

# RATIFICATION of the CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT Will give Congress Power to



remove this blot from the shield of the  
UNITED STATES

## Favorable Report On Russia Revives Talk of Labor Unity

AMSTERDAM. With Dutch Labor circles more or less in a flutter over the optimistic report on conditions in Russia, summarized by the British Labor delegation upon its return the other day from a visit of several weeks in the land of the Soviets, the question of forming a united front by the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red Trade Union International has assumed fresh importance. But despite the fact that A. A. Purcell, Chairman of the British delegation, is also chairman of the Bureau and the Managing Committee of the I. F. T. U., the Bureau does not seem inclined to take the advances from Moscow very seriously.

At the Bureau's last meeting here the letter of October 23 from the Central Council of the All Russian Trade Unions suggesting that a congress of representatives of the two Labor internationals and of other important Labor union bodies based upon the principle of the class struggle for the purpose of trying to consolidate Labor's world-wide forces were taken up. An answer was dispatched pointing out that, as the Russian unions apparently were not ready to apply for affiliation with the I. F. T. U. and that, as the Bureau had no power to arrange a world congress, the whole matter would be put up to the next regular meeting of the Management Committee, which would open on February 6.

The Bureau meeting, which was held December 1-2, was attended by Jouhaux (France), Mertens (Belgium), Aufhäuser (Germany), Hicks (Great Britain) and the three Secretaries, Oudegeest, Sassenbach and Brown. During the discussion it was emphasized that Purcell was not acting for the I. F. T. U. during his Russian trip and that, consequently, it was not to be held responsible for any of his words or acts.

Union observers here point to the result of a "trial balloon" recently sent up in the Berlin Vorwärts by Secretary Oudegeest as indicative of an attitude on the part of the Moscow Labor leaders which would probably wreck all attempts at reunion. In this article Oudegeest reminded the Russian Labor men of the famous "Twenty-one Points" of the Communist International, which must be adhered to by all disciples of the true faith as expounded by Pope Zinoviev, and also asked them how about the dependence of the Russian unions upon the Communist party. This drew a statement from A. Losovsky, President of the Red Trade Union International, reading as follows:

"Oudegeest asks if the Soviet trade unions have the right to affiliate with the Amsterdam International without the consent of the Communist party of Russia, and whether the Communist party will not call attention to the twenty-one points when the moment of the decision comes. Oudegeest seems to think that the Soviet trade unions will break their links with the Communist party of Russia, and whether the satisfaction to the Reformists of all countries. Not content with this, he wishes, in return for the admission of the Soviet trade unions into the Amsterdam International, to deliver the International Labor movement from Communism. But he must now that it is the Communist parties who are affiliated with the Communist International who build cells and will continue to build them, and that neither the Communist International nor the individual Communist parties are subordinate to the Soviet trade unions. To make such demands is nothing more nor less than to sabotage the cause of unity."

While in Russia the delegation sent by the Hull congress of the British trade unions made a trip to the Caucasus and obtained an impression of the situation in Georgia, which, according to reports received here, they expressed in a resolution of eight paragraphs condemning the Menshevik efforts to re-establish an independent Georgian republic, on the ground that a small country like Georgia, especially when rich in oil and other natural resources, could hardly maintain itself independent of the great powers and

(Continued on page 6.)

## Keep Cool with Coolidge

WAGE CUT IN BROCKTON  
BROCKTON, Mass.—A decision providing an average reduction of 10 per cent for piece work and 5½ per cent for day work for shoe cutters in this city has been handed down by the State Board of Conciliation and Application.

ALL WAGES DOWN  
WASHINGTON — Aggregate earnings of employees in manufacturing industries in the United States decreased 1.3 per cent in November from the previous month, resulting in a decrease in per capita earnings of 1.2 per cent.

## CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER FAVORS THIRD PARTY

The strong and consistent stand taken by the liberal weekly newspaper, the Echo, published in Buffalo, N. Y., by the Catholic Orphan Asylum, in favor of the Third Party ticket in the recent election, attracted the attention of many progressives, and quotations from the Echo came commonly to be printed in liberal and Labor papers.

Proof that the attitude was not a temporary one, for the election only, is seen in the post-election stand of this Catholic newspaper. In the leading editorial article of the current issue the Echo argues for the continuation of "The Third party movement."

"The La Follette-Wheeler ticket," argues the paper, "polled enough votes in the recent election to make it worth while to attempt the organization of a permanent third party. It would be foolish to dissemble the difficulties of devising a declaration of principles on which all of the different groups that voted for La Follette and Wheeler could stand. Yet attempt ought to be made, for as long as the Republicans and the Democrats control the country and divide the spoils among themselves there is little hope for social justice."

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In this, our day of Christian enlightenment and Christian charity, there is no child in our broad land but may hear the story of the Saviour born in Bethlehem, none, in this land of plenty and heaped-up riches, but may be fed and feasted and join in singing carols and giving gifts. What a change!

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## REVAL WORKERS RUTHLESSLY CRUSHED

Revolt of Labor Came as  
Result of Repeated Out-  
rages Practised by Gov-  
ernment.

LONDON.—That the attempt at revolution launched in Reval the morning of December 1, and suppressed by the Estonian Government within a few days with much bloodshed, was the climax of a series of high-handed outrages committed by the Estonian authorities against the workers of that little Baltic country and was largely the result of a state of desperation produced by these outrages. is the opinion of many English labor men who have a pretty good grasp of the situation. It is averred that the Communist propaganda engineered from Moscow, while energetic enough, would never have had serious results if the workers had not become so furious at the reaction in Reval that some of the more desperate were ready to take a chance on starting a revolution, perhaps in the hope that reinforcements from Russia would make it a success.

Since the quelling of the revolt the court-martials have been working at high speed and the number of executions is estimated at fifty, with many prisoners still to be "tried." But on the other hand, the protest against the persecution of Communists made to the Estonian Minister in Moscow by the British trade union delegation visiting Russia and the threat of a possible British labor embargo upon the shipment of goods to Estonia appear to have had some effect, as the State Head, as the Prime Minister is designated, has resigned, ostensibly because of ill health, and there is a plan to try to form a coalition Cabinet, which may modify the present policy of blood and iron. The Socialist and Communist elements in Estonia are strong, despite the repression of late years, and there is a limit to the masses' endurance.

American judges, so sensitive of their dignity, may look with envy upon their colleagues in Estonia, where contempt of court is punished with swift death, as in the case of Jan Tomp, the twenty-nine-year old Communist Deputy, who was executed on November 14 by the military for having told the presiding judge of the court trying him and 148 other Communists and Labor leaders for treason that he did not "acknowledge myself guilty before the court of bourgeois racism." While being dragged from court and sent to a court-martial Tomp shouted, "Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Government!"

There is no doubt that the murder of Tomp and the heavy sentences pronounced by the Reval court upon his comrades, thirty-nine of whom received life imprisonment, together with an appeal by the Executive Committee of the Communist International calling upon the workers of all countries to save the Estonian Communists and warning the Estonian hangmen that they "will have to pay with your heads for the lives of the leaders of the Estonian proletariat," put the

(Continued on page 2)

## Massachusetts Wants a New Party

Massachusetts is the latest of the State groups of the Conference for Progressive Political Action to declare for a new party. At a recent meeting of the Massachusetts C. P. P. A., attended by 131 delegates, the following report of the permanent organization committee was adopted:

"The conference for Progressive Political Action of Massachusetts feels that the time is opportune for the founding of a new permanent national party. The nearly 5,000,000 votes cast for La Follette is a firm working basis for the foundation of such a party."

"We feel ourselves under an obligation to those who voted our ticket in the last campaign. These votes were secured in most cases without the aid of State or local tickets. We have the machinery to organize a State party in Massachusetts, but shall hold in abeyance the launching of this party, pending the action of the national progressive conference."

Another conference of the Massachusetts C. P. P. A. will be held in April, following the national convention. Joseph Bearak, of Boston, and Walter S. Hutchins, of Greenfield, were elected as delegates to the Chicago C. P. P. A. convention.

## NEW FIGHT ON 60,000 MINERS FOR SACCO

New Lawyers Are Retained  
To Aid Convicted New  
England Radicals.

A new start to save the lives of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti has been made by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee at Boston in the appointment of new lawyers for the two Italian workers convicted in July, 1921, of the murder of a paymaster. Both men are Italian radicals and the defense claims their radical activities are responsible for their prosecution on charges of which they are innocent. The legal defense in the appeals to the higher courts will be headed by William G. Thompson, noted Boston attorney, ex-president of the Massachusetts Bar Association and lecturer at the Harvard Law School.

Mr. Thompson will represent both defendants. He will argue a bill of exceptions before Judge Webster Thayer, preliminary to appealing to the Massachusetts Supreme Court for a new trial. The appeal will be on a series of five motions, based, according to the defense, on "a mass of new evidence."

The most important of the five motions is the so-called Ripley motion, based on affidavits that Mr. Ripley, foreman of the jury at the trial in which Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted, had three 38-calibre cartridges in his pocket which, without the knowledge of the defendants' counsel or the court, he introduced when the jury was considering the evidence to impress his own beliefs on the jury. Counsel for the defense will argue that this is contrary to the law which provides that men accused of crime must be confronted by all the evidence against them.

The five motions were argued before Judge Thayer who on September 30 last refused to grant a new trial. If the Massachusetts Supreme Court sustains him, efforts will be made to get the case to the United States Supreme Court.

The new counsel has the approval of the defendants, the Defense Committee and the Boston Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. Efforts to raise \$50,000 to carry on the final fight for the lives of the two workers are being made by the Defense Committee.

Walkout in Sympathy With  
12,000 Out in Pennsylv-  
vania Is Prospect.

WILKESBARRE, Pa.—When delegates representing 60,000 miners in the Scranton district meet here Saturday, the most important matter they will consider will be a call for a general strike in sympathy with 12,000 miners employed by the Pennsylvania Coal Company at Pittston. The convention is the result of a general belief among thousands of the miners that their cause has not been adequately handled by their district leaders.

The Pittston miners went on strike in November after waiting eight months for a satisfactory adjustment of important issues. The employees of the Pennsylvania Coal Company also have their grievances which have not been settled and this fact, together with sympathy felt for their Pittston brothers, has fostered a sentiment in favor of a general strike. Half of the miners' local unions whose members are employed by the Lehigh Valley Company have also voted to strike and the others are likely to take the same action.

What complicates the situation is the revocation of the charters of ten unions in the Pittston district by President John L. Lewis. A general strike of the miners would not only be a strike against the operators but also a membership revolt against the district and national leaders. Promise of a restoration of the charters if the striking miners of Pittston will return to work has had no effect on the strikers. The men demand some final settlement of their grievances before they return to work.

Those having the confidence of the leading men among the strikers predict that the Wilkesbarre convention will adopt resolutions calling on the district officials of the union to call a special convention of all the miners' locals in the Scranton district. Should the officials fail to call the convention it is said that arrangements will be made for a general strike of all miners which will mean an authorized strike and a struggle with the union leaders.

## BRITISH LABOR IS VICTORIOUS AT BY-ELECTION

Tom Johnson Captures Seat  
of Late E. D. Morel by a  
Huge Majority — Drive  
For County Seats.

LONDON.—An unmistakable rebuke to the Tory party, which now rules Britain by virtue of its pre-election Bolshevik scare, was administered by the people of Dundee, third city of Scotland, when they elected Tom Johnson to Parliament in the bye-election necessitated by the untimely death of E. D. Morel, the sitting member for the constituency. Johnson, who as editor of the Glasgow Forward is a tower of strength to the Socialist movement of Scotland, received 22,973 votes as against 10,234 for Simon, his Liberal opponent, despite the fact that the Tories stood down in the constituency and supported the candidacy of their kin, the Liberals. Tom Johnson's notable victory in the electoral district which used to return Winston Churchill, present Chancellor of the Exchequer, is regarded as the setting of the tide of national feeling against the tricky Tories.

LONDON.—Without the rural sections on their side the Labor party can never win England. There have been but two rural constituencies represented by Labor M. P.'s to date, both of which have been lost. A movement has therefore been started by the Independent Labor party to get Socialist M. P.'s to "adopt" apparently hopeless farming sections to cultivate in addition to their own, so that the next election will mark the beginning of the end of the Conservative rule of the nation.

The plan, suggested by C. R. Attlee, M. P., one of the best known of the Socialist members of Parliament (and a former Liberal M. P.), has been eagerly adopted, and to date forty-two sitting members have adopted such orphans. Many more will report next week. Among them are J. R. Clynes, Deputy-Leader of the Labor party and Lord Privy Seal in the late Labor Government, George Lansbury, C. P. Trevelyan, Hugh Dalton, W. M. Adamson, J. Rosslyn Mitchell (who defeated H. H. Asquith), John Scarr, and others.

The plan is a part of the greatest Socialist educational campaign the country has ever seen. "Our work now is to win the people for Socialism" is the motto of the campaign, and the first task is the strengthening of the organization. New branches are being formed daily, and new members enrolling by the thousands. A week ago the objective was 1,000 members by January 1, a mere increase of 60, there having been 931 branches then. This week twenty-four new branches are reported, with hundreds of new members. One short list of old branches reports 899 new members in a week, together with women's branches and "Guilds of Youth" in every part of the country, adding thousands more.

This heavy increase in dues-paying Socialist membership is in part the response to the appeal issued just after the election by J. Ramsay MacDonald and other I. L. P. members of the late Government to rally the people to that party.

While the propaganda work is going on the party has been defining its position toward what H. N. Brailsford calls the "distracting nuisance," the Communists. Having been cast out of office because the Tories asserted that the Labor party was "under Moscow's thumb," J. H. Thomas and J. R. Clynes, both members of MacDonald's Cabinet, wrote articles declaring that the Communists were "enemies" of the Labor movement and were to be bitterly fought. Brailsford, writing in the London New Leader, official organ of the I. L. P., took issue with them and said that, while he had no use for the Communists, he preferred to ignore them. Clynes replied, in an article that is being widely discussed, saying that even if the Labor party did ignore the Communists, the Tories wouldn't, since Communist tactics were the best aid the enemies of the workers could use. They are not a "Left wing" of the Labor movement, he said, any more than

(Continued on page 2)

## Deaths in Mines Total 154 During October

Accidents at coal mines in the United States during October, 1924, caused the death of 154 men, according to reports furnished by State mine inspectors to the Department of the Interior through the Bureau of Mines.

## "Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me"

By ROBERT T. KERLIN

THE spade has brought to the light of day, after twenty centuries, the shame of Carthage; fierce Moloch, grim and horrible, whose bronze arms, for his flaming belly, were laid the sacrificial children of the best Carthaginian families, thus fed in their innocence to his insatiable appetite for tender and precious human flesh. Gruesome, is it not?

This Christmastide, when again we celebrate the birth of that Child whose coming into the world ennobled all childhood, whose divinity makes every child born of woman divine, we may chant hymns to God, the Father All-merciful, that the world has been redeemed from such superstitious barbarism, such darkened abomination and cruelty.

In this, our day of Christian enlightenment and Christian charity, there is no child in our broad land but may hear the story of the Saviour born in Bethlehem, none, in this land of plenty and heaped-up riches, but may be fed and feasted and join in singing carols and giving gifts. What a change!

Our children are trained in the home and in the field, in shops and factories, in mills and mines, to lives of usefulness, for the increase of income taxes. They are seldom worked more than ten hours a day, six days in the week; and they are seldom

pressed into work under ten years of age.

Adopting as our motto the words of a good old pagan sage, "A sound mind in a sound body," we take them early, in their tender years, and mercifully, in the name of Christ, inure them to the toil and hardships and privations that will surely be theirs in later life. We keep them from school, for education would make them discontented with their lot, and miserable—perhaps dangerous. We guard them against idleness, providing work instead of play. And to make our beneficent plan work we keep down the wages of their parents below the minimum of comfort that hunger may pinch them and compel them to send their children to the sweatshop and the mill.

Oh, the flame-blackened shame of Carthage—grim, child-devouring Moloch! How frightful! "The best children of the best families"—scores of them, to feed his flaming belly! Mammon is so much lovelier, our merciful great God Mammon! To Him we consecrate and devote millions, not of "the best families," but, in the spirit of democracy and Christianity, of the poor and wretched, the illiterate and disinherited.

Had Carthage not been given to this wasteful practice of sacrificing the best sons of the best families

in times of national peril, or for expiation and atonement, she might have taken and destroyed her old enemy, Rome, with Hannibal's army and so become mistress of the world. As it was, that army only traversed the Middle Sea, marched through Spain and Gaul, ascended and crossed the "impassable" Alps, and, to the astonishment of the Romans, swooped down like an eagle on the plains of Italy. That army did all but capture the Imperial City. The worship of Moloch, it may be, had deprived Carthage, with her limited population, of the few more valorous youths she needed for that conquest.

Hence is revealed the incredible folly of the ancient Carthaginians. For there was a time when they might have chosen Mammon instead of Moloch as their God. Indeed, the wisest among them—at least those of most sense and judgment, of greatest wealth and respectability—did so propose at one time: The Noble Association of Manufacturers, and the Money-Changers, and the Central Chamber of Commerce, united in philanthropic and patriotic service, advocated Mammon. But the party of Sentimentalists prevailed, with sophistries and appeals to emotion. They argued that whereas Moloch would take his sacrificial sons, Mammon would take his thousands—

would stunt and dwarf and maim and blight, and I know not what else. They maintained—for to what length will not sentimentalists go?—that, as the history of other nations prove, if Mammon-worship prevailed, half and more than half the boys of the nation would grow up to be totally unfit for military service.

Better, they said, that a hundred or so children should now and then be offered outright than that thousands and hundreds of thousands should die a lingering death in the service of Mammon.

This clap-net prevailed, and Moloch, not Mammon, was enthroned. And now this flame-blackened, blood-stained shame of Carthage, this bronze Moloch, is brought to light for our edification—dethroned!

Let Mammon, therefore, be honored and lifted up. Let us sing joyous Christmas carols to the great God Mammon!

Then, it may be, some twenty centuries hence, the spade of some antiquarian may unearth, where our national capitol now stands, a book entitled "United States Census, 1920," wherein will be recorded for the people of that day—a New Race, or the wretched remnants of this—the measure, in arithmetical numbers, of our devotion to this Greater than Moloch, the shame of Carthage.

So, let Mammon be exalted in this blessed Christmas time!



## Y. P. S. L. MEETS IN CONVENTION

National Congress of Young Socialists Convened on New Year's Day.

