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A Weekly Newspaper
Devoted to the Interest
of the Socialist and La-
bor Movement.

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Socialist, Labor Conventions Called

WESTERN ROAD GRANTS UNION'S DEMANDS

Southern Pacific Averts Strike Threatened as Result of Rail Boards Ruling.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—The differences between the Southern Pacific railroad and its engine workers, which resulted recently in an overwhelming vote to strike, have been settled, according to an agreement made public by the company.

The agreement will mean a total wage advance of about \$500,000 a year on the Southern Pacific system, the company announced. The new agreement is retroactive to September 1.

The strike vote recently taken by the 6,000 men showed ninety-six per cent in favor of a strike, according to statements of the brotherhood chiefs.

The company's announcement of the settlement said:

"The meeting of the representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and Enginemen with the management of the Southern Pacific Company reached a harmonious conclusion as to the problems under discussion at 3 p. m. The agreement resulted in increases per day for the men of twenty-four cents in passenger service, thirty-six cents in freight service, thirty-two cents in yard service and thirty-two cents for hostling service. There was no change made in present working rules."

SOCIALIST-ZIONIST CONVENTION CONVENES IN NEW YORK, DEC. 27

The fifteenth convention of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion of the United States and Canada, will be held in New York City from December 27 to 31. It promises to be a most vital chapter in the history of this Jewish labor organization. Delegates from all parts of the country will assemble and consider many important questions. The most prominent part of the agenda will be given to the discussion of the Palestine activities of the party, which includes the organizing of American groups for Palestine; the undertaking of greater campaigns for the Workers' Bank and the Palestine Workers' Fund; cultural, political, and economic activities in the United States; the coming Zionist Congress, and the further Poale Zion propaganda among the Jewish labor classes of this country.

The convention will have a distinguished guest in the person of Mr. B. Locker, the General Secretary of the World Poale Zion Confederation, who will arrive from Berlin on December 16. Mr. Locker has recently visited Palestine and was one of the leading figures at the convention of the Achduth Hoavodah (the Palestine Poale Zion). He will report the latest developments in Palestine, as well as in the international movement in Europe.

DEBS CALLS SCHEDEL PROSECUTION THE MOST OUTRAGEOUS IN HISTORY

"This is one of the most outrageous cases in the entire history of Labor persecution in the United States," says Eugene V. Debs, commenting on the attempt of the Government to again separate John C. Schedel from his American-born wife and family, by sending him to prison and then re-deporting him to Germany.

Comrade Debs' letter, pledging support to the Schedel defense, is as follows:

"I am in receipt of the blank petitions, statement etc., in the case of John C. Schedel and I am at once placing these petitions in the hands of active comrades who will have them filled out promptly as possible and forwarded according to instructions. One of the petitions I shall retain for my own use and the necessary signatures will be obtained and the petition forwarded as soon as possible. This is one of the most outrageous cases in the entire history, barbarous as it is, of Labor persecution in the United States. The Schedel case scandalizes and utterly disgraces the United States Government. We must all unite and resolve to rescue this shamefully persecuted comrade and restore him to his suffering family."

Keep Cool with Coolidge

Farmers' Poverty May Close Schools

HOULTON, Me.—Reports that schools in some parts of the Northern Aroostook County may be compelled to close because of failure of potato farmers to pay their taxes were causing uneasiness here today. It was said that the situation arising from the failure of the farmers to dispose of the season's crop of potatoes was becoming critical.

Potato growers here said that it had been many years since Aroostook County had suffered so severely. The present price for potatoes is 90 cents a barrel, which producers declare fails to cover their expenses.

Wages Cut 10 Per Cent

LAWRENCE, Mass.—A wage reduction of 10 per cent, effective next Monday, was announced today by the Everett Mills.

RESOLUTION ON TROTSKY

Text of Russian Communists Edict Against Their War Minister.

The New Leader has secured the exact text of the resolution "against Trotskyism" recently adopted by the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist party. It has not been published in this country heretofore.

A meeting of the Moscow Committee, attended by active Communist functionaries, after a speech by Kamenev, adopted a resolution which declared:

"We consider it as our party duty to express our conviction that the attitude of Comrade Trotsky constitutes a crude distortion of the history of Bolshevism and of the October Revolution. The meeting expresses its disagreement with the distortion of Comrade Trotsky regarding the real relations between Lenin on the one side and the Central Committee and the party on the other. Comrade Trotsky makes these distortions, not only by an incorrect exposition of the events, contrary to the facts of the history of the party, but also through distortions of the ideological contents of Bolshevism, in that he misleads the party, the Comintern and the country with regard to the actual relations between Lenin and the Central Committee during the October period."

"As Comrade Trotsky's article, according to its ideological content, represents an attempt to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism (and Trotskyism was nothing else than one of the varieties of Menshevism) the article constitutes a continuing distortion of the history of the party; and the discussion, a continuation of the struggle begun by Comrade Trotsky against the leading comrades of the party and of the Comintern. The meeting regards the action of Comrade Trotsky, in its form and its content, as a brazen attempt to which Trotsky made at the Thirteenth Party Congress of the R. C. P., and as an attempt to undermine the unity of the party. Comrade Trotsky by his action confronts the party with the danger of a discussion which at present would be absolutely undesirable, and harmful. The party does not want any discussion, but it wants, and this it will attain, that the distortion of Bolshevism be energetically refuted."

"This meeting therefore requests the Central Committee to deal with the whole question at the next plenum of the C. C. and in the first place to adopt decisive and exhaustive measures in order that the fundamental ideas of Bolshevism, the history of the party and the history of the revolution, shall not be distorted under the flag of the party; and secondly, to adopt measures for the widest distribution of correct information among the members of the party regarding the history of the party, the struggle of the party against Trotskyism, the real history of October, etc."

The Enlarged Plenum of the Central Trade Union Council in the presence of the C. C. of the Trade Unions, of the district secretaries, of the Communist fractions of the C. C. of the metal workers, the chemical workers and railwaymen's unions, decided, after hearing the reports of Kamenev and Stalin, to endorse the resolution of the Moscow Committee.

ENTIRE NATION PAYS RESPECTS TO GOMPERS

Venerated Labor Leader Buried at Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, New York.

Following an almost nation-wide funeral procession, which in sincerity and warmth has seldom been equalled in American history, the last remains of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, were laid to rest in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, New York, Thursday.

The body of Gompers, son of Dutch Jewish parents, born seventy-four years ago in Whitechapel, London, was brought to New York from Washington, Wednesday. Lying in state in the lodge room of the Elks Club, 108 West 43rd street, the body of America's noted Labor leader, once a penniless immigrant lad, was viewed by thousands; working men and women, shopkeepers, merchants, policemen, firemen, army and navy officers, soldiers and sailors, a fair cross-section of American life, joined in the tribute.

Less than two miles from the East 8th street house where the crusading young Gompers rolled cigars when he could spare the time from the leadership of the then puny American Federation of Labor lay the dead Gompers. All day Wednesday and all night a constant stream of humanity tiptoed softly past the bier. A lingering, earnest look, a reverent bow, and the mourner passed on.

Flowers sent by labor unions and individuals from every part of the United States, from Mexico, Canada, England, and other European countries served to make a tribute that was said to be unprecedented in the history of honors accorded notable men on their demise.

No Compromise On Child Slavery!

The New York World has made the most impressive argument against the proposed Twentieth Amendment to abolish child labor. Although its reasoning is on a higher plane than that employed by Southern Democrats, its conclusion is the same as theirs. Democratic representatives of the Southern oligarchy in Congress have already decided to use the World editorial as a statement of their own opposition to Federal interference in the slavery of children.

The World is opposed because (a) the progress of State legislation since 1912 in the protection of children has been marked; (b) a Federal statute forbidding a child of a certain age to work would be as difficult to enforce as the Volstead Act. "There are 1,000 methods of evasion and corruption where public sentiment is not behind the law"; (c) "a Government which forbids a child to work must at the same time send it to school. A Government which deprives a family of a child's earnings must in many cases provide the mother with a pension or the child with a scholarship"; (d) it is opposed to centralization.

The World urges Congress to enact a model children's code for the District of Columbia to serve as a national standard for the States. State Legislatures, after defeating the proposed Twentieth Amendment, should urge the President "to call a meeting of all the Governors of the forty-eight States to discuss the problem of child protection and to adopt a Minimum Standard Code to be recommended to the States."

Consider these objections in their order. (A) There has been considerable progress in State legislation since 1912, BUT THAT PROGRESS WILL NOT BE CHECKED BY PASSING THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT. IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT THE AMENDMENT PROVIDES ONLY FOR A GRANT OF POWER TO CONGRESS. What Congress will do with that power we do not know. It may do nothing. It may do much. But if Congress fails to do something WE WILL BE ABLE TO FIX RESPONSIBILITY ON ONE GOVERNMENT AGENCY RATHER THAN ON FORTY-EIGHT.

This consideration is the chief merit of the child labor amendment. The State Rights doctrine always played into the hands of some organized classes with mercenary motives. Slave holders once used the doctrine. Child slavers urge it now.

(B) It might be difficult to enforce a Federal law forbidding a child of a certain age to work, BUT AT LEAST WE WOULD HAVE THE LAW. That it would be violated here and there goes without saying. What Federal laws are not? But, on the World's own showing, there has been an increased awakening regarding this crime since 1912. THIS GIVES ASSURANCE THAT THE CORPORATION THAT COVERTLY SWEATS CHILDREN WILL BE EXPOSED AND BROUGHT WITHIN THE PENALTIES OF THE LAW.

(C) A Government that forbids a child to work "must at the same time send it to school." Well, suppose it provides the means for sending these children to school as well as taking them out of the clutches of their present despoilers? Any objection?

Suppose both Federal and State Governments neglected the matter of education? What then? There would still be a net gain for the children and society, for A CHILD WITH TIME AND VITALITY TO PLAY IN THE OPEN AIR IS MORE CERTAIN TO LIVE AND BECOME A HEALTHY ADULT THAN A CHILD WHO TENDS LOOMS FOR A COTTON MILL OWNER.

(D) Centralization. We are opposed to centralization in Government as a general principle, too, but it should not be overlooked that the amendment does not relieve the States of any responsibility, nor does it deprive them of any powers. In fact, Section 2 of the proposed amendment provides:

"The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article,

(Continued on Page 2)

Labor's President Passes



SAMUEL GOMPERS

Let Us Use Our Opportunity

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

(An address delivered before the members of Local New York of the Socialist Party.)

The concrete situation in the political Labor sphere today presents three possibilities.

There is the convention to be held in February. This convention has been called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action. It will be attended by representatives of the Labor unions. All of the unions

are to be invited. National, State and local central bodies will be entitled to representation.

We may expect the make-up of this convention to be somewhat like the July convention of the C. P. P. A. Such a conference would include accredited representatives of between two and two and a half million working men and women. Then, in addition to the unions, there will be represented at this conference a few organizations of farmers, the Socialist Party, the League for Industrial Democracy, a few cooperative groups, and a few progressive organizations.

At this point, I want to differentiate between the La Follette supporters—that is, all those organizations and individuals who flocked to the support of La Follette and Wheeler during the recent campaign—and the Conference for Political Progressive Political Action. The La Follette campaign was a sort of partnership between the C. P. P. A. and the national La Follette Club. This latter group served as a cloak for many elements, who, for various reasons, were for La Follette for President.

Now that partnership is all off. The coming convention will be held under the rules of representation as provided in the constitution of the C. P. P. A.

The question is, shall we form a new party at this convention? Let it be understood, at this point, that if a party is formed at Chicago it will be an independent party.

What shall we Socialists do at that convention? Shall we rise in the midst of the deliberations and say: "Stop! Is this to be a 'Labor party' or a 'Liberal party'?" If it is to be a 'Liberal party'—nothing doing. If a 'Labor party'—alright!

The kind of party to be formed will not be judged by its name but by the complexion of its constituent groups. If the convention of the C. P. P. A. should decide to form a new party, I would not stop to ask its name. As long as it has as its backbone such a considerable portion of the Labor movement as will be represented at Chicago, I will be satisfied that it is a Labor party. That much Marxian I still am that the name means nothing to me; the interests represented means all.

Will they call the new party a Labor party? I don't know. Further, I don't care. We are also after the farmers. In all countries that boast of powerful Labor movements, political and economic, the need for cooperation with the farmers is fully realized. We had their support to some extent in the campaign just ended. There is a question as to whether the term "Labor party" shall answer the purpose.

Suppose the convention opposes

(Continued on Page 7)

BOTH GROUPS TO PASS UPON NEW PARTY

Momentous Sessions Will Be Held in Chicago, February 25.

WASHINGTON.—The Conference for Progressive Political Action will meet in Chicago, February 25, to consider and pass upon the formation of a new political party of the producing classes of the nation.

The date of the convention was set at a meeting of the executive committee of the C. P. P. A. Saturday in this city.

On Sunday, following the adjournment of the progressive committee's sessions, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party went into session. Meeting under the chairmanship of Eugene V. Debs, the N. E. C. voted to call a convention of the Socialist Party to meet in Chicago simultaneously with the sessions of the C. P. P. A.

A New Party Possible. From the two conventions there may rise the new party of workmen of the nation which Socialists and Progressives have dreamed of these many years.

In the meeting of the C. P. P. A. there was some division on the question of calling a convention immediately. Some of the representatives of the railroad unions, engrossed as their organizations are at this time in a bitter fight to force the Howell-Barkley bill through Congress, were inclined to favor the postponement of a national convention for the present.

William H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, and Chairman of the C. P. P. A., favored the calling of a convention and the immediate organization of a new party. He refused to entertain a motion asking postponement of a national convention, maintaining that the last convention of the C. P. P. A. had given the committee virtual instructions to call a convention. The committee, on vote, supported him, 30 to 13.

At an evening session Saturday, the committee fixed the date for the convention as February 25 and Chicago as the convention city. A committee was elected to make all arrangements for a large and representative convention.

There was complete accord at the meeting of the Socialist N. E. C. the next day. It was agreed, that the Socialist Party take part in the Chicago convention and make every effort to secure a large turnout of unions, Socialists and progressives.

The committee felt that the convention might provide an excellent opportunity for the organization of a nation-wide Labor or Farmer-Labor party. This question, it was felt, will largely be determined by the size and character of the convention of the C. P. P. A.

The N. E. C. felt that if the convention was as representative as previous conventions of the C. P. P. A. have been, a fine opportunity would be provided for the beginning of a powerful party of farmers and workers. It was realized that though the convention may vote by a majority to organize itself into a party, not all of the organizations represented might agree to join such a party immediately.

Nevertheless, it was considered that even a part of the organizations represented at the convention might provide an excellent basis for a party.

In some respects the organization of a party in such a manner was considered more desirable than the organization of a large, vague Labor party which would embrace some elements who would not fit into a permanent party based on the economic interests of the workers.

The National Executive Committee was of the opinion that the convention in Chicago might provide an excellent basis for building a Labor party or Farmer-Labor party "from the ground up." Such an organization, it was believed, might gradually attract to itself greater and greater recognition from among Labor and farmer organizations who failed to affiliate immediately.

The N. E. C. adjourned after electing Congressman Victor L. Berger, National Secretary Bertha Hale White and Morris Hillquit as its delegates to the C. P. P. A. convention.

The Horrors West Virginia Women and Children Endure While a Complacent Nation Prepares Its Christmas Festivities—Page Three of This Issue.

No Compromise On Child Slavery!

(Continued from Page 1)

except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress."

The suggestion of a conference of the Governors of all the States, and that Congress set an example by enacting a model children's code for the District of Columbia, recalls some history.

President Roosevelt inaugurated Governors' Conferences for the purpose of obtaining uniform action regarding conservation of natural resources. Conferences were held in the administrations of Taft and Wilson. The Ballinger scandal and the Teapot Dome graft came just the same.

Before the Civil War, the visitor to Washington to observe the inauguration of a new President might turn from the inaugural parade down Pennsylvania avenue to a gang of slaves, chained together, and driven down another street on their way to be sold. Henry Clay, in one of his compromise bills, included a section abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. He wanted Washington to be a model city, one whose slave scenes would not shock visiting Europeans. ONCE MORE IT IS PROPOSED TO DEAL WITH A NATIONAL INFAMY AFTER THE FASHION SET BY THE "GREAT COMPROMISER."

Our answer is, No Compromise! Child slavery must go! The labor of children is not necessary in the most industrially advanced nation in the world. It is an archaic survival. It is a curse to the child and an injury to society. IT PROFITS NO ONE BUT THE DESPOILER.

AWAY WITH CHILD SLAVERY!

Socialist Party branches, trade union locals, and other sympathetic bodies must organize. They are organizing for the work of education to carry the amendment in three-fourths of the States.

COMRADES, BROTHERS: THERE IS WORK FOR YOU TO DO. DO IT, AND DO IT WELL!

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

A debate of timely 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."

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.

London Daily Herald Declares Gompers Was "Pillar of Capitalism"

LONDON, Eng.—Commenting on the death of Samuel Gompers, The London Daily Herald, Labor organ, says:

"Labor and Socialism have now become, in European countries, two words meaning the same thing." The paper proceeds to draw a contrast between the American and British workers, saying in the course of its comments:

"As Mr. Gompers and his like worked hard to prevent business being interfered with and set their faces against all ideas of change, they are regarded as pillars of the capitalist system, and that indeed is exactly what they are."

\$20,000 TO SOCIALISM

SANTEE, N. Mex.—When the will of the late John H. Blain, Sr., recluse and keeper of a Curiosity Shop from which he refused to sell any of his curios, was opened here it was found that he had left the bulk of his \$20,000 estate to the "National Socialist Society of the United States of America."

The will directs the executors named, after certain other bequests are paid and all funeral expenses are met.

"To pay over all the residue of my estate to the United States Socialist Society, or organization if incorporated and competent to receive said legacy. What is hereby intended is the General Head National Socialist Society of the United States of America."

The will, dated 1916, leaves small sums of money to Blain's two surviving sons. It is reported that they intend to contest the will.

Umstadter Re-Elected By Pressmen's Union

Philip Umstadter was re-elected president of the Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 51, New York, at the last election held this last week.

Among the other officers elected were Henry Miller, vice-president; Edward Neway, secretary-treasurer; John E. Donnelly, Business Agent and William Anthony, Sergeant-at-Arms.

Startling Expose of Attempt by Society to Usurp U. S. Govt!

By COUNT SALM DE WITT VON LUDLOW-SKAYA ULITZA

Mrs. William Van d'Astor



The wealthy and obese grandda of the D. A. R. and the Four Hundred, who has sponsored the return of royalty to the Russian throne. She was snapped in this "queeny posture," by our staff photographer, immediately after having knelt and kissed the hand of Duchess Crysilla.

Mmes. Van d'Astor, de Bilt, Welltizer, Rockergan, and the other Daughters of the Revolution U. S. A., Stars and Stripes Forever, National Security League, Yankee Doodle 100 per cent etc., busted Nuforn corset stays and democratic tradition in their allworshipful poses toward these sad orphans of the storm. It only needed the touch of a D. W. Griffith to screenize this most heart-rending of all historic dramas.

Meet Russian Officer.

Tea was being served immediately after this ceremony, so we repaired to a divan in a secluded corner in company with a young officer who in spite of his mustache and poly-syllabled name we recognized as the new lunch counter impresario of the Rand School Cafeteria. "Rendezvous," bowing with hand across the stomach, he had addressed us. The familiarity of the catch-word and gesture put us wise, so to speak, and we immediately hailed him as companion well met.

Teacups in hand, a la Russe, we were regaled with the following from the lips of Captain Gregorieff Moussigonowsky, erstwhile flunkey in the Imperial household, now hash slinger, en casserole:

(Note: We have transposed his

Rand School Activities

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 DINNER for New Year's Eve at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

Dr. Harry Laidler, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and Nellie S. Nearing, Associate Director of the Rand School will report at the Saturday Afternoon Cameraderie, December 20, on the recent joint convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso, Texas, and the Mexican Federation of Labor in Juarez, Mexico.

