elmer Rice from the German of Herman Bahr, will open at the Longacre Theatre, Monday night. The cast is headed by Rudolph Schildkraut. Others in the cast include Ernita Lascelles, Alice Bellmore Cliffe, Maurice Colborne, Carl Anthony, John Hamilton, W. F. Clark, Max Montezole, Peter Lang, Rae Berland and George L. Fogle. This will be the first presentation of "The Mongrel" in English, although it is one of Bahr's favorite plays on the Continent and Mr. Schildkraut has played it hundreds of times in German. The settings and costumes have been designed by Lee Simonson. Winifred Lenihan has staged the play. This is the first production to be made by Warren P. Munsell.

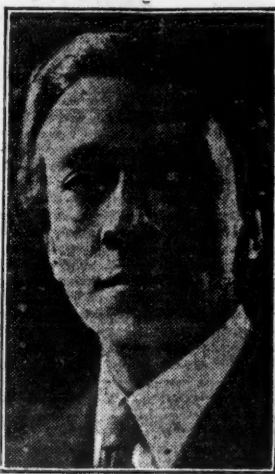
"THE SAP," a new comedy by William A. Grew, will be presented by George H. Nicolai and J. M. Welch at the Apollo Theatre, Monday night, with Raymond Hitchcock in the leading role. Others in the cast include Doris Eaton, Miriam Sears, Peggy Allenby, A. H. Van Buren, Norvall Kedwell and John Gleason.

TUESDAY

"QUARANTINE," a comedy from England, by F. Tennyson Jesse, will open at Henry Miller's Theatre, on Tuesday night, presented by Charles F. Wagner and Edgar Selwyn. Sidney Blackmer and Helen Hayes will head the cast, which will also include Beryl Mercer, Percy Ames, A. P. Kaye, Olga Olova and Kay Laurel.

It could not distinguish Joe May the producer from Joe Martin the chimpanzee. It would address itself to a philistine public, a public without prejudice or bias, a public with no qualifications for filmgoing except a hunger for beauty in any form and a sure response to art. And it would tell them what to do; where to study a poster closely; how to read its meaning; whom to watch and enjoy. It might encourage new exhibitors to dare the film of quality. It would surely bring the right film and the right audience together at last.

Our handbook, being neither a prophet nor a serial, could describe no specific films of quality, nor guarantee the entire level of any one man's work. The ultimate judgment must be with each individual watcher upon each individual film. There is no perfect consistency in film-making; pictures vary with their conditions, and even an "Orphans of the Storm" may be fol-



PEDRO DE CORDOBA
returns to Broadway in the special matinees of Bernard Shaw's "Candida," at the 48th Street Theatre.

lowed by a "White Rose," even a "Tolable David" and a "White Sister" come from the same hand. But there are certain names in the cinema that invite confidence and seldom fail us of their art; names of power and further potentiality, which promise, at their most, beauty, at their least, provocative thought.

Two of them, Chaplin and Fairbanks, will be written large across the poster's face, being star and producer too, and from Hollywood, where fortunes are made. The rest will be hidden, squeezed into corners, while above them the large, empty names of title and star will sprawl with conscious pride. Titles—nothing, changed from country to country, robbed in their passage of meaning and idea. Stars—little, moulded as the producer wills. But that other name, producer's name, printed hurriedly and covered as well as may be, that is the name to read. Sjostrom, Stroheim, Feyder, Fritz Lang, Lubitsch, Wegener; Mosjoukine, the actor-producer; Polier and Karl Grune; Wiene the expressionist—these are the masters, with Fairbanks and Chaplin, of our modern screen. These, with a few others whose work has not yet penetrated to English picture-houses, are the names of power and promise, the names which our handbook would have listed in red capitals, and which it would teach its readers to pick out at sight from the ugly heart of a bill.

"Badges" Gregory Kelly Gives a Life-Like Performance at the 49th Street Theatre

For an enjoyable evening at the theatre we can wholeheartedly recommend this thriller "Badges." In plot, there are purposes and cross purposes galore, a double love story, and much humor. The acting is intelligent and, in the case of Gregory Kelly, even inspired. So why be carping in criticism or lackadaisical in enjoyment? This reviewer, at any rate, is neither.

The story deals with a murdered father, a charming and unsuspecting daughter, an amateur detective and lover who can show professionals aces and spades, and a few real crooks, half-bad and all bad. A lovely melodrama—for those who like them and those who don't.

Gregory Kelly, as mentioned above, is a live actor. To a humorous spirit and humorous lines he brings loving kindness and inspiration. His is the art of a moron face and a silly voice being responsible for humor and wisdom. As a sure-fire laugh producer the combination is, of course, irresistible.

Lotus Robb is the heroine. She is, as usual, lovely to look at and gracious and soft in manner. A little too gracious and soft—in this reviewer's opinion. She acts as if bombs couldn't move her and in a play where there is disturbing darkness, much shooting, and a lover in danger, such calmness on the part of a player is perturbing. There are those who swear by Lotus Robb. I, however, have never been guilty of such raving.

Louis Bresson as the half-bad crook is an all-good actor, and both Eleanor Woodruff and Felix Krembs are convincing villains. The rest of the cast is adequate, even including the cat who frightens the nervous out of their seats.

A good show—it was a pleasure to see it. E. L.

Broadway Briefs

A new comedy, "Up in a Balloon," which features Toto in new aeronautic antics has been added to the program of the Greenwich Village Follies at the Winter Garden.

Dorothy Brown is now singing the role created by Myrtle Schaff in "Hassard Short's Ritz Revue," at the Ritz Theatre. Next week in the last in New York. The revue then goes on tour.