The third National Convention of the Y. P. S. L. since its reorganization will be held in New York on January 1, 2, and 3, 1925. Preparations for the convention are in the hands of the New York organization. At a meeting of a sub-committee of the National Executive Committee, at which A. J. Parker of Massachusetts, national director, Morris Novik, and Harry Bordman were present, the agenda for the convention was completed. Among the most important questions to be discussed and considered at the convention are:

1. Taking over the Free Youth as the property of the National Y. P. S. L., to be supervised, managed and edited under the direction of the National Executive Committee; 2. The establishment of a scholarship fund in cooperation with the Rand School and to help active Yipsels throughout the country to take advantage of such scholarships; 3. Establishment of a research and literature department to have charge of the gathering and publishing of literature, pamphlets, etc., about the Young Socialist movement.

The New York organization is planning several affairs in honor of the delegates to the convention. On January 1, at 6 p. m., there will be a banquet at the La Province Restaurant, 60 University place. On January 2, 8 p. m., there will be a mass meeting and entertainment at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. At this entertainment there

will be a play, presented by several members of the Y. P. S. L., a few numbers by the Dorsha Dancers, and several speakers. On Saturday afternoon, January 3, arrangements have been made to devote the regular session of the Camaraderie at the Rand School to a symposium on the Youth movement. The speakers are A. J. Muste of the Brookwood Labor College, Devere Allen of the Rand School, and Morris Novik, National Chairman, Y. P. S. L.

On Saturday evening, January 3, there will be a reception at the People's House, where it is expected about 500 present and former Yipsels and a good many party members from the entire city will join in a gala reception to the delegates. Reservations and information about the various affairs can be gotten from the convention committee at Room 505, 7 East 15th street.

The business sessions will be held at the Rand School Auditorium. The convention will open Thursday, January 1, at 12 o'clock. It is expected that the I. L. G. W. P., Amalgamated, Furriers, Cap Makers, and several other Labor and youth organizations, will send fraternal delegates. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has elected Morris Hillquit to represent it at the convention. Comrade Hillquit will be the opening speaker on Thursday morning. Among others that have been invited to address the convention are James O'Neal, Norman Thomas, Algernon Lee, and Bertha H. Mailly.

The National Executive Committee will hold a meeting on Wednesday evening, December 31, the night before the convention opens, at which meeting the final reports will be prepared. More than fifty delegates from about twenty-five different cities are expected to attend.

## Uncle Sam, Slave-Drive

The United States Government with the greatest sources of revenue in the world maintains the Post Office Department as a sweatshop where wages are paid to its workers on a scale several hundred dollars less than what its Labor Department has estimated is necessary to keep an average family in a moderate degree of comfort. This is the fundamental fact back of the request of the postal workers for an increase in their income.

Another fact to be kept in mind is that these workers are not asking for the minimum standard estimated by the Labor Department. They are asking for a moderate increase in wages that will still leave them below this minimum. What they ask for will help them but it will not enable them and their families to live decently. Many will still have to live in cheap apartments and cut the household budget to avoid going into debt. They will still be the sweated servants of the most powerful Government on earth.

Under the present scale of salaries the entrance salary of a post office clerk is \$1,400 a year and the maximum is \$2,000. THE MAXIMUM IS NOW FROM THREE TO FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS LESS THAN WHAT ALL COMPETENT AUTHORITIES ASSERT TO BE THE MINIMUM REQUIREMENT FOR A MAN WITH AN AVERAGE FAMILY. Provision is made for automatic promotion from Grade 1 up to and including Grade 5 but there is no provision for automatic promotion from Grade 5 to the special clerk grades.

What the postal clerks are now asking for is a reclassification of post office clerks with an entrance salary in Grade 1 of \$1,600, with annual promotion of \$200 until Grade 5 is reached at \$2,400. It should be observed that not until after five years of service is the clerk to receive the minimum salary required for him and his family to live in a moderate degree of comfort. The clerks also ask that after they have served satisfactorily for three years in Grade 5 they may be promoted to special clerk, Grade 1, at \$2,500, and after one year of satisfactory service in this grade they may be eligible to special, Grade 2, at \$2,600. Hundreds of thousands of clerks in private employment are getting at least \$2,400 WHICH THE POSTAL CLERK CANNOT GET, EVEN IF HIS REQUEST IS CONCEDED, UNTIL AFTER FIVE YEARS OF SERVICE.

Postmaster General New in his recent report estimated the deficit of the Post Office Department at \$40,000,000 for the fiscal year. The cry is to make the department self-sustaining. It is interesting to know that this theory is not applied to any other department of the Government. The Navy and War Departments are maintained on a basis of all outgo and no income. Hundreds of millions of dollars are expended by Hoover's department to help traders, investors and capitalists to locate markets and investment opportunities in all parts of the world. These millions are practically a subsidy voted to these classes annually. The department prints free of charge all sorts of bulletins for these classes and it maintains an expensive service in all parts of the world to promote it. THERE IS NO COMPLAINT RAISED REGARDING THE EXPENSE OF THIS DEPARTMENT.

Moreover, the Postoffice Department has to carry the mail burdens of all other departments. Tons of mail are carried free for them. Members of both houses of Congress have the franking privilege and the cost of what they mail, most of it being junk, falls upon the Post Office Department. The Department is required to carry these enormous loads free. If it was paid for, it is probable that there would be no deficit.

But aside from the cost of running the Department there is the fact that it is the one agency of the Federal Government that comes into intimate contact with practically every human being in the United States. It is essentially an agency for carrying information. Without it education in general would be impossible. It tends to enrich human life, not to destroy it. It does not serve particular classes as in the case of other departments. It serves all on an equal basis. EVEN IF THE WHOLE COST OF MAINTAINING THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT WAS BORNE BY GENERAL APPROPRIATIONS, AS IN THE CASE OF THE WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS, IT WOULD BE THE MOST VALUABLE AND FRUITFUL INVESTMENT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY COULD MAKE.

It is an educational institution. We do not ask that our public schools should produce an income and be self-sustaining. It is just as absurd to ask this of the Postoffice Department. We gladly pay taxes to support the one institution. Why not the other? To consider the Post Office Department as a revenue-producing institution is to place it on the level of a factory. IT IS BECAUSE OF PLACING IT ON SUCH A LEVEL THAT IT HAS BECOME A SWEATSHOP IN WHICH POSTAL WORKERS ARE DEPRIVED OF DECENT INCOMES.

A remarkable thing about the request of the postal workers for an increase is that it has support in all quarters. Civic, social and community organizations of all types have approved it. The most conservative organizations, like chambers of commerce, upon investigating the claims of these workers, have approved their claims. They won the support of both houses of Congress last year. A bill was passed to grant the increase. It was vetoed by President Coolidge on the grounds of "economy."

To the present hour Coolidge has been the main obstacle in the way of the postal clerks' bill. The "economy" that is built upon a policy of sweatshop wages, that takes food from children and reduces the comforts of hundreds of thousands of men and women, is a shame and a disgrace. The President wants another bill that will provide the funds for the increase in salaries or he will veto the bill.

There is no reason for confusing the two issues. IF THE POSTAL WORKERS ARE NOT RECEIVING ENOUGH TO ENABLE THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES TO LIVE DECENTLY THEY ARE ENTITLED TO THE INCREASE WHETHER OTHER FUNDS ARE PROVIDED OR NOT. If their wages are up to a decent standard there might be some reason for awaiting another bill to provide the funds for the increase. The position of the President is that the men in the service should continue to live on meagre incomes if Congress does not give HIM the legislation HE wants. He makes no sacrifice. He will enjoy those White House breakfasts. His living standard will not be depressed.

Any large corporation that treated its workers as these men are treated would have a strike on its hands as extensive as the industry. But these Government employees are not permitted to strike. They can only petition. When they submit their petition it goes through all the tortuous process of delay, investigation, committee consideration, debate, amendment and finally must face the prospect of a veto by a mind calloused to the most elementary human needs.

THE INCREASE SHOULD BE GRANTED. EVERY DAY OF DELAY IS AN OUTRAGE. THE GOVERNMENT SWEATSHOP SHOULD GO, NEVER TO RETURN. IT IS A FESTERING SORE AND AN ABOMINATION. AWAY WITH IT!

## LABOR CAPTURES NEW SEAT

(Continued from Page 1)  
The Atheists could be considered a "Left wing of the Christian church." The I. L. P. has always been a Left wing movement, he says, doing much of the pioneer work of the party and pointing ways for it to go, but never failing loyally to cooperate in the work of the Labor party, something that cannot be said of the Communists. He then shows the Socialism must of necessity be democratic. Brailsford, replying, again said that by constantly fighting the Communists the Labor party is likely to find itself fighting side by side with the Tories, thus blurring its own objectives. He does, however, restate the democratic basis of Socialism that absolutely rejects Communism. "The Communist movement," he wrote, "has done incalculable harm: It grew inevitably out of a hideous tyranny. It had to deal with people incapable in the mass of working democracy. The violence, the more than occasional cruelty, the plotting, the espionage, the suppression of free opinion, these are Russian characteristics bred under despotism. Assuredly we have to repudiate this barbaric and alien doctrine. Save in its heroic strength of will and its superb resistance to overwhelming odds, it has little or nothing to teach us. We cannot work with the British Communists who model themselves upon it and accept their guidance."

And now J. T. Walton Newbold, the first M. P. elected as a Communist, former member of the executive of the Communist International, who recently resigned from that party, comes to the defense of Clynes' and Brailsford's position, saying, "I have had no alternative but to reject the application here of Communist methods and ideas. When I heard Clynes at the Labor Party Conference (last September) declare that the Premier had appealed for fair play from the House of Commons to the Throne, I said, 'This is how the Parliamentary party started the Civil War (of Cromwell). This is one more of our English revolutions beginning, and, once begun, the English always go through with them.'"

The discussion, and especially Newbold's letter, have caused the most interesting political discussion the nation has seen in a long time. The people have seen that the Labor party stands for fair play to those with whom it violently differs, even for those who would destroy it, and the people are flocking to the support of the Labor party as never before.

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# Changing Political Tides Stripping Don Chafin, Coal Barons' Handy-Gunman, of His Powers

By McALISTER COLEMAN

PURPLE-BLACK mountains crouch at night above the town of Logan, in southern West Virginia, as though about to destroy its lighted streets, its well-stocked stores, its gaudy moving picture houses and smug hotels. By day, black clouds of smoke hang over Logan, rolling cinders and soot against the fronts of the pretentious apartment houses where the operators and their families live.

Now there is a psychical as well as a physical pall about this town of Logan. For a free man it is an accursed place. No sooner do you step into it than you are conscious of the fear that envelops it. In many small industrial towns I have seen fear running as a dominating theme through the drab lives of the citizens. But in Logan it becomes almost palpable, something you can touch with your hand. It grimaces behind the furtive looks that men and women throw at any stranger. It leers out behind the evasive speech of any whom you accost on the streets.

Logan is in the grip of the fear of one man—the suave, pleasant-spoken Don Chafin, as sinister a character as ever stepped on to the American industrial scene.

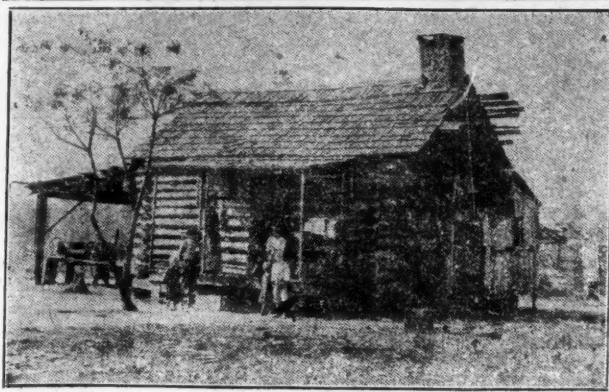
For twelve long years he has ruled Logan as a Chinese tuchun rules his province. From his sheriff's office he has sent out his armed deputies to beat up or shoot anyone who would oppose his will, which is the will of the non-union coal operators. He has made of Logan a hateful symbol of the Open Shop, the American Plan, all those devices employed to abrogate the rights of workers to organize for the adjustment of their grievances.

## Chafin A Coward

I would not make of Chafin a swashbuckling, lion-hearted character stepped out of the old days when the feudists terrorized the peace-loving folks of these parts. I believe that the man is a coward at heart. I know that he never travels alone or unarmed. I believe the story that is told of him at the time when the miners marched on Logan. All the old-line papers pictured the hardy sheriff as standing in defence of the county, melo-dramatically proclaiming "They shall not pass."

The story I get is that he sat barricaded in the garret of a house on the outskirts of town slaving with fear. I know that when certain brave men representing the American Civil Liberties Union and headed by Arthur Garfield Hays went down to Logan to test the matter of free speech, Don Chafin, despite all his threats of what he would do if they came, disappeared when Hays stood up on the steps of the court house and said his piece.

Chafin, I have been told, is fond of "skinning" men who are distaste-



Typical Miner's Cabin in West Virginia.

ful to him. That means that he walks up behind unarmed men and strikes them across the face with the barrel of his revolver, causing their blood to flow. At this recent election Chafin appeared at polling places, according to well-verified affidavits, flourishing his two guns, frightening away from the booths all whom he suspected of intending to vote against him and in at least one case, that of a United States marshal, beating his victim into a pulp.

## Revolt Against Chafin

And now it rejoices me to announce that from all I heard or saw in Logan County, the reign of the Don is almost over. There is revolt there, not open in Logan to be sure, where the political opponents of Chafin still peer at callers from the outside world from behind doors with chains across them, but a strong and significant revolt in many quarters.

It is a snarled and amazing chain of events that has made possible the prophecy that Chafin will soon drift off the scene and that a certain modicum of free speech and free assemblage will be restored to Logan.

We may as well begin with the Hatfields, the sons of old Captain "Devil Anse" Hatfield whose feud with the McCoy's makes a bizarre chapter in American history. By the time that "Devil Anse" moved over the mountain range into his home near Starrett, ten miles from Logan, the differences between the Hatfields and McCoy's had been pretty well composed and the Hat-

fields, led by William Anderson Hatfield, "Devil Anse's" eldest son, settled down to farming. William Anderson is over sixty now and there is a large granite statue to the memory of "Devil Anse" up a sun-swept hillside near his home. William Anderson farms a bit and reads a bit and likes to tell anecdotes about Napoleon and Tom Paine and Benjamin Franklin and on the whole conducts himself along the best "law and order" pattern. The "baby" of the Hatfield clan is Tennis Hatfield, a strapping man of about forty years. The Hatfields and Don Chafin are cousins and two years ago the Don and Tennis were partners in the management of a tiny road-house called "The Blue Goose." Unusually bold Federal agents swooped down on the place and succeeded in having both Don and Tennis indicted for selling bootleg whiskey. Don got off scot free, but Tennis was forced to do a "hitch" in jail. This irked the proud flesh of the Hatfields, who had never thought such an awful lot of the Chafins anyway. Don had married money and a coal mine and was always a bit uppity.

## Don's Easy Graft

And then Don branched out. From the time that he first stepped into his father's boots as Sheriff, Don had made a very nice thing out of hiring deputies to act as mine guards for the non-union operators. It was the business of these deputies to keep all union organizers very much out of the county and they did

their job well. Don sat back and collected part of every salary paid a deputy and then turned around and collected from the companies as well. For this he received the loyal support of the companies and in the years when he couldn't run for Sheriff on the Democratic ticket, he saw to it that his mar. did.

Recently he evolved the idea of having the Logan school put out at the end of a hard road, miles from town. He then obtained a monopoly on bus service on this road and it is said that last year he collected \$60,000 for lugging the children of Logan out to school and back to say nothing of what he got from chance adult travellers who were compelled to use the Don's machines in getting in or out of Logan. All told, Don was getting wealthy at so rapid a rate as to practically bankrupt the county and make its tax-rate the highest in the State.

Certain of Logan's citizens, animated by whatever motives you please, got together last summer and decided to make a political fight against the Don's candidate for Sheriff on the Democratic ticket, a gentleman with the euphonious name of Skaggs. The fight of the Civil Liberties had heartened some, others with a gift for political prophecy saw a Republican landslide in prospect.

So Republicans and Democrats joined hands in the campaign against the Don. They went down to Washington and persuaded the Department of Justice to put five United States Marshals in the county to protect their speakers. Despite the presence of these men, however, many Republican speakers feared to enter the county, among them several prominent in the State administration, so potent was the effect of the Chafin name. Against Skaggs, Tennis Hatfield was nominated.

## Chafin vs. Hatfield

As a result of these efforts and with the backing of Federal Judge McClintic who has no love for Chafin, thousands of Democrats bolted the ticket. That it took some courage to do this is evidenced by the fact that early on the morning of election day old William Anderson Hatfield appeared at his polling place armed with a high-powered rifle and sat there all day announcing that "none need be afraid to vote here and that if Don Chafin and his gun men come around either Nance Hatfield is a widdler or the Hatfields come out victorious." It was in that polling place that Hatfield received a large majority over Don.

Chafin's enemies declare that where the gun-toting sheriff was unable to frighten away his opponents his election officials perpetrated the grossest frauds in counting the ballots. The first count and the recount, both made in Logan under Don's watchful eyes, declare his ticket a winner by a bare majority. But there is a contest to be decided by the Supreme Court at Charleston and Don's opponents are confident that this will make Hatfield the winner by some seven hundred votes.

If Hatfield does get in, he will be a decided improvement over Don from every standpoint. He knows or cares little about unionism to be sure but he is dead against the use of deputies as mine-guards and has no abiding love for the operators nearly all of whom fought him in the campaign. Furthermore Attorney General England, a Republican, has been stirred to a sudden activity and procured an injunction against Chafin, the Logan County prosecutor and some two hundred non-union companies forbidding the use of deputies as mineguards.

## Don Under Indictment

Furthermore there is a two years' sentence hanging over Don for his "Blue Goose" connection, a sentence recently imposed by Judge McClintic and from which Chafin has appealed. Furthermore Don and his political machine are all under indictment charged with conspiracy inasmuch as they tampered with Federal witnesses. All of which, even in this county of sudden overnight shifts, looks as though there were rough waters ahead for Chafin.

He sits in the sheriff's office at Logan apparently untroubled, pooh-poohing the attacks made on him. And so long as he is there, fear will continue to stalk the streets and union headquarters up at Charleston will think a long time before they send organizers into Logan.

When you read in the papers that organizers have entered Logan, you may put that down as one of the longest steps forward made by organized Labor in the fields south of the Ohio River. And if they do get in and the Don gets out, it will be because behind the scenes there have been moving men and events that apparently have nothing to do with free speech and civil liberties and also because there have been a few such men as Garfield Hays, Roger Baldwin, Heber Blankenhorn and others who have the guts to fight for ordinary American freedom.