Dr. Laidler and Mrs. Nearing both remained for the opening of the Pan-American Conference at which Samuel Gompers presided, and Dr. Laidler was in attendance until its close.

An opportunity for questions will be given at the close of Mr. Laidler's and Mrs. Nearing's report.

The Cameraderie meeting will be held in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street.

At 1:30 p. m. on Saturday, December 20, DR. SCOTT NEARING will discuss "THE GERMAN ELECTIONS" in his Current Events Class at the Rand School. On Monday evening at 8:30 p. m. MARIUS HANSOME will discuss "COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORT—the Key to the Industrial Arch," in his course in Economic Geography. On Tuesday evening, December 23, DR. A. A. GOLDENWEISER will give a critique of "ECONOMIC DETERMINISM," at 7:30, and a critique of Freudian Psychoanalysis at 8:30 p. m.

Working class organizations conducting organized educational work have been invited to send representatives to the open session of the Rand School Students' Convention on Sunday evening, December 28, in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. Among these organizations are The League for Industrial Democracy, The Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, The International Ladies' Garment Workers, Joint Board of Furriers, Fancy Leather Goods Workers, Women's Trade Union League, Brookwood College, Millinery Workers, Young People's Socialist League and the Socialist Party. A program of music

will be furnished and the evening will complete with a social.

The organizing committee, is now working on the scope of committees to be appointed at the convention, whose list thus far comprises groups on The Program and Activities of an Alumni Association, Full Time and Part Time Student Activities, Student Cooperation and Participation. Plans for support of the Rand School, Cooperation with other Working Class Educational Bodies and Extending the Service of the Rand School. Prominent educators and members of Labor unions as well as past students of the school are now working on the programs. A good attendance of students is expected.

The convention will open on Saturday afternoon at 3:15 with music followed by an introductory address by Algernon Lee, Educational Director of the Rand School.

WAITERS' UNION APPEALS TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Waiters' Union, Local 1, wishes to call attention to all Labor unions and organizations professing sympathy with the cause of organized Labor, to patronize only restaurants, halls and hotels known as union establishments.

In a statement issued by William Lehman, the secretary of Waiters' Union, Local 1, it is pointed out that recently a number of Labor unions and progressive organizations have held balls and banquets in places known as non-union, thereby indirectly allying themselves with the enemies of the union. The union is conducting an aggressive fight to better the conditions of the waiters in the city and is entitled to the full support of all friends of Labor. By patronizing non-union places they indirectly make its task more difficult since the bad example set by them has a misleading effect on others.

Union restaurants display the Union Sign. Most of the desirable halls suitable for banquets, balls, etc., with few exceptions, have agreements with the union to employ only union help.

Why then go out of the way and select a non-union place. The union

heavy broken English into Americanese, so that our mono-lingual readers may have little difficulty in grasping the important points in our expose.)

The Exposé

"Dese blokes here aint on de level, get me, bo. Dey're a lot of hoakum. I means dese four hundred Fifth Avenue dames. If ye asks me, dey get me goat. Seems to me dey got tired o' Ma Junk Princy Wales, coke, and wood alcohol, and wid nuttin else to do dey just goes plumb goozy and starts to import us poor bargain counter remnants so's dey kan make a mat fur a jig or two. Anyhow, it didn't cost nuthin to mak the trip across, and the feeds wuz swell and these glad rags sure feel good to get into once in a while. Any guy like to feel like the good old days now an' then, eh. So the poor slob—I meaz the Duchess and a lot of us gets hired so to speak, for this dress rehearsal, the wise guys from the papers, are given the wink, and wow!—were headliners for a week. Some guy smokes up a load about the Czar's grandmother throwing the dirty coise on Cyrilla, and a whole world war fires up about it, between her, me, the Press Syndicate man, and the lampost. I suppose Hiram Hoshkins cats it up with his wheateakes down in Maplesyrup Corners, same as Sally Smith the switchboard broad, cuds it up with her Chiclets in the Subway. It goes big, same as any new circus ad, would, I guess.

Pure Press Bunk

Believe me, Obediah, dem Fifth Avenue janes would move the Sahara Desert and the tombs of the mummies over, and swap the Brooklyn Bridge for a busted samovar so long as the people would let em, and it would get the swells in the headlines. If this here Cyrilla could sing a note above a hiccup, I might opine she's just having dis game pulled off for publicity—but believe me old pal a sneeze's got more reel harmony in it than her high G. Honest none of us poor busted down and outers know what it's all about. We're getting to feel that we're just a lot of strange animals yanked over here for public inspection—and dis here Mrs. Van d'Astor is playing the proud Morris Ges' to another Chauve Souris. She knows we blue bloods got as much change of getting Russia back as a panhandler has at a Scotch County fair. And as for royal humbug in this here U. S. A.—They're four hundred out of a hundred and ten million. Your bound to find a few microbes left no matter how perfect your sterilizer is working. Soon as this here novelty stuff wears off and goes to the inside pages into a few sticks of type, we'll be using our round trip slips back to Paris, and cotroom tips. I may stay here at the job in the Cafeteria. I don't know yet."

The Startling Denouement

Mrs. Van d'Astor and the Duchess passed by trailed by pages and maids. Something stuck in our throat just then. The Virgin Leaf we had been nursing in our cheek had somehow rolled towards the wind pipe. It became a imminent question of swallow or expectorating. With true American courage we did the expected. We spat accurately and copiously clean into the right optic of John Jacob Van d'Astor, as he beamed down from his old frame and oils upon the regal splendor below.

Before the spectators could recover from the shock of our sacrilege, we had scooted through the door, sized upon the first hat and coat and cane by and we're well on the way back to Jacob Goldberg—Dress Suits to Hire.. Canal Street.

Lectures

The Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street
Sunday, Dec. 21, 8 P. M.

STANTON COIT

(of London, England)

"American Isolation and the Brotherhood of Nations."

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

and C. E. SKINNER

(Community Church of Boston)

"The Real Jesus"

The People's Institute COOPER UNION

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

("The Great Mass Movements of History")

"Was the Renaissance a Mass Movement?"

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21

WILLIAM M. SALTER

"What Is Americanism?"

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23

No Meeting—Christmas Holidays

Eight o'clock Admission Free

OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. & Second Av.

Sunday, December 21

5 P. M.—LECTURE, at 9 Second Ave.

DR. WILL DURANT

"The German Classic Drama"

8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.

DR. WILL DURANT

"Anatole France"

7:15 P. M.—American International

Church, 239 East 14th Street.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

Special Christmas Program

Rand School of Social Science

7 East 15th Street, New York

Saturday, December 20—1:30 p. m.

SCOTT NEARING

"The German Elections"

Saturday, December 20—3:30 p. m.

HARRY LAIDLER

NELLIE NEARING

(Delegates to the Mexican Fed. of Labor)

WILL REPORT ON

"Mexico"

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

Lord Thomson

Former Secretary of State for Air,

British Labor Cabinet

Will Speak on

"WHY I JOINED THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY"

AT

COOPER UNION

Monday, Dec. 29th—8:15 p. m.

JOHN BROPHY, Chairman

Tickets: \$1.10 and 25c.

Auspices

Foreign Policy Association

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Evictions In Rainstorms Commonplace Brutality In West Virginia Mine War

By Mc ALISTER COLEMAN

"BOY!" he shouted at the white-haired kindly-faced colored waiter in the best hotel at Charleston, West Virginia, "bring me a nice saddle of rabbit and step lively about it."

Then he removed his toothpick, looked at it in a meditative manner, smoothed down his hair which was treated with some sort of grease preparation and resumed his dissertation on the astonishing ingratitude and general perverseness of union coal miners in West Virginia.

"What the hell these goddam red-necks are yawping about is beyond me," he said. "The trouble with them is they ain't got no education. Now you take educated men like you and me. Do we get together and form one of these here unions? No, sir, we got guts enough to go it alone, to stand on our feet like real Americans. Why let me tell you that down in Logan where they ain't got no union not if Don Chafin and his deputies know about it, they ain't, the coal-diggers has got the prettiest little houses a man would want to see. And pay! Why I heard just the other day where one of them un-union fellers dragged down one hundred berries a week. Yes, sir, one hundred berries just for working in a mine. An educated man like you and me and some of these college professors, we got to use our brains all week long to make that much."

He belched loudly and leaned back with a triumphant air to watch the effect that his words had been making upon me. Twenty miles away from us at that moment along the banks of the swollen Cabin Creek and Kelly Creek men, women and children were sliding about in the mud under a sheet-like downpour of rain that was whipping up the tawny waters of the streams, trying to find shelter for the night.

Kanawha Valley The War Front

They were miners and their families who had been evicted from company houses all up and down the Kanawha Valley because they refused to work at a 1918 wage scale. Union headquarters just around the corner from the softly-lighted, comfortable hotel were rushing tents and food to their evicted members. For the Kanawha region is the new front in the war of the miners and for that matter of all organized labor, against industrial autocracy and must be held at all costs.

Far more than twenty miles separates those union miners from my tooth-pick acquaintance in the Charleston Hotel. Everywhere the coal-miner leads an isolated life, but in West Virginia this isolation is at once physical and psychological. Unionism and its philosophy is frankly beyond the comprehension of a state



Crown Hill, where striking miners, evicted from their company-owned homes, found refuge in a tent colony.

of intense individualism, whose inhabitants for the most part still hold a sneaking admiration for their feudal forebears who took to the pistol and rifle for a settlement of their difficulties.

Where there is not a complete indifference to the developments of the long fight for unionism in West Virginia, an indifference emphasized by the notable silence of the local press on all matters connected with the union, there is active hatred of organization frankly expressed by the rank and file of the citizens.

While Charleston for example, is cluttered with evangelists and Salvationists exhorting the citizenry to good deeds there is no outside agency that has lifted a hand to give relief to the women folk and the children of the evicted miners, innocent victims of industrial warfare. The Bishop has announced that he is not in sympathy with the miners, social workers who depend for funds upon the contributions of non-union operators are perforce inactive, and with real suffering at their very gates the good church people are busy raising funds for foreign missions.

Unionism the Stakes of War

So it is a fight not only against the non-union operators but against the insidious forces of "public opinion" as well that the men of District 17, U. M. W. of A. are waging and to them it seems at times as though all men's hands were against them. Despite the fact that no miner has been arrested for

any act in connection with the strike since the new district officials went into office last June, stories of union "violence" and "terrorism" still go glibly about, while it is true that down in Logan County the regime of the notorious union-baiting Sheriff Don Sheriff is apparently to have its termination more through political than industrial causes. In West Virginia today a Twentieth Century Trade Unionism is in a life and death struggle with an Eighteenth Century Individualism that gives and seeks no quarter. As a consequence you have unwonted cruelty, heart-breaking suffering, baffling stupidity.

You must understand that strikes of the miners in District 17 are over-period. In all, some 22,000 union lapping today over a three-year men are now out. Some of them came out three years ago, others in

ing rations and being provided with shelter at an estimated cost of \$82,000. But there is desperate need for decent clothing particularly among the children. Women's clothes that can stand rough treatment, shoes and underwear for the kids will be gratefully received at the headquarters of the United Mine Workers of America at 120 Summers street, Charleston, West Virginia.

Anyone who has witnessed the eviction of a striker's family, no matter what his economic views, must feel blood pounding at his temples and experience that sudden surge that hot anger brings. Let's stand over here for a moment under the shelter of the front porch of the general store at Mammoth, six miles up the creek from Cedar Grove at the end of the Charleston bus line and watch Sheriff Walker's deputies "set out" the family of William Woodsum, seventy years old who was born right here in Mammoth and has worked at the face since the age of ten.

Woodsum, his married daughter and her husband and his three grandchildren aged one year, six years and thirteen, have been living in a company house, a little frame shack to be sure, but one in which the woman took pride. She had put pretty printed wall-paper up, hung pictures, bought a "parlor suit" from a Charleston installment house and done what she could to relieve the monotony of the drab life in the coal-fields by buying a victrola on the installment plan. A week ago eviction notices were served on the Woodsum family. The two men had joined the union in November and now they owed a month's rent to the company and the company wanted them out.

An Eviction in the Driving Rain

Rain in wind-blown torrents is pouring down off the mountain tops all around. The creek bed and road-bed have become one yellow, tossing flood. It is the sort of rain that Ince used to love to show in his moving-pictures, rain that catches your breath and makes you bend before the fury of it. On the wings of it comes the deputies thundering at the door and showing Woodsum the legal papers.

While one of the deputies stands just inside the doorway and the other with his hand resting on a bulge in the right hip of his raincoat watches the two men; three colored workers come dripping into the house and commence to throw the furniture out of doors. The woman stares with big eyes as they carry out the beds and chairs. She starts forward with protesting gestures when they pick up the victrola but the deputy puts up his hand and she is silent.

Bit by bit all her precious things go out that door into the tempest. There's a wagon there which belongs to a loyal union man. Already it's piled high with furniture belonging to other evicted miners but somehow Woodsum and his son-in-law manage to get their things aboard. The wagon starts, its wheels slewing in the mud. Behind walks the woman with the children clinging to her, whimpering a bit from the cold. Now the little procession comes to a bridge across the creek, and as the overladen wagon starts to cross it something strikes against one of the girders and falls off into the snarling waters below.

The woman looses her grip on the oldest boy's hand and starts to run down the slippery bank. She comes back clutching to her wet dress a battered, water-soaked victrola.

The Union Tent Goes Up

Across the creek is a plot of ground rented by the union. There, four or five tents, 14x8 in dimension, are already being erected. They

(Continued on page 6.)

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Why Our National Congress Has Fallen Into Disrepute

By DARLINGTON HOOPES

In order to prevent the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and to forestall the consideration of any other measures, either to protect labor or curb the power of Wall Street, the kept press is carrying on a persistent propaganda to convince the people, that our Federal Constitution is a sacred, unchangeable document, and that Congress is not to be trusted.

Our Constitution was made in the 18th century, when there were no railroads, telephones, cotton gins or public schools, and when only a restricted class of male property holders could vote. The Fathers did not believe in popular government.

Consequently the Constitution which they made provided that only the lower House of Congress should be elected by the people, that the Senate should be chosen by the State Legislatures, the President by an electoral college, and that Federal judges should be appointed by the President for life. The bill of rights was only added when some of the States refused to ratify the Constitution without it.

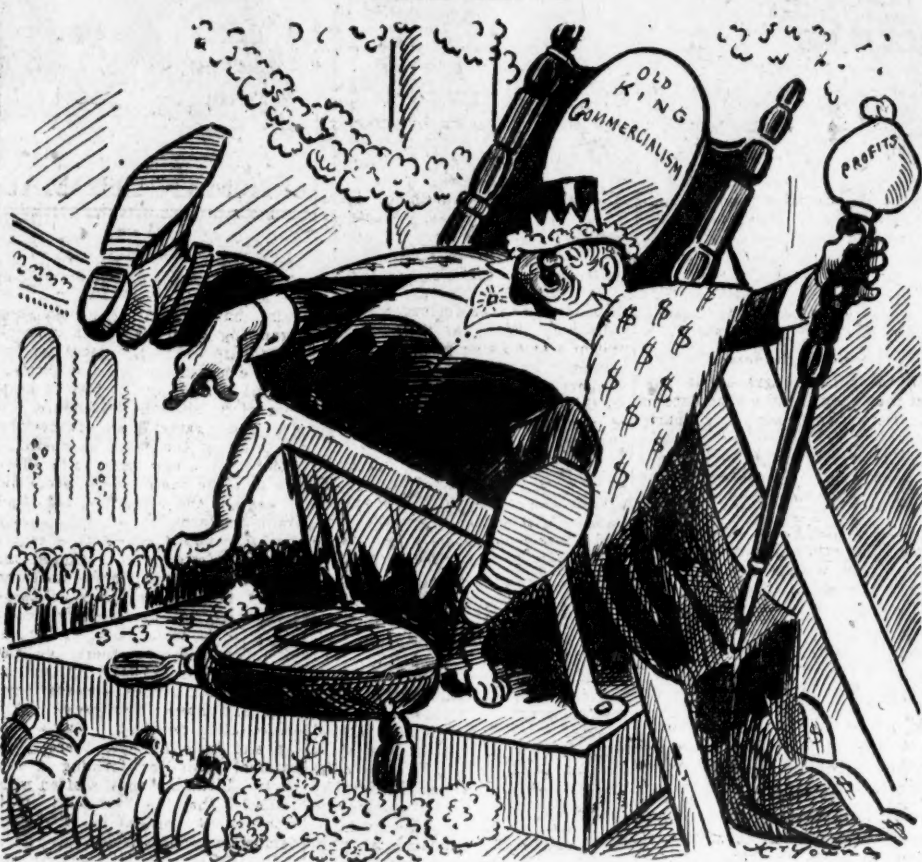
But Seven Amendments Made
In the last century only seven amendments have been made. Is it sensible to contend that such a document can meet the needs of the twentieth century, when we have the aeroplane, radio, and a highly developed industrial system, the like of which the Fathers never dreamed? Is it not rather the duty of all citizens to consider with an open mind whether or not Congress should be given power to deal with the new problems that this vast development has created?

Immediately we are told that Congress is irresponsible, and that it would be better to have a strong man in the White House and no Congress at all. What does this mean? Don't we believe in democracy? Congress is made up of elected representatives of the people, and can be changed every two years. Why should we fear to give it power?

Was it reactionary legislation that brought Congress into disrepute? No. As long as it did the bidding of special privilege, the press lauded it to the skies. It was only when certain groups effectively demanded the legislation for the farmers and for labor, to secure which their constituents had elected them, that the trouble began. When they refused to pass the Mellon Tax Bill and passed certain other bills over the President's veto the press broke loose. A very influential financial journal openly declared that "America needs a Mussolini."

Now they are basing their attack on the Children's Amendment, on the hostility, which they have created against Congress. It is a clever game, but we must not let them get away with it. We must protect our coming generations. We must forever stop our children's pain from being woven into profits for the masters of industry.

THE KING



How Long Shall He Rule?

How Much Socialism Has Russia?

Whenever I have an opportunity of talking with people who have been to Russia I always try to find out: How much genuine Socialism has been realized in Russia both in the economic and social sphere. I am bound to say that I am at a loss to discover anything that we in Austria have not ourselves achieved, though we have not got a Soviet Republic and never pretend to have got Socialism. In Russia they have a Rent Restriction Bill, but the Austrian Restrictions Bill is far superior to it. They have social legislation, but our social legislation is carried out in a much better way. Side by side with private capitalist enterprise they have the beginnings of nationalized production. It is just the same case with us, for, side by side with capitalist factories we have factories which are socialized and others which are under municipal or national control. I would never say that we have realized Socialism but at the same time I have never

Social Reforms Accomplished Under the Soviets Compared With the Accomplishments of the Austrian Socialists.

By FRIEDRICH ADLER

heard anything which induced me to think that Russia has got more out of it.

As I said I have never succeeded in finding any economic or social reasons for the enthusiasm about Russia. Yet at last I have come to the root of the matter. They have got one thing there which really can arouse genuine enthusiasm in anyone who sees it. In that country they have established a party on a large scale which party is supported by the power and the finance of the State.

If you ask a comrade coming from Russia what he has seen there he will reply: "Wonderful demonstrations, bigger than I have seen anywhere else." And if you ask a Communist about his activity he tells you on how many platforms he has spoken and about the number of books and pamphlets published in his country. In fact the Communist party of Russia has, in a certain sense got an advantage over the other parties and that because it commands financial means far and away greater than any other country.