"The Master Builder" will continue at the Bramhall Theatre for another fortnight, to be followed by a bill made up of one-act plays by Moliere, Bernard Shaw and Butler Davenport.

This Sunday's Winter Garden concert has been taken over by the Consumptive Jewish Aid Society. The usual Sunday night concert will be given at the Astor Theatre instead.

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A PEACH OF A SHOW!
always acknowledged the most beautiful—NOW THE FUNNIEST
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"HOSERS—KEEP YOUR TAIL UP!"
"QUIPS THAT PASS IN THE NIGHT!"
"TOTO'S TOE-TICKLING FEATS."

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RUDOLPH SCHILDKRAUT in THE MONGREL

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HIGH STAKES
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A Witty—Wise
and Worldly play
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with LILLIAN FOSTER
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magnificently acted
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"IN EVERY HOME"
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RUDOLPH
SCHILDKRAUT
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THE
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Staged by WINIFRED LUNNAN—Settings by IRE SIMONSON
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2.25 tickets at 1.75
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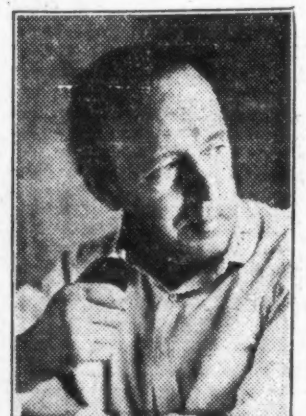
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ORTENSIA
Mgt. London Charlton. Steinway Piano.
Aeolian Hall, Sat. Eve., Dec. 20, at 8:15.
OLD MASTERS
TRIO
Mgt. London Charlton. Steinway Piano.

A. H. Woods has engaged Katherine
Cornell for the leading role in the
dramatization of "The Green Hat," by
Michael Arlen.



DUDLEY DIGGES
in "The Guardsman," Franz Mol-
nar's comedy, now crowding 'em in
at the Booth Theatre.

"EXPRESSING
WILLIE"

LAST
WEEK
RACHEL CROTHERS' GAY COMEDY
THEA. Evs. 8:30.
Mats. Tues. and Sat.
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SPECIAL MATINEES OF BERNARD
SHAW'S
"CANDIDA"
Every WED. & FRIDAY at 2:30

B.S. MOSS' B'WAY
"Where the crowds all go"
ALL NEXT WEEK
ROBERT W. SERVICE'S
breathless South Sea story
"The
ROUGHNECK"
WITH
George O'Brien & Billie Dove
and B. C. Hilliam
Hickey Bros. and Other Acts

CAPITOL BROADWAY
AT 51st St.
World's Largest and Finest Motion
Picture Palace—Edw. Ross, Mgr. Dir.

BEGINNING SUNDAY
LOUIS B. MAYER, Presents
"THE SNOB"
With A Great Cast
Famous CAPITOL Program
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE
Presentations by BOTHAFEL ("ROY")

Theatre Club Benefit of
"The Mongrel"

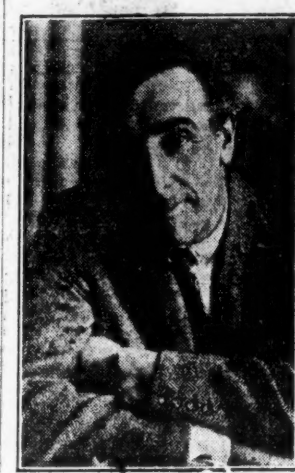
On Tuesday and Wednesday even-
ings, December 16 and 17, the two
upper balconies of the Longacre The-
atre, where Rudolph Schildkraut will
open next week in "The Mongrel," a
play written by Herman Barr, author
of "The Concert," and adapted by El-
mer Rice, have been purchased by the
Theatre Club, and will be sold as a
benefit performance for the Rand
School, the Women's Citizenship Com-
mittee and the Teachers' Union.
Tickets at special prices may be had
on application at the Rand School, 7
East 15th street.

--: DRAMA --:

"The Little Clay Cart"

The Neighborhood Players, Offer a Delightful Hindu
Romance, at their Playhouse on Grand Street

"The Little Clay Cart," the Neighbor-
hood Players' new bill at the Playhouse
in Grand street is by far the most de-
lightful thing that New York has had
offered to it since the unforgettable
"Yellow Jacket" of nearly a decade ago.
Many people came to scoff or to be
amused at the antics of the players,
and remained almost literally to play.
"The Little Clay Cart" is the abso-
lutely irrelevant title of a Hindu play
that Irene Lewison brought with her
from India, a play of great antiquity
and attributed to a King Shudraka,
either the 5th or the 10th century.
A. D. What is a little thing like 600
years in India, anyway?
The play tells of the life and loves
of that fine gentleman and merchant,
Mr. Charudatta, who loved his wife
nearly as much as he loved his court-
esans, Vasantasena. But he had lost his
wealth and most of his friends had
deserted him; all but the high caste
Brahmin, Maitreya, who hoped that
sometime he would retrieve his for-
tune. There was a revolution in the
play, too, when Aryaka, a herdman,
becomes the proletarian king and re-
stores Charudatta to his former wealth.
There is also, a scientific burglary by
that expert crackman, Sharvilaka, who
steals Vasantasena's jewels from Maitreya,
who had the custody of them, and
with them he tried to buy the freedom
of Madanika, Vasantasena's maid, whom
he loves. And so the jewels come back to their rightful
owner and the maid is freed. The
herdsman-revolutionist escapes from
his pursuers, the William J. Burns of
the Decan, in a covered cart, thus
showing that there is nothing new
under the sun. And all ends happily,
after an attempted murder and a sad
trial scene.
The actors were delightful. They
played the piece "straight," and took
care to indicate that they were in
deadly earnest. It is hard to apportion
praise for the large cast; it was
all splendid. But Paula Trueman,
fresh from her triumphs in the glorious
"Grand Street Follies" added to
her stature as a genuine comedienne
by her acting as the maid of the court-
esans. By playing "straight" she gave
one of the most delightfully humorous
performances I have ever seen. Albert
Carroll, the hero of the late "Follies"



WALTER HAMPDEN
returns to the city for a fortnight
of "Cyrano de Bergerac," opening
at Century Theatre December 22.