## LABOR LEADERS JAILED AFTER STRIKE IN EGYPT

LONDON, Eng.—Zaghul Pasha, may be strong for Egypt for the Egyptians, but his Liberalism when Premier evidently did not extend to agitators held dangerous to the interests of native and foreign capitalists.

According to a dispatch from Egypt received by the British Communist Party on October 12, a dozen of the score of Egyptian Com-

munist and Labor leaders who had been under arrest following the strikes in the textile mills of Alexandria last winter have been tried in the Superior Court in Cairo and sentenced to jail terms varying from six months to three years.

## REVAL WORKERS TERRORIZED

(Continued from Page 1)

match to the powder barrel of pent-up proletarian indignation.

In drawing the attention of the Secretariat of the Socialist and Labor International to the case of Tomp, the Foreign Delegation of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia said:

"We are not going to discuss here the very complicated problem of so-called 'Communism' in weakly industrialized states in Eastern Europe. Neither do we misunderstand the particular position in the small states bordering on Soviet Russia. After the tragic experiences of the Georgian Republic they have some reason to regard their respective Communists directed and subsidized from Moscow, not simply as an ordinary party, but as allies of a neighboring power which, despite solemn assurances of friendship is not averse to attacking weaker neighbors under the pretext of revolutionary necessity.

"But we shall never admit that these reasons justify the methods of court-martial and military laws. We do not believe that the Estonians will save themselves from the Bolshevik danger by imitating or even surpassing Bolshevik terrorism. It is not by means of prisons and capital punishment that the Estonian Republic will acquire Socialist and democratic sympathies.

"A case as hideous as the execution of Tomp will scarcely be encountered throughout the history of terror and civil war which has stained these last years with blood and horror. The most elementary feelings of humanity and democracy revolt against such an excess of cruelty and barbarism, inexcusable on grounds of self-defence. It is the special duty of the working class, whose future does not lie in terrorism, but in the progress of democracy and freedom, to protest against these methods of political struggle against poor misled workers and peasants."

The Secretariat of the S. L. I. has asked Comrade Zeelens (Latvia), who also represents the Estonian Party on the S. L. I. Executive for full particulars about the case.

## "War With England Again Can't Be," says Finkelstein

"Can't Is No Such Word," says his Partner, Maisel, "When These Ambassador Fellows Commence to Wrestle"

"But not any more with England, anyway, I am glad to say, for you never fight with a fellow you like," continued Finkelstein. "Look at the way we are selling those big English ulsters and box coats at \$36.74 and \$39.50, and the two trouser English Suits at \$29.75. That's what I mean—everybody wants English goods and English styles."

"That's true," replied Maisel, "but do we like the English so much?"

"Don't we?" asked Finkelstein, "leaving aside making boarding house hash of our navy, disestelevating our guns, getting the police after our flying machines, and sticking holes in our submarines, didn't we treat the Prince of Wales so good he still has a headache from the good time we gave him? And now, today, we find this is the best friend England ever had—it must be English that or English this—even coats and suits."

"Yes, I guess you're right," replied Maisel, "even the radio fellows seem to be wearing a monocle when they broadcast."

"Right, but at that you have to acknowledge," said Finkelstein, "English woollens are wonderful. Look at the beautiful coats and suits we have made up—and the prices! Will anybody believe us when we say the overcoats at \$36.74 and \$39.52 are actually worth and sold in many exclusive English houses at \$100 to \$125?"

"And the suits," asked Maisel, "that we have priced at \$29.50—those in the different shades of heringbone with two pair of trousers? Who will believe they are genuine English woollens at the price we ask?"

"That's the point," said Finkelstein, "but the fact that these values are offered by us is a guaran-

tee to the people just like our amazing domestic suit and overcoat values that our prices are wholesale and we give them the full benefit of our extensive buying and manufacturing economies."

Wholesale, in a word, explains the great difference in price between Finkelstein and Maisel's and retail store prices. Make this test yourself: Ask the price of a genuine English Ulster or box coat lined with quilted satin in the few shops that carry them. Likewise ask the price of genuine English suits with two pairs of trousers. But keep in mind Finkelstein and Maisel's prices—\$36.74 and \$39.52 for overcoats and \$29.75 for the two trouser suits.

You'll find the difference so great it will be hard to convince you that Finkelstein and Maisel's garments are made of genuine English woollens. But they are, and GUARANTEED so. And moreover, the overcoats are even waterproofed—beautifully, American tailored and cut on the very latest lines.

On domestic overcoats and suits, made of ABSOLUTELY PURE, highest grade fabrics, Finkelstein & Maisel's prices are \$24.88 and \$27.44. Compare them only with garments sold elsewhere at \$45 to \$60. For Tuxedo suits Finkelstein & Maisel ask \$27.44. What do retailers get? Just inquire around.

And on the many highest grade Worumbo and other imported overcoats, you'll also find their prices extraordinarily low as compared with retail store prices.

However, remember, Finkelstein & Maisel will GIVE you, not merely promise, your money back if you are dissatisfied in ANY particular—no matter what.

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# A Platform for the February Conference—The Court Plank

By JOHN M. WORK

I CANNOT, without overrunning my space, cover more than one point of this big subject of the February conference. It is my earnest hope that a great federated party will be formed. If so, it will adopt a platform, and I want right now to urge that it shall not hedge an inch from the Cleveland platform, but, if anything, go forward to more advanced ground.

Because of the fierce opposition to some of the planks last fall, there may be a tendency to back water. This would be a great mistake. To adopt a punchless platform would be to take the spirit out of the movement and prevent millions from supporting it—for the reason that it would be no different from the mere vote-catching and office-seeking Republican and Democratic parties. The process of education has already converted millions. Let us keep it up until a majority of the people are converted.

Especially should there be no hedging on the plank for public ownership of railroads and super-power, and the plank for the abolition of the usurped power of the courts.

The court plank is the point I wish to cover.

La Follette's personal platform declared in favor of a constitutional amendment giving Congress the power to reverse the court by repassing a law which it had declared void. This was the plank which was discussed during the campaign.

The platform of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, however, declared in favor of the abolition of the power of the courts to nullify acts of Congress.

The latter plank is much to be preferred.

## The Judicial Veto

If I were President of the United States I would issue a proclamation stating that I would enforce all acts of Congress regardless of any so-called decisions of the Supreme Court purporting to declare such acts unconstitutional: so thoroughly convinced am I that the court does not have the legal right to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, but usurped that power.

There are some progressive citizens who believe the court now has the legal right to nullify acts of Congress. If it be admitted that this question is debatable, there can at least be no doubt on the part of any citizen who is honest, progressive and intelligent that this power ought to be abolished.

My opinion—that the court has no such legal right—is based on a careful examination of the proceedings of the constitutional convention of 1787, which framed the constitution.

In the opening years of the present century I was put upon inquiry in this matter by reading an article from the pen of the late Chief Justice Walter Clark of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. To satisfy my curiosity, and without bias on the subject, I went through the entire proceedings of the constitutional convention. When I had finished this research I was convinced that the convention did not intend to give the supreme court the power to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress.

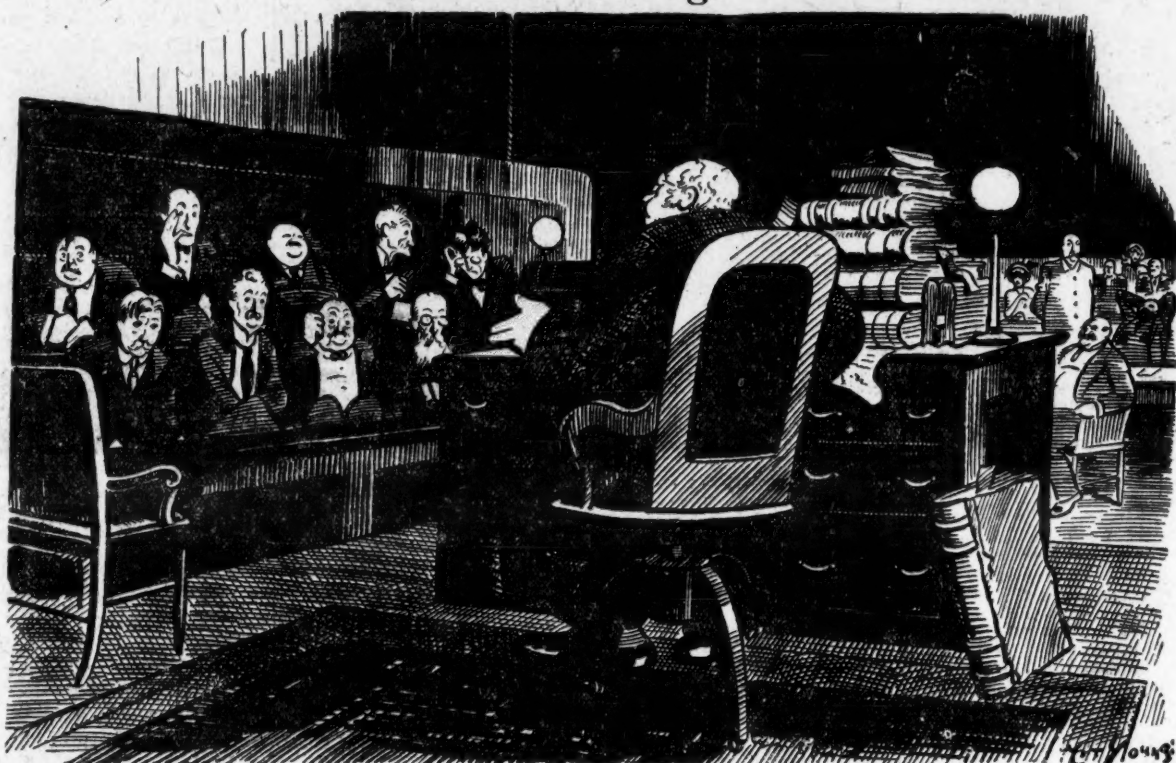
Recently, to refresh my mind and to make certain whether I was right or wrong, I went through the convention proceedings again—with the same result. I could here go into detail regarding what was said and done in the convention, but it would make this article too long, so I will content myself with having stated the conclusion I came to, for whatever it may be worth to the reader.

Because I firmly believe the court usurped this revolutionary power to nullify the will of the people as expressed in the acts of the national legislative body, I naturally arrive at the further conclusion that this power of the court can be abolished by a stroke of the pen of a president who has backbone enough to do it. Or, it could be abolished by an act of Congress—a resolution requiring the supreme court to cease presuming to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, and directing the executive to enforce all acts of Congress regardless of any alleged decisions of the court purporting to nullify them.

## Curbing the Supreme Court

Were President of Congress to take this stand, the question would be settled then and there. The President is the commander in chief of

## The Charge



"Now, gentlemen of the jury, you are to decide on the defendant's guilt or innocence beyond a reasonable doubt. A reasonable doubt is a doubt that is not unreasonable. What is reason? Reason is the application of jurisprudence to the body politic, so that the sacred and time-honored rights of the best people may remain inviolate. (Juror No. 3 has a rush of reason to the head and calls for a drink of water.) If you are satisfied that the defendant with wilful intent conspired to overthrow, deface, undermine, climb up, lean against, crack, bend, push or otherwise transfigure the pillars of our glorious Government you are to bring in a verdict of guilty."

the army and navy. The court would have a sweet time trying to enforce a decision nullifying a law. In fact, it would not try. It would lie down as meekly as a lamb. The situation reminds one of the old story about the dog and the lion which grew up together, the dog dominating the lion. When they became grown, the dog still dominated, although the lion, had he but realized his strength, could have put a stop to this domination with one stroke of his paw. The President or Congress could humble the court with equal swiftness.

However, admitting for the sake of argument that the court now has the legal right to pass upon the

validity of acts of Congress, and that a constitutional amendment is therefore necessary in order to modify or abolish that right, I contend that the amendment should be such that the court will be shorn of this power completely.

As the court has exercised this power for a long time, the majority of the people are as yet prejudiced in favor of its continued exercise of the power. It takes a number of years to dislodge a prejudice from the minds of the people and put a new idea in its place. It would not take any longer to replace that prejudice with a good idea than with a so-so idea.

To be specific, three halfway

measures have been proposed. One proposal is that a constitutional amendment be adopted giving Congress the power to reverse the supreme court by repassing a law by a two-thirds majority, after the court has declared it void. Another proposal is that a constitutional amendment be adopted giving Congress the power to reverse the supreme court by repassing a law by a simple majority vote, after the court has declared it void. A third proposal is that a constitutional amendment be adopted providing that the court may nullify an act of Congress only when seven of the nine justices favor such nullification.

Each one of these proposed measures permits the court to retain the power to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, and merely limits the exercise of this power to some extent.

The court should have no such power at all.

## A Subversive Power

This power is subversive of popular government. It is ridiculous to say we have political democracy so long as a court can nullify acts of Congress. England and other countries—some with written constitutions and some without written constitutions—are entirely free from

## Understanding Samuel Gompers

Neither a Eulogy nor an Indictment Worthwhile—Understanding Alone Is Vital.

THERE is something dramatic in the circumstances under which it was Samuel Gompers' lot to lie down to his long sleep. He had lived almost three-quarters of a century.

For nearly sixty years he had been active in the organized struggle of the working class for material and social betterment. Elected as president of the American Federation of Labor when it was organized in 1881, he has been its chief executive, save only for a single year, throughout the whole of its history. He had seen it grow from virtually nothing until it embraced nearly four million of wage-earners—constituting, along with their wives and children, fully one-sixth of the whole population of the United States.

Throughout those four decades he had worked with enormous energy, with indefatigable patience, had made warm friends and bitter enemies, had fought strenuous battles, suffered defeats and risen to fight again, won victories and gone on to fresh conflicts.

Into the last month of his life was concentrated a series of most impressive events—the conventions of the firmly established American Federation of Labor and of the young and ardent Mexican Confederation of Labor, fraternizing across the Rio Grande; the mutual greetings of representatives of Organized Labor from these sister republics,

from Canada, from Germany, from Great Britain; the reception of these delegates as guests of the nation at the inauguration of President Calles; the sessions of the Pan-American Labor Congress in Mexico City, over which he presided. The convention adjourned, festivities and demonstrations came to an end—and within a week he was dead.

It was such a death as he would have wished. He was not doomed to sit idly by, chafing under the growing impotence of age, waiting for release. He worked with zest till he could work no more, and then went to rest.

The period of Samuel Gompers'

active life embraced practically the whole history of the modern Labor movement in all its phases on the Western Continent. The first wave of Labor organization in the United States, back in the 1820s and '30s, died down almost to nothingness. It was only in the years after the Civil War that the movement began to rise again upon foundations which could not be destroyed. Not till the '80s did it begin to find its way to forms of organization more or less suited to the needs of the time. Any adequate biography of Gompers would be a history of the American Labor movement; for he was never a neutral; in each stage of its development, in each of its internal conflicts, he had his active part, on this side or on that: And no true judgment can be passed on the man and his work, which is not based on a thorough knowledge and understanding of the conditions under which and the material with which he labored.

It is easy to write a glowing eulogy. It is easy to write a sweeping indictment. But neither is worth while. What is worth while is to appreciate and to understand.

Not all of the present panegyrics ring true. In too many cases they come from men who hate the movement in which and for which Gompers lived, and who will not scruple to vent that hatred on those who are to carry on his work.

Gompers had his full share of attack while he was alive—often of unjust or indiscriminating attack—both from the spokesmen of capitalism and from dissenters within the working-class movement. It is no wonder if he sometimes struck back with fierce resentment. During the last few years, indeed, these rancors had begun somewhat to abate. They did more harm to the movement than to the man against whom they were directed.

The capitalist press is now praising him for the attitude he assumed during the war and for his opposition to "radicalism" within the Labor movement. Well, let us remember that during the war they sang a very different song, until they found to their sorrow that the Labor movement had grown too strong to be destroyed. Let us carry our memory back to a far earlier day—back to 1887, when the Labor movement was still very weak, when it took a real man to face the masters' cry for blood and the ignorant clamor of the mob—and record the fact that Samuel Gompers was one of the few men who dared to risk his influence, his personal welfare, his reputation itself, by speaking out against the judicial murder of Parsons, Spies, and their associates. Nor was that the first or the last time he dared greatly for what he felt to be ultimately right.

## Gregory III. Orders Thinking Cease

By WM. M. FEIGENBAUM

ANY COMMUNIST who dares to think for himself is to be cast into outer darkness, and any Communist newspaper that aids and abets the crime of original thinking is to be severely disciplined. The Communist theory, having been outlined and defined, is now frozen into a dogma and dissent from that dogma is heresy.

This statement is not the ravings of enemies of the Communist movement, but it is based upon their own decisions that the brainless officials of that movement have been silly enough to make public.

The establishment of a whole system of censorship of thought was the result of the great daring of Leon Trotsky, Soviet Minister of War, in criticizing Gregory Zinoviev and suggesting that the Communist party of Russia be made more democratic in its organization. This horrible suggestion was a bombshell

## Wise Guys of Moscow

Trotsky wrote a book called "1917," his version of the Bolshevik revolution, which was solemnly denounced by the Wise Guys of Moscow as "displaying distinct Menshevik tendencies," and as indicating that Trotsky was "attempting to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism," an almost unbelievable crime, you understand.

It is significant that the main attacks upon Trotsky are, not for the offenses against truth, good reason, justice that the heretic might have written into his book, but because he actually reasoned things out for himself.

"The Fifth World Congress and the Thirteenth Party Congress of the Russian Communist Party unanimously condemned the political line of the Russian opposition with Comrade Trotsky at its head, as petty bourgeois and opportunist. In spite of this, Comrade Trotsky is carrying on his struggle still further but in a new form. Under the flag of Leninism he aims at a revision of Leninism." With these words a terrific blast against Trotsky is opened up in the "Imprecor," the publicity service sent out by the Communist International to all Communist papers in the world.

It will be noted that the crime is specifically stated; not that Trotsky is aiming at inculcating false doc-

trines, but that he is guilty of heresy, and as such he is to be branded in every part of the world. The Communist party of America, headed by the well known Russian Socialist theoreticians, William Z. Foster and Charles E. Ruthenberg, was among the first to obey orders, and in a manifesto made public last week, the executive of that party issued instructions "To all party editors they convey the orders of their chiefs to their underlings in the United States."

Bad, Bad Volkszeitung The resolution conveyed to the editors the "thesis" or resolution of ukase or bull or whatever it is called of the Central Executive of the Communist International pointing out Trotsky's heresy, and then it declares "that no party paper shall reprint the book '1917' or any chapter thereof in the party press."