Publish Karl Marx

The Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow has now, no doubt, the best records of Socialism. They issue pamphlets to an extent and in editions unrivaled by any other European party. They have published a complete edition of Kautsky's works though they call him a traitor and a renegade. They are going to publish the very first complete edition of the works of Karl Marx. It is because they command State money that they are able to carry out their party work more extensively than such work can be carried out elsewhere. That is what foreign comrades are at first delighted with and indeed there is something fine about it. Anybody knowing the history of Russian Social Democracy knows how very keen all Russian Socialists, irrespective of tendency, became about their party when, under Tsarism, they were under the ban of illegality. In fact many European parties might envy the Russians this deep feeling.

Now, when the Bolsheviks seized power and showed that the working class was capable of ruling as an oligarchy—what we would never have dreamt of—they used State money to put their old idea of a party into practice. But they did not use the methods of other countries. They did not appeal to the free will of the workers but made the building up of the party a State duty. That is why all things in Russia seem to have taken the wrong tendency. Not the party aims have been realized, but rather the party itself. Not Communism has been achieved but merely the organization of a party calling itself Communist and which may have certain members with real Communist aims.

This fact accepted, we shall understand much which otherwise seem to be totally incomprehensible. Coercion against all those who differ

in opinion, in the first place against our Russian Socialist comrades who have to endure such terrible oppression has its real cause in the fact that State power is merely made a party instrument. If anyone does not share their views they send him to the Solovietzki Islands, they expose him to starvation or even shoot him. And all this they believe to be the normal party practice.

The Problem of a United Front

In their campaign against us the Communists employ two methods. We shall repudiate these calumnies, but that is at least open fight and I shall never despise them for this. The other method is the so-called "United Front" tactics. That is the meanest trick ever played on the working class. It is an attempt to trap the workers by false pretences and never in history since the days of Machiavelli has there been anything more cynical than the way in which the "United Front" is abused by Moscow to catch the working class against its will and its knowledge. Our point is that we do not want to win by merely fascinating the workers but through their clear knowledge. We want them to use their brains for what they are going to do. In the Austrian Workers' Council, Communists were put to the test to win the understanding of the workers, to appeal to their brains and they failed completely.

The slogan of the "United Front" is something entirely different. It is not meant sincerely. It aims at gaining its objects by detours and ruses. I have always been in favor of a "United Front." I accepted it in the Austrian Workers' Council and I am prepared to accept it in the international sphere. I can refer to the fact that it was through the intervention of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties that the Berlin conference was convoked when the three Internationals—Moscow, London and Vienna met and when we said: Let us have a United Front, but let it be on the basis of Working Class Democracy. We will not allow ourselves to be abused and fooled. Let the majority of the workers decide.

I would like to give you two examples of how the Communist "United Front" tactics work. In one case they play on peoples' feelings for charity—that is through the International Workers' Relief. But this is insignificant compared to the wholesale coup directed against proletarian organizations under the cloak of a United Front. We note a change in the tactics of the Communist International which will place us before difficult problems. Anyone who has followed the proceedings of the last International Trade Union Congress at Vienna knows of what is going on to sap the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions. The new Communist tactic is a large and clearly conceived attack on Trade Union unity.

Labor Union Unity

It is a pleasant sounding phrase—"Unity in the Trade Union Movement"—"Use all means to realize Unity." These are the new fighting slogans. If, however, we want to understand what they really mean we must remind ourselves how the Red Trade Union International was established in Moscow in August, 1920. Then only shall we understand the insolence of it and how the Communists rely on people's short memories. (Continued on Page 9)

Was War Worth While?

The Victorious Allies

From figures collected by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the Morning Post (London) has prepared tables showing the allied war casualties. The paper declares it made every effort to ensure accuracy but points out the impossibility of guaranteeing that the huge figures are metriculously correct to the last digit.

The casualties are divided as follows:

Nation	Known Dead	Wounded	Missing
Great Britain	807,451	2,059,134	64,907
France	1,427,000	3,044,000	453,500
United States	107,284	191,000	4,912
Italy	507,160	962,196	1,359,000
Russia	2,762,064	4,950,000	2,500,000
Belgium	267,000	140,000	10,000
Total	5,877,959	11,346,330	4,392,319

By HENRY W. PINKHAM

At the recent session of the Assembly of the League of Nations a "Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes"—ALL disputes, questions of national honor or of vital interests not excepted—was unanimously adopted by the delegates for recommendation to their respective governments. This action is the high water mark thus far of the tide of international peace. An eminent professor of international law says that it indicates such progress since the war as one might have thought it would take a century to accomplish. May we therefore conclude that the World War, despite its losses and horrors, was on the whole a benefit to mankind inasmuch as it hastened the establishment of permanent peace? Shall those who fought be honored as the true pacifists? Shall we thank God for the World War and be consoled for all its sorrow by the consideration that it was not fought in vain?

Clear thinking on this subject is greatly to be desired. Give the Devil his due—the devil of war—by all means. If anything good can justly be said of the World War, let it be said. But let us discriminate, not forgetting that the same measure of progress might have been attained by a less costly process than war, were men wiser.

"Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other," said Benjamin Franklin. If the nations that deem themselves the leaders of civilization were indeed unable to see the folly of war except by the help of a tremendous demonstration thereof such as the World War has afforded, then we might reasonably rejoice that the demonstration, costly though it was, has taken place. But was the demonstration effective? Does the general public so interpret the World War? Not at the present time, surely. Pacifists see in that war a proof positive that war must be abolished if civilization is to survive. But the popular view, at least in the victorious countries, is that by the method of war great gains were secured, or at any rate great evils averted. In America we still honor our World War soldiers as saviors of civilization. Not for a generation will it be possible to convince the generality that the most useful thing the soldiers did was to demonstrate the uselessness of what they were doing. In the veterans, in their relatives and friends, and in all who engaged wholeheartedly in various kinds of work intended to help "win the war," there is and long will be immense emotional resistance to the recognition of the futility of the war. It was fools' business from first to last, but only the exceptionally wise and brave can see, not to say admit, that they have played the fool. Every war thus handicaps the cause for peace, for it gives to a multitude a sort of vested interest in perpetuating the delusion that collective homicide is sometimes necessary. The fact is that war is consummate idiocy, as anybody can see with even half an eye who will look at war dispassionately. But, save for exceptional individuals, a generation that has engaged in war has made itself incapable of taking a dispassionate view of it.

If the World War had ended without victory for either side—as probably it would have done if our coun-

try had been sensible enough to keep out—then there would have been much more chance, although no certainty, that the lesson of war's futility be learned. With neither side (Continued on Page 9)

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How Near is the Labor Party? Conditions of a New Party

With less than 5,000,000 votes conceded to La Follette and Wheeler, the most important fact that the election returns teach us is that there is no Labor Party in sight. The American Federation of Labor, in their annual convention at El Paso, Texas, have read aright the verdict of the American workers and farmers and make haste to announce their opposition to a Labor party and to reaffirm their time-worn policy of non-partisan political action, or, as sometimes otherwise stated, "no politics in the union." No doubt they do this as a matter of expediency rather than from principle acquired from an understanding of the genesis and operation of capitalist production and the class-struggle resulting therefrom.

The point is, that no matter what the reason, the organized workers of this country are not yet intellectually and morally qualified for independent political action and will not be until they have been more inspired by the principle and ideology of Socialist science. This holds good for the Industrial Workers of the World with their stupid and fanatical opposition to political action, as well as for the American Federation of Labor—it is one place where these two organizations, though fundamentally different in many other respects, meet on common ground.

Looking to Europe for inspiration for a Labor Party is futile. There, the gains made in the interest of the producers of wealth have resulted from the Labor unions moving forward to the Socialist position and not from the Socialist slipping backward to conservative trade union methods.

"No Middle Ground"

The Socialist Party program, predicated on recognition of the class-struggle, historic development and understanding of capitalist production is sound, or, it is not. There can be no middle ground. If sound, then we must continue combining education with political campaigning. This will not permit side-tracking of the important issue of collective-ownership and democratic management of industry and natural resources by the people for the purpose of electing a Republican for President and a Democrat for Vice-President on a program of tax reform and other similar and unimportant issues.

Another fact from which we should draw a lesson is that the Farmer-Labor party is dead. It sang its swan-song in the recent election. It lasted through three campaigns. Beginning in 1920 with prospects of victory in the State of Washington, it ends in 1924 by losing official standing as a political party, as was predicted in an article written by me and published in the Socialist and Labor press last spring. The State candidates of this party were a motley crowd. They consisted of Communists, former members of the Socialist Party, and political adventurers whom it would be difficult to classify as to principle. Most of these received their nominations because of their ability and willingness to pay their own fling fees. From the beginning to the end of its existence, John C. Kennedy (expelled from the Socialist Party in Chicago) was their State Secretary.

Faith Was Broken

In 1920 the Socialist Party had official standing as a political party in the State of Washington. This

Experiences of the La Follette Campaign in the Northwest Found Disappointing—Stresses Education as Imperative Need.

By EMIL HERMAN

standing was lost to us in that year by one of our national organizers pledging us to the support of the Farmer-Labor party candidates in exchange for their promised support of the Socialist Party candidate for President—they broke faith, thus dividing the vote. We have not since succeeded in regaining official standing, though indications are that, had there been no election frauds, we would have re-established our standing at this election.

In 1922 we were too weak in organization strength to place candidates in the field because of excessive filing fees. The same handicaps prevented us from having a full ticket this year. However, we did nominate candidates for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Representative to Congress from the First district. While assisting loyally in the campaign to elect La Follette for President, as we were pledged to do through our affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the action of our national convention, we also made a strenuous campaign for our own ticket. The writer of this article was continuously in the field and delivered one or more lectures each day, besides making a personal canvass of votes in his race for Governor. Approximately 125,000 pieces of Socialist literature were distributed, most of it in Seattle, which, in conjunction with Kitsap County, constitutes the First Congressional District. The literature consisted of 75,000 leaflets, 15,000 State platforms, 35,000 posters, and weekly bundles of The New Leader and the Labor World. Also, the sidewalks of Seattle were painted with a stencil, reading, "Rudy Herman For Congress."

Great Election Frauds

That there were wholesale election frauds is indicated by the fact that our candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor will be credited with having polled less than 1,000 votes, and our candidate for Representative to Congress from the First district with less than 400 votes; while in Seattle alone, out of 92,406 people who voted for President, only 61,013 are recorded as voting for Congressional candidates. It seems unreasonable that more than one out of three who vote for President should fail to vote for a Representative to Congress. It has been intimated that the voting machines were so adjusted as to register but very few of the votes cast for Socialist Party candidates. If this be true, it is not unreasonable to believe that they also resorted to other fraudulent methods which might suggest themselves. The likelihood that it was done is borne out by similar election frauds being exposed in Chicago, Cleveland, and other places.

True to their lack of knowledge

of social and economic science and their false training, the Labor union and other politicians, with whom we were associated through the Conference for Progressive Political Action, violated their trust with us and the interests of the workers and farmers by endorsing R. J. Oman, candidate for Governor on the Farmer-Labor ticket—which party had many delegates present at the Communist convention in St. Paul and not one at the C. P. P. A. convention in Cleveland—in preference to the Socialist Party candidate, himself a delegate to the C. P. P. A. convention and who (in line with his party's policy) has consistently and persistently exposed Communist fallacies, even to the extent of engaging their leader, William F. Dunne, in debate.

Democrat Endorsed

In the First Congressional District they endorsed the candidate of the Democratic party (a party charged by them with being as subservient to Wall Street and as corrupt as the "oil-stewed" and "booze-soaked" Republican party) and actively opposed the candidate of the Socialist Party, which was a constituent part of their own organization and whose candidate was clean, honest, intelligent, capable and incorruptible.

It is apparent that a so-called "Labor Party" composed of the radically different elements which at present comprise the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and those who would be attracted to it, is no place for a clear, sound, scientific organization such as the Socialist Party must be if it is to be worthy of the name Socialist. Indeed, such a "Labor Party" would have no use for the Socialist Party other than to do that which the La Follette supporters so plainly sought to do during the 1924 campaign, i. e., swallow it up, absorb its organization ability, and kill its educational value and its political prestige with the working class.

The confusion created among our members was great, yet it was slight as compared to that among non-members who normally boost and vote for Socialist Party candidates, and it had the effect of driving some to the Farmer-Labor party, some to the Workers' Party, and some even to the other extreme, to the Republican party; while still others, in absolute disgust, swore political action of any kind.

I am confident that I express the sentiment of the majority of the Socialists in the Northwest when I write that we are convinced that no Labor party, other than a Socialist Party, can be organized in the United States. We will have nothing to do with a "third party" which, ignoring the class character

We believe that an effective new political party is possible. It is certainly immensely desirable. A new party will not be created unless men desire it. Nevertheless, it cannot be born merely out of desire. The "hope which creates out of its own wreck the thing it contemplates" is magnificent but not always fruitful. We must face facts. Now those facts are by no means discouraging. Four and a half million votes in these United States for La Follette, one hundred thousand of them in the solid South, mean something. Here is no wreck of hopes. Whatever may be the position of the A. F. of L. or of the national farmers' organizations, a new party is bound to be formed. The question is: Shall that new party be formed with the individual citizen as the primary unit or as a Labor party controlled primarily by organized farmers and workers? Some light may be shed on this question by a consideration of the essential conditions for an effective party.

The two most essential questions have to do with the philosophy of the movement and with its economic basis. Without both, a philosophy and an economic basis a new party will hardly be worth the forming.

No party in the United States can make headway on the basis of advocacy of a miscellaneous lot of reforms however desirable those reforms may be in themselves. The Republican party lived after 1856 because with reference to slavery it had a program which was fundamental, a philosophy of the rigid restriction of slavery to the slave States, which the South was quite right in thinking would be fatal to slavery. The Progressive party in 1912 had no such paramount issue, nor any really fundamental philosophy. It was therefore easy to make it the football of personal ambition and political intrigue. One or another of the old parties has always made enough concession in response to popular demand for a specific reform to pull away voters who are not educated to see specific reform as part of a greater philosophy.

The old parties today have a common philosophy. It is a deification of nationalism and a blind faith in the sanctity of private property, and the supremacy of the profit motive. A new party to be viable must oppose to this a philosophy of humanity above property and of production for use rather than profit. Such a philosophy was implied in the progressive platform of 1924, but its specific planks were not during the campaign adequately presented as part of one whole, but as more or

less isolated issues. A new party may be somewhat slow in making its philosophy as complete and articulate as Socialists and other radicals desire, but unless it has some big organizing principle, some conception to fire the imagination and coordinate particular demands, Socialists and radicals will do well to keep clear of it. It will not endure. It may hinder rather than advance the formation of the party we desire.

A Labor Party, founded on the Basis of the Economic Struggle, Called the Only Party Worth the Support of the Socialists.

NORMAN THOMAS

Moreover, a new party to be effective must be based on the economic interests of the workers by hand and brain, in farms and industries, as against private monopolists, absentee owners, wasters, and superfluous middlemen. It is simple nonsense to say that the interests of these groups are the same. Profit takers and workers, monopolists of natural resources and consumers, do not have identical interests. On the whole the old parties represent business and business interests. The last election proved it. As between big and little business there is no rational basis for forming a new party. Little business is often more wasteful than big business. It is often more opposed to industrial democracy.

On the other hand, farmers and workers do have interests wholly opposed to the private monopolization of natural resources and to our present industrial autocracy. If a new party is based avowedly on their interests and controlled primarily by their economic organizations it will represent something real. It will have organization to oppose to the well-built machines of the old parties. It will be less easy to manipulate for personal advantage or to bribe its members away by the offer of some little reform. Such a party, as the British Labor party shows, may start with an undeveloped political and economic philosophy and inevitably move towards a constructive, radical program.

There will be a strong temptation for progressives impatient for immediate results to form a party along individualistic reformist lines.

find ourselves infinitely stronger than we are.

Present Course Opposed

If we have learned anything from our three years of flirtation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action and Republican and Democratic politicians, and now completely sever our connections with them, the Socialist Party will survive and flourish. If not, and we persist in our present course, we are doomed to meet the same fate as befell the People's party when some of its leaders became impatient for results and compromised and fused with "Silver" Republican and Democratic politicians. There are no short-cuts to Socialism. Making concessions to and compromising with non-Socialist individuals and groups will only impede our progress.

Changing the name of our party will fool no one, nor will it induce anyone to endorse Socialist principles. The only weapon with which to batter down prejudice, destroy ignorance and promote progress, is education.

Our mission, therefore, is to educate and organize for the teaching of Socialist principles—all else, independent political action and victory for our cause, will follow as a natural result.

That party will fail. A Labor party must not be exclusive. It must give room to the individual of every class who accepts its program. Experience shows that individuals may honestly prefer the common good to class interest. But the party for which we are working must be in the fullest and richest sense a Labor party or it will scarcely be worth the founding. We are confident that even now there are Labor unions and farmers' organizations—not necessarily national organizations—which are ready for effective political action. If this is not the case the Socialist Party better continue on its own lines, and progressives who are afraid of the word "Socialism" better continue such work as they can find to do until the day of a new party dawns. The day of that dawning is close at hand.

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AS TO TACTICS

Editor, The New Leader:

The discussion opened on the results of our party affiliation with the C. P. P. A. is to my mind entirely too premature. Some comrades have already made up their minds and feel cocksure that we made a blunder; while there are others, I among them, who feel that we are on the road to success. Of course, I am not of those who are cocksure one way or the other, but certainly no one can form a steadfast opinion on the results so far.

What we know now is, that La Follette received 5,000,000 votes, and the greatest number of them under the Socialist emblem. In New York State over a quarter of a million votes were cast under the Arm and Torch. Does that prove failure? Oh, but we have not organized a Labor party. No, not yet, and it may take some time before we will. But we are still working along that line. We are to have a conference again in January; and

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even if this conference will not bring us a Labor party, but anything that will justify the hope of creating a movement which will make our alliance with it consistent with our hopes and aspirations, must be considered a success.

Our critics do not mind having wasted over thirty years in our holy tactics of sectarian isolation, with nothing accomplished, but yet nervous when our first trial of the new tactics did not bring about the millennium. Comrade Panken says "we lost sight of the fact that we were able to build up a Socialist movement in America by an appeal to 'ideals.' Yes, we lost sight of the movement. It was so small and insignificant that we could not help losing sight of it. We never had anything that could be called a political party. What we did have was a Marxian Bibl. Class. If we had amounted to anything politically the thieves who stole the election of Claessens, Lee, and Cassidy would have been in jail long ago. I have been active in the movement for thirty years. During this time the population of this country has more than doubled. A new generation reached maturity and an old passed away. And what can we show for the nearly two-score years of holy seclusion? We have nothing to lose.

I can hear some readers of these lines say to themselves, "But we have principles to lose." To them I would reply that we have one cardinal principle, and that is to emancipate the human race from capitalism and its accompanying evils, and to help make condition as bearable as possible until our goal is reached. It does not much matter what tactics are employed; success

is the thing that counts. Our past tactics have proven to be a failure. Our new tactics have not been used long enough to be able to determine what the results will be. Viewed in the light of the history of the Labor party in England, and carefully analyzing all the conditions we had to meet in, and the result of, the last campaign, we must come to the conclusion that our new tactics are full of promises of success. I wish to protest against the abusive manner resorted to by Frank Stuhlman in his letter of December 6. I don't know him, but reading his tirade against our party leaders, a thought that he may be one of the Communists who remained in the Socialist Party for no good purpose very strongly suggested itself to me. In conclusion, I would suggest that the comrades cease indulging in prophecies about the horrible fate that is supposed to come upon our movement due to our sins of 1924, and put their shoulders to the wheel for at least a few years with our new tactics, and watch the results.

J. A. WEIL.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

ON THE SINS OF RADICALS

Editor, The New Leader:

Self-criticism is a sign of mental health and equilibrium; so is the ability to laugh at one's self. The inimitable George Bernard Shaw prescribed a dose of laughter for Zinoviev as a restorative to sanity. Dr. John H. Holmes took a trial balance "of the sins of which radicals ought to be ashamed" in a recent sermon. He enumerated five sins: arrogance, dogmatism, intolerance, uncharitableness, and unbrotherliness. Each sin was then elaborated

with considerable vehemence and severity, though the latter was neutralized later by characterizing the virtues of radicals, such as self-sacrifice, idealism, etc.