Broadway Briefs

A discussion on "The Actors and the
Theatre," was held last night at the
Smith College Club. The program, ar-
ranged by the Actors' Theatre, included
as speakers Helen MacKellar and
Grant Mitchell, who is to play in "The
Habitual Husband," Dana Burnett's
comedy which will open the season of
the Actors' Theatre on Tuesday, De-
cember 23.

Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor
Jones" will be revived at the Provincetown
Playhouse, Monday night for a
period of two weeks only. Paul Rob-
eson will play the title role. "S. S.
Glencairn" will close Saturday night.
On December 29, Gilbert and Sullivan's
"Patience" will be produced.

L. Lawrence Weber's "High Tide," by
Eleanor Holmes Hinkley, had its out-
town premiere in Washington, Mon-
day evening.

Lionel Barrymore and Irene Fenwick
will appear in "Four Knaves and a
Joker," a new play by Leon Gordon,
presented by A. H. Woods.

Robert Ames and Elwood F. Bostwick
of "The Desert Flower," will enter the
producing field, with a play called
"Jack in the Pulpit," their first presen-
tation.

--: MUSIC --:

Music Notes

Ernest Hutcheson will give the fol-
lowing program at his recital in Aeolian
Hall tonight. Fantasia in G Major;
Schubert; Prelude and Fugue in E
Minor; Three Songs Without Words;
Mendelssohn-Bartok; Des Abends;
In der Nacht; Romance in F Sharp
Major; Nocturne in E, Vogel als
Prophet; Etudes Symphoniques; Schu-
mann.

Armen Ohanian, dancer of Persia,
will present a program of exotic
dances, accompanied by a native Per-
sian orchestra, at Town Hall, tonight.
Among her offerings will be a group of
Aztec legends, dramatic poems, and
four Persian folk dances.

Ignacio Hilsberg, winner of the Sta-
dium Auditions Contest at the Lewi-
sohn Stadium this summer, will be pre-
sented in a piano recital at Aeolian
Hall, tomorrow afternoon.

Guy Maier and Leo Pattison will
appear with the Barre Little Sym-
phony Orchestra at the Henry Miller
Theatre, on Sunday evening, and with
the New York Philharmonic Society on
December 21.

Misha Mischakoff, concertmaster of
the New York Symphony Orchestra
will give a violin recital on Wednesday
evening.

Maxim Karolik, tenor, will make his
first New York appearance on Monday
evening, in Aeolian Hall.

Max Pollikoff, violinist, returns for
another concert at Aeolian Hall, Fri-
day evening.

Cobinar Wright will give a song re-
cital at Aeolian Hall, Thursday evening.

Vera Amazar will give her first New
York song recital in Aeolian Hall, Sun-
day night.

Donna Ortensia will give a song re-
cital Wednesday afternoon, at Town
Hall.

Guilomar Novaes gives her piano re-
cital at Aeolian Hall, this afternoon,
for the benefit of Union Settlement.

Socialism, Labor and Politics

(Continued from page 4)

National Committee of the C. P. P. A.
at this meeting in December. Should
the National Committee decide to
organize a party in January, 1925,
what is it likely to be? That is one
thing we must discuss.

There can be no doubt that the
composition of the January conven-
tion will be different in character
from that of the July convention.
There will be new groups. There
will be new leaders; groups with
interests opposed to Labor or pro-
ducing farmers; groups whose entire
outlook upon the economic and po-
litical situation is capitalistic funda-
mentally.

There will be new leaders who
have been expelled from the major
parties but who are still imbued with
the spirit of the old parties. These
will form a definite block in the con-
vention; they will do everything to
wipe out any radical tendency and
minimize any radical demand. They
will avoid everything that may
bring the charge of radicalism
against them or the new party. Not
only that, they will oppose the forma-
tion of a Labor party even if its
program is less than the minimum.
To them, being members of a Labor
party will be tantamount to a stigma.
Their psychology being reformist,
they will insist on a party with
a platform vague enough to include
all and everybody.

Will it be possible to overcome
these new leaders and groups? It
must be admitted that a large per-
centage of the Labor groups in the
C. P. P. A. are of the conservative
wing of the Trade Union movement.
These will surely want the inclusion
of all groups and consequently will
lean to the new element.

Our Socialist Work
Up to now the Socialist group was
able to persuade the C. P. P. A. to
more radical ideas. At the January
convention the conservative unions
will be in the center and at best will
bring about a compromise and that
means a party, more or less progres-
sive, probably less than more.

Immediate reforms in the form of
demands proposed by the Socialist
Party or the Socialist movement
have often been carried into effect
as the Socialist movement became
strong. So it was with the Work-
men's Compensation Laws, Widows'
Pensions, the protection of women in
industries, more stringent child labor
laws, and so forth. As the Socialist
movement is strengthened, its im-
mediate demands are taken up by the
major parties and carried into ef-
fect. The one justification, there-
fore, for the support of a liberal
party movement falls by the way-
side.