"The Central Executive Committee," the ukase goes on "regrets to note that the Volkszeitung," edited by Ludwig Lore has had the hardihood and daring to do the wicked, counter revolutionary and petty bourgeois thing of "beginning publication of the book serially: It has instructed the Volkszeitung to discontinue the publication and further instructs all other party papers that neither the book as a whole nor any chapter thereof is to be reprinted in the party press."

"The Central Executive Committee has further instructed all party papers to reprint the accompanying (from the Moscow Pravda) review of Comrade Trotsky's book." And thus American proletarians and peasants are told where they get off, and have the benefit of the noble mind of that great philosopher, litterateur, statesman, economist and sociologist, Gregory Zinevich, who (Continued on page 6)

this nuisance. Why should we temporize with it?

The temporizing measures, if adopted, would do some good, but would not end the evil. To end it, the fight would have to be made all over again later. It is a waste of good time and energy to temporize. Undoubtedly one reason why these temporizing proposals have been made is because the makers of them believe it would be easier to abolish this power partly than to abolish it wholly.

That, I think, is a mistake. Furthermore, I believe the recent campaign has demonstrated it to be a mistake. Did you notice how fiercely La Follette's mild proposal on this subject was attacked? To hear the attackers tell it, the proposal was a vicious effort to undermine the constitution, to nullify our guaranteed liberties, to destroy our form of government, etc. Denunciation was heaped upon it "without stint or limit."

If the proposal had been one for the unqualified abolition of this power of the court, the denunciation could not have been more vigorous, more dishonest, nor more frantic.

This indicates that in the future we—the forward looking citizens of the country—might just as well go the whole length and do the job right while we are about it. There will be no longer period of time required to uproot the prejudice and put the right idea in its place than to uproot it and put a halfway idea in its place.

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# Leon Trotsky, Stirred by Unrest, "Breaks the Silence"

THE telegraph brings news of the great volume of hostile comment, Leon Trotsky's works on "Lenin" and "1917" have precipitated in Communist circles. He is being attacked as a traitor, who, to say the least, must be ruthlessly expelled from the party. Trotsky is no hero-worshipper, but a realist; and interested or naive people will not forgive his open-mindedness in describing a man of the mythical stature of Lenin or a movement of the closeted holiness of 1917.

We have only heard of these books, but if we may judge from his "Problems of Life," which we have read, his critics on that side of the ocean are in the right. If they accuse him of veiled Menshevism, he is certainly the *Mensch* of the Menshevik, revealing an utterly *menshliche* attitude toward things. If they accuse him of having betrayed the cause, he is certainly a revolutionary iconoclast, unafraid to trample over many of the "ideals" that have become associated with the "fruits of revolution." In the volume we've read he reveals himself not only as an economist, but as a sociologist vitally interested in every phase of the human problem. And what is more important (that is perhaps the "danger" he constitutes) he defines the scope of revolution, showing its limitations on the side of human nature, acknowledging all the mistakes and failures which have come about through the ignoring of the personal element, and pointing out some of the roads that might be followed in the future without disaster.

## "Break the Silence"

"The primary task," he says at the end of the book, "the one that is most acute and urgent, is to break the silence surrounding the problems relating to daily life."

That this is not an easy matter may be gathered from the many references Trotsky makes to the cowardly role the press, the supposed organ of opinion, has been playing in Bolshevik Russia. Not only is it exaggerating the economic issue, not only is it ignoring the very important, social life of the masses, but wherever it does invade the domain of the individual, it puts the stamp of its rude clumsiness upon the ground. There is no understanding of fundamentals, no grasp of psychological fact. Nor is this elementary state of mind peculiar to the press; if we are to read between the lines of this tactfully written book, it is common to a great number of the leaders among the Communists. Trotsky recognizes this deficiency, emphasizes it, and devotes a great deal of space to the exposition of the nonsense of it all.

He is impatient of those of his countrymen whose only point of view is the economic good of the whole. Suppose the eight-hour-day has been achieved, are there not the other sixteen hours one must live decently in? Is there not culture and education and art, love and amusement and laughter to occupy the thought? And Trotsky singles out these problems for his consideration, and he treats them with an understanding, a tenderness, and a sense of humor that reveals this military leader in the light of a very much human man, observing some very much human beings.

## Gains and Losses

The revolution, he believes, can already boast of a few marked accomplishments, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Red Army. But in the achievements of these, it has discarded certain useful institutions of the bourgeoisie and implanted certain useless or harmful institutions of its own. Moreover, it has not been thoroughgoing in its break with the old order, having failed to touch upon a number of problems that beg for solution. These are the three major errors of commission and omission, which though not mentioned specifically by the author, are the

## Soviet War Minister Attacks "The Primary Task" of Shedding Light—His New Book, "The Problems of Life."

By DAVID LIBERSON

threads that bind the material in the book. Perhaps the most interesting passages in Trotsky's volume are supplied in the discussion of the acts of commission; the chaotic dismissal of everything old and the introduction of everything new in the life of Russia.

One of the deficiencies of the Revolution is its unenlightened attitude towards literature and art. Trotsky has a great respect for these products of culture, but he has also an enormous respect for facts; and, since art and literature are conservative, he argues, one must take his time with them. The revolutionary writers in Russia are suffering from an attempt at an immediate production of "proletarian culture"; their desire is to reconstruct life, not to depict it. But life cannot be sucked from the thumb. It can be constructed from the elements we see which are capable of development. He wants Russia's literateurs and artists to create from life as it is, nor to be afraid, if occasion demands, to borrow from bourgeois culture. In general, he dispels the myth of a unique, uncontinuous, proletarian culture, showing it to be merely an ill-advised, impossible wish.

## Problems of Youth

But what is more important, there is the young generation waiting to be educated. Trotsky does not want them to engage in what he calls youth's great defect, the "superficial dabbling in generalities." They must be reared to a citizenship of concrete understanding, usefulness and happiness. That is most essential. Of course, it would be ideal for the state to institute communal education and assume other burdens of intelligent parenthood. Such an ideal course, however, is negated by the economic state of Russia; it must grow gradually; in the meantime, however, the Communist father cannot shake himself free from responsibility.

Trotsky has a great deal to say about children—and women. Revolution, he at one point sentimentalizes, is worthless if it cannot improve the condition of these two eminently important classes of society. And the women especially, he hints, have been either mistreated by male brutality or neglected and ignored by male arrogance. He stresses the point that women must become equal members of society—in actual practice—before progress in domestic relations can take place. Better homes, commun-

al laundries, communal restaurants, communal education, will help; but it is the Communist husband that must contribute the lion's share by considering the woman as a co-partner in the business of life as well as of pleasure.

This is only one phase of the problem of family life to which Trotsky refers in his lengthy discussion of the question. He is perturbed by the looseness and irresponsibility that has crept into the relations between husband, wife, and children, but he is not disillusioned. The disintegrating influence of war, the collision between unequally-minded man and woman caused by the revolution, the dissolution of ceremonials, are all in part responsible for the sad state of family life in Russia now. Yet of greater importance, he claims, is the fact that this social institution is now passing through the "1920-1921 period and has not reached the 1923 standard." It is in a state of nervous flux, just as the economic structure of the country was four years ago; hence one cannot demand from it the sanity of crystallization. Just give them time, free the women from some of her excessive burdens, and things will return to a revitalized normalcy, he believes.

## "Life is Conservative"

And one more *sine qua non*. For the maintenance of family life, of social life, of life in general, the personality of the individual must be broadened and clothed with significance. "Life is conservative."

The logic of the life of the individual in Russia today, just as in the America of this moment, demands certain activities, conceits and pleasures. "The working class is neither a spiritual order nor a monastery. We take people as they have been made by nature, and as they have been in part educated and in part distorted by the old order. We seek a point d'appui in this vital human material for the application of our party and revolutionary—state lever. The longing for amusement, distraction, sightseeing and laughter is the most legitimate desire of human nature. We are able, and indeed, are obliged to give the satisfaction of this desire a brighter artistic quality, at the same time making amusement a weapon of collective education, freed from the guardianship of the pedagogues and the tiresome habit of moralizing."

The cinema, Trotsky believes, will best serve that end, tending not only to give a very edible and instructive sort of entertainment, but to counteract the effect of dogmatic religion. He believes that the uneducated masses of Russia, which comprise the bulk of the population, are not at heart religious, but that they adhere to the ceremonial forms of the Church from habit and desire for "the social-aesthetic attractions not provided by the factory, the family or the workaday street. The ikon, the symbol of this outward piety, still graces the



Leon Trotsky, From a Bust by Clare Sheridan

home of many a person who has been converted, on the economic field, to Communism. The "movies" will displace these attractions and add more of their own. The fact that they have been used only sparingly until now shows "how slow and uneducated. . . not to say, frankly stupid" Russians are. His countrymen must get down to business immediately and exploit this very fertile field.

## The Value of Ceremony.

The value of ceremonial and many other products of custom and habit, Trotsky points out, cannot be overestimated. "Church ceremonial enslaves even the worker of little or no religious belief 'in the three great moments of the life of man—birth, marriage and death.' But this enslavement is useful; it enriches the otherwise colorless life of the individual and must be translated, in some way or other, in any social system. It is a happy sign of the time, then, that the birth of a Communist is now being fittingly celebrated in many parts, and that

the other important crises of life are also adequately noticed. Trotsky remembers the social life which was provided for the worker by the medieval guild, and he wants Russia's industrial unions to develop along these lines, "with this difference certainly, that in opposition to the medieval, the forms of the new life will be free from the Church and her superstition and imbued with an aspiration to utilize every conquest of science and machinery for the enrichment and beautifying of life."

For the improvement of the individual, the Bolshevik leader also emphasized the need of more culture, especially culture in habit, speech and writing. "Proverbs are supposed to contain the wisdom of the masses. Russian proverbs show besides the ignorant and the superstitious mind of the masses and their slavishness," Trotsky rails at the great deal of abusive speech still

extant in Russia, at the "atmosphere poisoned with the roaring, rolling, ringing and resounding swearing of masters and slaves, that swearing which spares no one and stops at nothing." He wants Western standards of decency to prevail in his country; he wants uncouth persons to be held up to the scorn of their fellow-workers. The Russian language must be used not only fittingly, but exactly, and those slovenly expressions which seem to have acquired "a sort of citizenship" must be relegated to the dungheap if the Revolution is to be true to its method of correct and precise thinking.

## Bureaucracy Attacked

Another vulgarism of the revolution the Bolshevik leader attacks is (Continued on Page 7)

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# The American Labor Party Is A Fact

Conference for Progressive Political Action Should  
be Developed With British Labor as a Model.

By G. A. HOEHN  
Editor, St. Louis Labor

TO THOSE of us with many

years of good and bad experience in labor politics (mostly bad!) the La Follette-Wheeler vote was an inspiration. Never before in the political history of the American Labor and Farmers' movement had such encouraging results been achieved. The Conference for Progressive Political Action, but a year ago, appeared to most of us as an incohesive conglomerate of political sects, groups, and organizations with all sorts of ideas and schemes expressive of conflicting interests. Last year's conference in Cleveland kept many of the delegates and the friends of the movement guessing as to what the thing would lead to. When, in February of this year, the conference reconvened at the Statler Hotel in St. Louis, the horizon seemed to brighten considerably, especially after the calling of the July 4 national convention in Cleveland had been agreed upon. Yet, even then few people, even the most optimistic and far-seeing among us, would have dared to predict that the July 4 gathering would be as representative as it was and act in as constructive and successful a manner as it did.

We venture to say that had it not been for the level-headed efforts of men like William H. Johnston and others, and for the admirable, untiring and sacrificing work of Morris Hillquit and the intelligent and conscientious support given by the Socialists, both during the two days' convention of the conference and in the Socialist Party Convention on July 6 and 7, it is very doubtful whether there would have been a La Follette-Wheeler Presidential campaign in 1924.

Why expect the February convention to organize a third political party? The party is in existence here in Missouri, in St. Louis, Kansas City, and elsewhere. It exists in California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, in Illinois and New York, and all the other States where the La Follette-Wheeler campaign work was done.

What we want is a movement. And the La Follette-Wheeler campaign inaugurated by the Conference for

Progressive Political Action was a movement, a live movement. Indeed, the movement was so lively and militant that it scared the wits out of the old capitalist party leaders and it took a powerful servile capitalist press and a huge slush fund to fight it and to check its victorious onward march.

You want a third party? What sort of a political party? Do you want an imitation of the Democratic or Republican party machines? A party organized on the American plan? If so, you have no business to attend the February convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. You will be out of place there, for your efforts, if successful, would mean nothing less than to undo all the good work that has been done during the last few weeks from July 4 to November 4, 1924.

Or, do you want a party organized along the lines of the British Labor party? If so, well and good. Then we are perfectly in accord and ready to talk business. Then the whole party question revolves about the name, not about the organization. Please keep in mind the simple fact that our Conference for Progressive Political Action of today is a much more advanced political working-class organization than the British Labor party was twenty-five years ago.

The British Socialists and trade unionists in those days had no British Labor party. All they had was a "Parliamentary Labor Committee." In the House of Commons the Socialist and trade union members formed a group under that name. It was not until after that historic Taff Vale decision of the highest court of England against the British trade unions that the political Labor movement developed more rapidly toward the formation of the present Labor party.

True, the present political organ-

ization of the Conference for Progressive Political Action is rather loose. It required a La Follette-Wheeler campaign to discover its weakness and its defects. Would these weaknesses and defects be absent if the movement had been operating under the name of Labor party or under some other name?

Let us not fight about a name. Let us perfect the organization of the movement when the February convention meets. We do not want a centralized political third party movement. It would be a failure. What we need is a Political Labor Federation along the lines of the British Labor party, and the Conference for Progressive Political Action gives us a sound foundation for such a federated political movement!

Let us act in a conscientious and responsible manner and we shall have the Labor movement with us. Let us continue the good work so splendidly begun by the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the American Labor party may soon share honors with the British Labor party marching at the head of the international movement. Think of the solidarity of Labor as expressed and demonstrated by the American and Mexican Federations of Labor at El Paso, Juarez, and Mexico City.

Not theory and phrases, but reality and action, were the order of the day. There is no doubt the trade union movement will be the backbone of the political Labor movement. This, however, does not mean that the American Federation of Labor should become the means of partisan political experiments.

The trade unions are represented in the Conference for Progressive Political Action; they were represented in the La Follette-Wheeler movement; they will continue to be

represented in the conference, under whatever name it may bear in the future. But they can only, and should only, be represented under the political federation system.

Keep the Socialist Party intact, build it up and strengthen it, for it has a greater mission to fulfill than most of us today may realize. Give the Conference for Progressive Political Action a permanent, solid foundation, improve its organization, increase its militancy, extend its organization into every State and county of the country, and the next national campaign will find us in excellent condition to take the offensive against the combined forces of political reaction!

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# SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## Through the States

### NATIONAL

**N. E. C. IN SESSION**  
The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was in session in Washington, Saturday, December 13; all members present, National Chairman, Eugene V. Debs, presiding. The committee's first work was a careful consideration of the Executive Secretary's very full report. The Secretary's review of the campaign was of special interest as showing such abundant evidence of our party membership's high efficiency in organization work, propaganda, campaign management, Election Day service, and as showing also the membership's splendid resources in leadership, tact, modesty, cooperative spirit and eagerness to serve in the work of promoting the progress of the workers. Of great interest also was the Secretary's report to the effect that correspondence from all parts of the country indicated a vastly improved attitude of great numbers of people toward the Socialists and Socialist propaganda. The report was most encouraging as to the increasingly fraternal attitude of the language federations toward our party. The party's financial condition was carefully considered. The Executive Secretary's report on the morale of the party, based on a large correspondence, is distinctly indicative of a healthy and vigorous condition. Everywhere there is an unalterable determination to protect the organization and identity of the party under all circumstances and in all situations. There is not the slightest danger of the submergence or absorption of the Socialist Party—ready to serve but not surrender. The committee took action on the matter of the party's being represented in the February convention of the C. P. P. A., voting unanimously that the Socialist Party shall be fully represented in the convention. Pursuant to the regulations entitling each affiliated national political party to three delegates and each State organization of such party to two delegates in the convention, the Secretary was instructed to cast the committee's vote for the following delegates: Eugene V. Debs, Morris Hillquit and Bertha Hale White; and instructed the Secretary to urge each Socialist State Committee to arrange for a regular two-member delegation from each State to the C. P. P. A. convention, to be held at Chicago, February 21, 1925. The National Executive Committee issued a call for a special national convention of the Socialist Party, to be held at Chicago at the time of the February C. P. P. A. convention.

### ITALIAN FEDERATION

Of the recent Buffalo convention of the Italian Federation, Comrade Vittorio Butti writes: "I am satisfied that at the convention a wonderful affirmation of faith and good will was attained. It was resolved to give a healthy and united effort for the development of our Federation. A motion was brought forward by Comrade Battistoni of Buffalo relative to a proper cooperation and understanding between our Federation and national and international Socialism. It was carried unanimously. It shows that even though our forces have been greatly reduced, what is left of them is made up of elements that are in full accord with the fundamental teachings of Marx."

### RHODE ISLAND

**Harry Sherman Passes**  
Comrade Sherman, a figure in Socialist and Workmen's Circle work in Rhode Island for twenty years; candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Socialist Party, Rhode Island, in 1920; National Board of Directors,

Workmen's Circle, 1920-21, died as a result of heart lesion due to an auto accident, December 8, 1924. The funeral was held from Workmen's Cooperative Home, 141 Benefit street, Providence, R. I., December 10, 1924, where "Lefts and Rights" met to pay homage and to eulogize the departed Comrade.  
Mr. Arkin, executive of Workmen's Circle and of the Forward, eulogized Comrade Sherman. They had met as Board of Directors of Workmen's Circle in 1920-21. Comrades Caldwell, Livermore, Berenstein, Levine, Boratz, Pavlov, Sack and others, spoke of the great activities and devotion to the cause by the late departed Comrade. At the close of the simple services a silent procession wound its way through the center of the city, the Workmen's Circle and Socialist Party thus paying their last respects to the departed who died while busily engaged in his beloved life work, the workers' movement.  
Comrade Sherman was 64 years old at his death.

### PENNSYLVANIA

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

The Pittsburgh Educational Forum is continuing its good work. A lecture is given under its auspices every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Hall, 510 Fourth avenue. On December 28, George J. Shaffer, attorney, will speak on "The Labor Party in England."