However, we feel that Dr. Holmes' inspiring address gave us only the sins of commission, and that he missed what are sometimes greater sins, the sins of omission. It is true that the inference to practice the contrary of the five sins is clear. As virtues can be developed only from the activities of life, what activities await the radicals? To answer this question leads to a positive footing in the trial balance. The greatest sin of the radical is to do nothing. Dr. Holmes said: "The radicals are the salt of the earth, but salt may lose its savor." It won't, if you put it into the soup. Therefore, radicals, join up—whether union, party, forum, study class—support the press; write pamphlets and distribute them. Let us haul close the sails and luff to windward where radicals belong! Get aboard the Rand School.

MARIUS HANSOME.

Editor, The New Leader:

Is it quite correct to speak of the "tearing away of the Sudan" as an attack on Egyptian independence? As I read the history of those countries, the Egyptians have no more business in the Sudan than the British have. The record of Arab, Turkish and Egyptian dealings in the interior of Africa is not a bit better than that of the English, the French, the Belgians, or other European invaders.

H. G.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

Through the States

ILLINOIS

Local Cook County comrades in a recent well attended, enthusiastic meeting quizzed and answered themselves affirmatively: "Shall we whine and loaf—or get busy? We will get busy. Shall we keep and improve the 'Chicago Socialist'?" Yes! Shall we here and now guarantee the funds necessary for our immediate future needs? Yes. (Done on the spot). Shall we proceed with our bazaar, dance and other enterprises for party stimulation and finances for a municipal campaign? Certainly.

Local Cook County, Illinois, will at once consider the matter of Al-dermanic candidates for Chicago's spring election.

COLORADO

Comrade Bushnell of Colorado is on the job for reorganization of the State movement. A fake Socialist Party was set going in Colorado in the last weeks of the campaign—enthusiastically promoted by "old party" politicians in order to weaken the Socialist Party's efforts. The protest of the Socialist Party was of no avail—the fakirs had inside help, and got on the ballot. However, the quick action efficiency of the Socialists carried the facts to the public and the sneaking fakir's organization polled a wholly negligible vote.

MISSOURI

The election returns for Missouri are interesting. Of the 80,160 votes cast for La Follette, 56,733 (or 67 per cent) were cast in the Socialist column, and 27,427 (33 per cent) were in the "Liberal" column. Our St. Louis comrades estimate that 20,000 La Follette and Socialist votes were thrown out as "improperly marked." However that may be, there is manifestly plenty of political independence in Missouri ready to receive "easy lesson" material on Socialism.

UTAH

How to Do It

Our splendidly loyal and busy Comrade Kennedy of Utah has a full-column thoroughly instructive article on the editorial page of the Ogden Standard-Examiner. It is full of political-industrial information.

Get-wise and do likewise in your own home town.

MONTANA

This is Paradise!

Comrades Findlay and Latham report the Paradise, Montana, election returns as follows: Davis 8; Coolidge, 158; La Follette, 190. Now leave it to those wide-awake comrades and their co-workers to get busy in the new Paradise political atmosphere. There are thousands of such communities presenting a new opportunity.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburg Debate a Success

Pittsburg, Pa., is big on the map and hot on the job. How's this from the tireless Sidney Stark: "... You will be gratified to learn that Local Allegheny County has cleared a thousand dollars on the Darrow-Nearing debate, although the expenses were over sixteen hundred dollars. We had to turn away nearly 2,000 people for want of seats, even though the platform was packed with people at \$2.50 per seat."

Pennsylvania Socialists are taking up the National Office membership drive in a way that means success.

Throughout the State those who helped in the Labor party campaign are being urged to join Socialist Party and help educate the workers for the next national contest in 1926. Everybody admits that the Socialists carried the burden of La Follette's campaign and we must now build up an organization that will be able to make an even better showing next time.

Our loyal comrade W. D. Altman of Butler, has recently sent in an order for dues stamps, and along with it a letter in which he states that they have already secured three new members for Branch Butler, and that they expect to get several more. That is the proper spirit, comrades. Who is going to be the next to give the good cause a boost.

The following from Comrade Sidney Stark should encourage comrades everywhere. He writes "You will be gratified to learn that Local Allegheny County has cleared a thousand dollars on the Darrow-Nearing debate, although the expenses were over sixteen hundred dollars. We had to turn away nearly 2,000 people for want of seats, even though the platform was packed with people at \$2.50 per seat."

Of course, many communities cannot do as much as Pittsburg, but nearly every branch can do something, which will not only put our party on the map, but will raise funds for future educational work. Get together and decide what your branch can do. The State Office is anxious to cooperate.

First let us find out just where we stand. We have sent out letters to all branches, insisting that all members whose dues are three months or more in arrears, be suspended and that a list of all members in good standing be sent to the State Office immediately. A report card, which when filled out, will give us a clear idea of the present standing of each branch, was enclosed in each letter. We hope that each party member will urge his branch secretary to send these reports in promptly and regularly.

When we have discarded all the dead-ends, who don't pay dues, we will be in a position to calculate the present possibilities of our organization. These members do not attend meetings, and as result the attendance is poor in comparison with the membership, and the few active members are discouraged! Let us forget them and get new live-wires in their places. Instead of continually failing to accomplish as much as you expected, you will exceed your expectations, and will be encouraged to go ahead.

How about it? Rush those reports to us. Then, let's see who can get the most new members before the National Convention. We are ready to lead off. Are you going to make us sleep lively?

Lastly, don't be bashful! Write and tell us what you are doing. We want to fill this column each week with peppy Pennsylvania news. Come on, we are on the way.

NEW JERSEY

Claessens in Camden

August Claessens will lecture on "Incentive and Ambition" at Maenhercher Hall, 1031 North 27th St.

The regular monthly meeting of the State Committee was called to order at 4 p. m., December 14, 1924. Comrades present were Bohlin of Bergen; Wittel of Essex; Bausch, Jansson, Leemans and Peterson of Hudson; and Miller of Passaic. Comrade Jansson was Chairman. The Executive Secretary reported that the State Executive Committee

had set January 4th as the date of the Special State Convention to elect delegates to the C. P. P. A. National Convention. The Convention will be held at State Headquarters, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City, and each branch will be entitled to one delegate for every ten members or major fraction thereof. A communication and credential blanks have been sent to each branch, but only two branches, in Hudson County, have so far returned the blanks, properly filled in and accompanied by the fee of \$1 for each delegate.

Reports of Delegates

Comrade Bausch reported progress for Hudson County, and that a well-attended County Committee meeting was held on December 6th.

Comrade Bohlin reported that the Finnish Branch in Bogota, and the English branches in Fort Lee and Dumont are the only ones really active in Bergen County. Steps are being taken to revive the branches in Ridgefield and Ridgefield Park.

Comrade Miller reported for Passaic County that in the City of Passaic three lectures have been given by Comrade Claessens and that the Comrades are now considering a course of twelve lectures.

Verband to Meet

The twice-postponed State convention of the Jewish Socialist Verband will be held on Sunday, January 4, at the Workmen's Circle Building, 50 Howe Avenue, Passaic. This date, which unfortunately is also that of the Special State convention of the Socialist Party of New Jersey, was set and notices mailed by the National Office of the Verband without knowledge that the Party in New Jersey had called its convention for the same date. However, it is hoped that this conflict will not prevent the Jewish branches from sending delegates to both conventions.

On Saturday, January 3, the date preceding the Verband convention, there will be a concert and entertainment, followed by a social evening, at the Workmen's Circle Building in Passaic. The admission charge will be fifty cents.

La Follette Clubs Continue

Comrade Wittel reported that in Essex County the La Follette and Wheeler clubs, in which the Socialists have been the most active workers, have been continued, and a mass meeting has been called for Wednesday, December 17, at the Hotel Berwick, in Newark, to which have been invited 1,500 or more persons who signed the La Follette petitions or whose names were otherwise secured. It is proposed to form some sort of organization to hold these people together until after the National Convention of the C. P. P. A. A Socialist study class with forty prospective members is being formed in Newark, with Comrade Henry Jager as the teacher.

The membership of Local Essex is about 300, although only some fifty can be called active. The active branches are three English, one Finnish and one Jewish.

MASSACHUSETTS

The locals in the New England District are sizzling with activity. Esther Friedman of New York is scheduled for a four-week educational circuit. The plan is laid down by the district office is to have Comrade Friedman cover six locals, speaking one night a week in each city. This will be quite an aid in building up the new locals organized during the recent campaign.

The subject that Comrade Friedman intends to speak on are: "A Better World," "Changing Social Order," "The Symptoms of Decay," "Our Heritage." The district office has planned for other speakers to cover every local in the district. This, coupled with the organization work that the new Secretary-Organizer, Warren E. Fitzgerald has already under way, promises to place the

New England District in the front as far as winter activities are concerned.

The Socialist delegation was well satisfied with the action taken by the State C. P. P. A., Sunday. They did not believe it advisable to launch a State organization without knowing what the National C. P. P. A. was going to do. They believe the time is ripe for the launching of a new party, and should a State organization be formed, it should become part of the National Organization.

CONNECTICUT

Socialists in Connecticut expect to get out a leaflet on the Child Labor Amendment.

Our old friend, Jasper McLevy, has been on the sick list for a month. He overworked himself in the last campaign.

Socialists of Connecticut are voting on a referendum for delegates to the National convention. Plunkett, McLevy, Morris Rice, Newton and Jursek are on the ballot.

The La Follette Club of New Haven is to hold a social and get-together meeting, Thursday evening, December 18. The club is to give the State chairman, Samuel W. Tator, a little present in appreciation of the work he did in the campaign.

New York Activities

LOCAL NEW YORK

Karlín at 6th A. D.

The third lecture of the season at the Forum conducted by the 6th A. D. will take place Sunday evening, at 257 East 4th street. William Karlín will speak on "The Prospects for an Independent Party of Labor in the U. S." Questions and discussions will follow. The previous two lectures have proven to be huge successes, the hall being overcrowded on both occasions.

East Side Center—Dr. Ingerman

Dr. Anna Ingerman, recently returned from a tour of a number of European countries, where she had the opportunity of meeting and observing many of the working class and Socialist leaders and movements, will lecture this Sunday evening, 8 p. m., on "Labor and Socialism in Europe, as I Saw Them," at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. Admission will be free.

4th A. D.

At its last meeting, a rejuvenation of the branch took place. Thirty of our members, new and old, gathered in the new club rooms, recently obtained by the branch and Circle 7 of the Y. P. S. L. at 24 Ridge street. At this meeting the problems of organizing, financing and propagandizing the district were carefully studied. Definite decisions were arrived at and programs laid for putting them into force. We have laid plans for a membership drive, which will not cease till we have several hundred.

For New Year's Eve, a supper and entertainment has been arranged for at our club rooms. In January a theatre party will be held. The comrades have rolled up their sleeves and pitched into the job. Our ambition is to surpass the strength of the branch in 1917, which was our high-water mark, as to the number of members, amount of propaganda done, and financial resources. From now on, the readers of The New Leader will hear from us regularly, especially as we plan to boost our weekly mouthpiece. We know how much more important a daily is and we hope to work for one. Non-members are welcome to our meetings which are held every Thursday, at 24 Ridge street, from 8:30 p. m. to 10:30 p. m.

YIPSELDOM

The following officers have been elected for the ensuing term, of Circle 1, Manhattan: Organizer, Abe Schaffer; financial secretary, Nathan Blesstein; recording secretary, Abe Goldberg; educational directors, Louis Goldin and Isaac Katz; athletic director, Nathaniel Wallace.

A discussion meeting will be held by the Young Fabians (Circle 5) Brooklyn, this Friday evening, December 19. A report from the mem-

Socialist Sunday School Opens In Williamsburg

Registration is now in progress, every day and Sunday morning, at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., for the Williamsburg Socialist Sunday School.

Socialists living in the vicinity of the Sixth A. D. are invited to register their children now. Classes are now forming and a staff of competent instructors will take charge. All children of grammar school and first to third term high school are eligible.

BUFFALO

Enrollment Increased

Buffalo enrollment under the Socialist banner has taken a big increase. While the last previous Socialist enrollment of Erie County was 2,750, this year's is 4,396.

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.

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WEST VIRGINIA EVICTIONS

(Continued from Page 3)

have come down from Charleston union headquarters on a truck that has splashed hub-deep through the creek bed. Men are running about in the rain struggling with stakes and ropes. The women and children are huddling inside the little box of a Baptist church where the pews have been turned into cribs for the babies. The Woodsum men finally get their tent up and their furniture piled in the middle of it. The old man tells me that he and his son and his grandchildren will stay there till all Hell freezes over before they will go back to the starvation wages offered by the non-union operators. And after one look into his deep blue eyes I believe him.

Multiply the Woodsums by 20,000 an you have the situation in West Virginia today. If they are forced back, if somehow the fine spirit of that woman and her men can be broken, unionism loses not only in West Virginia but loses in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, wherever men mine coal for a living. For you can't pay decent wages called for under union contracts and compete with operators who are paying \$3.50 a day for labor. And this is the sort of scale that the non-union operators are trying to force on Woodsum and his fellows down there in the Kanawha Valley.

"They make me sick," said the man with the tooth-pick in the Charleston Hotel looking out on the rain-drops that were streaking the big plate-glass windows. "If the don't like this country, why don't they go back where they come from?"

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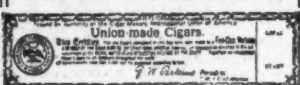
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Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.
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MEYER PERLSTEIN, Administrator.

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ABRAHAM GELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board

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Brooklyn—E. 18th St. & Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—105 Montross Ave. 1st & 3rd Sunday 12 A. M.
SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary

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Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
Chairman
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On The International Front

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

ENGLAND

Dr. Headlam Passes

Rev. Dr. Stewart Headlam, famous British cleric, and a lifelong Socialist, has died in London. His death, following so closely upon that of the Rev. Dr. John Clifford, the great Nonconformist divine, who also was a Socialist, involves a severe loss to the British Labor movement. Dr. Headlam in 1877 founded the Guild of St. Matthew, the first Socialist society in Britain. Dr. Headlam and Dr. Clifford carried on the great tradition of the early Christian Socialism of the Rev. Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice. In turn their places are being taken now by Bishop Temple, of Manchester, Canon Donald-

son and the Rev. Dean R. E. Moll, all Socialists and members of the Labor party.

GREAT BRITAIN

A vivid picture of British Socialist propaganda methods is given by no less an authority than Herbert H. Asquith, ex-M.P., who was badly beaten by Rosslyn Mitchell, an active Socialist at the recent elections. Speaking to a club of Liberals in London, the former leader of the once great party now virtually wiped out by Labor, said, "No one who has not seen the Labor party at work and come into personal contact with the results can realize with what thoroughness and what practical sagacity it is carried on."

"My opponent in the recent election in Paisley increased the total Labor vote compared with what it was only ten months ago by no less than 7,000."

"I believe that growth was due to the indefatigable and intensive use almost entirely of volunteers; but not least by the dissemination of handy and desirable literature, terse and perhaps full-blooded, but easily read and easily remembered, and almost incalculably persuasive in propaganda power."

"The faith so engendered becomes a real religion, a fanaticism, if you like to call it so, but when it comes to be mobilized it can move mountains."

New Labor Mayors

Thirty-five new Labor mayors assumed office throughout Great Britain on November 10, as a result of the municipal elections November 1. Mrs. Mary A. Mercer is the first woman and the first Labor party mayor of Birkenhead.

In Durham County, the Labor party carried ten out of eleven seats, and polled 187,000 votes, to 131,000 for both old parties together.

105 M. P.'s Are I. L. P.

Of the 151 Labor members of the new Parliament 105 are members of the Independent Labor party, said Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, reporting to the National Council of the I. L. P. Mr. Brockway was able to report a great increase in membership and branches since the election. Fifty-nine new branches had been formed, and the total now was 957, compared with 717 a year ago, and 620 two years ago.

MEXICO

National Honor for Carrillo
In a resolution adopted by the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the Socialist Governor of Yucatan, murdered by the de la Huerta reactionaries in the abortive revolt of last winter, is declared "Benemerito del Proletariado" (one who has deserved well of the proletariat) and his name is ordered inscribed in letters of gold in the hall of records of the National Congress. In commenting upon the action of the legislators, a writer in Tierra, the official organ of the Socialist administration of Yucatan, points out that Felipe Carrillo's name has for a long time been engraved with diamond-like tears upon the heart of the Mexican people.

INTERNATIONAL

Tom Shaw Back on the Job
As one of the results of the Tory victory in the recent British elections, Tom Shaw, Minister of Labor in Ramsay MacDonald's Cabinet, has resumed his place in the London Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International. Comrade Shaw, together with Frederick Adler, was elected a secretary of the International at the Hamburg organization Congress, in June, 1923, but received a leave of absence when the MacDonald Government was formed last January.

AUSTRIA

Shop Councils Dropped by Party

A feature of the national convention of the Austrian Social Democratic party, held in Salzburg, October 31-November 3, was dropping of the Shop Councils as a separate national organization and the incorporation of their essential parts into the regular party.

This was effected through the adoption of a resolution by a national meeting of Shop Council delegates held in Salzburg during the convention calling for the dissolution of the national organization on December 31, 1924, which was then followed by an invitation by the party convention to the Social Democratic shop groups to send representatives to all the various delegates bodies of the party. In explaining this action, Frederick Adler, speaking both as a representative of the Shop Councils and the party, told how the Shop Councils had been formed in the revolutionary days of 1918 when "the Communists and the Socialists were fighting for the souls of the workers" as a means of common action by all workers in their own interests and had served their purpose well for a time. But now since the Austrian Communists had dwindled away to practically nothing and the Shop Councils were entirely in the hands of the Socialists there was no need of continuing what was really a dual organization. The task of representing the workers politically was being done by the party, the trade unions looked after their economic interests, and the Socialist Guards were organized to protect them from violence. Consequently, the Shop Councils had become superfluous.

The convention urged the organization of military Socialist committees in all the garrison towns to keep in close touch with the soldiers and it also called for the organization of Soldiers' Councils which were to send delegates to the party groups and councils. Every effort is to be made to see to it that Austria's little regular army remains Socialist in spirit.

Party members were urged to withdraw from units of the International Workers' Relief, as that organization was generally conceded to be more interested in carrying on Communist propaganda than in supporting workers in trouble. During the discussion preceding the adoption of this resolution, Victor Stein, formerly active in the work of the Austrian branch of the I. W. R., told how that organization frequently made trouble in the unions and was especially obnoxious during the recent metal workers' strike.

Emphasis was laid upon the necessity of the party's Deputies waging a hard fight for legislation establishing an adequate system of old age and mothers' pensions and of saving the public schools from the onslaughts of the Clericals. The Executive Committee elected by the 396 delegates included Adler, Austerlitz, Bauer, David, Ellenbogen, Renner, Popp, Neumann and Tomshick. Details of the party membership presented to the convention by Secretary Skaret, advance reports on which were printed in The New Leader of November 1, showed a gain of 51,851 in the year ended June 30, last, bringing it up to total 566,124. At a convention of the Social Democratic Women held the day before the party congress opened, Adelheid Popp reported a membership of 154,000, or nearly one-third of the total party strength. The party congress was attended by fraternal delegates from nearly every European country and from the International.

RUSSIA

Politicals End Hunger Strike

The hunger strike of the Socialist and other political prisoners on the Solovetsky Islands in the White Sea has been ended without any casualties, according to information received by the London Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International. It appears that the protests voiced in the European Socialist and Labor press and the intervention of the British Socialists so surprised and impressed the Russian Government that it sent a commission of inquiry to the Islands, which succeeded in effecting a compromise with the hunger strikers. The sick and those prisoners whose terms were about to expire have been removed to the mainland, better food has been supplied to the prisoners and the general régime on the Islands improved. The Socialist International urges the Socialists of the world to continue their protests until the "Solovetsky system" is abolished and a general amnesty for political prisoners proclaimed in Russia.