In Great Britain, Labor and Lib-

erals were never able to coalesce.
The position taken by the British
Labor party recently, and into which
position it was forced, points to
what can be expected when Labor
and Liberals come face to face. The
MacDonald Government was defeat-
ed by the Liberals. MacDonald could
have continued in power for at least
some time, had the British Labor
party agreed to compromise with the
Liberals. When it comes, however,
to a question of principle, there is
no meeting ground for Labor and
Liberals. Much as we would have
liked to see the MacDonald Govern-
ment continued, we take our hats
off to them for the stand they took.

Liberal Collaboration Impossible
The participation in and becoming
an integral part of a Liberal party
is for the Socialists an impossibility.
There are some among us who be-
lieve it possible to form a Labor
party at the January convention. If
that is so, there can be no two opin-
ions as to what the Socialist attitude
is to be. We must encourage such
a party. We must become a part
of it. We must help build it. Should
that, however, be impossible or im-
probable—and the probabilities point
to the formation of a Liberal or
Third party at the January conven-
tion—the Socialist position, in my
judgment, should be in the direction
of preventing the C. P. P. A. from
organizing such party.

The Socialists must, as a matter
of principle, as well as practice, be
an integral part of the Labor party
by all means; in a Liberal party
by no means. If a Labor party can-
not be formed in January, 1925, the
existence of the C. P. P. A. should
not be endangered.

The formation of a Liberal party
will endanger its existence; it will
swallow up the C. P. P. A. and de-
stroy it. It has taken many decades
before Labor has been moved to even
discuss independent Labor politics.
Now, when there is an organized
conference for its discussion and
promotion, its existence must not be
endangered. The contact of Social-
ists with organized Labor in the
C. P. P. A., and that cost so much
effort and heartache, will be weak-
ened if a Liberal party is formed or
the C. P. P. A. is destroyed.

This manifestation of American
Labor's interest in independent po-
litical action should be encouraged,
and the C. P. P. A., the expression
of this, should be continued until a
Labor party is finally formed.

It follows that as far as the So-
cialist members of the National Com-
mittee are concerned, if it appears
that a Labor party cannot be formed,
they must stand for the continuation
of the status quo.

--: MUSIC --:

New Hebrew Music
Russian-Jewish Composers
Give Concert in Moscow

WRITING from Moscow, a corre-
spondent in Musical America,
points to a new development of
Hebrew music encouraged and assisted
by the Soviet regime. The writer goes
on and states that with the removal
of artistic dictation and the develop-
ment of a national consciousness in
Russia, a realization has come that
composers must use material which is
innate and not follow musical fashions.
The formation of a new society here
for the performance of works by He-
brew composers is a case in point. At
its recent concert, music by outstand-
ing Russian-Jewish composers was pre-
sented. The program included Gnesin,
Krein, Engel, Achron, Milner and
others. The compositions played were
all based on Hebrew melodic material,
were related to Hebrew subjects or
reflected in some way the spirit of the
race.

The outstanding representative of
this group, Alexander Krein, is one of
the most gifted of the younger Russian
composers. He attracted the attention
of the Russian musical world by his
symphonic work, "Salome, the Poem
of Passion" performed at the Moscow
Symphony Concerts. It is a forceful
and deeply emotional piece with a
strong Hebrew strain in it. Alexander
Krein was for a certain time in his
early period an avowed disciple of
Scriabin, Ravel and Debussy and his
work showed their influences. Acquaint-
ance with Hebrew folk music and
traditional melodies completely altered
his artistic creed. He found some-
thing which had a basic emotional ap-
peal to him and it has profoundly af-
fected his later work.

As has been the case with most of
the modern Hebrew composers to imi-
tate the Nordics and the Latins. Krein's
work has developed individuality and
power. In the later works of this
whole school, and particularly with
Krein, one feels the breath of biblical
pathos and of the peculiar Hebrew
lyricism which combines religious con-
templations with the characteristic
racial melancholy.

"Cosi Fan Tutte" and "Sam-
son and Delila" at
Metropolitan

"Andrea Chenier" will open the
seventh week of the Metropolitan
opera season Monday evening with Ponselle,
Gigli and Ruffo (first appearance this
season). Other operas of the week
will be:
"Lucia di Lammermoor," Wednesday,
with Toti del Monte and Martinelli.
"Jenufa," Thursday evening with Jeri-
tza and Laubenthal. "Gioconda," Fri-
day afternoon, with Ponselle and Gigli.
"Boheme," Friday evening, with Alda
and Martinelli. "Cosi fan Tutte," Sat-
urday afternoon, with Easton and Mead-
er. "Samson and Delila," Saturday night,
with Gordon and Oehman.

With the Orchestras
STATE SYMPHONY

Next Tuesday afternoon, at Carnegie
Hall, Paul Stassevitch, violin and piano
virtuoso, will make his American de-
but as soloist with the State Symphony
orchestra, Josef Stransky conducting.

The program:
"Tragic Over-
ture," and "Violin
Concerto," Brahms;
Paul Stassevitch
and orchestra;
Piano Concerto in
B Flat Minor,
Tchaikowsky;
Paul Stassevitch
and Orchestra;
March "Slav,"
Tchaikowsky.