Reports from branches are coming in. So far we have heard from Loydell and Moon Run Jugo-Slav branches; and the following American: Mt. Carmel, New Castle, New Kensington, East Greenville, Dauphin, 22nd Ward and 26-30-30th Ward (Philadelphia) and Williamsport. These reports indicate that the comrades in these towns are on the job, and are going to do their part towards building up a real American Labor party by strengthening the Socialist Party, which must be the militant group of any successful Labor party.

Has your branch sent in its report? If not, get on the job and put your town on the map. Of all things don't wait for a Labor party to be formed, for if the Socialists wait there will not be any Labor party. There might be a Liberal party organized without Socialist cooperation, but there is no chance of a Labor party that will represent the interests of the workers being formed without our cooperation, at least not for many years to come. Send those reports and then start regular work in your town. The State office can supply you with plenty of literature at a low cost. Let us hear from you and we'll try to do our part.

Branch Norristown is cooperating with the local Labor unions in starting a Workers' Education Class. They expect to study the history of the American Labor movement. By understanding Labor history, these men will be able to take a larger part in the work of their unions, and to more intelligently help mould their policies.

### NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

**Study Classes Formed**  
The locals throughout the New England District are forming study

classes using Harry Laidler's "Proposed Roads to Freedom" as a text book. A large order has been sent to the League for Industrial Democracy for these booklets to be followed by a larger order shortly.

It is expected through the medium of the study classes combined with the lecture circuits that the small locals formed during the campaign will become strong substantial locals by spring.

The District Executive Committee will meet Sunday, December 27, to make preparations for the election of delegates for the National Convention in response to the call sent out by the National Office.

### CONNECTICUT

**State Committee Meets**  
The State Executive Committee will meet Sunday, December 28, at Machinists Hall, 99 Temple street, New Haven. Plans will be made to raise funds to send delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party and to the C. P. P. A. convention.

A special leaflet on the Child Labor Amendment will be drawn up. At the special election held last Tuesday, December 16, to fill the office of United States Senator, left vacant by the death of Frank Brandegee, Hiram Bingham, Republican candidate (at present Lieutenant Governor, and Governor-elect at the State election held November 4) was elected by 40,000 majority; reported; but from the towns already heard from, it appears that the vote was about one-third what it was at the presidential election.

The Socialist vote in New Haven was 309, Bridgeport 249, Hartford 246, Waterbury 95, Wallingford 82, Meriden 60, Whitteville 21, and Milford 18. The total vote for all parties was about 180,000, at the Presidential election the vote was 406,000.

It seems that the voters did not take much interest in the special election.

A meeting of Local Hamden will be held at the home of Joseph L. De Schon, 1775 State street, Friday evening, January 2, 1925. We will hold a discussion on the coming conventions of the C. P. P. A. and Socialist Party, and the advisability of starting a Labor Party at this time.

### NEW JERSEY

At Camden, N. J., August Claessens will lecture on "Genius—Hereditry versus Environment," at 1031 North 27th street. Auspices Socialist Party.

### BUFFALO

**Blanshard to Lecture**  
The Buffalo Public Forum will start its second season of Forum meetings on Sunday afternoons, January 4. The speaker will be Paul Blanshard, field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, who will discuss "Labor and the Next War." The Forum meetings are held Sunday afternoons, starting at 2:30, in the banquet room of the Elmwood Music Hall. A questionnaire features each meeting. Speakers available for such Forum meetings, with one and possibly two additional meetings the same week-end in the same vicinity, will please communicate with the Secretary of the Buffalo Public Forum, Robert A. Hoffman, 732 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

### LOCAL NEW YORK

**Thomas to Lecture**  
Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy will speak at the lecture forum on Sunday evening, December 28, at 257 East 4th street. The subject of his lecture is "Wanted! An Incentive."

4th A. D.  
Friends and comrades are invited

to the supper the branch is having on New Year's Eve, at 8 p. m., at our new club rooms, 24 Ridge street. Prominent speakers, entertainment, eats and lots of fun at minimum cost. Election of officers for the branch on January 1, 1925.

Local New York has just ordered 1,000 red membership cards, and adds, "Please rush these cards."

### LOCAL BRONX

August Claessens lectures every Friday evening on "Social Progress and Human Nature," at 1167 Boston road. Topic for December 26: "Social Forces," January 2, "The Cultural Factors," auspices, Socialist Party.

On Monday, January 5, the Bronx will hold a very interesting general party meeting, the nature of which will be announced in the next week's Leader. All members are requested to watch next week's New Leader and keep in mind that on Monday, January 5, they will have a duty to fulfill. Bronx is marching forward and marching fast.

### BROOKLYN

**Central Committee**  
The Central Committee of Local Kings County of the Socialist Party will meet this Saturday evening at 167 Tompkins avenue.

### YIPSELDOM

Morris Novik, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League, who represented that organization at the inauguration of General Calles as the President of Mexico, has just returned to New York full of enthusiasm for the progress of the Mexican Socialist and Labor Movement. Novik attended the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Mexican Confederation of Labor. He was also in Washington at the time of

the meeting of the national committee of the C. P. P. A. and the Socialist Party.

### Young Fabians to Discuss Science

Will science in the future enable us to harness the energy of the wind and make it the source of our electric power? Will farms go out of existence and manufactured fruits and vegetables take the place of its products? Will people be created artificially? These and other questions were taken up by the Young Fabians (Circle 3 Brooklyn) in their reading and discussion of "Daedalus," J. B. S. Haldane's extraordinary little book. Friday night, December 26, at 167 Tompkins avenue. Boys were invited to the meeting, and a boys' group will be organized if a sufficient number are interested.

"Icarus," Bertrand Russell's answer to Haldane will be read and discussed at the following meeting, January 2, 1925.

### Juniors Elect Officers

At the Junior Yipsel Convention last Saturday, December 21, the new constitution of the Junior Y. P. S. L. was ratified, and the following officers were elected:

Executive Secretary, Manuel Guller; First City Organizer, Wm. Turgell; Second City Organizer, David Asherowitz; Recording Secretary, Samuel Issman; Financial Secretary, Herbert Weisberg; Educational Director, Roy Pepperberg; Athletic-Social Director, Sam Cohen.

The National Delegate elected is Comrade Lester Shulman, with Comrade Roy Pepperberg as alternate. Watch this Yipseledom column for Junior Yipsel activities of the Junior Y. P. S. L. of Greater New York.

Circle 2, Brooklyn, will hold its annual Christmas Dance on Sunday, December 28, at the Brownsville

Yipsel. Admission 25 cents.

## Labor Unity Talk Revived

(Continued from Page 1)

would probably serve as a base for intervention against Soviet Russia. It is admitted that the Menshevik may mean well, but they are branded as politically short-sighted, and consequently as dangerous as unprincipled adventurers. No evidence of destruction was found in Georgia, the people are said to be enjoying cultural liberty and peace and the horror stories about Bolshevik rule are denounced as inventions of capitalist enemies of the Soviet Government.

This report does not come from London, but reached here from Continental sources. Its praise of the Bolsheviks is so high that many Dutch Labor men are inclined to consider it spurious and have adopted a policy of watchful waiting before commenting.

The report made by the British delegation in London reads in part, as follows:

"Social, industrial and economic conditions in Russia have enormously improved since the visit of the British delegation in 1920. Members of both delegations and expert advisers formerly residing in Russia for many years are agreed as to the very rapid progress of economic restoration now operating under direction of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

"The financial stability of Russia is more secure than was expected. The Russians have almost balanced their budget and have restored their productivity relative to the pre-war standard at a rate which compares favorably with the general European average. Industrial undertakings are

being rapidly developed, especially those responsible for electrical power and equipment. The high degree of organizing and administrative capacity and enthusiasm of the workers under the new system of State ownership deeply impressed the delegation."

"Housing conditions of the workers are being rapidly improved. New housing schemes making provision for the erection of model cottages superior to some of the Government houses provided in Great Britain are being pushed forward with great energy and ability. A great effort is being made to eliminate illiteracy, and many kinds of educational activity are being promoted and are being generously subsidized and urged forward by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and trade union organizations."

"Workmen's clubs, holiday homes and rest houses are being used for education of illiterates, including children and adults, and the proportion of the working class population without education is being reduced very rapidly."

"Administrative departments of the Soviet State are well organized and efficiently controlled, especially those to which members of the delegation devoted special attention, namely, those dealing with State insurance for health, unemployment and medical care of workers and their dependents. Religious institutions have complete freedom to exercise their religious beliefs and members of the delegation visited churches and mosques during services, but the Church has been dis-established and is now entirely maintained by voluntary contributions and no religious instruction is given in schools or other educational institutions."

"Every effort is being made to improve the moral life of Russia, and prostitution, gambling and other vices are being rapidly eliminated by educational effort and drastic State regulation. By the creation of workers' clubs, rest houses, sport and physical culture centers, trade union organizations are securing for their members trade union benefits in addition to real wages, which is much appreciated."

"Many other important changes will be referred to and dealt with in the report, which will contain necessary information to justify the trade union and Labor policy supporting full diplomatic and economic recognition of Russia. The report will also prove that millions of new capital could be properly and safely invested in development of enormous economic possibilities of Russia and will fully justify the claim made on behalf of British Labor that Russia under Soviet rule has so far improved material and moral conditions of its people as to have now earned a permanent place among European nations."

### Gregory Orders Thinking Cease

(Continued from page 4)

has decided what is good for them to read, and what isn't.

An Explanation  
The more we see of the Communist movement and its sturdy rejection of such petty bourgeois superstitions and delusions as that embraced by Socialists, that is, that the members of the movement have a right to read what they want and form their own opinions unassisted by gentlemen who hand out predigested opinions—the more, we repeat, we see of that movement the better we like the National Security League and the American Defense Society.

But then, maybe the Communists are forbidden to read what they want because their keepers think they haven't the brains to understand anything at all. That's why they're Communists.

Long live the dictatorship of Gregory III over the minds of his dupes!

### Max Pine

NEW YORK

**Life Insurance**

Office:

110 EAST 23rd ST., NEW YORK  
From 9 to 10:30 A. M.  
Telephone: Gramercy 4224

A NEW  
OPTICAL SERVICE  
FOR BETTER VISION

### Dr. M. J. LANE

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Specializes in Strengthening Weak Eyes  
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Calisthenics

659 NEWARK AVENUE  
at Five Corners Jersey City, N. J.  
TEL. MONTGOMERY 1807-B

### THE NEW LEADER ASSOCIATION

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

Tuesday, December 30, at 8 P. M.  
at the  
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 E. 15th St.

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

ALEXANDER KAHN, President.  
JULIUS GERBER, Secretary.

### Lawyers

**WILLIAM KARLIN, Lawyer**  
291 Broadway Telephone  
Word 8240-4247

**S. HERZOG Patent Attorney**  
Room 502, 1485 Broadway, New York  
Lexington Ave. Subway, 14th St. Station

### M.J. Roth INC.

Third Ave. at 84th St.  
**KODAKS**  
Sporting Goods  
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Toys, Books, Dolls

**BORG** Buys Diamonds, Old Gold, Silver, Platinum, Antiques.  
We also sell Diamonds, Watches and Jewelry at Wholesale Prices.  
A. S. BORG, 146 W. 23d St., N. Y.

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

## WHITE LILAC TEA

At All Grocers, 10c a Package

### Restaurants

**Crescent Pastry Shop and Restaurant**  
1185 Boston Road, Bronx, N. Y.  
(Hedden Square Building)  
Wholesome, Nutritious Food—Moderate Prices  
Telephone: Kipatrick 7912  
(4 Ave. Station, 10th St.)  
Philadelphia Colonial Ice Cream

### Undertakers

**ENGEL FRED'K W. F.**  
315 East 83rd Street  
TELEPHONE LENOX 4051  
**Funeral Home**  
Undertaker for  
Cremation Society, Branch 1, 2 and 27  
Member of the Workmen's Sick Benefit Society.  
Undertaker for all Progressive Organizations  
FUNERAL, INCLUDING CREMATION,  
\$45.00 UP

## LET US HELP EACH OTHER—BROTHER!

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

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

See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of  
**The Milk Drivers' Union**  
Local 584, I. B. of T.  
Office  
585 Hudson St., City  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the Broadway, Room 3.  
F. J. STEPHENSON, Pres. & Bus. Agent.  
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

### WORKERS!

Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers!

ALWAYS LOOK FOR THIS LABEL

**WAITERS & Waitresses' Union**  
LOCAL 1  
102 East 23rd Street  
Gramercy 6843

Executive Board meets every Wednesday at 4 P. M., at 142 East 23rd Street.  
Regular Business Meetings every second and fourth Thursdays in the month, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.  
J. LASHER, President.  
WM. LEHMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

## It's Up to You!

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

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

### LOOK

FOR THIS

LABEL!



### DEMAND

THIS

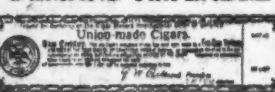
LABEL!

UNION MADE BREAD DOES NOT COST YOU MORE AND IS MADE IN SANITARY SHOPS

Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America  
Organizational Committee of Local 27, 100, 163, 169 and 305

### BE CONSISTENT!

Smoke UNION-MADE CIGARS  
DEMAND This LABEL



If the Box does not have this Label, the Cigars are NOT Union-Made.

INSIST ON the UNION LABEL

Workingmen, When Buying Your HATS Look for THIS LABEL



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



# UNION DIRECTORY

HERE'S YOUR UNION, WHEN IT MEETS, AND WHERE

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

NORRIS SIGMAN, President

ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 221 East 14th Street

Telephone Lexington 4180

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## CLOAK, SUIT and REEFER OPERATORS' UNION

of Greater New York

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

OFFICE: 128 EAST 23TH STREET, NEW YORK

METER PERLSTEIN, Administrator

Telephone: Madison Square, 5390-5391

## CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

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

Office, 144 Second Avenue

Telephone Orchard 0415-0416

Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.  
ABRAHAM HILSON, Chairman of the Executive Board

## DRESSMAKERS' UNION

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

Office, 16 West 21st St.

Watkins 7880

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

MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman

I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

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

Office, 221 E. 14th Street

Lexington 4240

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—221 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.  
Bronx—187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Manhattan—174 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINNO, Manager-Secretary

## SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

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

130 East 20th St.

Madison Sq. 147

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.

D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary

## Italian Dressmakers' Union

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 6 West 21st Street. Telephone 7748-Watkins.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary

## Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 15th St. Madison Square 1933

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Sec'y-Treas.

Manager

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.

17 East 15th St. Phone Stuyvesant 7082

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

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President

ED. GOTTMAN, Sec'y-Treas.

L. D. BERGER, Manager

LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

Secretary

Manager

Secretary

Manager

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# LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

## Would Lighten Millers' Loads

An inquiry recently completed by the International Union of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades shows that in most countries mill workers have to carry sacks weighing 100 kilograms (220 lbs.). The unions concerned point out that this is a frequent cause of hernia and curvature of the spine, which have increased greatly among mill workers since the World War, with its reduced rations, lowered the workers' powers of resistance. Consequently, the Food Workers' International, at the request of its affiliated unions, has asked the International Labor Office of the League of Nations to

start action leading to the eventual adoption of a convention forbidding the lifting and carrying of sacks weighing more than 75 kilograms.

## German Unions Resuming Benefits

As one of the results of the stabilization of German currency and the slow, but steady, improvement in the conditions of German Labor organizations, some of the unions are resuming the payment of benefits suspended during the inflation crisis. The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, at its recent congress, decided to begin paying sickness and insurance benefits again and the journal of the Clothing Workers' Union announced the resumption of unemployment benefits and travelling expenses in November. Other unions are expected to fall into line as soon as they have accumulated enough reserves of real money to make it advisable.

## Hamburg Dockers' Wages Up

Under the agreement effective November 1, the Hamburg port workers are enjoying material increases of wages, reports the Amsterdam office of the International Transport Workers' Federation. Stevedores now get six marks (a mark equals 23.8 cents) a day, against five and six-tenths; deck hands on port tugs get 30.60 marks a week, against 28.80, and Elbe tug deckhands, 35.80, against 33.70. There are also substantial increases in the pay of foremen, skippers and engineers, and the deckhands in service three years or more get considerably more than the base rates. Other transport workers in the port have also obtained wage raises. Since November 7 the motor drivers and carters are getting 40 and 39 marks per week, respectively.

## Hungarian Railroads Handicapped

In line with its general policy of repression of Labor organizations, the Horthy Government of Hungary is keeping the ban on the regular railroad men's union, only the "Christian" and "Young Hungarian" Unions being allowed to exist in the open. The railroads' union paper has been suppressed and the police tries to prevent the union from functioning in secret. Houses of former members are frequently raided and railroad men held under arrest at the will of the cops. In the reduction of personnel under the League of Nations rehabilitation scheme the union men fare badly, being singled out for discharge. The management has decided to introduce the ten-hour working day, wages are about one-third of the pre-war standard, with staple commodity prices above the 1914 level, and altogether the outlook is desperate. Realizing that this condition would doubtless result in a general strike if the railroads were organized, the authorities are exerting every effort to block reorganization.

## 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, 601 E. 161st St.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Phone 7791

GRADNER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

## FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.

Office and Headquarters, 345 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Phone 7791

Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays

M. REISS, President

F. FRIEDMAN, Sec'y-Treas.

E. WENNEIS, Fin. Sec'y.

H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

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

Office and Headquarters, 345 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Phone 7791

Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday, Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Monday

FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President

Secretary

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

1 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7078

Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.

G. LEVIN, President

A. Schwartzwald, Sec. Sec'y.

Chas. Rarano, Treas.

LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent

## CAP MAKERS' Union, 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.

SOL HANDMAN, Sec. Sec'y.

L. BAER, Fin. Sec'y.

All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum

(Beethoven Hall) 21<sup>st</sup> East 5th St.

## MILLINERY & LADIES' STRAW HAT WORKERS' UNION, Local 24

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America

Up-town Office: 60 West 37th Street, Phone FITZROY 6784

Down-town Office: 210 East 5th Street, Phone ORCHARD 1642

Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Up-town Office

SAUL SCHULMAN, E. LEVITAN, ALEX. ROSE, Chairman Exec. Bd. 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 68

MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President.

ANDREW WENNEIS, 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

H. REGOON, Chairman

ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager

ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, Sec. Sec'y.

WILLIAM CHERNIAK, Vice-Pres.

## FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15

Executive Board meets every Monday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

A. SOIFER, Chairman

E. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman

H. ROBERTS, Secretary

## FUR CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 1

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

F. STAIR, Chairman

H. SOFINSKY, Vice-Chairman

H. SCHINDLER, Secretary

## PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place, Phone Orchard 1209

Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.