In the Paris Humanité of November 16, the Central Committee of the International Workers' Relief suggests to the Socialist and Labor International that it ask its affiliated parties to urge the bourgeois Governments to open their prisons and free their political and jailed workers, and also offers to try to induce

the Russian Government to exchange imprisoned "counter-revolutionaries" for prisoners held in bourgeois jails for "having fought against the capitalist régime."

SWEDEN

Changes In Party Officials

As Premier Hjalmar Branting and Minister of Labor Gustav Moeller resigned from the Executive of the Socialist and Labor International upon taking office, the Swedish Socialist Party has named Arthur Engberg and Richard Lindstrom to serve in their places. Comrade Engberg is editor of the Social-Demokraten, the leading party paper, and Comrade Lindstrom is Secretary of the Swedish Socialist Party, having taken the post formerly held by Comrade Moeller.

BULGARIA

Party Organization Gaining

Substantial gains in membership and propaganda activities during the preceding nine months were reported by the Secretary of the Bulgarian Socialist Party at a national convention held in Sofia October 26, 27 and 28. According to the latest available figures, the number of local units numbers 1,164, with a total membership of 28,761, compared with the 854 units; with 26,652 members, reported the convention held last February. From January to October the party held 6,963 public meetings, against 5,837 in the preceding year and arranged a large number of lectures, popular outings, etc. The Socialist Peasants' League, with 800 local groups and 21,000 members, is affiliated with the party, as are the Young People's Socialist League, with 2,000 members; the Social Democratic Women's Society, 1,200 strong, and the Jewish Social Democratic Association, with 600 members. All these groups have their own monthly and semi-monthly propaganda papers. The official party daily is the Narod, published in Sofia, and there are four official weeklies in the provinces, as well as a scientific and literary monthly published in the capital. Since the last convention there were elections for district councilors in ten of the fifteen departments of Bulgaria in which the Socialists cast 55,000 votes and elected seventeen of their candidates. The meetings held by the party during these local campaigns were not included in the public meetings listed in the secretary's report. After listening to speeches on the domestic and international situation by Yanko Sakalof and Pastukhof, the convention adopted resolutions sharply criticizing the policy of the Tsankof Government and reiterating the party's demands for general reforms and early elections.

SWITZERLAND

Gains In Basle Election

As the result of an election held in Basle on November 23, the number of Social Democrats in the main Citizens' Council was increased from seven to nine out of a total of forty members. The Communists held their own, with four seats, while the Gruetianers (a near-Socialist group) lost the one seat they had held since the election of 1921. The total vote was 12,022.

Federal Council Called Down

Deliberate ignoring of the representatives of the masses of Swiss workers by the Federal Council during the recent economic negotiations with Germany have drawn a sharp note from the Executive Committee of the Socialist Democratic Party. President Reinhard and Secretary Huggler ask the Federal Council to explain why it was thought necessary to invite representatives of the business interests and of the farmers to form part of the Swiss delegation and at the same time to ignore the necessity of having agents of the masses of the people on this body. In the future no such action will be allowed to pass without great demonstrations on the part of the workers. The Executive Committee also has written an open letter to the Federal Council demanding the cessation of the sabotage of the proposed national old age, invalid and dependents insurance legislation and urging definite action in December.

Dr. Jeanneret Is Expelled

By a vote of 29 to 13, the National Committee of the Socialist Democratic party has voted to expel Dr. Jeanneret, the alleged "disguised Communist" of the Canton of the Vaud whose clashes with the majority of the party members and officials over the Russian situation and allied subjects brought about a split in the local organization several months ago. The local unit in Lausanne has voted to accept the decision in the interest of unity, although expressing its faith in Dr. Jeanneret and its regret at the National Committee's action. The Executive Committee in Berne on November 6 ordered the paper founded in Lausanne by the anti-Jeanneret dissident faction to wind up its affairs. It is expected that party unity will soon be effected in the Vaud, despite some bitter complaints.

Let Us Use Our Opportunity

(Continued from Page 1)

the formation of a new party? In the final analysis, it is all up to the railroad unions. They are the dominating influence in the C. P. P. A. They can have a new party if they will it. Suppose they should oppose the formation of a new party at this time, what then?

Then the second possibility would arise. There may be at the Chicago convention sufficient forces to organize a Labor party though the C. P. P. A., as a whole, may not take part in such a movement. There are already a few State Labor parties. Pennsylvania has a very good one, as several of the mid-Western States have. In the convention we can count these forces. We may find there enough elements to make a

party worth while. That is the second possibility.

Then there is a third possibility. When we have counted forces, we may find that there is not enough material on which to build a strong new party. In that case we will fall back upon the Socialist Party as such. And we shall fall back on a Socialist Party which will enjoy immeasurably greater opportunities than it has had in many years. We will fall heir to all the sentiment for independent political action crystallized in the campaign.

And all this will have been made possible only because of the impeccable, wise stand the party took in the last election. The party has made great opportunities for itself. Let us make the most of them.

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway.

Phone: Orchard 6639

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.

PETER MONAT, Manager.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St. Telephone: 7690

CARL GRADHER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union.

Office and Headquarters, 915 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stage 6799

Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays

M. REISS, President.

S. FINE, Vice-President.

F. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.

E. WENNES, Fin. Sec'y.

H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION LOCAL 3, F. I. U. A.

Office and Headquarters, 915 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stage 6799

Regular Meetings 1st Fri. every month

at 12 ST. MARK'S PL. UMAN.

Pres.

A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Razono, Treas.

LEO SALTAN, Bus. Agent

NECKWEAR CUTTERS Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

150 N. Stuyvesant 78

Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month

at 12 ST. MARK'S PL. UMAN.

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N. Y. Joint Council CAP MAKERS

of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.

Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9860-1-2

Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday

Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, I. Bucher, Manager Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)

Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday

MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)

Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday

Executive Board Every Monday

G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASLAVSKY, President.

Vice-Pres.

SOL HANDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.

Fin. Sec'y.

All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum

(Beethoven Hall) 21st East 5th St.

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United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America

Up-town Office: 59 West 27th Street. Phone Fitzroy 6794

Down-town Office: 210 East 5th Street. Phone Orchard 1942

Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Up-town Office

SAUL SCHULMAN, B. LEVITAN, ALEX. ROSE, Chairman Exec. Bd. Rec. Sec'y Fin. Sec'y-Treas.

ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, I. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 63

MORRIS RAUFMAN, General President.

ANDREW WENNES, General Secretary-Treasurer.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Caledonia 0350

Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office

Roads To Freedom

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

IV. BOLSHEVISM OR COMMUNISM.

Bolshevism or Communism is the name applied to the social philosophy of those now dominant in the Russian Republic. The Communism of the Russian Communists must not be confused with the old communism of the early utopian writers. The latter urged the abolition of private ownership not only in the means of production but also in all property.

Differ From Socialists

The advocates of Bolshevism or communism differ from the organized Socialists of the world not in their ultimate idea of social organization, but in the method advocated by them in attaining their goal. The Socialist movement throughout the world has based its tactics largely on the hope that Socialism would be brought about through the growing power of the workers organized in Labor unions, in political parties, in cooperative societies and in educational groups. They have striven for the day when Labor and Socialist Parties in the advanced countries of the world would become the majority parties in parliament, and, through legislative action, enforced by trade and industrial unionism, would proceed to transform industry from private to public control.

The Bolshevists, on the other hand, have felt that such parliamentary efforts were bound to be too slow and that other tactics should be urged. They maintain that an effort should be made to organize the more intelligent, aggressive, militant minority of the working class population as revolutionary nuclei, especially in strategic industries and in the army and navy. These communist nuclei should seek out as many points of contact as possible with the rest of the working class. They should be the leaders of the workers in strikes, in the struggle for civil liberties, for immediate political reforms and against militarism and war, not on the ground of principle or of the effectiveness of immediate reforms, but on the ground that such activities develop the confidence of the workers in communist leadership and that they present additional opportunity to bring before the workers the educational propaganda of communism.

Based on Belief in Cataclysm
The tactics of Bolshevists are based largely on the belief that the system of capitalism is bound to collapse. It will probably collapse, they feel, as a result of another world war. The next world war will bring in the world revolution. When capitalism disintegrates, the workers will turn to the communist nuclei who will be in a position to furnish the only real leadership. Through the more or less passive support of the large mass of workers, the small, revolutionary nuclei will then seize the strategic industries—railroads, telephones, telegraphs, electric power, mines, etc.—together with the agencies of Government, and proceed to run industry for the workers. Old democratic forms will be temporarily abolished; old officials ousted, and the soviets of workers, farmers and soldiers will supplant representative legislatures.

Dictatorship of Proletariat

According to Bolshevik tactics, this capture of the State should be succeeded by a "dictatorship of the proletariat." In establishing this dictatorship, the workers should disfranchise non-producers, extending the right to vote only to workers. The farming population should have a voice in the government, but should have proportionately a smaller representation than has the city worker. Opposition papers should be temporarily suppressed; counter-revolutionary movements, put down with an iron hand, and the soviets should proceed immediately upon a comprehensive program of socialization. Side by side with this action, the International of the workers should be strengthened for the purpose of stimulating immediate revolutions in other countries. Following the transition period, freedom of discussion should be restored and, with the elimination of parasitism, the franchise should again be made practically universal.

Soviet Form of Government

The Soviet form of government, as advocated by the Bolshevists, is pyramidal in form. In Russia, which at present presents the chief example of this form, groups of workers in local districts elect delegates

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION
What are the main differences between Socialism and Bolshevism; between the social and economic development in Russia prior to the revolution and in America at the present time? What is the evidence for and against a catastrophic breakdown of capitalism in the United States at present? For and against a world war to be followed by a world revolution? Is American Labor more likely to choose the Russian or the British way of social development? Why? What are the relative advantages in working for a revolution through parliamentary procedure backed by trade union action, and one through a violent upheaval? What is the meaning of "the dictatorship of the proletariat"? What are the relative advantages of dictatorship and democracy as a means of transition to a Socialist society? Formulate the code of ethics which, in your opinion, the workers should adopt if they are to succeed in a long-drawn-out struggle for a new society and to operate that society on an efficient basis?

to the local soviets; these delegates, in turn, elect members to the provincial soviets and the latter choose the representatives to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The national congress elects a central executive committee. This executive committee chooses the Commissars, who constitute the most important administrative group. The Commissars are in charge of foreign affairs, education, finance, justice, etc. The economic functions are centralized in the Supreme Economic Council, a cabinet department consisting of representatives from industrial unions, from regional councils, from the central executive committee, from the council of peoples commissaries, and from cooperatives. Beyond the Russian Soviet structure is that of the union of Soviet Republics. To some extent the soviet system is based on occupations and industrial, rather than on geographical representation.

Extent of Social Ownership in Russia

The Russian Soviet Government owns the land. This is rented out to the peasants through their village governments. The farmers have a right to use and pass it on, but not to sell or mortgage it. The land and buildings in the city belong to the municipal governments, who rent them out. The railroads are owned and run by the State. In the latter part of 1923, about 4,000 of the largest industries were directly operated by the State; 4,000 of the smallest were leased, of which half were run by cooperatives or workers' organizations and half by private capitalists. Private capital is employed mostly in trade. In late 1922, it was estimated that about thirty per cent of the internal trade was in private hands, fifteen per cent in cooperative hands, fifty-five per cent in those of the State. Later the business of cooperatives increased.

Development of "Trusts"

One of the most interesting developments has been the creation of so-called trusts organized by the State, in the linen, sugar, textile, electrical and other industries. These compete against small private business for control of the field. They put their profits back into the business for expansion and increase of wages. The stockholders to whom they are responsible are the State. The creation of these trusts has relieved the Supreme Economic Council of many details of administration. Local and regional councils are being organized, consisting of trade union chairmen, directors of food, land, labor, etc., and as consultants, technical experts, to coordinate the work of the industries. In a large number of industries single heads are being substituted for committees and conferences, organized immediately after the revolution. Marked encouragement has of late been given to technical experts. "The manager may be a communist workman, in which case he must have a technician as an assistant, or he may be a technician with an assistant chosen from among the workers."

Modification of Tactics

The original Bolshevik tactics as adopted by the Russian Communists have been considerably modified during the past few years, owing largely to the failure of social revolutionary movements in other parts of Europe, to the collapse of military expeditions against Russia, and to the fact that the farming population had to be conciliated. The Bolshevists have recently granted an increased measure of free discussion to their opponents, have brought numerous non-Bolshevik elements into the Government, are granting to private employers the right to own and operate certain industries

and are leasing out other industries to private managers.

Critics of Bolshevism
The critics of Bolshevism maintain that the Bolshevists erred in basing their tactics too largely on the assumption that revolutions were about to break out in other European countries; in adopting anti-social means, such as violence, to attain social ends; in assuming that such a semi-feudalistic system as existed in Russia could be transformed at a single step into a co-operative commonwealth, and that a highly centralized and comparatively inexperienced Soviet government, after thus socializing the entire industrial structure, could run this structure efficiently; in failing adequately to consider the economic beliefs and the potential power of the large mass of slowly moving peasants; in excluding from the government the non-Bolshevik revolutionary elements; in failing to bring to its aid from the very beginning the technicians and other intellectual forces of the community; and in trying to superimpose upon the Labor movements of other countries tactics which may have been necessary and desirable in a semi-feudal, agricultural country like Russia, but which are not adaptable to countries with a widely different economic and political background. Finally, Communists have been criticized on the ground that many of them have adopted the shibboleth in their struggles that the ends justify the means; that all is fair in the fight for the revolution. In criticizing the tactics adopted by the Russian Bolshevists, however, one must not forget the Russian background and the almost insuperable obstacles against which the Communists have had to contend—the broken-down economic machinery inherited by the Communists, civil wars, international blockades, etc.

For discussion groups:
Literature—Pamphlets: Lenin, "The State and Revolution" (London: Socialist Labor Press); Lenin, "Soviets at Work" (N. Y.: Rand School, 1918, 48 pp., 10c); Hillquit, "From Marx to Lenin"; Trotsky, "Dictatorship vs. Democracy" (N. Y.: Workers' Party, 1922); Kautsky, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (Girard, Ks.: "Appeal to Reason," 1920, 50c., critical).

Send for pamphlets on Communist tactics as interpreted by the Workers' Party of America, 1113 W. Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. "The Daily Worker," the organ of the Workers' Party, is published here.

Books—R. W. Postgate, "The Bolshevik Theory" (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, 1920; out of print); Bertrand Russell, "Bolshevik Theory," Pt. II. (N. Y.: Harcourt, 1920; out of print); A. L. Strong, "The First Time in History" (N. Y.: Boni & Liveright, 1924); Zimand, "Modern Social Movements." Bibliography, pp. 228-52; Laidler "Socialism," etc., ch.

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11; A. A. Heller, "Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia" (N. Y.: Seltzer, 1922, \$2.00); Eden and Cedar Paul, "Creative Revolution" (N. Y.: Thos Seltzer, 1920, 220 pp.); Brailsford, "Russian Workers' Republic" (Harper, 1921, 274 pp.; out of print); W. T. Goode, "Bolshevism at Work" (N. Y.: Harcourt, 143 pp.; out of print); Karl Kautsky, "Terrorism and Communism" (London: National Labor Press, 1920, 234 pp., \$2.00); E. A. Ross, "Russian Soviet Republic" (N. Y.: Century, 1924, 200 pp., \$3.00).

Lord Thomson Speaks Here December 29 On British Labor Party

A meeting of unusual interest to the American liberal and Labor community will be held at Cooper Union, New York City, on Monday evening, December 29, when one of the outstanding leaders of the British Labor Party, Lord Thomson, Secretary of State for Air in the MacDonald Cabinet, will give his first address in this country, under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Association. His subject will be "Why I Joined the British Labor Party."

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The Realm of Books

Charles P. Steinmetz

A Review by WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

CHARLES P. STEINMETZ. A Biography. By J. W. Hammond. New York: The Century Co. \$4.00.

There are few more attractive figures in recent American life than the late Dr. Steinmetz, the subject of this excellent biography. Mathematician, engineer, electrical wizard, Socialist and friend of man, the torch of whose life was extinguished so untimely a little more than a year ago, he of all men deserves a warm place in the hearts of Americans and especially of Socialists.

Everyone knows that Steinmetz was a dwarfed, crippled man; a "gnome-like figure" Mr. Hammond calls him. Most people know that he was a Socialist for over thirty-five years and that he was expelled from his native Germany under the Bismarck terror. But few know that in addition he was the kindest, most lovable, the most human of men who liked nothing better than to be with other men and enjoy their company.

Carl August Rudolph Steinmetz was born in Breslau of a simple working class family in 1865. His early life was simple and quiet, the only notable feature being that he found difficulty in mastering the multiplication table! As a university student he specialized in mathematics and human companionship, the author of this book giving a charming picture of his delightful student days. His deformity did not repel people; it was only a moment after meeting him that his charm and humanness was manifest. But he soon became a Socialist and he edited a local party paper while the editor was in jail. He had to leave Germany in a hurry just before taking his degree.

Later he went to Switzerland, and in 1889, he came to New York, a penniless immigrant with a face so swollen with a bad cold that the immigration authorities held him for deportation as a probable public charge! Only the earnest appeals of a friend with whom he had come across the sea got him in.

Two weeks later he was installed as draftsman in the factory of Rudolph Eickemeyer, in Yonkers, where he quickly established himself as an electrical wizard. Eickemeyer was a German "forty-eighter" who was drawn to this wonderful young fellow, whose genius he recognized at once. While a simple draftsman,

Steinmetz evolved the law of hysteresis, his first great work. Later, the General Electric took over the Eickemeyer plant, acquiring Steinmetz with its other liabilities, as his friend Professor Karapetoff wrote.

It was not long before the great man was recognized for his real worth, and he was placed in a laboratory to work out problems in his own time and his own way. This arrangement continued to the end, Steinmetz being left free to teach in Union College, which he did for ten years as a full time professor (for which he refused pay) and to continue his Socialist activity in Schenectady.

Mr. Hammond has made it perfectly clear what Steinmetz's work consisted of. He explains the meaning of his law of hysteresis, and of his researches into the behavior of alternating current.

With respect to the latter, the author explains the difficulty of the problem, and Steinmetz's method of solution. But for several years no one was able to understand the explanation except the wizard himself, and for a period of years he devoted himself to training a whole generation of electrical engineers to understand the meaning of his discoveries. Once they knew it, it was the property of the whole world, and revolutionary changes in the domestic use of electricity were possible. In fact, the domestic use of the mysterious force would have been impossible were it not for the work of the little giant.

During all his life, Steinmetz remained the same simple, beautiful soul. Always a devoted Socialist, he permitted his great name to aid the Socialist ticket as candidate for State Engineer in 1922, and our author quotes at great length the interview the wizard gave The New York Call as an example of his method of utilizing natural resources for the benefit of the masses—if he got the chance.

All in all, it is a remarkably interesting book, and one arises from it with a feeling of warmth and pleasure that such a man should have lived, that his life was so beautiful and simple, and that he was never too big to remember his ideals and his cause. Mr. Hammond is to be complimented upon writing one of the wholesomest and most delightful biographies of the present season.

Short Notes on Books

"The Dominion of Sea and Air," by Enid Scott Rankin, was announced for publication this autumn, but delayed, and is now definitely announced by The Century Company to appear January 23. It is said to be a striking contribution to the new literature of international relations that is being created as the war against war goes on. Mrs. Rankin's main proposal, we are told, is that first the air and then the sea should be captured as a field of purely international control and cooperation—not of the strongest powers for their own benefit, leaving such privileges as their interests permit to the weaker ones, but by all the nations of the earth under a democratic constitution.