The program for
Wednesday night
at Carnegie Hall
will include Sym-
phony No. 4, Tchaikowsky; Air, "Son
Gloza," (Tigrane), Scarlati; "When I
am Laid in Earth," from Dido and
Aeneas; Three Symphonic Poems,
"Phaeton," "Rovet d'Omphale," "Danse
Macabre," Saint-Saens; Piano Concerto,
Grieg. Ursula Greville and Guilomar
Nоваes are the soloists.

PHILHARMONIC

Osip Gabrilowitch is soloist at the
second of the Philharmonic concerts
at the Metropolitan
Opera House to-
morrow afternoon,
playing the Mozart
D Minor concerto.
Willem Van Hoog-
straten will lead
the orchestra in
the suite from
Stravinsky's "Fire
Bird" and in Dvorak's
Symphony.

Each musician's
Symphony No. 2 in
E Major opens the Philharmonic pro-
gram for Thursday evening and Friday
afternoon at Carnegie Hall, with Henry
Hadley conducting. Mr. Hadley's tone-
poem, "Salome," is also to be played,
and the Spanish Caprice of Rimsky-
Korsakoff concludes the program.
Maier and Pattison will be soloists
at the third Philharmonic Metropolitan
Opera House concert on Sunday after-
noon, December 21, when Henry Hadley
will conduct. The Philharmonic So-
ciety has received word that Wilhelm
Furtwaengler, who is to make his Amer-
ican debut as Guest Conductor on Jan-
uary 3, is sailing from Europe on
S. S. "Deutschland" on December 18.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Vladimir Golschmann, guest con-
ductor of the New York Symphony Or-
chestra, will conduct at Carnegie Hall,
Thursday afternoon and Friday even-
ing. The program follows:
Overture, "Marriage of Figaro," Mo-
zart; Symphony No. 4 in D Minor,
Schumann; A Night on the Bald
Mountain, Moussorgsky; Flight of the
Bumble Bee from Suite, "Tsar Saltan,"
Rimsky-Korsakoff; La Valse, Rameau.

"The Snob" and "The
Mikado" Features of
Capital Program

"The Snob," the first production for
Metro-Goldwyn by the young director,
Monty Bell, will be the screen feature
at the Capitol Theatre, beginning Sun-
day. "The Snob" was adapted by the
director himself from the novel by
Helen R. Martin. John Gilbert, Norma
Shearer, Conrad Nagel, Phyllis Haver
and Hedda Hopper play the leading
roles.

The musical program will include the
over popular impressions of "The
Mikado." The "Impressions" will be
in two scenes, divided by an interlude
consisting of a ballet by Doris Niles
and the Capital Ballet Corps. The veter-
an comedian, Frank Morgan, one of
the foremost delineators of Gilbert
and Sullivan, will be seen in the part
of Koko. Mile. Gambrelli will be
chief dancer in the ballet to the music
of the waltz "Nita," by Gruenwald. The
overture will be the "Poet and Peas-
ant."

Vaudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY
B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, be-
ginning Monday, will include George
O'Brien in "The Roughneck," adapted
from the Robert W. Service novel, the
supporting cast includes Billie Dove,
Harry T. Morey, Cleo Madison, Charles
A. Selton and Ann Cornwall.
B. C. Hilliam will appear in his new-
est revue entitled "Deeds and Ideas."
The music, lyrics and cartoons were
conceived and written by Mr. Hilliam.
The Hickey Brothers, William Ebb, Joe
and Sherman Trennell, assisted by Vir-
ginia Crisp, Joseph Drake and Com-
pany.

PALACE
Eddie Leonard, Mary Nash, Jack Nor-
wood, Oscar Lorraine, Albertina Rasch
Girls with Zoza and Kiki; Joe Weston
and Grace Eline, George Watts and
Belle Hawley; The Jansleys and Frid-
tinn, Jr. and Rhoda.

HIPPIDROME
Blossom Seely and Beanie Fields,
Benny Leonard, Frank Fay, Bobby Wal-
thour, Reggie McNamara and Jake Ma-
gin, Robert Sielle and Annette Mills,
Herman and Sammy Timberg, Charles
O'Donnell and Ethel Blair, and Reiffen-
bach Sisters.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Roughneck,"
by Robert W. Service, with
George O'Brien, Billie Dove and
Harry T. Morey.

CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Hot
Water."

CAPITOL—"The Snob," with John
Gilbert, Norma Shearer, Phyllis
Haver and Conrad Nagel.

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

RIVOLI—Thomas Meighan in
"Tongues of Flame."

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, December 13, 1924

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

THE German elections verified the general forecasts made. Ludendorff's extreme reactionary German Popular party was nearly wiped out, while the Communists lost eighteen or more seats. The Socialists are again the strongest party in the Reichstag, having increased their representation from 98 to 127, and possibly more. This gives the Socialists a leading influence in organizing the new Government. Whether the new coalition will survive to the next Presidential election in May is questionable. The heavy loss of the Communists confirms the general belief that Communism is becoming weaker in Europe as the latter slowly recovers from the World War.

The result is a severe blow to the Monarchists, whose aim is to destroy the republic and return to the "glorious days" of the monarchy. So insolent had these reactionaries become in open demonstrations of their intentions that the Socialists and trade unions took the leadership in arming and drilling the masses to meet the expected assault of the Monarchists. The election has shown that with the reversal of Poincaré's stupid policy of invading the Ruhr the German masses are fully capable of checkmating the Ludendorffs and their ilk.

The new Government will be a combination of Socialists, Centrists, Democrats and the People's party. This will provide a working majority, but always with the possibility of the People's party objecting to the more democratic measures, for it will serve as the Right of the new coalition. Whether it will sabotage on some important policies and risk another appeal to the voters or accept the recent verdict and cooperate with the other parties in the Cabinet remains to be seen. In any event, the election has strengthened the republic and will encourage the working class of Germany to renew their struggle for emancipation in the face of conditions that are still trying in many respects.