LOUIS SMITH, President

MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPER, ANNA MUSCANT, Treasurer.

HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

Would Relieve Millers—Germans Resume Benefits—Dockers' Wages Up—Railmen Handicapped in Hungary—Austrian Railmen Win—Spanish Miners Victorious—Anti-War Cards Seized—Other Notes of Interest.

which embraces both Jewish and Arab railroads, is reported by the Jewish Telegraph Agency as agitating for the dropping of the word "Jewish" from the name of the General Jewish Labor Federation of Palestine. It also demands that a keen effort be made to get more Arab workers into the Federation and that the Jewish cooperatives be conducted by a separate Jewish organization.

## Danish Farm Workers Benefit

In accordance with the agreement between the Danish Land Workers' Union and the Employers' Association, there are to be fresh wage negotiations whenever the agricultural industry is more prosperous than when the pact was signed. Recent negotiations, with an impartial chairman, brought a wage raise of 15 per cent on November 15. From December 1 to March 1, the daily pay is 5.70 crowns, while for the rest of the year it is 6.30. A crown equals about 18 cents at present exchange rates.

## A New Finnish Union

As the result of a convention held in Helsingfors in October for the purpose of amalgamating several small unions into a single organization, the Finnish Workers' Union, with some 4,000 members, will formally come into existence on January 1. The Finnish seamen have decided to join the new combination.

## Australian Railroads United

The members of the Western Australian Amalgamated Society of Railway Employees have voted to join the Australian Railways Union. This will bring from 6,000 to 8,000 members into the A. R. U. and make it the only railroad union in Australia, reports the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Transport Workers' Federation.

## New Zealand Miners Consolidate

The New Zealand miners have formed a single union taking in all workers employed in or around coal mines to be known as the United Mine Workers of New Zealand.



# Roads To Freedom

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

## V. ANARCHISM AND SYNDICALISM

**ANARCHISM.** Anarchists differ from the Socialists in their opposition to all forms of the political state; in their belief that all social coercion can be dispensed with; in their refusal to rely on parliamentary action as one of the means of reorganizing industrial society; in their insistence that industry must be run entirely by voluntary autonomous groups, and in their general lack of plan for the operation of a new society. To the extent that they urge terrorism to achieve their ends—the violent anarchists have always, however, been in the small minority—they also differ from the Socialist school of thought.

### Schools of Anarchists

Anarchists urge the abolition of the political state. They are in general of two schools—the individualist-anarchists and the communist or syndicalist-anarchists. The individualists would not disturb present property relations. Their desire is merely that the state be eliminated so that all may mold their lives as they see fit. There is the anarcho-communist and anarcho-syndicalist, on the other hand, who would substitute for private ownership a system of community or producers' ownership and operation of land and capital without the interference of the political state. Most anarchists urge the development of loosely federated autonomous cooperative industrial groups organized on a voluntary basis and accept syndicalism as the expression of the anarchist principle in the economic field. Under anarcho-syndicalism there would not only be no state, but there would be no compulsion to work and all things would be shared in equal proportions. Reliance would be placed on the possibility of making work so pleasant that practically everyone would prefer work to idleness. For under anarchism, work would not involve either overwork or slavery, or excessive specialization that industrialism is bringing out, but merely an enjoyable activity for certain hours during the day, giving an outlet to man's spontaneous constructive impulses. "There is to be no compulsion, no law, no government exercising force; there will still be acts of the community, but these are to spring from universal consent, not from any enforced submission of even the smallest minority."

Anarchism is not merely an economic-political program, but is a philosophy of social arrangements applying to every activity of human beings—education, marriage, religion, as well as work and "order." Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin have been among its greatest advocates.

### Reliance on Education

The leading members of the movement aim to realize their ideals through education, leaving "indiscriminate killing and injuring to the Government—to its statesmen, its stock brokers, its officers, and its law" (L. S. Bevington in Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 53). The movement, however, has contained a considerable number who have been impatient with educational methods and have preferred violent means.

The strongest support for the movement has been found in the Latin countries—Spain, Italy, France—and to some extent in Russia.

### Critics of Anarchists

Socialists with anarchists desire to see the state shorn of much of the coercive power that it exercises today. They believe, however, that, if it ceased to be a class instrument, the need for organized compulsion would be greatly reduced. They urge the opinion that, at least for generations, organized society must have at its disposal some means of enforcing its decrees, democratically arrived at, against an anti-social or non-social minority—decrees against violence, against thefts, laws for the protection of the health, the safety, the education and the industrial development of the community.

Nor do Socialists agree with anarchists that enforcement of decrees necessarily limits community freedom. Such laws are often the means of protecting the weak against the

## PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

How do the above philosophies differ from Socialism and how do they differ from each other? Do you agree with the Anarchists that all coercive powers of the State should be discarded? If not, what powers do you think should be retained under a better social order? Are the Anarchists right in their belief that no compulsion should be used in inducing men to work?

Have Syndicalists placed too much emphasis on industrial control by the producer under the new social order? What has been the chief contribution of Syndicalism to social theory? What are the inadequacies, if any, of the Syndicalist proposals for social reorganization? Syndicalist tactics?

strong and of adding to, not subtracting from, the sum total of human liberty.

As for the difference between the Socialist and the anarchist industrial organization, a comparison between the Socialist conception as heretofore given and the ideal of voluntary communism here outlined will be immediately revealing.

### Syndicalist Ideals

Closely allied with the anarchist philosophy is that of syndicalism. With the anarchists the syndicalists are anti-statists; have an abhorrence of the political state. They differ from Socialists partly in their complete repudiation of political government, and partly in their belief that industry should be organized solely on the basis of producers' control, with no representation on the part of consumers as such.

### Industrial Organization

The cell of the syndicalist society would be the local trade unions or syndicate. The producers of the same trade; joined in the syndicate, would control the means of production. No syndicate would be the exclusive owner of any portion of the collective property, but merely the owner of it with the consent of other social groups. The syndicate would connect itself with the rest of society through the national federation of a particular trade, the *bourse du travail* (the central trade unions of a locality), and the general federation—the national group of all syndicates.

The *bourse du travail* would be the most important of the groups. It would take charge of all local interests. It would collect statistical data, arrange for the distribution of products and secure raw materials. It would have both local and industrial autonomy, and perform any needed local administration. It would "destroy the centralized political system of the present state" and "counterbalance the neutralizing tendencies of industry."

Services of national importance would be left to the general federation, which would serve the people in international relations and have general powers of supervision. The state with its arbitrary rules would be sloughed off.

## Workers Party Torn By Dissension

**CHICAGO.**—Factional differences within the Workers' (Communist) party have developed as a result of the poor showing of this party in the November election and these differences will be fought out in the coming convention of the party. Evidence of this strife is not only apparent in the gossip of the movement but also in the organ of the party itself.

One faction believes that a Communist movement has no future in this country unless it is linked up with a Farmer-Labor movement. It believes the Communists made a mistake in maneuvering the party into a position that leaves it isolated. The other faction contends that the party did the proper thing in nominating its own presidential ticket and fighting the third party ticket.

When it became evident that the Foster-Gitlow ticket received a ridiculously small number of votes, a minority in the Central Executive Committee, in answer to Moscow's inquiry about the vote, proposed that the following message be sent: "Workers' party vote very small; will not exceed twenty thousand." A majority of the committee realized that this would discourage Moscow and voted it down. A motion then prevailed to inform Moscow that the Workers' party had received 100,000 votes! This absurd claim was modified by adding that it included the votes stolen from the Communists.

Another disappointment that has come to the Communists is their failure to get any large circulation for their daily organ here. According to figures which it recently printed, its circulation is about that of its

### Tactics

Syndicalism is to be attained, according to its advocates, not through political action, which is usually frowned upon, but through direct, industrial action, of which the strike is the most important. Each strike increases the spirit of working class, solidarity, and prepares the way for the final, general strike, which will lead to the transfer of industry from the master class to the working class.

### Criticisms

Syndicalism is strongest in France and Italy, where large sections of the trade unions have adopted it in spirit. In the United States, there is very considerable syndicalist feeling among the Industrial Workers of the World. Socialists criticize syndicalism on the ground that it gives the producers exclusive power, and ignores the legitimate and valuable social functions of a democratic state, representative of the people as consumers. If all power of control reside in the workers of the industries those in strategic industries, furthermore, might be able to coerce society to concede unfair demands. However, the movement, in so far as it has shown the dangers of parliamentarianism and of state bureaucracy, has had a salutary influence on Socialism.

### For Discussion Groups—Literature

**Anarchism:** Bertrand Russell, "Proposed Roads to Freedom," ch. 2; Zimand, "Modern Social Movements," pp. 253-60; Peter Kropotkin, "Conquest of Bread" (N. Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, 299 pp.; out of print); P. A. Kropotkin, "Anarchism" (in Ency. Brit., 11th ed., 1910, vol. 1, pp. 914-19); P. A. Kropotkin, "Memoirs of a Revolutionary" (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1899, 519 pp.; \$3); Emma Goldman, "Anarchism and Other Essays" (N. Y.: Mother Earth Pub. Assn., 1910, 277 pp.); Paul Eltzbacher, "Anarchism" (N. Y.: Benj. R. Tucker, 1908, 309 pp.); Leo Tolstoy, "Social Evils And Their Remedy" (London: Methuen, 1915, 255 pp.).

**Contrast:** Laidler, "Socialism," etc., pp. 235-8; George Plechanoff, "Anarchism and Socialism" (Chicago: C. H. Kerr and Co., 1908, 148 pp.; out of print); Bernard Shaw, "Impos-

ibilities of Anarchism" (London: Fabian Society, 1893, 27 pp.); A. M. Simons, "Socialism vs. Anarchism" (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co., out of print); Sidney Webb and others, "Socialism and Individualism" (N. Y.: John Lane, 1911, 102 pp.); Robert Hunter, "Violence and the Labor Movement" (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1914, 213 pp.; \$2.00).

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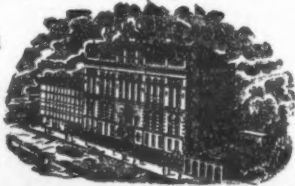
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# The Realm of Books

## Too Much Leisure?

A Review by DAVID P. BERENBERG

**WOMEN AND LEISURE.** By Lorraine Pruette.

Dr. Pruette offers a factual study of women in industry with particular reference to their ambitions and to those intangibles that usually escape the investigator. She tries to find out what women wish to do, and to what extent they accomplish their ends. She tries to determine to what extent women enter upon the traditional occupations because of the force of the tradition, and to what extent these occupations are chosen because they actually represent personal desires. She reaches the conclusion so often reached a priori, that as tradition relaxes and as opportunities expand, women reach out into fields heretofore reserved for men. And this process, thinks Dr. Pruette, will continue.

Women have too much leisure. This is the reasoned conclusion of the book before me. Because they have too much leisure, women are nervous, high-strung, undependable and all the other unpleasant things that modern women are supposed to be. What they need to become sensible human beings, is work. Through work they will learn how to order their lives, and how to dispose of their leisure usefully. The old occupation of woman, motherhood, does not attract all women. It never did, according to Dr. Pruette. And unless the woman who does not want motherhood, finds something to do, she will become a social menace.

It may be that some women have too much leisure. But Dr. Pruette will do well to read more of Bertrand Russell, and to revise her estimate of the value of work for its own sake. She will do well to realize that the well-to-do and middle classes of whom her accusation may be true, is small indeed when compared with the vast masses of women in working class homes, for whom the slogan should be "less work," not more.

Throughout the book I felt that I was being lectured by a dynamo. I wanted to be persuaded, and Dr. Pruette insisted on clubbing me over the head with her facts. She succeeded in arousing my antagonism, and I think she will arouse the antagonism of every one not in love with her doctrine that work for its own sake is a virtue. It seems to me that Russell makes a better case for the opposing point of view.

And yet this is a book worth reading.

If we cared as much for the treasures of human life as we do for the "treasures of the tomb" we should have a different world.—London Justice.

## Disillusioned Revolutionist

A Review by WM. M. FEIGENBAUM

**LEAVES FROM A RUSSIAN DIARY.** By Pitrim Sorokin. Professor of Sociology in the University of Minnesota. New York: E. P. Dutton. \$3.00.

Professor Sorokin was a right-wing Social revolutionist before the March revolution of 1917 and when the Czar was overthrown he became a leading figure in the organization of the democratic republic. With the formation of the Soviets, representing the masses and designed to exercise control over the Duma, which had been elected under a highly undemocratic franchise, he took his seat there and worked for a constituent assembly which he hoped would give Russia a permanent democratic constitution.

He viewed the Bolshevik agitation in July, 1917, with alarm, and he takes no pains to hide his utter hatred and contempt for Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev. When the October revolution came, he was a bitter opponent, and he fought to preserve the sanctity of the Constituent Assembly when the Bolsheviks dispersed it.

Upon the establishment of the Red Terror he "went underground" and aligned himself with Tchaikovsky in the attempt to establish a Republic. He suffered fearful hardships and finally became a hunted fugitive from Bolshevik justice. He was arrested and condemned to death, but upon the establishment of the policy of using the talents of the non-Bolshevik technicians, he was pardoned and permitted to teach his subject in Petrograd. After years of trying experiences in the former capital, trying to keep the feeble spark of learning alight, he left Russia and came to America.

In the course of his struggles against Bolshevism, he was so disillusioned at the way the revolution had worked out that he renounced his Socialism and declared himself a bitter opponent, not only of Bolshevism, but of all revolutionary parties. Indeed, he develops distinct monarchist and anti-Semitic tendencies.

This book purports to be an actual diary kept during the period that it covers. It is well written and in excellent English, and one of 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.

most fascinating books I have come across in recent years. But it is doubtful whether it is an actual diary, because again and again he shows such prevision of what the Bolsheviks are going to do that I imagine that much of it was written later.

Taking it all in all, it is a terrible book, and reflects no credit upon either the Bolsheviks or any of the revolutionary parties. Possibly much of it is distorted by hatred and bias, but students of the Russian revolution cannot afford to ignore it. It is a corrective of the books written by the cartload in the past few years explaining that Russia today (and since October, 1917) is (and has been) an earthly paradise.

Sorokin's account of the pre-revolutionary work of Lenin and Trotsky is hardly flattering to those statesmen, but whether we like it or not, we must see the other side if we are to understand Russia properly.

According to this book, the Communists have made Russia a wilderness and a nightmare; they have destroyed Russia's political and economic systems, and they have made liberty a greivous farce. His accounts of midnight searches into the homes of suspects, of firing squads and midnight burials; of drum-head courts martial, of the destruction of the freedom of thought and even of scientific research are either true, or they are not. I hope they are not true, but I would like to see a documented refutation of it. If they are true, the whole world should know it.

There is not a Socialist and a friend of liberty and democracy in the world who can afford to ignore this book. Least of all the Communists and apologists for the Bolshevik rule in Russia cannot afford to ignore it.

### Book Notes

"Skill in Work and Play," which is from the pen of T. H. Pear, Professor of psychology in the University of Manchester, was published recently by the Duttons.

A college novel, "Wild Marriage," portraying both undergraduate and faculty life, by B. H. Lehman, associate professor of English at the University of California, will be published by Harpers in January.

"The Road to World Peace" is the title of a new book dealing with the World Court and its ramifications, which Putnam issued late in December. The author is Oscar Newfang, who has long had an active and intense interest in the problem of doing away with war as a menace to civilization.

"Monogatari" is the title of a book of short stories edited by Don C. Seitz and published recently by Putnam. The tales are drawn directly from Japanese sources and present an unusually clear picture of the Japanese mind and history.

## Play On

A Review by JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

**STRAWS AND PRAYER BOOKS.** By James Branch Cabell. New York: Robert M. McBride.

The work of James Branch Cabell moves me invariably to a dissatisfaction with periodicals and with myself. For I am stirred with a desire to write unendingly—if at all; yet I usually discover that my efforts at comment upon his books—whatever their length—grow somehow into exposition or mere echo. Perhaps, as I found in connection with the prologue to the long biography of which the present volume is the last, the only way to win freedom of judgment regarding Cabell is to imprison him in a poem. If Kit Marlowe speak again. Meanwhile we can but seek diversion in the pleasant game of particularizing certain tendencies of James Branch Cabell.

Man seeks, saith the philosopher, unity. Out of the seeming chaos wherewith he daily deals, the scientist erects his ordered cosmos, the priest hails his all-enfolding god, the artist leaps to the improved world of his creation. Thus of his fifteen volumes Cabell fashions his one Biography, his life of Don Manuel. The early novels are caught within the plan by an ingenious device; as Balzac gives long pages of the books written by his characters, as—Cabell assures us—George Moore's early novels are written by the hero of the later memoirs and confessions, just so are these books by the boy who becomes the subject of the author's circuitous but well-centered musings. And his essays similarly form the prologue and the epilogue of this one measurable work, binding it in high parade of unity.

Man seeks, saith the philosopher, diversion. Each to himself alone answerable for his likes chooses, wherein he may, that which is to him personally productive of delight, of sweet anodyne (in the phrase of the ages), of distraction from a world that—in Oscar Wilde's grim paradox—is too important to be taken seriously. "The literary artist"—and perforce Cabell includes himself—"plays with common sense, and piety, and death." Perhaps a change in the preposition would improve our ability to keep score; man plays not as with a shuttlecock of his disposing, but smiling over a hollow fear he will not own, man plays for desperate stakes against unsmiling patient forces. So that the end of man's play is ever the losing; and during the game he can but hope for the while to hold his opponent for a down or two, instead of chasing behind him desperately to the goal.

Man seeks, saith the philosopher, progress. Don Manuel has journeyed long; what haven has he reached? In the prologue, "Beyond Life," written after and in some measure of necessity by rationalization from his first fictional efforts, Cabell avers that the driving force in life is the god Romance, who by building an appearance for each man according to his needs, sends each man striving forth to reach that dear illusion. And now, at the end of his journey, what gain, you ask? Who has the balance to measure gain from loss; when the scales tip is not even the most high found wanting? The fervor of youth has passed, and the zeal of the prophet; Cabell assumes the mask of an old man playing a futile game.

For man seeks, saith the philosopher, vainly. Unity is a false condensation, a convenient erroneous abstraction of a universal principle or essence from the particular act or being. Nor do the readers pay heed to the efforts of Cabell; rather they properly continue to turn the pages of his several books with varied and separate delight. Diversion, too, eludes, or suffices not. For romance is that domain of art to which imagination most distinctly draws the pendulum of the mind; and the far field of thought recurrently claims the swing—to the tumbling ruin of those fair games the artist builds into play that hides a bewildered fearful boy from imminent life. Progress, the last and least of the artist's hopes, is drawn in a widening circle to its source. So does the epilogue often return to points along the way, weaving into its texture thoughts of the journeying, reaching in its penultimate phrases the reflections of the very prologue as to the sham of immortality, and in its final word waking the boy whose impulse first penned Cabell's first book, while the adult author slips gratefully to bed.