Leon Bazalgette, author of "Henry Thoreau; Bachelor of Nature," published by Harcourt, Brace & Co., is a member of a group that has gathered about the new French monthly "Europe" to combat the reactionary spirit that has followed

the war. It was in this review that Romain Rolland published his "Mahatma Gandhi" and Pierre Hamp his romance, "Le Lin."

"The World of Today," edited by L. Haden Guest, British Ambassador to Russia, appointed by MacDonald, and Sir Harry Johnston, completes a series of publications by Putnam's which began with "The Outline of Science" and included "The Outlines of Art and Literature" and "The Wonders of the Past." The new series, of which the first two volumes were published recently, is a companion piece to "The Wonders of the Past," which dealt with the history and development of earlier civilizations. All the series are illustrated in color and half-tone and belong properly in a single unity.

Sinclair Lewis's publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company, announce that his new novel, "Arrowsmith," will be published in March.

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Celtic Folk Lore

A Review by LIAM CARNEY

THE ISLAND OF THE MIGHTY. By Padraic Colum. New York: The Macmillan Co.

When an Irishman undertakes the writing of bedtime stories, he enriches posterity with something far different from the pusillanimous piffle peddled currently as a daily newspaper feature. Instead of the inane incidents in the lives of darling little Peter Rabbit or Tommy Chipmunk, children may read the infinitely fascinating, yet soundly authentic mythology and folk lore collected by Padraic Colum.

The hero stories of Celtic Britain retold from the Mabingion and published under the title of "The Island of the Mighty," are original, intended for children. They are published as the latest of Colum's series of books on mythology and folk lore, avowedly revamped for children. But when one notes that Colum's style of revamping has all the lyrical charm to be found in James Stephens' "Irish Fairy Tales," one doubts that the beautiful "hero stories" may not enjoy equal popularity with adults.

Colum himself wonders why Celtic mythology does not gain "something of the wide currency of 'The Thousand and One Nights,' and attempts to explain its rather limited appeal by calling attention to the unfamiliar Celtic names of places and people, so burdened with clashing consonants.

Only two stories in "The Island of the Mighty" are mythological, the author tells us. They are "The Story of Pui, Prince of Dyved" and "The Story of Branwen." As for the exploits of "King Arthur and His Companions," Colum explains that they "could only have been shaped after the Welsh nobles had taken on the ways and manners of the Norman conquerors of England."

Colum is famously thorough and painstaking in his research. His interesting records of the folk tales of many races are faithful and historically reliable. Accuracy is the keynote always of his presentation of his findings. With only the possible exception of William Butler Yeats, Colum ranks as the foremost present-day authority on Celtic folk lore. And he is by no means confining his research to the doings of his own ancestors. Just recently he has been in Hawaii, tracing and recording the hero stories of the tropic islanders.

What joy this learned and still scholarly Padraic must find in his work! The field of his particular endeavor is sufficiently large for him to happily occupy a lifetime.

Celtic fairy tales are distinctively imaginative and fanciful. They are more unlike the conventional fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen or the Brothers Grimm. One unique feature is their abundance of poetic fantasies—illusive creations traceable to those extraordinary old Gaelic minstrels and story-tellers. In their rare fantasmagoria, there is at times only the faintest hint of relationship with the "Arabian Nights." Many mature minds can find them delightfully and entertainingly unreal.

For example, it is correctly indicated by Colum that from the "Mabingion," (one of those unfamiliar words) the reader can get an appropriate sense of youthfulness. The Mabingion, for the most part, is "the great story-book that is in the Welsh manuscript of the fourteenth century." As for poetic fantasies, take the description of Kilch riding to the court of King Ardan "of an edge to wound the wind, with the spears of silver in his hand," and with his courser casting up "four sods with its four hoofs like four swallows in the air."

The editorial ability of Colum is keenly displayed in his excellent notes, which will be of great value to students of folk lore, who should comprise a large number of the adult readers of "The Island of the Mighty." Here the author gives highly interesting background for "The Story of Pui," as follows: "The first part is on a theme that is peculiarly Celtic—the theme of the mortal hero going into the Realm of Faerie to aid one of the Chiefs of Faerie against another. The part that deals with the wooing of Rhiannon is not so obviously mythological; no doubt the theme of the second story—for it is a distinct story—is the winning of the Faerie Bride, but Rhiannon herself, her father, Herveid, and her suitor Gwawl, have lost all their mythological traits. The story of the taking of Rhiannon's infant and the child's recovery is a folk tale that is very widely spread."

Among the many important subjects dealt with by Samuel Gompers in his autobiography, "Seventy Years of Life and Labor," which the Duttons announce for publication early in January, is the connection of the A. F. of L. under his leadership with the Mexican revolution of a few years ago.

Human Drama

A Review by JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

DRAMA AND MANKIND. By Halcott Glover. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$3.00.

With a trenchant and positive voice Mr. Glover cuts his way across human activity, the drama being merely his starting point, and his end is a survey of humanity. Although we agree with much of what he phrases so epigrammatically and so cock-surely, we are impelled to quote his own words to him: "Argument never made a great work of art, any more than it made a cabbage." It has, however, produced such masterpieces as the orations of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, Webster, and the host; it animates and gives strength to the present volume. The author's thesis, urged throughout the book, is that the best of drama is that which nobly responds to the universal in mankind, and, conversely, that the best in man is capable of full and powerful dramatic treatment. This seems a self-evident truth, yet it is one that needs emphasis and establishment upon a basis of understanding of the terms involved, and upon the spirits that order the social system today.

"The artist," says Mr. Glover, "is an aristocrat," yet the chief idea behind his book is the possibility of a truly democratic art. Aristocrat is employed in its etymological sense of "the best"; the artist is one who will not compromise; he will withdraw from ways legally forbidden, or conventionally untrod; he will withdraw, or he will walk them boldly and openly in defiance of the forces that urge him to pause, defying them and persisting in the path of truth.

Yet this path of truth, the writer feels, is one more limited than the artist may recognize: it bears on either hand a high wall, over which the journeyer may neither see nor climb. On the one hand, the artist is bound by the limitations of his age; however he may seek escape, he bears his time and his environment with him when he flees. On the other hand, he is set about by the restrictions of his self; from that subjective personality he can never escape; he must judge everything and view everyone in the light of his own personality and his own limitations. "This is amusingly illustrated in 'Back to Methuselah.' 'As Far As Thought Can Reach' is no farther than Bill Smith around the corner. If Bill Smith will not do, nothing will do. Mr. Shaw's Ancients are no more than poetically sublimated extensions of the ancient Mr. Shaw."

An effective passage, in the chapter "A Note on Sentimentality," we remarked that the book returns to drama after countless digressions, and sound though dogmatic argument on many themes—is the one on compromise. "There is no possible compromising with conscience without injury. If it be present, you have done something that you are

Pulling Through

A Review by WILLIAM LEA

HUMPTY DUMPTY. By Ben Hecht. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.00.

In his handling of the theme of this novel, Ben Hecht proves, after a start falsified by the same trickery as spoiled "Eric Dorn," that he can regain the simplicity and directness of attack of his earlier writings. There are those who like the straggling, more or less disconnected conversation on all the problems of the world, those who think H. G. Wells great as a novelist as well as a social thinker, in his more recent fiction; there are others who wonder to what extent the cleverly voiced opinions of the author have a genuine bearing on the character of the person being portrayed. The pointed shafts of Mr. Hecht mainly hit their mark; yet it seems often a target aside from the game. Nor was it necessary to make Savaron so painfully a genius, in order to bring home the deadening effect of domesticity in the lives of many men. The picture would be both more powerful and more universal were the protagonist a more mediocre being—though as a matter of fact, Mr. Hecht could not quite convince me of Savaron's genius; I had too strong a feeling that the author was really thinking about Mr. Hecht.

Perhaps it is not the business of a critic to suggest what novel an author might have written; confining himself to the novel that has been made is his more difficult task. The present novel is one that affords an interesting view into the workings of an author, for the Chicago novelist of the volume allows us to see the writer himself. The election scene is powerfully drawn; the claims of the wife on the chafing husband are truly made and painted; the brilliance that dances over the book in parts, blinding us to the emptiness beneath, is more frequently subdued to a steady glow that is in itself a fullness of power and interest.

ashamed of, or, what in you is the same thing, you have desired to do it. You have committed adultery in your heart—a more injurious thing than straightforwardly committing adultery. If you commit adultery you may wish you hadn't; but if in mere fear you refrain, you will die wishing you had. Morality will have revenge on you either way. The man with a moral sense must live up to it—there is no conceivable escape from that position." Except—what Mr. Glover apparently refuses to consider, optimist that he is!—the loss of all moral sense.

The chief attack of the book, in the moments that refer more directly to the drama, is upon the theory that democracy inevitably brings bad art; this "bad art" which we see in such depressing volume about us, said to be indicative of the taste of democracy, is not produced by the people for the people, but by our insensitive get-rich-quick magnates who are exploiting the popular ignorance which they have themselves imposed. Consider, in their full application, those last words: the "insensitive get-rich-quick magnates who are exploiting the popular ignorance they have themselves imposed." Within that phrase is epitomized modern capitalistic society, with its educational machine for turning out workers trained to accept, to revere, the present situation, trained to look upon all suggestions that things might be more equably distributed, that ignorance and insensitivity might be replaced by understanding, by sympathy, by love of beauty and time in which to enjoy it, trained to regard all effort to achieve the society that will be able to produce great art for an appreciative public instead of sentimental slush for the downtrodden spirit—as revolutionary (which it is) and therefore as vile and vicious and to be stamped out like a snake (which it is decidedly not). "There is no salvation in art; fine art comes of salvation in more important things."

This sentence strikes at the core of Mr. Glover's analysis of social conditions, and truly places drama and the other arts as a general flower-ship that can come only when the

Our New Literary Editor

The New Leader is pleased to announce that it has secured the services of Max Schonberg as editor of The Leader's book page. Readers of the New York Call during the years Comrade Schonberg was its book editor will recall the unusually high standard of its reviews. With the acquisition of Comrade Schonberg, The New Leader feels it is reasonable to boast that its book section will soon make a place for itself as the most discriminating book review section, from the radical viewpoint, in the country.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE OCCIDENT AND THE ORIENT. By Valentine Chirol, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
OUR CHANGING MORALITY. A Symposium. N. Y.: Albert & Charles Boni.
THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION. By John C. Fitzpatrick, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co.
THE FAITH OF A LIBERAL. By Nicholas Murray Butler. N. Y.: Scribners.

LITERATURE
COMEDY AND CONSCIENCE AFTER THE RESTORATION. By J. W. Krutch. N. Y.: Columbia University Press.
SITTING ON THE WORLD. By Heywood Brown. N. Y.: Putnam.

PLAYS BY MOLIERE. The Modern Library. N. Y.: Boni & Liveright.

THAIS. By Anatole France. The Modern Library. N. Y.: Boni & Liveright.

AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS. Edited by J. S. Van Teslaar. Modern Library.

LEONID ANDREYEV. A Critical Study. By Alexander Kaun. N. Y.: Boni & Liveright.

THE STORY OF ROLF. By Alen French. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

soil of humankind has been watered by the reign of just distribution of the tasks that face all men, has been fertilized by love and fellowship and understanding.

Socialism in Russia

(Continued from page 4)

that they dare to speak of Trade Union Unity.

In Gregory Zinovieff's speech at the foundation of the Red Trade Union International, he advised secession from the Amsterdam International, a fierce campaign against it and the rallying of all Trade Unions under the direction of the Third International. In the rules of the Red Trade Union International, the foundation of this organization was described as "the beginning of a bitter fight within the Trade Union Movement under the slogan 'Moscow or Amsterdam.' And in the conditions of affiliation

to the Red Trade Union International there appeared, in paragraph 6, the words "the breaking off of all relations with the Yellow Amsterdam International."

These people who deliberately want to destroy the Amsterdam International, are now talking of Trade Union Unity. They want to get a footing in Amsterdam, and, what they formerly wanted to achieve from outside, they are now endeavoring to do from within. There again we shall apply the principle of the Austrian Workers' Council: Let them come in, but let them obey the principle of proletarian democracy in the Trade Union International.

Was War Worth While?

(Continued from page 4)

elated by victory or humiliated by defeat, but with each side exhausted by its unsuccessful effort to conquer the other, a just and stable peace might conceivably have ensued, and the nations that had played the fool, having learned their lesson in the dear school of experience, might have abjured war forever. But the victory which our country's participation effected forbade so happy a conclusion. Victory brought precisely what President Wilson in the days when his reason was functioning at its best predicted, drastic terms imposed by the victor and in bitterness accepted by the vanquished, terms on which peace rests as it were on a quagmire. The war settlement planted in various places the seeds of future wars and mocked the lofty aim that had been avowed in the slogan, "A war to end war."

That avowal was never anything but solemn nonsense fit for the satire of the great Nazarene, "How can Satan cast out Satan?" Was not a cure for war. War begets war. The World War has not weakened but has strengthened the mistaken faith in the necessity and efficacy of violence in the dealings of nations.

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with one another. The very Protocol over which many pacifists are now rejoicing is cumbered with "sanctions," provisions for that self-contradiction, "enforcing peace," by means of war.

No one of the late belligerents is in the vanguard of peace today, perhaps least of all our own great country with its recent Defense Day gesture of defiance. It is the smaller countries of Europe that had sense enough to keep out of the war—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland and Switzerland—that are now leading the world in the paths of wisdom which all are peace. Denmark's government is actually proposing complete disarmament without waiting for other countries. Let the fact be noted far and wide to Denmark's honor and glory.

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D R A M A

Herman Heijermans

Noted Dutch Playwright and Novelist, Strong Socialist, Passes Away—His Plays Produced in England

THE world lost another humanitarian. Herman Heijermans, the well-known Dutch novelist and playwright, died in Holland a few weeks ago. In a fortnight's time, writes a correspondent to the Manchester Guardian, Heijermans would have been sixty, and all over Holland his admirers were preparing to make this day a milestone in his life, the beginning of a restful, care-free existence. For the future seemed very dark for the beloved writer.

A Strong Socialist

Heijermans was a strong Socialist. He had a genuine noble pity for the helplessness and the sufferings of the poor. His early plays were written to arouse the public conscience. There was to be no mistake about their intention; no possibility of a wrong interpretation and consequently the coloring of these dramas is often too harsh, the contrasts are too crude and over-emphasized. In his "Op Hoop Van Zegen," for instance (staged in London as "The Good Hope"), he dramatized the dangerous precarious existence of the fisherfolk.

Presents Miseries of Workers
Like Zola in "Germinal," he presents in "Glück Auf" the miseries of the miners and the heartlessness of mine-owners. "Ghetto" has the problem of Jewish assimilation for its plot, and by this play, as well as through a great many of his short stories, Heijermans has revealed himself as a typical Dutch Jew. The intermingling of Jews and Christians was to him of the greatest importance for the happiness and prosperity of both races.

He never tried, however, to furnish a satisfactory solution of the assimilation problem. His short novel "Een Jodenreuk" shows, on the contrary, that he considered the mixed marriage inadvisable and generally a source of unhappiness. In his later work Heijermans shows less partiality, a wider view, and a finer choice of his subjects. Few of those altogether higher creations have as yet been produced abroad, though some years ago a London private society, the Pioneer Players, gave two with notable success.

Diamond Worker in Youth

Heijermans' youth was spent in the diamond factories of Amsterdam, and in his novel "Diamantstad" ("Diamond Town") the materialistic, erotic atmosphere among the Amsterdam diamond workers, when the trade was very near its zenith, is masterfully depicted. It cannot be said, however, that on the whole his novels belong to his strongest writings. Neither have they ever attained the popularity of the short stories, of which Heijermans was undoubtedly the most prolific and the best author Holland possessed. They are rather mocking, scoffing little sketches, in which he presents with an amused but sarcastic smile the foibles and shortcomings of humanity in general and the bourgeoisie more especially. They very seldom reach the fragility, the fine sensitiveness of little tales like those of the late Katherine Mansfield. But they are very human and, notwithstanding their ironic quality, genuinely sympathetic.



GLORIA FOY

will play the leading feminine role in the new musical play, "Betty Lee," which opens at the 44th Street Theatre, Christmas Eve.

Shaw's "Candida"

Splendidly Acted Revival by Actors' Theatre at the 48th St. Theatre

The Actors' Theatre, that splendid group which, formerly under the name of the Equity Players, holds forth at the 48th Street Theatre, has begun a special series of Friday matinees with a revival of Shaw's "Candida," that bids fair to rank with the all-star performances that are recorded in dramatic history. From details of setting to minutiae of technique, the play was given by a skilled and sensitive group. Pedro de Cordoba was, to our taste, somewhat too stiff a Reverend Morell; but Clare Eames was a triumph as Prossy—her tipsy moments being irresistible; and Gerald Hamer was a foil to her that was almost equally contagious; Ernest Cossart as Mr. Burgess had a very good sense of character. Katherine Cornell, as Candida, was understanding and sympathetic, with just the little touch of humor that saves the part from priggishness, and all the winsome fragrance of beauty of spirit.

Richard Bird demands a separate paragraph, for his performance as Marchbanks should place him at once among the stars. Mr. Bird played with a vehemence and a sensitive response to the shifting moods of the play that was startling, revealing a mixture of tensely nervous anxiety and insouciance, a blending of pride and courage and vision, that marks the actor also a poet. One critic, with his usual ability in discerning and commenting topsy-turvy, points out that Shaw tells us the poet is the stronger man, the better able to take care of himself; and adds that Bird's performance is hardly that of a person competent in the affairs of life. That critic overlooks another line of Shaw's, to the effect that Marchbanks had slept in the park with a fifty-pound note in his pocket, because it was dated two days ahead, and he thought he had to wait to cash it. Shaw's idea of a competent poet is not one who can provide himself with a bear-skin coat of a winter; Keats who died of consumption at twenty-five, Shelley who drowned at thirty, were competent in the sense in which Bird's Marchbanks is, in the sense in which Marlowe, who was killed at twenty-six in a tavern brawl, is Cabell's example of the true economist. The scientific poets of today might not at eighteen—have behaved as did this actor, but so much the worse for them—and for poetry.

Through the play, here and there, we could sense the spirit of Dudley Digges, whose directing caught the spirit, now mocking, now deeply serious, of the author. Shaw has captured, in "Candida," from a wholly different angle, the lesson of Barrie's "What Every Woman Knows," and a revelation of the feminine soul that is touching and universal. With a slightly greater humanity in the part of the minister, and possibly the least toning down by Mr. Bird, the performance would become a flawless presentation of a great play. J. T. S.



EMMA DUNN

gives a delightful and sincere performance of the rebellious Mother in Tom Barry's "Dawn." The play moves to the Eltinge Theatre, Monday night.

Rudolph Valentino

At Moss' Broadway

A holiday program has been arranged for B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre for next week. The vaudeville acts will include Willie Creager and Band; Elsie Pileer and Dudley Douglas, assisted by George Raft; Clayton and Lennie; The Quixy Four, P. M. Fosdick, Bobby Owens, Fred Miller and Ed Stokes; Billy Shnee and Louise Squire, and other acts.

The screen will reflect Rudolph Valentino, in "A Sainted Devil," a pictorialization of Rex Beach's novel.

"The Jew Shall Not Cross"

Hungarian Film Censor, Objects to Jews Crossing Red Sea

WELL, well! And we have been kicking at the stupidity of our film censors! Here is an item from the Vienna correspondent of the Manchester Guardian on a recent film shown in Budapest:

The Hungarian film censor takes his business seriously. The Sascha Film-works in Vienna have completed a new film called "The Queen of Slaves," the film being based on the novel of Sir H. Rider Haggard "The Moon of Israel." In Vienna the film was produced without any difficulty; the Magyar censor objected that certain parts of the picture should be produced in Budapest.