ALBERT DE SILVER

THE death of Albert De Silver comes as a great shock to the entire Labor and Socialist movement which he served so well for nearly six years. De Silver was not a Socialist, not even a radical, but he was old-fashioned enough to believe in democracy and individual liberty, and to that cause he gave his time and his best thought.

A brilliant young lawyer, De Silver saw in the perverted "patriotism" that followed the close of the World War the destruction of all the cherished traditions of our country, and he gave himself without stint to fight for the preservation of those liberties.

His death by falling from a moving train removes him from public life in the prime of his young manhood—he was only thirty-five—but it leaves a tradition that it will be well for rising young lawyers to follow. His life teaches that it is better to serve the cause of liberty, even liberty for those whose opinions one might despise, than it is callously to devote oneself to empty "success" that leads to wealth, but not to service and self respect. A fine life well lived, De Silver carries to his grave the thanks of those for whose rights he battled so valiantly.

PORK AND POSTAL SALARIES

IN SPITE of considerable publicity given to working conditions in the postal service, few realize what they are. In the one item of wages alone the Government pays its postal clerks much less than what its own Labor Bureau states is necessary to maintain an average family in a minimum of comfort. Yet the administration has opposed an increase in salaries for postal workers in the name of "economy."

It is interesting to contrast this with the annual "pork bill" which is now before Congress. Billions of dollars have been appropriated for "pork," most of it being intended to make Congressmen "solid" with their respective districts. Funds are voted to dredge "navigable streams" that would not float a toy boat. Larger streams whose traffic does not exceed a few dozen tons a year are favored with appropriations. Millions of dollars are appropriated annually for this and other "pork" and it is considered a prize of politics and a necessity for politicians.

It is safe to say that the sum voted this year for "pork" will be twice the amount that would provide for the modest increase in wages asked for by the postal employees.

Who Is The Worst Menace?



Did you ever listen to a conversation in a restaurant, where the "men of affairs" congregate? One man says, with blustering anger, the prohibitionists ought to be shot. Another says the prohibitionists don't worry him, but if he were President he would deport all the Socialists, except the leaders—and these he would hang,—and so it goes.

Put these violent remarks alongside the remarks of a Socialist soap boxer, and the latter are mild indeed. Besides he has the courage to say what he thinks in the open. If the utterances of a street speaker were as crazy and violent as that of the 100 per centers in private conversation often is, no one would listen to them.

There will be a few speeches made for the record against the "pork" bill. There always are. It is a necessary part of the "pork" game. Having taken care of the record the Congressmen will vote the funds.

If President Coolidge and his intimates are anxious to foster economy they have their opportunity by killing the "pork" bill. Then they will be able to raise the wages of postal employees to the minimum standard by another department of the Government and thus abolish the shameful sweatshop that survives in the postal service.

SOME ELECTION RETURNS

IMMEDIATELY following the election last November news began to arrive of wage reductions in the New England States, and every week has reported its quota of items. It was in this region that wage workers were especially warned that if Coolidge was not elected the textile workers would suffer. It was also this region that piled up a large vote for Coolidge.

Already receiving a wage below the standard fixed by all authorities as necessary for a family to enjoy a bare minimum of comforts, that standard is being reduced still lower. The reductions in wages are made despite Coolidge's election.

Which suggests that the workers up that way should mass their voting power against the two parties of capitalism and at least have the satisfaction of knowing that their votes had not been misused against themselves. In fact, the exploiters of Labor would have considerable respect for wage workers who refused to support the parties of capitalism. They would even come to fear such independence and make important concessions rather than wage reductions.

As matters stand now, they may "Keep cool with Coolidge," but whether they can afford the coal to keep themselves and families warm this winter is another matter. They are getting real election returns now.

DR. BUTLER AIDS CHILD SLAVERS

IF THERE IS any opportunity that Nicholas Murray Butler, "educator," has ever neglected to play the sycophant towards our ruling classes we do not know of it. Naturally, we would expect him to come to the aid of the child slavers. Where else would we expect to find one who fairly licked the boots of Wilhelm when that bloated ego was ruling the Germans?

In a letter to the "Sentinels of the Republic," the Fascist organization formed by

Vice-President Dawes and floated by a collection of money bags, Butler makes good with this awkward squad of capitalism by opposing the Child Labor Amendment. He wants no "substitution of Congressional control of childhood and youth for the natural relationship of parent and child." Moreover, child Labor will disappear, according to Butler, "if constant appeal is made to local opinion and local sentiment where child Labor still exists."

This in the face of the fact that local opinion and local sentiment in the States have not abolished the evil although it has existed nearly 150 years. Butler knows as well as anybody else that State action has failed and miserably failed and that there are important reasons why it will continue to fail to come to the relief of the child slaves. If he does not know this he should be induced to take a course in American economic history. Any competent high school boy will enlighten him.

Butler is very anxious not to disturb the "natural relationship of parent and child." Very well, Mr. Butler. But what do you think of this relationship as it has been shaped by the textile mills of New England and the South, of the mining region, and of the stores of the large cities? Are we to understand that when a child is snatched from the home and worked long hours to make profits for the class you admire that the parental relation has not been disturbed? Why is it that you fear a grant of power to Congress to order the release of these children and at the same time have no fear of the power now exercised by the owners of mills, mines and stores? Is the "parental relationship" safe in the keeping of your beloved profiteers?