An entirely new kind of book about Russia is announced for publication early in January by E. P. Dutton & Company. It is entitled "The Re-Forging of Russia" and in it Edwin W. Hullinger presents the results of a long and intimate study of the constructive efforts of the Soviet Government since 1921. He deals with the New Economic Policy of the Bolsheviks and its results, the land question, the attitude of the peasants toward the Government and how their life and character have

## The Polish Pleasantland

A Review by JEROME ROMAN

**AUTUMN.** By Wladislaw St. Reymont. Translated by Michael H. Dziewicki. Knopf. \$2.50.

Toward the end of the last century, Poland's attention was being called to a young writer, Wladislaw St. Reymont, whose originality and talent had already then found groups of ardent admirers the land over. His novels—"Pilgrims to Chencostoch," "The Comedienne," "Fermentations," and the "Promised Land" drew the praise of all the notable critics, the far-seeing among whom beheld in his great achievements an even greater promise. The realization of those predictions came several years later in "The Peasants."

This work, for which M. Reymont has just been awarded the Nobel prize, is a tetralogy whose parts are subtitled consecutively after the seasons of the year, the opening volume—the theme of this review—being "Autumn."

"Autumn" alone could bring its author into the galaxy of the great novelists of our day. Although concerned solely with the sequestered life of the Russian-Polish peasantry, it is a work of vast ramifications, a novelized history of the Polish peasantland, a panorama of its every phase, mirroring its every light, reverberating its every sound. More and more as we advance in the reading we grow aware of the looming of a protagonist, mightier than Boryna, lover of Yagna, than Antek, his hater and son, than the village belle, than the blacksmith, than the priest—mightier than all of these, as the soil is mightier than its growths. For it is the soil, the Polish motherland, that is the protagonist of this novel.

The story develops slowly. A haze, like the formlessness before Genesis, is the state of its nativity. From this haze, in a stately adagio, living figures emerge, one by one, each a crystallized image, each passing along his individual path with fated steps unto his destiny. Over all hangs a deep melancholy—the shadow of the wings of St. Reymont. It is the author's only obtrusion, the sole instance of his subjectivity. Throughout the book there is an utter absence of attitudinizing on his part, an absence of personal sympathies and dislikes, an almost regrettable absence of self-revelation.

## Across Two Worlds

**THE LETTERS OF GLAUCON & SARAI.** By David P. Berenberg. The S. & N. Society Northampton, Mass.

The series of free verse poems that gives this volume its title at once demands discussion. The letters pass between Sarai, a Jewess of Palestine, and Glaucon, a pagan merchant who once had lingered in love beside the maid, and now is working that she may join him. In their correspondence "Yeshua," casually mentioned at first, grows more and more prominent until he fills Sarai's pages and her heart, as after the crucifixion she follows in the footsteps of her Lord. The poems vaguely suggest, at their start, a mood of a short story by Anatole France, "Le Procureur de Juge," in which two old men remember a woman, but forget the name of her companion (Jesus); save that in the poems Christ becomes (perhaps, in Letters X and XII, too soon) the central figure. Alexander Harvey's excellent essays on Jesus and his friends (now reprinted in the Blue Book Library) would have helped Mr. Berenberg win a contemporary tone, in his last poem as well, and would perhaps have saved him from referring to Yeshua as being mocked in his boyhood: Jesus had a perfectly respectable father, whose trade, indeed, Mr. Berenberg shows his son following.

Most of the poems in the volume are built of a contrast, outspoken or implicit, of the ancient and the modern, the pagan and the Jewish (or Christian) spirit; and in interpreting one of these to the other, Mr. Berenberg often catches a genuine trait of character, or evokes a subtle mood, or deftly plants a satiric blow. To the spectators of a modern burlesque, he flings the query:

"Would you be shocked beyond your puny wits  
Were you to stumble on the hidden glade  
Where Bacchanals and Helen danced  
And swayed  
Nude in the moonlight?"

There are spots in Mr. Berenberg's verse where he seems careless, as when "delights" rimes with "lights," or "sprouts forth" seems to have the second word added for rhythm. Yet on the whole he is free from such blemishes; his free verse—where it is so easy to lapse into careless ease!—is most successful and effective. . . . Anyone who enjoys poetry will want to own this book. JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

been influenced by Soviet policies, the social theories of the Bolsheviks and to what extent and with what result there have been established.

tion. We are not permitted to know whether the humble people of his novel bear his love or his apathy, whether he is a folk-loving prince mingling incognito among them, or merely an idle lord come slumming. Perhaps the later volumes will help to reveal this. One thing, however, is evident: The author has a deep understanding of his people, and in the light of his understanding he reveals them to us.

As a stylist, St. Reymont rises to heights untranscended in prose fiction. With a method that is unflinchingly realistic he achieves a music and a spirit that are the purest distillation of poetry. What in Keats, what in Verlaine, what in Autumn's noblest psalmists is more melodious, more beautiful than this passage?

"Autumn was growing ever more and more autumnal. The pale days passed, dragging themselves over the empty soundless fields, and died away beyond the forests, always stiller, always paler, like the Se-red Host in the glimmer of a taper that is going out."

"And every dawn the morning came more and more sluggishly, benumbed, as it were, by the cold of the hoarfrosts, and the sorrowful stillness and the life ebbing out of the land. The sun, dim, shorn of its beams, came blossoming forth from the depths; and crows and daws that had started up from somewhere in the East flew circling round its disk; they skimmed over the fields in long, low flight, and croaked with dull mournful voices. Following them, the wind swept along, bitter and bleak, ruffling the stirred waters, burning up all that was left of greenery, and tearing away the last dead leaves from the poplars on the roads: these fell slowly, like trickling tears—tears of blood, shed by the summer as it lay dying."

I feel that I cannot conclude my impression of this book without expressing my admiration for the translation. Professor Dziewicki has done for this work what only a Fitzgerald or a Burton could do. Someone once compared translation to a woman: If it is faithful it is not beautiful; if it is beautiful it is not faithful. Professor Dziewicki's translation is beautiful, but one hesitates to believe that such beauty could have been inspired by unfaithfulness.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

**Social Science**  
ALFONSO XIII UNMASKED. By Vicente Blanco Ibanez. N. Y.: E. P. Dutton & Co.  
NARCISUS. AN ANATOMY OF CLOTHES. By Gerard Heard. N. Y.: E. P. Dutton & Co.  
THE BANK OF NORTH AMERICA. AN EXPERIMENT IN AGRARIAN BANKING. By Alvin S. Tostlebe. N. Y.: Longmans, Green & Co.  
FARMERS AND WORKERS IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By Stuart A. Rice. N. Y.: Longmans, Green & Co.  
GERMANY IN TRANSITION. By Herbert Kraus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.  
WHAT AILS OUR YOUTH? By George A. Coe. N. Y.: Scribners.  
MY FURTHER DISILLUSIONMENT IN RUSSIA. By Emma Goldman. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co.  
THE AMERICAN STATES. By Allan Nevins. N. Y.: Macmillan.  
SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By Stuart Alfred Queen. Philadelphia: Lippincott.  
THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM. By Fred Henderson. London: Independent Labor Party Publishing Department.  
THE STABILIZATION OF EUROPE. By Charles de Visser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.  
THE FASCISTI EXPOSED. By Giacomo Matteotti. London: Independent Labor Party Publishing Department.

**Literature**  
SPRING THUNDER AND OTHER POEMS. By Mark Van Doren. N. Y.: Thomas Seitzer.  
TALES FROM SILVER LANDS. By Charles Finger. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co.

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# --- D R A M A ---

## Karel Capek

**Gifted Czech Author and Playwright Permits Closer Insight—Youth Spent in Poverty and Factory Surroundings**

It is characteristic of Karel Capek's modesty that, although he is perhaps the most well-known figure in modern Czech literature, only a small amount of information regarding his personal life and past history is known even to his own countrymen. But he has at least on one occasion informed an interviewer, writes L. H. in the Manchester Guardian, that he was born in a town in the mountains of Bohemia and, the son of a doctor, was destined to follow the same profession, which he ranks as highly as his own. His youth appears to have been spent in poverty, surrounded, he says, by factories—a circumstance which one is tempted to regard as having played a part in determining the character of his subsequent work. Later he got to know Berlin and North Germany, and his economic and mental horizons were considerably enlarged. He is now 34 years of age. At some time or other, like almost every Czech one meets, he secured a university degree, as a consequence of which he is entitled to prefix to his name the title "Dr." Since taking to literature he has published ten books, some of which have been written in collaboration with his brother Josef, and which include, besides plays, essays, novels, and short stories.

### Literature—His Life Work

Capek is exceptional among Czech writers in that he supports himself exclusively by literature. For it is evident that an author who expresses himself in a language which, like Czech, is read by practically nobody besides natives, and who is therefore appealing to a public numbering only a few millions at the most, can only derive a very little from the sale of his books. For anything like a large in-

come he is dependent on translation into other languages, which is an exception save in the case of a small minority of works. Capek, however, with the great success of "R. U. R." and "The Insect Comedy," was able to find a place in the wider literature of the world, with the resulting privileges. Apart from his international reputation he occupies an honored position in his own literature, partly owing to his surprising ability in manipulating his recalcitrant native language, combining with a handful of others to render modern Czech a flexible instrument of thought, partly owing to his strong dramatic gift, rare among Czech writers, as it is among the Slavs generally.

### Typical Czech Intellectual

A typical Czech intellectual, Capek is busy assimilating ideas from the whole range of the world's literature. He is to be found (he has the curious gift of being in when one calls on him) in his quiet little house in the "Little Side" in Prague, engrossed in some work in French, German, or English, frequently a translation from yet another language into one of these. English literature is his favorite study, and he reads English with perfect ease. By some miracle he contrived, when I last saw him, to talk it also with creditable fluency, although he has scarcely ever heard it spoken, apart from his short visit to England last year. If his interlocutor understands any Czech he prefers to use that language, when he usually surprises him by his unconfined use of the racy, colloquial Prague idiom, free from any trace of the sententiousness of which the literary man is almost invariably guilty. One leaves him in his large, perfectly square room, unencumbered by unnecessary furniture and distinguished only by the futuristic studies of his brother which line the walls, with a feeling of having caught a glimpse, through the inevitable veil created by difference of language, of an exceptionally vivid and sympathetic personality. Amongst other things he is a gifted and witty draughtsman.

### Pure Fun

**Gloria Foy Scores in "Betty Lee," at the 44th Street Theatre**

"Betty Lee," which opened at the 44th Street Theatre, Christmas night, is all there. It's an eye-fun and an ear-fun and then some. It's that rare bird, a musical comedy that is pure, unadulterated fun from beginning to the end, and fun depending upon the situations rather than wise cracks by interpolated vaudevillians. Furthermore, it is, as we remarked a moment ago, an eye-fun. Seldom have we seen a chorus of as pretty girls who seemed to enjoy themselves so much. The audience had a wonderful time, but it seemed as if the maidens on the stage were having an even better time kicking their heels and showing their prettiest dresses and singing their prettiest heads off. "Betty Lee" is, as you may not know, a musical version of "Going Some," a comedy by Paul Armstrong and Rex Beach that convulsed our town some years ago. Otto Harbach has made the book for the musical comedy and Louis A. Hirsch has written the music. And while we are distributing the laurel, we might mention that Rufus Le Maire directed the production, and a good job he made of it, too.

The story is about Betty Lee who seems to own a ranch in California, inhabited by big, rough men in som-breros and chaps, he-blooded red men of the big open spaces with hair on their chest. And these men yearn to recover a photograph they lost to a neighboring ranch in a foot-race some time before. Betty has a friend from Yale who pretends he is a great runner, but in fact he is not; he only bluffed his way into Betty's heart, because Betty dotes on athletes. Natu-



**ELSIE FERGUSON**  
plays the leading role in Molnar's new play, "Carnival," opening at the Cort Theatre.

ally, a race is fixed up, and as he cannot do 100 yards under fifteen seconds, while the cook of the Centipede Ranch has done it in the world-beating time of 9.3, there is a gay time. Wally Speed, the Yale bluff, is frightened stiff, but he is also gun shy, and when the men line up at the starting point, he is so frightened by the revolver shot that starts off the race that he wins the race, the photograph and the girl.

Gloria Foy as Betty Lee is beautiful, and she dances and sings as well as she looks. Joe Brown, as Wally's make-believe trainer, carries off the comedy excellently. Four rough, Bill Hart-looking cowboys make up a delightful male quartette and sing cowboy songs with a vim. Dorothy Barber as Maridetta is a gorgeous, tawny Mexican looking maiden who reveals most of her graceful body in dances that are ever so soothing to the eye. Taking it by and large, "Betty Lee" is one of the most attractive of the musical comedies of the year, without a suggestive word or gesture, and full of good, wholesome fun. No one need be afraid to take the kids to see it. There are laughs enough for the whole family in it. W. M. F.

"China Rose," John Cort's Oriental operetta, opened at the Hollis Street Theatre, Boston, Wednesday night, for a limited engagement prior to the New York premiere, which will take place on January 8 at a Broadway theatre.

The special matinee of "Paolo and Francesca" will be continued at the Booth Theatre, Tuesday afternoon, December 30 and Friday, January 9.

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"TAME CATS," an English comedy, by J. E. Harold Terry, will open at the Princess Theatre, Monday night, presented by Messrs. Shubert. The play is quite a success in London under the title of "Collusion." The cast includes Alice MacMahon, Richard Bird, David Tearle, Arthur Lewis, Florence Edney, and Edward Fielding. The play has been staged by Alexander Leftwich, with scenes designed by Rollo Wayne.

"CARNIVAL," a new play by Ferenc Molnar, will open at the Cort Theatre on Monday night, presented by Charles Frohman, Inc. Elsie Ferguson is featured. Frank Reicher staged the production.

"PATIENCE," Gilbert and Sullivan's merry opera, will be put on by the Provincetown Players at their playhouse on Macdougall street, Monday night.

"SEENIAYA PITITZA" ("The Blue Bird"), a Russian musical revue, which has played in Moscow, Berlin and Paris recently, will open at the Frolic Theatre, atop the New Amsterdam Theatre, on Monday evening. The cast will be headed by Yasha Yushny, a confederer.



**ALINE MACMAHON**  
will play a leading role in "Tame Cats," coming to the Princess, Monday night. Miss MacMahon will be recalled for her excellent work in "The Grand Street Follies."

## Enjoyable Comedy

**"Quarantine," by F. Tennyson Jones, Opens at Henry Miller's Theatre.**

Charles L. Wagner and Edgar Selwyn have offered a dainty morsel in "Quarantine"—too harsh a name!—by F. Tennyson Jones, which Norman-Bel Geddes have given attractive settings at Henry Miller's Theatre. Sidney Blackmer and Helen Hayes make a delightfully unmatched runaway couple; Olga Olova an attractive, though unsuccessfully seductive Southern Senator; Percy Ames a silent passenger whose coming and going affords entertainment; and a cast of assistants provides much merriment. The play is another of those inconsequential comedies, which we accept in a world of make-believe and—once the premises are taken for granted—we thoroughly enjoy. Blunt is a famous explorer who has been plundering with a young wife; she loves not her husband, and arranges an elopement, to which the explorer, unwilling as he is, is gentleman enough to consent. But on the ship he discovers that a friend of the woman has slipped aboard instead, "saving" the wife from any rash action. This might pass all right, but a sudden marconigram sends the ship to a quarantine station for a week, and "husband" and "wife" must live together. The ecstasy of the girl and the courtesy of the man (which she half-or more than half—regrets) spread through the scenes of the evening, while we discover that the girl who sacrificed her reputation for her married friend really loved Blunt all along, and had come aboard hoping that she might come to be an acceptable substitute. It is unnecessary to add that she is quite acceptable.

All comedies of this sort have a difficult period in their last act, when everybody knows just what is coming, and there is some time which must be filled, and what, in this case, seems irrelevant or unimportant. But the final moment, when the curtain falls upon the embracing "honeymooners," redeems the act. The last boat from the quarantine island is leaving; there is no other for a week, and everyone else is aboard. The couple, that has just become united in understanding, after the trying week, hurries frantically, gathers all the baggage—then the two drop everything, rush to each other's arms, and let the boat steam away, with a week of true pleasure in prospect. W. L.

## New Cinema Palace

**Colony Theatre Opens with Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad"**

It seemed that the most popular form of celebrating Christmas Day in the city was by being one of the goodly portion of the population that descended by the thousands on the Colony Theatre, B. S. Moss' new cinema palace which opened its doors for the first time Christmas Day. So great was the magnet that attracted theatregoers to the Colony, that at one time the crowd which tried to find its way into the 2,000 capacity house was estimated at 8,000.

B. S. Moss is reported to have lavished \$2,000,000 on this new cathedral of the photoplay. The money was not merely spent on something "big." The theatre is beautifully decorated with discriminating taste. Tastefully appointed dressing rooms, lounges and writing parlors abound. Innumerable floral offerings by friends of Mr. Moss rounded out the beauty of the edifice.

In addition to the costly decorations, the theatre has an organ which it is said cost \$75,000. The organ console can be raised and lowered at will. There is also a special lighting system which permits of beautiful stage effects, an "air-washing" ventilation idea and a wrought bronze ticket booth. An innovation is an electrical device regulating a strip of film in the orchestra pit, the running of which synchronizes with the scenes on the screen. This strip bears music cues for the guidance of the conductor.

The Arabian Nights' Fantasy, Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, played by the Colony orchestra under the direction of Edwin Franko Goldman, selections from "Samson and Delilah," Gounod's "Ave Maria," by Carmela Ponselle, and a special tableau program directed by Alexander Oumanaky, lead the musical program at the new Colony Theatre, where Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad" is showing.

The role of Jacques Offenbach, whose life furnishes the theme for "The Love Song," due at the Century Theatre in January, has been assigned to Allan Prior, a young Australian tenor. Dorothy Francis, formerly with the Chicago Opera Company, will have an important role in the Offenbach operetta.