Following the book of Rider Haggard, the film pictures the slavery of the Jews in Egypt. The censor objected that the Jews should be able to cross the Red Sea with dry feet while the Egyptians had to drown in the tide. The censor, an anti-Semite, considered this part of the picture pro-Jewish propaganda, which cannot be permitted in a Christian "racist" country. The producer argued in vain that the Bible is responsible for his pro-Semitic version; the censor remained adamant, and the word "Jew" had to be eliminated from the film. The same fate had befallen the part of the picture where the magnificent temple of the Jews—the producer was especially proud of the wonderful construction of this edifice—was shown.

vation is Lawton's Electrical Orchestra Director—an invention that permits the orchestra leader to direct his musicians without watching the picture. This is B. S. Moss' twelfth playhouse in the Metropolitan district. The policy of the new theatre will be the same as that of other first-class cinema houses on Broadway.



EMMETT CORRIGAN

plays the leading role in the new drama, "The Bully," which will open at the Hudson Theatre on Christmas night.

Moss' Colony Theatre

Opens Christmas Day With Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad"

B. S. Moss' Colony Theatre, will have its official opening on Christmas Day. Located at 53rd street and Broadway, this new theatre will be devoted exclusively to super-film and surrounding diversions. Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad," will be the initial film attraction at the Colony Theatre.

The Colony represents an investment of approximately \$2,000,000, has wide aisles and an unusual amount of space between seat rows. It has eight lines that permit a full view of the screen from every seat in the theatre, including the boxes. It has a scientific ventilating system. An interesting inno-

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE YOUNGEST," a new comedy by Philip Barry, will be presented by Robert Milton, at the Gaiety Theatre, Monday night. Henry Hull and Genieve Tobin play the leading roles.

"MILGRIM'S PROGRESS," a comedy by B. Harrison Orkow, with Louis Mann as its star, will open at Wallack's Theatre, Monday night. Others in the cast include Priscilla Knowles, Mario Reichardt, Jeanne Green, Charles Halton and Douglas Wood.

"BLUFFING BLUFFERS," a comedy by Thompson Buchanan and John Meehan, will be on view at the Ambassador Theatre, Monday evening. James P. Beury is the sponsor. Edward H. Robins, Enid Markey, Roy Gordon, Mabel Acker and John T. Doyle head the cast.

TUESDAY

"OLD ENGLISH," from the pen of John Galsworthy, with George Arliss featured, comes to the Ritz on Tuesday night. Winthrop Ames presents the drama. Others in the company include Ivan F. Simpson, Henry Morrell, Frederic Earle, Deering Wells, Stafford Dickens, Norman Cannon and Eustace Wyatt.

"TOPSY AND EVA," a musical comedy based on "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Catherine Chisholm Cushing, with the Duncan Sisters featured, will open at the Sam H. Harris Theatre on Tuesday night. Tom Wilkes is the sponsor.

"LADIES OF THE EVENING," by Milton Herbert Gropper, will open at the Lyceum Theatre, on Tuesday night, presented by David Belasco. The cast includes James Kirkwood, Robert E. O'Connor, Vernon Steele, Beth Merrill, Edna Hibbard and Allyn Gillyn.

WEDNESDAY

"THE HABITUAL HUSBAND," a comedy by Dana Burnet, will open Wednesday night, at the 48th Street Theatre, presented by the Actors' Theatre with this cast: Grant Mitchell, Margalo Gillmore, Diantha Pattison, Clarence Derwent, Ernest Stafford and Marion Barney. Staged by Dudley Digges. Settings by Woodman Thompson. This opens the production program of the Actors' Theatre season, and also serves to introduce a playwright new to New York.

"BETTY LEE," a new musical comedy, will have its Metropolitan premiere at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre on Christmas evening. It is based on "Going Some," by Paul Armstrong and Rex Beach. Otto Harbach is responsible for the book and Louis Hirsch and Con Conrad for the music. Rufus Le Maire, the producer, has gathered the following cast: Hal Skelly, Joe E. Brown, Gloria Foy, Madeline Cameron, Stanley Ridges, James S. Barrett and Paisley Noon.

THURSDAY

"THE BULLY," a new play by Julie Helene Percival and Calvin Clarke, opens at the Hudson Theatre, on Christmas night, with Emmett Corrigan and a cast including Margaret Cusack, Olive Oliver, Barry Jones, James Bradbury, Jr., Maude Franklin Earle Mitchell and Howard Sinclair. Mrs. Henry B. Harris presents the play.

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MATINEES WED. & SAT. 2:30

Ditrichstein Retires

Noted Actor-Playwright to Give Up the Stage

LEO DITRICHSTEIN, one of the best known actors on the American stage, has decided to give up stage work and retire to Italy. The condition of his health is responsible for the announcement.

Mr. Ditrichstein is well known as a playwright as he is as actor. He scored one of his greatest successes in "The Great Lover," of which he was part author. His final New York appearance took place just a year ago at the Ritz Theatre in "The Business Widow."

Besides "The Great Lover," Mr. Ditrichstein's greatest success was scored as Zou-Zou in the first American production of "Tribby," in "The Centest," and in "The Phantom Rival."

He is co-author of more than thirty plays, including a number written in collaboration with Clyde Fitch. He adapted both "The Concert" and "The Phantom Rival," and others of his plays are "Are You a Mason?" "All on Account of Eliza," "Is Matrimony a Failure?" "The Million," and "A Temperamental Journey."

Mr. Ditrichstein was born in Hungary and after a German stage career made his first New York appearance at the Amberg Theatre in 1890.



JEANNE EAGELS

will play her Sadie Thompson role in "Rain," at the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday.

Broadway Briefs

Monday, "Dawn," the Tom Barry drama, with Emma Dunn, will move from the Sam H. Harris Theatre, to the Eltinge Theatre.

Marguerite Namara has been engaged to sing the prima donna role in "The

"Is This Is Marriage" and Holiday Musical Program at Capitol

Hobart Henley's production for Metro-Goldwyn, "Is This Is Marriage," comes to the Capitol Theatre, Sunday. The story, which was written by Carey Wilson, is commentary on the problems of marriage, by Elanor Boardman. Conrad Nagel, Lew Cody, Thelma Morgan, and Clyde Cook, play the leading roles. The musical program consists of a tableau representing "The Nativity," in which the Capitol singers will sing "Holy Night" and "Adeste Fidelis"; a Christmas greeting, with Frank Moulan impersonating the character of Santa Claus; and the "March of the Toys," from Victor Herbert's "Babes in Toyland," with Mlle. Gambarelli and the Ballet Corps. Another number by the staff, "Down Memory Lane of Musical Comedy," and the Overture to "Tannhauser," complete the program.

Love Song," the operetta based on the life of Offenbach, which the Shuberts will present at the Century Theatre in January.

The chief male role in "Collusion," which comes to the Princess, Dec. 29, will be played by Richard Bird, the young English actor, who did such excellent work in "Havoc" this season. Incidentally, Mr. Bird plays "Marchbanks" in the matinee performances of "Candida," at the 48th Street

THEATRES

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"The Love Song," Life of Offenbach, Coming in January

The Messrs. Shubert will present early in January at the Century, "The Love Song," a three act opera based on incidents in the life of Jacques Offenbach, the famous composer. The opera was done in Vienna under the title of "The Life of Offenbach," and in Paris as "The Master of Montmartre." The score of "The Love Song," in the main, is by Offenbach and Edward Künneke, a Viennese composer.

Broadway Briefs

Donnelly and Tierney, the dancing team in the "Greenwich Village Follies," at the Winter Garden, have added a new number to the revue—a satire on classical dancing, in which an old derby hat is used.

Barbara La Marr in her latest, "Sandra," comes to the Piccadilly Theatre the week beginning December 20.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—Rudolph Valentino in "A Sainted Devil," from the novel of Rex Beach.
CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Hot Water."

CAPITOL—"So This Is Marriage," with Eleanor Boardman, Lew Cody, Conrad Nagel and Clyde Cook.

COLONY—Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad," opens Christmas Day.
RIALTO—Thomas Meighan in "Tongues of Flame."

RIVOLI—"Argentine Love," with Bebe Daniels and Ricardo Cortez.

The Actor's Theatre announces the first production of its season, "The Habitual Husband," a comedy by Dana Burnett, to open Christmas Eve at the 48th St. Theatre. The cast includes: Grant Mitchell, Margalo Gilmore, Diantha Pattison, Clarence Derwent, Ernest Stallard, and Marion Barney. Staged by Dudley Diggs. First matinee Saturday.

Special matinees of Bernard Shaw's "Candida" every Wednesday and Friday afternoon with this cast: Katharine Cornell, Richard Bird, Pedro de Coroba, Clare Eames, Earnest Cosart and Gerald Harner. Seats for both productions now on sale at the 48th St. Theatre. Bryant 0178.

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BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
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Jeanne Eagels

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The Drama of the Century
By John Colton & Clemence Randolph

From N. Somerset Maugham's
"MISS THOMPSON"

Staged by John D. Williams.

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

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CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA
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Presentations by ROTHAFEL ("ROXY")

STATE SYMPHONY

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JOSEPH STRANSKY, Conductor

General Request Program
"SCHEHERZADE"

"PATRIOTIQUE" "LES PRELUDES"

Seats 50c. to \$2.00 at Box Office. (Steinway.)

Aeolian Hall, Sat. Aft., Dec. 27, at 3.

FOURTH PIANO RECITAL

HUTCHESON

CHOPIN PROGRAM
Mgt. London Charlton. (Steinway Piano.)

Walter Hampden will open the Century Theatre on Monday, for a two weeks' holiday season in "Cyrano de Bergerac." On January 5, he will play "Otello" in a Broadway Theatre.

"Pigs" celebrated its 125th performance Friday night, at the Little Theatre.

"The Marionette Man," a melodrama by Francis Lightner, will be placed in rehearsal this week by Brock Pemberton. The play will open out of town late this month.

The Actors' Theatre continues Bernard Shaw's "Candida" for matinees on Wednesdays and Fridays, at the 48th Street Theatre.

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D R A M A

"The Mongrel"

Rudolph Schildkraut Does Superb Work in Herman Bahr's Play at the Longacre Theatre.

It is Rudolph Schildkraut's party at the Longacre Theatre, where Herman Bahr's "The Mongrel" is on view. But having said so much it is impossible to say very much more, for rarely have we seen such superb acting wasted on so un-substantive a play.

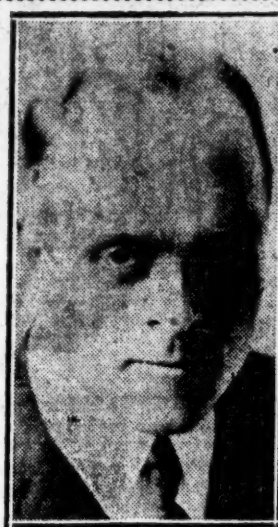
It is difficult to restrain one's enthusiasm when speaking of the acting of this wonderful artist. Every gesture, every movement of the hands and of the body—every intonation of the voice, every step—everything about him bespeaks the great actor. But the play! It's a pity, too. The play was adapted by Elmer L. Rice. It is presented by Warren P. Munsell with settings by Lee Simonson.

It has to do with the sorrow of old Matthias over the murder of Sniffy, his mongrel pup by the chief forester with whose pedigree lady dog Sniffy was carrying on a clandestine amour. Poor Matthias was extremely unhappy; his wife and son were dead and his daughter had been disgraced and had disappeared. He lived in a miserable cottage with Lois, his almost imbecile grandson, his daughter's illegitimate child, and his dog. With his dog's death his life was darkened, and he demanded revenge. The forester offered him money, but he wouldn't take anything; he wanted to see the murderer of his dog in jail.

Infamed by Lois, and with the aid of a little bad liquor, he visited the forester in his home and asked him how he would like it if his nearest and dearest were killed. Upon which a great light dawned upon him and (off-stage) he attempts to murder Marie, the forester's daughter. But it all ends happily, even to a love affair between the local judge and Marie.

A cast of unusual competence has been selected to play the trifle, the best of the supporting cast being John F. Hamilton as Lois. Carl Anthony was excellent as the forester, and Peter Lang made a priest convincing enough for the audience to understand why the old man yielded to him when he asked him to take down the cross he had erected over Sniffy's grave. Ernests Lascelles is badly miscast as the forester's daughter. Her cold stately blonde beauty belongs in an English drawing room rather than in a villager's cottage in what we are supposed to understand is Germany. Lee Simonson's settings were perfect, as usual. But the evening was made memorable, in spite of the weak play and execrable acting in spots by the glorious art of Schildkraut. Some day he will have a part suitable to his great genius; some day he will have an adequate cast, to set off that genius. And then there will be a production worth going miles to see.

W. M. F.



GRANT MITCHELL

in "The Habitual Husband," a new play by Dana Burnett, which will open the Actor's Theatre season at the 48th Street, Wednesday night.

Drama League and Actors' Theatre Offer Prizes

To encourage embryo dramatic critics, the New York Drama League will hold a prize contest for the best reviews written for "The Habitual Husband," Anna Burnett's comedy, which will open at the 48th Street Theatre, Christmas Eve. The first prize, offered by the Drama League, will be \$50. The second prize, offered by the Actors' Theatre, producing "The Habitual Husband," will be two subscription memberships for the other plays done during the year, four in all. The contest is open to all except officers of the New York Drama League, members of its playgoing committee, and professional writers. The reviews, which are limited to five hundred words, must reach the offices of the Drama League, 29 West 47th street, not later than January 5, and they must be submitted under assumed names, with the writer's real name sent in an envelope attached. Walter Pritchard Eaton will act as judge of the contest.

Jeanne Eagles in "Rain" at Bronx Opera House

Jeanne Eagles in "Rain," will come to the Bronx Opera House, Monday, for an engagement of one week only. Sam H. Harris presents this attraction. "Rain" had a run of more than two years on Broadway. The cast supporting Miss Eagles include Robert Kelly, Ripley Holmes, Fritz Williams, Robert Elliott, Katherine Brook, Shirley King and Harold Healey.

The Citadel of Molinella

In connection with the following article on the heroic struggle of the workers of the district of Molinella in the Province of Bologna sent out by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions it may be noted that recent cablegrams have told of violent dissension among the disciples of Mussolini in that section, resulting in the splitting of the Fascisti into two warring factions.

In Italy the name "Molinella" stands for all that is most enduring in the Italian Labor movement. The land workers of Molinella town and district have for many years past done splendid work for Socialism. They have always been in the vanguard of progress and for that very reason they have been the special object of attack by the hordes of Fascism. They have suffered much, but they have nevertheless held the "citadel of Molinella" against the foe.

The land workers' union of Molinella are among the oldest of the Labor organizations of Italy. They were founded in 1889 under the name of "The Democratic League." The spread of Socialist ideas and the growth of class-consciousness became very pronounced under the leadership of Andrea Costa in 1893; later on, the well-known Giuseppe Massarenti became the guiding spirit of the stalwarts of Molinella. Even in those days the progressives of Molinella met with fierce opposition—reactionary decrees were issued by Crispi in 1894, and by Pelloux in 1898 and 1900.

In 1896, the first consumers' co-operative society was founded, and in 1906 the workers' organizations set up a Labor Exchange. At the beginning of the war the organized workers of Molinella numbered about 1,200, and many excellent labor institutions were going well. The Labor leaders of Molinella proceeded to found a co-operative society to promote agricultural production and a co-operative society for the purchase of agricultural machinery. Educational and welfare institutions were not neglected. A large library was established for both young people and adults, also two institutes to promote the welfare of workers' children. The workers contributed ten per cent of their wages to Labor purposes, of which half went to the strike fund, and the rest to the upkeep of the above mentioned institutions. At the end of the war the membership was 3,500, but in view of the general insecurity, it was thought better to consolidate the existing institutions rather than extend them.

The Fascists Arrive. When the Fascista party came into power, the country gentry, farmers, shopkeepers, et al. thought the time

had come to smash Molinella and its Socialist institutions. But Molinella was not to be caught napping. When news came of the widespread outrages of the Fascisti, a general meeting was called of the 3,500 organized workers, and it was resolved that the workers should defend their cherished institutions, but should carefully avoid giving needless provocation. A year later (1922) the expected attack came; an armed force assaulted the co-operative stores, destroyed the building and sold some of the goods to local traders. The co-operative society buildings were placed at the disposal of private merchants, and the machinery, cattle, etc., of the agricultural co-operatives seized or sold. Property which it had taken thirty years of Socialist organization to accumulate, was sold chiefly to Fascisti, for about thirty per cent of its actual value. The Labor Exchange was destroyed, about twenty employees were expelled from the place and the workers who remained loyal were boycotted.

Failing to break the spirit of Molinella by these means, the Fascisti took to personal violence. No fewer than 800 workers have been subjected to violent eugelling and five have been murdered, but not a single one of the evildoers has ever been brought to justice.

The employers have been no less aggressive. Fifty families have been expelled from the place, among them seven men who were severely wounded in the war. There are still left 1,500 organized workers, but of these, half are working short time and the other half are unemployed. Between January and the end of May, 1924, the average monthly wage of the families of the organized workers were about twenty lire per person.

The Italian Confederation of Labor has issued an appeal to the workers of Italy, asking for help for the workers of Molinella, who in the past have never hesitated to give aid to other workers all over the country. A committee has been appointed at Milan to undertake the work of succor. There is the warmest sympathy among the class-conscious workers of Italy for this little band of heroes, who have set so shining an example to their fellows.

Goldman to Conduct Colony Theatre Orchestra

Edwin Franko Goldman will be the conductor of the orchestra at B. S. Moss' Colony Theatre, Fifty-third street and Broadway, when that new motion-picture house opens on Christmas Day.

This will mark Mr. Goldman's first venture in a cinema theatre.

As director of the Goldman Band organized by him several years ago and as a composer of marches and lighter music, he is rated among the leaders of his art.

Each summer, the Goldman Orchestra gives a season of sixty concerts in Central Park.

At the Colony Theatre, Edwin Goldman will direct an orchestra of fifty musicians chosen from the leading symphony orchestras. A new and unnamed march has been composed by Mr. Goldman for the opening.

Pavlova Returns for Christmas Holidays

Anna Pavlova will give eight more performances at the Manhattan beginning Monday night, before proceeding on her final American tour, which will end in March in California. Then on to Mexico City, Havana, and back to Europe.

The coming week will begin with her spectacular new ballet, "Don Quixote," on Monday night. Tuesday night, "Amarilla" and "Autumn Leaves," Christmas Eve's offerings will be "Visions," from "The Sleeping Beauty," and "The Fairy Doll." Christmas matinee, "The Magic Flute" and "Snowflakes," the latter described by Tchaikovsky, its composer as depicting "The Birth of a Christmas Tree." Christmas night, "Don Quixote," and repeated Friday night and Saturday afternoon. At the holiday performances, Wednesday night, Thursday matinee and Thursday night, the program of diversissements will close with Mme. Pavlova's dance pantomime called "Christmas." The engagement will close Saturday night with "The Fairy Doll" and "Invitation to the Dance." Her diversissements for the week include "The Swan," "The Dance of the Hours," "Coquette de Colombine," her Russian Dance, "Serenade," "Christmas," "Syrin Dance" and the "Gavotte Pavlova."

Christmas Week at the Metropolitan O. H.

"Thais" will open the eighth week of the Metropolitan Opera Monday evening, with Jeritts and Tokatyan. Other operas of the week: "Die Meistersinger," Christmas Eve with Rebers and Laubenthal. "Tosca," Christmas afternoon with Jeritts and Fieta. "La Juive," Christmas night with Ponselle and Martinelli. "Lohengrin" Friday evening with Easton and Laubenthal. "L'Africana" Saturday matinee with Ponselle and Gigli. "Faust," Saturday night with Alda and Martinelli.

At Sunday night's concert, Bronislav Huberman, violinist, will be the soloist.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC

Maier and Pattison are to be soloists with the Philharmonic Orchestra under Henry Hadley's direction tomorrow afternoon at the Metropolitan Opera House, playing the Bach Minor Concerto, No. 1, for two pianos and orchestra. Other numbers include Frederick Stock's symphonic waltz; Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony and the Overture to Smetana's "The Bartered Bride."