We surmise that the "educator" is at his old game. With Wilhelm in exile and no longer to be admired Nicholas must find his gods at home. That he should select the deplores of children to serve need surprise no one acquainted with his career. Certainly, the supporters of the Child Labor Amendment may be proud of the enemies they have made.

G. B. S. AND MARX

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S letter to Izvestia which we print on this page is keen, in its thrusts at Zinovieff and the Third International. No one has more aptly characterized Zinovieff's bulls than Shaw when he referred to them as "cinematographic schoolboy nonsense." It must have also been a shock to the Soviet leaders to be referred to as a "handful of Russian novices" instead of supermen.

Shaw is not so happy in his sneering remarks at Karl Marx and his work. Of course, here are those who settle all ques-

tions of life by a quotation from Marx. They believe that Marx wrote the last words on history and economics. It is these "novices" Shaw has in mind when he writes that where modern Socialism is a living force "it has left Karl Marx as far behind as modern science has left Moses."

This is not true, even in England. The influence of Marx is powerful in the working class movement of the world today. If Shaw were asked to name the two most important men of the nineteenth century who left the greatest and most enduring impressions on the Labor movement, he would have to choose Marx and Engels. Because certain "novices" have almost defied Marx is no reason for Shaw swinging to the other extreme. He might just as well say that Darwin, Huxley and Spencer have been "left behind" by modern science. The contributions of Marx are as much our heritage today as those of Darwin and his contemporaries. In other words, Marx is not responsible for the "novices" and his work will long survive their caricature of him.

FIRST AID TO THE FASCISTI

AN ADVERTISEMENT in local dailies announces that Mr. Griffith, the movie magnate, has sailed for Italy because certain Italians said, "If you make for us a picture just half as interesting, thrilling, moving and patriotic as your wonderful 'America,' it will be worth much more than a million dollars to Italy." This is prefaced by the statement that Mr. Griffith had sailed "at the request of Italian moneyed and political interests."

Thus, first aid is to be given to the Fascisti by the American movie. An Italian "patriotic" picture, in which "moneyed and political interests" will invest a considerable amount of Italian cash, will be the result. However, we shall have no objections if the picture exhibits some Fascisti realism. An anti-Fascisti voter lying prostrate on his back, with a number of Black Shirts forcing him to gulp down a bottle of castor oil, would rivet the interest of an audience. In the same scene, another such voter whose brains are oozing out of a wound, with a group of Fascisti armed with clubs in the foreground, would add dramatic interest to the scene. Still another group mutilating the body of Matteotti would round out the realism.

There are unlimited possibilities in a picture portraying contemporary Italy under Mussolini and his glorified thugs, but it isn't likely that "Italian moneyed and political interests" will be inclined to invest in such realism. What we will get will be something entirely different.

On the Soviets A LETTER TO "IZVESTIA" By BERNARD SHAW

I AM afraid it is not possible for Izvestia to publish my opinion of the situation created by the abandonment of the Anglo-Russian treaties.

I can only say that as the economic situation will finally dominate the political one—this you will observe is sound Marxism—it is quite possible that the Soviet Government will finally get better terms both in commercial treaties and guaranteed loans from the present Conservative Government than the late Labor Government dared offer it.

But I must add that the Soviet Government would do well to dissociate itself from the Third International as speedily as possible and to tell Zinovieff plainly that he must choose definitely between serious statesmanship and cinematographic schoolboy nonsense if the Soviet Government is to be responsible to Europe for his proceedings, which will otherwise make Rakovsky's position here almost impossible. (Christian Rakovsky is Russian Chargé d'Affaires in England.)

I am not referring to the forged letter (a document purporting to come from Zinovieff and advocating revolution in England, which had great bearing in the recent British election), but to a far graver matter.

The constitution of the International has been translated and published in the London Times, and the bourgeois idealism and childish inexperience of men and affairs which it betrays in every line have given a serious shock to the friends of the Soviet in England.

From the point of view of English Socialists, the members of the Third International do not know even the beginning of their business as Socialists, and the proposition that the world should take its orders from a handful of Russian novices who seem to have gained their knowledge of modern Socialism by sitting over a drawing-room stove and reading pamphlets of the liberal revolutionists of 1848-70 makes Curzon and

Winston Churchill seem extreme Modernists in comparison.

Until Moscow learns to laugh at the Third International and realizes that wherever Socialism is a living force instead of a dead theory it has left Karl Marx as far behind as modern science has left Moses, there will be nothing but misunderstanding in which the dozen most negligible cranks in Russia will correspond with the dozen most negligible cranks in England, both of them convinced that they are the proletariat and revolution and the International and God knows what else.

I speak from experience, for this is not the first time that such international misunderstandings have arisen. For many years after the death of Marx, Friedrich Engels kept the German Social Democrats estranged from all really effective English Socialists because he was unable to conceive that he and Marx, two old men living in most jealous isolation from all independent thinkers, had been swept aside and left behind by the very movement they had themselves created. Nearly ten years elapsed before Liebknecht and Bebel woke up to the real situation, which was, as it still is, that the living centre of English Socialism was in the Fabian Society and the Independent Labor party, and not in a suburban bourgeois villa where the survivor of the two great pontiffs of the Communist manifesto lived in complete political solitude.

Zinovieff's attempt to carry on that melancholy tradition rules him out of politics. It may amuse him to dream that he and his half-dozen Marxian cronies are establishing "an iron organization" which will presently have Europe in its grasp, but all he is really doing is making Russian Communism ridiculous and providing documents which are of the greatest help to reaction at every general election.

The Russian writings, which make the most favorable impression here are those of Trotsky, but even he has allowed himself to speak of H. G. Wells with contempt.

which shows that he has not read Mr. Wells' "Outline of History," and has, therefore, no suspicion of what an enormous advance on "Das Kapital" that work represents.

It is this amazing Russian combination of brilliant literary power and complete emancipation from bourgeois illusions, with an absurdly superstitious reverence for the early Victorian prophets of the London suburbs, that makes the literature of the Russian revolution at once so entertaining and so hopeless.

When even a mind and character as strong as Lenin's was so paralyzed by this superstition that when Wells laughed at the Marxian idols in Moscow he seemed to Lenin to be not exercising one of the elementary critical rights of a free thinker but simply blaspheming against divine greatness—that he was too petty a bourgeois to realize that—then what hope is there of any understanding for Sidney Webb, another English writer who has gone far beyond Marx, or for Ramsay MacDonald, or, may I say, for myself?

I sound this alarm because the Soviet Government must wake up to Western realities unless it wishes to become the main bulwark of capitalist imperialism in Europe and America. Zinovieff and his Third International did not intend to wreck an English general election in the capitalist interest and thereby make the Sudan a present to the British Empire and the River Nile a present to the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, but this is precisely what they did by their inopportune literary romancing, which it suits our governing classes very well to pretend to take seriously.

If that sort of thing continues and the Soviet Government also pretends to take it seriously, or, worse still, does actually take it seriously, then all hope of solidarity between Socialism in the West and East of Europe will fade out and we must go our own way in England without more regard to the policy of Moscow than Moscow has for the policy of Madagascar.

THE Chatter-Box

A Ballad of Elsinore

In Elsinore, it matters not
If one be rich or poor,
Or old or young, or strange in tongue,
So long as love endure. . . .
There is no blame, or sin or shame;
The Magdalens are pure;
For love is God in Elsinore,
And none are rich or poor.

I know that I would find you there
Upon a parapet,
In girdled frock, and sandals soft,
And glistening coronet;
Nor would it matter if your hair
Were golden or were jet,
I know that I would find you there
Upon a parapet.

I wish I were in Elsinore
Where all the skies are red,
And every lass a Guinevere,
So fair and gentle bred,
Where love is law unto the land
And not a word is said. . . .
I wish I were in Elsinore,
Where every dawn is red. . . .

We wrote this ditty in one of Gopher Prairie's taverns, the Occidental Hotel, Muskegon, Michigan. One look at Main Street from the window of our room, at the Castle Ford-Repair-Shop and the Palace Texas-Weiners—10 Cents—as they lay shimmering with gold and silver turrets against the magical morning sky wrought us into a frenzy of idyllic fervor. And every salesman with his grip looks so much like the Launcelots, Gawaines, and Galahads of old, and every stenographer, waitress and charwoman so resembled the Guineveres, Elaines, and Vivians of the Arthurian era, that we could not help but be inflamed.

And that topped by dancing through one of Eddie Gust's Syndicated Symphonies in the Muskegon Yowler, we simply had to neutralize our ecstatic madness with the verses above.

Sorrow's End

A mystic moon undraped her slender form
At twilight when the river mist was born,
And all her loveliness—herself she gave,
To lie forever in a watery grave.
Leone.

The Boat-Yard

She watched the river's tidal bent
In summer and in snow;
She saw the boat-yard wet its feet
In years of ebb and flow.

"Oh! must I live forever here,
To smell of mud and weeds?
Another ship drawn on a pier,
Forever done with deeds!"

Her man went by with smiling lips,
A part of all the mire;
The rotted, rusty, mouldy ships
Were all his heart's desire.

"They bring the swell of mighty seas,
The shouts of seamen bold;
I see the wealth of dynasties
Within each leaky hold."

Her eyes grew blanker than they should;
It pleased her, meals between,
To play with ooze as children would,
So he could wash her clean.
Goody.

Sonnet of Revolt

What if, on one grim summer day, the beast
Refused to drag the plow and remained
still,
As if his head were filled with thoughts
released,
After the many years which chained his
will?

What if, on that grim summer day, he
neighed,
Tossing his head in one defiant swing
And shattering the years to make them fade
Into the days when a wild beast was king!

What if he flared up within his heart—
Desires for quests across the grassy
plains,
Desires to be with all dim stars a part
Of throbbing, restless things that know
not pains?

The terror that would grip men's hearts
that day
To hear the mocking challenge in a neigh!
M. Julian Funt.

Eddie Levinson, the young Atlas of The New Leader whenever Jim is hors de combat, has impressed us into the news service. We are to report next week on the new Social Reorganization plan instituted by the Four Hundred of Fifth Avenue, to transfuse the blue blood of Europe's defunct royalty into the vapid fluid that courses through the varicose veins of our aristocracy. We expect to spend all of next week at the Ritz, and the Astor mansion. To insure our entrance without the usual difficulties, we are trimming and twirling our mustache, and other hirsute charms, selecting the best in girdles for proper form, cleaning up and pressing our Tuxedo of 1912 vintage, and printing cards with the legend "Count De Witt-de-Ju-bes-von Smoked-Ham-Rand-Schulek," with coat of arms, Red Shield, Arm and Torch, rampant over two lamblinks and a pair of shears; motto, "Lux Vinos et Beers"—trans. Light Wines and Beers.

Look for the greatest Society Scoop of the Century.

S. A. DE WITT.

Postmaster General New reports a loss in the postal service of \$40,000,000 for the fiscal year which he would like to wipe out but the deficit of the postal workers may continue without him making a noise about it.