The first Membership Concert of the Philharmonic Society will take place

at the Waldorf-Astoria grand ball room on Tuesday evening. The program will consist chiefly of music in lighter vein, with Willem Van Hoogstraten and Henry Bradley conducting. Felix Salmon, the eminent cellist, will appear as soloist.

STATE SYMPHONY

The State Symphony, Josef Stransky conducting, will give a special request program at Carnegie Hall, tomorrow afternoon. The program includes Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Scheherzade," Tchaikovsky's "Pathetique," and Liszt's "Les Preludes."

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

This afternoon, at Carnegie Hall, the New York Symphony, under the baton of Vladimir Golschmann, guest conductor, and the Kibichich Russian Symphonie Choir will give a special Christmas program.

Tomorrow afternoon at Aeolian Hall, the program will include: Overture, "Iphigenia in Aulis," Gluck; Symphony No. 4, in A, "Italian," Mendelssohn; "The Spider's Banquet," Roussel; Dance of the Sylphs, Minuet of the Will-o'-the-Wisp, Rakoczy March, from "The Damnation of Faust," Berlioz.

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THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, December 20, 1924

SAMUEL GOMPERS

SERVING forty-two years as President of the American Federation of Labor, and again elected to succeed himself, Samuel Gompers died at the age of 74 as the most conspicuous man the trade union movement of this country produced. A man of exceptional ability, of wide information, of extraordinary capacity for work, strong convictions, and a devoted following, his services in office practically spanned two eras of industrial history. This is a record unique in the history of the Labor movement.

What must interest Socialists in this career is the question: Why, under Mr. Gompers' leadership, did the Socialist movement and the A. F. of L. grow so far apart and to the disadvantage and injury of both movements? The superficial observer of Mr. Gompers' bitter attacks on the Socialist movement here and abroad will conclude that it was due to unreasoning prejudice and, possibly, malice.

But this would be a superficial view of the matter. It ignores the fact that Mr. Gompers' name was once carried on the roll of the Socialist Labor Party. That was more than forty years ago. Moreover, he had maintained sympathetic relations with Socialists in the New York Labor movement. His sympathetic attitude was maintained for nearly a decade after 1881 when he first assumed the office which he held so many years.

Not until the S. L. P. claimed the right to be represented in city central Labor bodies and in A. F. of L. conventions, in 1890, did the estrangement begin. In the Detroit convention of that year the attempt to seat Lucien Saniel as a delegate of the S. L. P. was defeated after a long debate. Those who read that debate today will be impressed by two facts: The non-Socialist delegates were, with one or two exceptions, very fair to and appreciative of the services rendered by the Socialists to the trade union movement while voting against the idea of granting representation to political parties. The second fact is that these delegates had the logical argument and that these early Socialists were entirely in the wrong.

But the S. L. P. was not satisfied with the result of its own appeal. In the years that followed it became more and more a bitter sectarian society, indulging in the most venomous attacks on the A. F. of L. and its leaders, especially Mr. Gompers. It organized in rivalry to the A. F. of L. to the slogan of "Smash the pure and simple union." It set for itself the absurd task of displacing the A. F. of L. itself. That it failed, and miserably failed, and deserved to fail, was to be expected.

But it left a legacy of suspicion and hate unparalleled in the Labor movement. That it was a small minority of Socialists who indulged in this insane conduct, a minority that was repudiated when it established a rival organization, could not be comprehended by trade unionists whose time was given to making a living.

The damage was irreparable. The schism was wide. Mr. Gompers grew more bitter in his resentment year after year. So did his official colleagues. Any other man holding the same responsible position would have displayed the same reaction. Whether another man with another temperament would have become more mellow with the passing years, considering that the small Socialist faction was repudiated by the mass of Socialists, is a matter of conjecture. In any event, Mr. Gompers never forgave. He and the movement he represented drifted to a more and more conservative position, so that the A. F. of L. is recognized today as the most conservative Labor movement in the world.

The wounds are not as sore as they were two or three decades ago, but the process of healing is slow. It should be the aim of every intelligent trade unionist and Socialist to work for a better understanding of each other, for only weakness can come of quarrels and misunderstandings based upon mistakes of the last century.

William M. Feigenbaum, assistant editor of The New Leader from its first issue, has resigned his position to join the staff of the Jewish Daily Forward, where he will conduct the English section of the Sunday edition. Comrade Feigenbaum will continue his connection with The New Leader, however, as contributing editor. Work from his pen will appear frequently in these columns.

"The American People"



When an editor writes an editorial expressing the thought of "The American People," guess who he means?

REAL LADIES LOVE ROYALTY

PERHAPS the choicest collection of upstarts and sycophants to be found in the United States has been gathered into the Monday Opera Club of New York City. Its members have had the pleasure of importing the Grand Duchess Cyril, wife of the claimant to the Russian throne. Other real things in the line of royal and princely blood are to be imported for a round of pleasure and an opportunity to pay homage to jaded and idle parasites.

The perfect lady who heads the Colonial Dames looks forward to a "brilliant season" the coming year. What greater joy can come into the life of descendants of the perfect ladies of colonial days than to import female members of royal families that were booted out of their soft grafts in Europe by revolutionary movements?

If some antiquarian were to investigate the colonial ancestors of these American dames we would find Lady Smith the descendant of a prisoner of Newgate. Lady Brown's ancestor was sold as a redemption in Philadelphia, while Miss Thoroughgood worked out a term of servitude chained to other convicts while building roads in Maryland. This might be depressing to these women, but they have the consolation of knowing that wads of cash will eventually evolve a "lady" out of a mudsill ancestry. The Colonial Dames? Get the hook!

INDEXING THE ALIENS

IT was the glorious war to make us all safe for our godly governors and politicians out of which issued the idea of a permanent police espionage of suspects. Not criminals, of course, but thinkers and doers who think and act with no respect for tradition or "established truth." Wilson's Bureleson was eager for this.

Palmer had liked the idea. He had already indexed several hundred thousand suspects. That list, with possibly a few exceptions, represents a type of brains that would in five minutes transform Congress into a legislative body.

Its brokerage exchange character could not survive. Then the "Ohio gang" came to Washington, headed by the sainted Harding. The later appointed John J. Davis at the head of the Labor Department and that unknown worthy came to be an advocate of police espionage of all who have not become citizens. He has peddled it before bankers and industrial magnates as having some mysterious charm in "Americanizing" immigrants. Himself an immigrant, we have often wondered how he would like to have registered each year, until naturalized, with the public authorities and reported to them at stated periods like a convict out of jail on parole.

Now, here is Representative Aswell, Democrat of Louisiana, introducing a bill that embodies some important features of the late Nicholas Romanoff's ideas as well as Mr. Davis'. The bill would require all aliens to register at post offices, carrying certificates of identification to be produced on demand of any officer of the law, and report changes of residence when the alien moves. He is also soaked ten dollars for the first registration and five dollars for each subsequent registration. Incidentally, this would also open a vast field for graft with the alien as the victim.

Should this compound of stupidity, ignorance and vicious chauvinism be enacted into

law it would be a partial restoration on American soil of one of the most hated institutions of the old Russia. It will be interesting to watch the fate of this foul product of the war.

THE "STABLE" PHILIPPINES

AMERICANS constitute about one-tenth of ten per cent of the population of the Philippines, yet the plums in the way of investments are controlled by American capital.

Keeping this fundamental fact in mind we observe that Governor-General Wood has vetoed an item in the General Appropriation Bill of \$50,000 for carrying on the work of the Filipino Independence Commission and another item providing expenses of Filipino representatives to the Inter-parliamentary Union. Filipinos were also denied a franchise for The Radio Corporation of the Philippines but a few days before this veto Governor-General Wood signed bills granting franchises to the Radio Corporation of America.

General Wood has been frank in his opinion of what constitutes a stable government. As he once put it, such a government is "one under which capital seeks investment at normal rates of interest." In other words, his job is to administer the Philippines and regulate the Filipinos as to promote the happiness of investing Americans. His vetoes are perfectly intelligible in view of his expressed opinion of what constitutes a stable government.

The United States has sunk \$700,000,000 in military and naval expenditures arising out of the occupation. If all that it can show for this money is a handful of Americans favored with franchises and other plums, a pompous dictator who denies a Filipino commission its expenses and increasing bitterness of the Filipino people, it might well auction its imperialist job to the most favorable bidder.

THE MYSTERIES OF CHILE

JUST what was back of the overthrow of President Alessandri of Chile a few weeks ago could not be gathered by reading the press. It was hinted that the military officer, General Altamirano, who became President, was representative of a widespread popular movement. Still it was admitted that he held power only by force of the army. It was said that he had the support of the Chilean workmen as well.

Now here comes news of the ousting of the military clique itself and the organization of a new ministry. It also appears that the railroad workers in the northern provinces had organized a protest strike against the military regime. The Altamirano Cabinet, which was to bring "order and prosperity" and for which was predicted a long term of office, goes into the discard.

The real facts appears to be as follows: Chile has for many decades been an oligarchy. Not until Alessandri was elected President by trade unionists, Socialists, liberals and many others tired of the old class rule was there a change. The new President was said to be a near-Socialist. He took office during an after-war business slump. This, together with powerful opposition in Congress and the sabotaging of his program, made him a vulnerable mark for his enemies.

He fell before the military coup of Altamirano and the old regime was restored. But the Labor movement and liberal ideas

have penetrated Chile and the dictator could not survive. His collapse was sudden. It is evident that he had no support outside of the ruling families and oligarchs.

But we would never know this by reading press accounts of affairs in Chile.

A TALE OF TWO SHOES

FOR some time Alice Stone Blackwell has been sending an item to many newspapers regarding the labor cost of shoes. This item is based upon an investigation made by the United States Bureau of Labor to determine the cost of the labor that enters into making a pair of shoes. This included "the salaries of superintendents, foremen, clerks, firemen," as well as the wages of the workers. The conclusion reported is that the labor cost of a pair of shoes is a little under 37 cents.

Our readers may reflect upon the difference between the labor cost of a pair of shoes and what they are compelled to pay when purchasing a pair. Down the line of distribution which begins at the factory, and which includes numerous middlemen, there are enormous tolls taken before the shoes reach the purchaser. When it is remembered that at least one large firm sells direct through its own retail store throughout the country, this fact has an important bearing upon the theory that if we cut out the middlemen the masses will gain to the extent of the saving of middlemen's profits.

The firm of W. L. Douglas does not deal with middlemen; it sells direct through its own retail stores. Suppose that by legislation or otherwise the middlemen dealing with other firms are cut out. Would that mean that the masses would gain? Not at all. It would mean that the gains of the manufacturers would be enhanced, for they would certainly establish their own retail stores. We have observed the same economic drift in the tobacco business and groceries and other lines.

However, cutting out the middlemen makes the class divisions in society more sharp and suggests the need of abolishing capitalist mastery of production and distribution. The dissemination of this idea is one big gain that would follow, and one that is urgent and necessary.

FINING OFFENDERS

PROBABLY the most interesting item in the bill introduced in the Danish Parliament by Minister of Justice Steincke is the one which provides fines for similar offenses for the poor man and the rich man. Its unique character lies in the fact that instead of providing a stated sum as a fine for a given offense the law would exact one day's income from the offender.

It was left for a Socialist member of a Government to make this thrust at the boasted "equality before the law" of society where there are classes, some with meager incomes, some without any at all, and others rolling in wealth. The "equality" which is expressed in fining a worker ten dollars and costs and assessing the same fine when a millionaire appears in court on the same charge is in reality heartless discrimination against the workers.

It was a German economist who once said that "the worst form of inequality is the equal treatment of unequals." In most of the capitalist countries this equal treatment of unequals survives and in the United States it is blessed by editors and lawyers, politicians and statesmen, as the final word in equality of treatment. The unemployed workman may be sent to jail because he cannot pay a fine while the millionaire keeps out of jail because he can pay it.

A nearer approximation to justice is the requirement that where the violation of the law requires the payment of a fine both the rich and the poor shall pay one day's income. Even this is not ideal although it is an improvement over the old system. The payment of a day's income by a worker would still be a greater hardship to the worker than the payment of thousands of dollars by a millionaire. This consideration merely emphasizes the fact that there can be no complete equity in the matter of fines in a society that breeds the two classes. To realize this equity it is necessary to organize society on a Socialist basis. Then economic equity will provide the basis for social equality in all other human relations.

By ELIZABETH GOLDSTEIN

Mexican Holiday

THANKSGIVING DAY, 1924, will be a memorable one in the lives of some 300 or more Americans. After having their turkey dinner in the beautiful city of El Paso, where the "sunshine rests for the winter," and saying their farewells to the Mexican city of Juarez, the west side of the Rio Grande, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, their wives, guests, newspaper men, Mexican officials, and others gathered at the depot to "see each other off" to Mexico City.

To see each other off is no mere phrase. That is what actually happened. For there were two trains of about ten cars each. One, the red one, carrying the Socialists and other bad people, left an hour earlier than the second one, the black train, carrying the officials of the American Federation of Labor, the newspaper reporters, and other notables. It was said, at first jocularly, then more seriously, that the first train carried the shock troops.

Rumors had been rife, for several days previous, that another revolution in Mexico was impending, that the trains carrying the American visitors were likely to be held up by bandits. Most of the folks planning to make the trip took the matter lightly, even joked about it; some were so frightened that they actually cancelled the trip and returned to their homes in time for their turkey dinner, and some came along prepared for a possible battle by carrying guns on them.

The local insurance agent did a thriving business among the folks as they waited at the depot. With but few exceptions all

took out insurance. It was said that some even made out their wills.

Having nothing of worldly possessions to leave to anyone, and rather hoping for a little revolution or a hold-up on the way, so that I might be captured by a bandit, I patronized neither insurance agent nor lawyer.

The "red Special" carrying the shock troops, among whom were Joseph Schloesberg, Nellie Nearing, Adolph Warshaw, Harry Weinberger, and Frank Tannenbaum, finally started off amid the waving of handkerchiefs and the cheering from the others on the platform who were going on the black train. It was said that after the danger zone had been passed, and the fear of the second train being held up by bandits no longer existed, the train with the shock troops would be halted and kept waiting until the black train had passed it, when it would fall in the rear.

An hour later the black train started and we were off for good, to Mexico City, the land of mystery and enigmas, of daily revolutions and daring and bold, bad bandits, to those who know nothing of their Southern neighbors and care still less—the land of romance, beauty and tremendous social possibilities to those who have been there and understand and sympathize.

At Juarez, across the Rio Grande, the train stopped for a little while to take on the little, brown-skinned Mexican troops who were coming along as a bodyguard for the American visitors, to take on some water, perhaps even more interesting additions, and to give some of the delegates a

chance to slake their thirst, which chance they were not slow in grabbing.

One hardly crosses into the City of Juarez, only fifteen minutes away from the United States, when one comes into different and strange civilization, among a strange and different people. Low, flat adobe houses, brown-skinned people, women with black shawls in lieu of hats over their heads, wide, straw, pointed sombreros on the heads of the men, and strange, incomprehensible signs everywhere.

The train rolls on. Darkness is descending. One can see only outlines of mountains against a blue-green sky, and over the mountains a silvery rim of a moon.

The travellers having slaked their thirst, are becoming loquacious and jovial. Dust upon dust begins to fill the cars. Blinds are pulled down in an effort to keep out the dust.

At last all are happy over again. Supper is being announced. Delegates crowd into the diner waiting in line for their turns. "If only these people wouldn't turn this dinner into a brewery," complains the gentleman in charge of the diner, to those standing in line waiting for the eaters to get through, "we wouldn't have to keep you waiting so long. But here they sit and sit and sit, long after they have finished eating, doing nothing but drinking beer. Good heavens, where do they put it all?" The waiting line agrees with him, only to perform the same feat when it finally gets seated.

Finally all have eaten, and are back in their Pullman chairs again. As you go

THE Chatter-Box

Poetry Prize Contest Awards

First Prize—\$15 awarded to Goody for his poem "My Room," published in this column October 11.

Second Prize—\$10 awarded to Leone for his (or her) poem "Costume Ball," published here November 1.

Honorable Mention—to G. Harrison Riley for his poem "It Is to Build," published here November 22.

We were compelled to split up the prize of \$25 because Leone's poem was strongly supported by a rather insistent minority of the judges, so we chose the course of benevolence and compromise.

Winners will please send in their correct name and addresses, so that cheques can reach them before Christmas.

Not to be outdone or undone by such a depletion of our exchequer, we courageously announce another \$25 Prize for the best poetical contribution to this column during the next three months, contest ending March 15, 1925. Brevity and quality are the only restrictions. We expect to hear from every poet in the land.

Mustapha Yen

Abdul Ahem Mustapha Yen,
Helper of God, helper of men
(Incidentally, it might be said,
Forgot not his own sacred head.

As a prayerist Mustapha was never out-prayed,
He explained unto God just who was who—

That God, in His mercy, with Mustapha's aid
(Incidentally a dollar, ducat, yen or sou),
Would pass you to heaven were you Mustapha's friend;

While Mustapha, fisher of men, cast his net
And long conversations did heavenward send,
With much praise and long prayer. Let God forget.

G. Harrison Riley.

Los Soldados Quatros

Dropped in at the Rendezvous last night and came upon a table from which emanated strange sounds, wholly unallied to Dave's vegetable soup. "Caramba, carabaja, muchas gracias, nu, nu"; and upon closer examination we found there comrades Warsaw, Fillin, Turbo, and Sherover lustily engaged in exchanging Mexican quips in purest Castilian.

Fourteen days in El Paso, Juarez, and Mexico City had certainly denaturalized these four erstwhile Americans.

For a perfect tourist information bureau, or a treatise on business conditions in Mexico, we refer you to any of the above mentioned hombres.

Ged Taggard and Joe Freeman, two of America's real poets, have expressed regret on not having entered our poetry contest in time to endanger the present award. Attention is called to the next contest, fellow scribes.

Met Harry Kemp the other night, and together, like two he-men of the wild and woolly, we meandered into the Garden and watched six pair of human game-cocks peck away at each other's anatomy with flailing fists. Neither Harry nor we were much inspired or impressed, save that we jointly bewailed the superlative value in gold of a hand full of knuckles over a book full of sonnets and song.

It just occurs to us, while on the subject of Christmas, that Bertha Mailly has been going the rounds with a worried expression on her usual inspiring countenance. There is an eloquence in such unusualness which moves us to inform our readers who cannot to forget that the Rand School is in dire need of a real Santa Claus this season. He who gives promptly gives best. . . . Merry Christmas to you all. . . .

S. A. DE WITT.

through the eight or ten cars in the train, you discover some playing their favorite game of pinochle, some are finishing the last remnants of the bottles they forgot to leave on the dining room tables, and preclaiming to the world their love for their Mexican hosts, others are trying to read among this joviality, and still others are discussing the "inevitable" social revolution, not forgetting to mention the American capitalists. Off in a corner some actor-delegates are performing a stunt, to the apparent delight of many, and here and there lowered green curtains indicate that a few of the more rural delegates are retiring for the night.

Altogether it is a happy, jolly, not too boisterous typical American crowd, indulging not in a mere joyride, but in a trip which, while it has its light, merry and even frivolous side, yet impresses itself upon all those fortunate enough to participate in it as a ride that is the making of history, as a ride carrying messengers of peace and good will and understanding from the people of one country to those of another.

Not by diplomats, not by kings and potentates, and their forerunners, guns, battle ships and military hosts, is this message of peace and goodwill being carried, but by the representatives of the organized workers of one country to the organized workers of a neighboring country. Yes, this is history in the making, and history of a kind the world has never before experienced.

This is what all are feeling and thinking, while they are playing cards, drinking beer, singing songs, performing stunts, and jocularly discussing bandits and revolutions.