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"The Potters," McEvoy's  
Clever Comedy, at the  
Bronx Opera House  
Richard Herndon is bringing J. P. McEvoy's comedy, "The Potters," to the Bronx Opera House beginning next Monday. The delightful play had a season's run at the Plymouth Theatre. Donald Meek as "Pa" Potter heads the cast and he is assisted by the following players: Mary Carroll, Eleanor Gordon, Mary Stills, Vera Milne, Douglas Hunter and Raymond Guion. The play was staged by Augustin Duncan. "Little Jessie James" will be the following attraction.

"The Tornado," Lincoln J. Carter's Thriller, at Moss' Broadway  
A holiday program will be on at the Broadway Theatre next week, beginning Monday. The vaudeville will include Kathleen O'Hanlon and Theodore Zamboni, supported by Senorita Grossi and the Argentine Orchestra; Bert York and Ed Lord; Cecil Cunningham; Charlie Foy (son of Eddie); Billy Kelly and Katherine Dearborn; Charles Drake and Company and other acts. The screen will reflect "The Tornado," a picturization of Lincoln J. Carter's novel, starring House Peters.

Romain Rolland's "Wolves" Opens Tuesday Night at Yiddish Art Theatre  
Maurice Swartz and the Yiddish Art Theatre Company will produce for the first time in America a new play by Romain Rolland entitled "Wolves." It is a drama of the French revolution. Swartz acquired the script of the play while in Paris last summer, direct from R. Rolland himself, and intends to present the play early this season. There is not a shot fired in this war play. The cast calls for thirty-nine men but no women.

SHUBERT 44th St. W. of B'way, Evns. 8:30, Mats. Wed., Sat. 2:30  
LAST WEEK  
**RUTH CHATTERTON**  
in the Musical Comedy Sensation  
**"THE MAGNOLIA LADY"**  
WITH RICHARD GALLAGHER

**ELTINGE** THEA. W. 42d St. Evenings at 8:30. MATINEES NEXT WEEK: Friday and Saturday  
The Biggest Dramatic Hit of the Season! The Most Discussed Play of the Year.  
WILMER & VINCENT Present  
**DAWN**  
TOM BARRY'S BIG PLAY  
— WITH —  
**Emma Dunn**  
"PRIZE WALLOW of the YEAR."—Post.

Last Week  
AH-WOODS presents  
LEW LESTER'S production of  
**FLORENCE MILLS**  
DIXIE TO BROADWAY  
The most exciting of all musical comedy shows now current in New York.  
BROADHURST THEATRE W. 44th St. MATINEES: FRIDAY and SATURDAY. EXTRA PERFORMANCE MIDNIGHT WED. DEC. 31

Last Week  
AH-WOODS presents  
**CONSCIENCE** with LILLIAN FOSTER  
By DON MULLALLY  
A MOVING PLAY! MAGNIFICENTLY ACTED  
BELMONT THEATRE WEST 48th St. MATS. THURS. and SAT.  
Extra Matinee—Friday, January 2nd



**CLAIRE WINDSOR**  
in "The Dixie Handicap," a new feature film coming to the Capitol Theatre, Sunday.



## THEATRES

## DRAMA

Otto Kahn, Hillquit,  
Nearing and Earl to  
Discuss ImperialismELIZABETH CADY STANTON  
PORTRAIT IS HUNG IN  
NATIONAL MUSEUM

SON Thea, 44th St. W. of Bway  
Crawford, 830. Matinee  
Wed. and Sat., at 2:30.  
HENRY B. HARRIS Presents  
A NEW PLAY

THE  
BULLY

By JULIE HELENE PERCIVAL  
and CALVIN CLARK  
WITH

Emmett Corrigan

## Bronx Amusements

## BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th St., E. of 34 Ave.  
OP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

RICHARD HERNDON Presents  
A Screaming Sensational Success!

## THE POTTERS

By J. P. McEVY  
WITH

DONALD MEEK  
and the Entire Original Cast

"The Years' Best Comedy"  
—Hugobert Brown, N. Y. World

Week of January 5

"LITTLE JESSIE JAMES"

The Musical Comedy Success

## YIDDISH

## ART

## THEATRE

8TH STREET  
& MADISON AVE.

Maurice Swartz

in B. GORIN'S

Comedy of American-Jewish Life

## INEVERY HOME

FRIDAY, SATURDAY &  
SUNDAY, MATINEE &  
EVENING, 2:30 & 8:30.

Performances Wed. (New Year's) Eve,  
Thurs. (New Year's) Matinee & Evening

## B. S. MOSS' NOW

## CAMEO

5TH & 42ND ST.

STEAMING STREAMS OF LAUGHTER!

## HAROLD LLOYD

In his latest fun-act

## Hot Water

Other Real Attractions

FAMOUS CAMEO THEATRE

ORCHESTRA

## CAPITOL

BROADWAY  
at 51st St.

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

BEGINNING SUNDAY

LOUIS B. MAYER Presents

Reginald Barker's Production of

## THE DIXIE HANDICAP

With a Cast Including

CLAIRE WINDSOR

Frank Keenan and Lloyd Hughes

A METRO-GOLDWYN PICTURE

## HOLIDAY PROGRAM

CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA

BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE

Presentations by ROTHAFEL (ROXY)

## MUSIC AND CONCERTS

## N. Y. SYMPHONY

WALTER DAMROSCH

Conductor

Carnegie Hall Thurs. Aff. Jan. 1, at 2.

Sol. Fri. Eve. Jan. 2, at 8:30.

Toti Dal Monte

Coloratura Soprano of the Metropolitan and  
Chicago Opera Companies.

## HOLIDAY PROGRAM

Symphony No. 5, Tchaikovsky

Air from "The Magic Flute," Mozart

Entrance of the Little Faun, Schumann

Air: "Caro Nome" from "Rigoletto," Verdi

"Alborada del Gracioso," Ravel

GEORGE ENGLISH, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

Hampden Returns in

## "Cyrano de Bergerac,"

at Century Theatre

Walter Hampden, following a lengthy

tour of the important cities, returned

to the city Monday for a two weeks'

stay of "Cyrano de Bergerac." The

performance at the Century—with its

large seating capacity—was a reminder

of the splendid work done at the Na-

tional last season. It was most ex-

cellent.

Following the run at the Century,

Hampden plans to do "Othello," which

may come to the Shubert Theatre on

January 5.

## At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Tornado," by

Lincoln J. Carter, with House

Peters.

CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Hot

Water."

CAPITOL—"The Dixie Handicap,"

from Gerald Beaumont's story,

"Dixie," with Claire Windsor,

Frank Keenan and Lloyd

Hughes.

COLONY—Douglas Fairbanks in

"The Thief of Bagdad."

RIALTO—Sir James Barrie's

"Peter Pan," with Betty Bron-

son.

RIVOLI—Sir James Barrie's

"Peter Pan," with Betty Bron-

son.

The Actor's Theatre announces  
the first production of its sea-  
son, "The Habitual Husband,"  
a comedy by Dana Burnett. The  
cast includes: Grant Mitchell,  
Margalo Gilmore, Diantha  
Pattison, Clarence Derwent,  
Ernest Stallard, and Marion  
Barney. Staged by Dudley  
Diggs. Matinees Thursday and  
Saturday.

Special matinees of Bernard  
Shaw's "Candida" every Wed-  
nesday and Friday afternoon,  
extra matinee, Tuesday, Decem-  
ber 30, with this cast: Kath-  
erine Cornell, Richard Bird,  
Pedro de Coroba, Clare Eames,  
Ernest Stallard, and Gerald  
Harner. Seats for both per-  
formances now on sale at the  
48th St. Theatre, Bryant 0178.

You can spend  
one of the pleasantest evenings  
of your happy New Year

at

THE Neighborhood Playhouse

456 Grand Street

Seating

## "The Little Clay Cart"

"Acting—strikingly beautiful.

Staging—artistically satisfying.

A Play—profoundly moving."

—Joseph Wood Krutch in The Nation

Every Evening (Except Monday)

Matinee Saturday, 2:30

Orchestra \$1.50, Balcony \$1.00, 75c

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Colony

Broadway at 53rd Street

Now Noon to 11:30 P.M.

CONTINUOUS

FIRST SHOWING ANYWHERE

AT POPULAR PRICES

## DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS

IN

## "The Thief of Bagdad"

EDWIN FRANKO GOLDMAN

CONDUCTING

Colony Symphony Orchestra

MISS CARMELA PONSELLE

Distinguished Operatic Mezzo Soprano

ALL NEXT WEEK

GALA HOLIDAY BILL

LINCOLN J. CARTER'S

Sensational Melodrama

## THE TORNADO

WITH

House Peters

O'HANLON AND LAMBORN

York & Lord—Cecil Cunningham

AND OTHER B. F. KEITH ACTS

ALL CHOPIN PROGRAM

(Mason & Hamilton Piano)

ROSENTHAL

Piano Recital (Knabe Piano)

CARNegie SAT., JAN. 10 TH. AFF.

HALL AT 2:30.

## BRAILOWSKY

PIANO RECITAL

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## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, December 27, 1924

## THE CHRISTMAS SEASON

WE HAVE no desire to throw cold water upon the general happy mood of the Christmas season, but duty to the ideal of a classless and warless world compels attention to the stark climax which the annual return of the season brings. There are the wastrels, the human driftwood, the starvelings and the workless men which are thrust upon our attention by all sorts of charitable organizations. The Times always has its "One-hundred neediest cases." Always one-hundred, never more or less. One grows sick and faint to read this annual installment of a by-product of capitalist society. The Salvation Army agents dangle their pots before you and plead for alms that thousands of the foodless may have one good dinner one day in the year. Out of the social depths comes "Mr. Zero," leading bands of the workless to occupy a church, these homeless men by their marching pointing accusing fingers at the "civilization" that guarantees no opportunities to them.

What is evident in New York City is evident in every city in the United States. Masses with the wolf-stare of hunger in their eyes stalk before society, giving the lie to those who bless this "civilization" as the best that humanity is capable of building. One of the depths they crawl: strong men eager to work but unable to get it; the aged cast aside as useless scrap; the sick exhibiting their sores; the "failures" displaying their rage; the wanderers without a home; the regiments compelled to live in kennels because their income does not permit the enjoyment of sanitary habitations.

Help these unfortunates? Aye, by all means, even though it be for only one day in the year. Who cannot open his purse to appease these piteous supplicants? Yet this sad spectacle always thrust before us in a season dedicated to joy and happiness can only consecrate the social rebel to renewed effort to hasten the day when this hideous thing shall be no more, the day when social equity and equality of opportunity shall bless a Socialist world.

## DUAL ETHICS OF CAPITALISM

NOTHING more strikingly displays the class ethics of the ruling classes and their press than their attitude towards the Socialist and one of their own class in the matter of the family relation. Last year the press was filled with racy accounts of the alleged escapade of a banker's wife and her charge regarding the loose life of her husband. For more than a week we have also been regaled by the story of the illicit conduct of an heir of one of the railroad pirates of an earlier day.

There is not one instance of the kept press moralizing on the intimate relation between the "free love" of these kept darlings of capitalist society and their political and economic views. From the silence of these newspapers we are justified in assuming that they believe that the huge wads of cash these darlings have accumulated takes the curse off their conduct. This cash purchases immunity from any vicious attacks on representatives of modern capitalism.

Not so in the case of the Socialist or any other man or woman who fails to accept the social order ruled by the rich and their percentage of liberties. The organs of present society do not hesitate to mercilessly hound the social dissenter when he or she fails to comply with the conventional standards of morality in the matter of the family relation. One cannot forget how the servile journalists pursued Maxim Gorky and George D. Herron some years ago, although neither of these men was the father of children born out of wedlock as in the two cases mentioned above.

The ethics of capitalist society constitute a double code. It is a compound of hypocrisy and class malice, treating prominent members of the ruling classes with leniency in one case and utterly destroying the character and reputation of those who dissent from the dominion of these classes. This dual ethical standard is based on the capitalist form of property and will not be abandoned until the system that gives rise to it is itself abandoned by those who are its victims.

## BRITISH WAR DOCUMENTS

ANNOUNCEMENT that the British Government intends to publish important documents regarding its foreign policies is of exceptional interest. This is said to follow out a policy decided upon by the Labor Government, but the statement of Mr. Harold Temperley of London

in the Times regarding the documents to be published leaves much to be desired.

According to Mr. Temperley the Government will make available, without restriction, "to historical researchers the official archives of the British Government up to 1878." The second part of this program is for the British Government "to publish a selection of their own records for the decade preceding the war and up to its outbreak in 1914."

This is good as far as it goes, but the limitation of documents down to the outbreak of the war will leave the most important period neglected. Had the German, Russian and Austrian Governments limited the publication of their secret documents down to the year 1914 we would still be in the dark regarding the dirty diplomacy that followed the opening of the war.

For example, the secret negotiations that brought Italy into the war, the browbeating of Greece and forcing that nation into the war, the secret negotiations with Japan guaranteeing the latter a free hand in Shantung and the sacrifice of China, as well as other mysterious dealings of the holy allies, will remain in the secret archives of the British Government. We know considerable now about these backstairs deals through the publications of other Governments, but unless the Baldwin Government extends its program of publicity beyond the year 1914 it will be a farcical gesture and nothing more.

## THE SECRET OF SUCCESS

THIS appears to be the season for advising ambitious youth how to succeed in life. Otto H. Kahn, Chauncey M. Depew, Elbert H. Gary and Irving T. Bush tell the readers of the Times all about it in a recent number, yet no matter how often the "secret" of success is revealed the mass of mankind remain producers of incomes that mysteriously disappear into the coffers of those who have much already.

Time was when men could organize a paper corporation, obtain contributions from the Government, thousands of square miles of territory, organize phony construction companies and blossom into "railroad kings." There were the timber, quarry and mineral grafts which are today the basis of some of the great fortunes of American grand dukes.

But that time is gone forever. The secret of that period of glorified piracy is known too late. The old pirates gobbled up the choice loot and their descendants who have it are now authorities on the merits of thrift, saving and honesty as a means of piling up dollars.

One secret has never been told and it is a sure road to success today. Have yourself born into a family that has inherited

the plunder gathered in by the pirates of an earlier day. It makes no difference what that dynasty may be, whether it rests on coal, oil, steel, railroads or anything else.

Having taken the precaution to be born well the rest is easy. You may be a mental cripple, a paralytic, a waster, an aristocratic loafer, a libertine and worthless to human society. You will be a success. You may never do a useful bit of work in your life. You may never see the industries which you own and never care to see them. You will be a howling success. You will be qualified to talk mysteriously in the Sunday supplements about the "secret" of success. The more dollars you have inherited and the less brains you possess the greater your authority in this line.

This is the secret and we guarantee it in every instance where the advice is followed. Be a parasite heir of the early plunderers and modern capitalism will bestow upon you its riches which are filched from the toil of millions. Follow the phantom lure of useful work for wages and you will die where you began—producing for those who talk mysteriously of the "secret of success."

## COURTS AND LEGISLATION

MR. JAMES M. BECK, Solicitor General of the United States, suggests the advisability of the Supreme Court giving advisory opinions to Congress on proposed legislation the constitutionality of which may be in doubt. Mr. Beck should follow this suggestion with a lecture on the separation of powers, stressing the theory that each of the departments of Government is confined to a special sphere, the judiciary to judicial matters, Congress to legislation, and the executive to the enforcement of laws.

The judicial veto of laws as well as this suggestion by Mr. Beck are in conflict with the theory of the separation of powers which has been taught since the Constitution was adopted. His latest suggestion is to directly vest the Supreme Court with advisory powers in the matter of legislation. If a committee considering a bill is uncertain what is in the mind of the nine robed monarchs of the bench it will humbly approach the august body and inquire whether Congress is a legislative body or just a rubber stamp. The Supreme Court will then carefully scrutinize the proposed legislation. It will strike out here and add there and then tell the committee that Congress can have the bill as amended but nothing else.

What the Beck proposal means is to make of the Supreme Court a committee of Congress with final powers over legislation before a bill is enacted. The Court now exercises the power to kill a bill after it has passed Congress and has been signed by the President.

Mr. Beck's proposal is too modest. What he should do is to frankly urge that Congress itself should be abolished and vest all its powers of legislation in the court. Moreover, a supreme legislative body of nine men holding office for life and removed from popular control would realize the ideal of our ruling classes who often become impatient with their servants in Congress but have always bestowed high praise upon the Supreme Court.

What our ruling classes want is an imperial empire with power concentrated in as few hands as possible in order to keep the restless masses in order and insure that the profit-making machine will work as smoothly as possible. Concentrated capitalism makes for concentration of power in Government and unless the working class uses its voting power for its own welfare the ruling class ideal may yet be realized.

## FACING BOTH WAYS

POLITICIANS of capitalist society are required to have two faces and two minds, one for the voting masses and the other for the ruling classes they serve. President Coolidge is an admirable specimen of the tribe.

No President has more frequently stressed the necessity of the masses relying on their own individual initiative for success in life. He cannot make a speech or send a message to Congress without paying homage to the Pollyanna virtues. Coupled with this, of course, is the warning that they should never look to government for aid when facing economic distress. Such aid, he always assures us, will undermine the virtues and destroy the rugged individualism that has made the Republic.

However, a passage in his recent message to Congress shows him turning the other face. There he observed that the "first principle" observed by Congress in building a merchant marine is—what? That shippers, traders and investors should not lean on the Government? Not at all. The first thing in "securing the objective of Congress in building up the merchant marine upon the great trade routes and subsequently disposing of it into private operation."

Enough! We can see the smiling face of Coolidge as he thrusts his Pollyanna virtues into a drawer and talks business to the class he is to serve. "Gentlemen of the shipping interests," says Coolidge, "keep cool with me. Congress is spending millions on developing a merchant marine. When it is complete the Government will turn it over to private operation. There's millions in it for you. Now I must prepare a speech for the Society to Keep the Rabble in Order. Individual thrift and initiative is my theme. Good afternoon."

It's a great life; your job requires that you must face both ways.

## A Cloud by Day

(On Christmas, 1923, a "skywriter" spread above New York crosses and greetings of smoke.)

WHAT proud mimetic omens now uprise  
To flaunt their power on the breathless skies  
That stilly deepen to enfold the hallowed hour!  
What beating of man's rage against those things  
He may not know, but reverence, gives wings  
To soaring Babel's pride, and echoed pride below!  
Build your machines with apish aptitude;  
Let reason guide the hand that moulds the crude,  
Abortive gifts ye shape to cunningly applied  
Intent, that serve to seven-league your stride;  
Let reason press, where faith has vainly tried—  
For greed gnaws the parched bones of its cold nakedness.

POSTSTATE CITY! Harken from your prey!  
Behold where turns a gathered crowd by day,  
Amused a moment, caught from its profound concerns

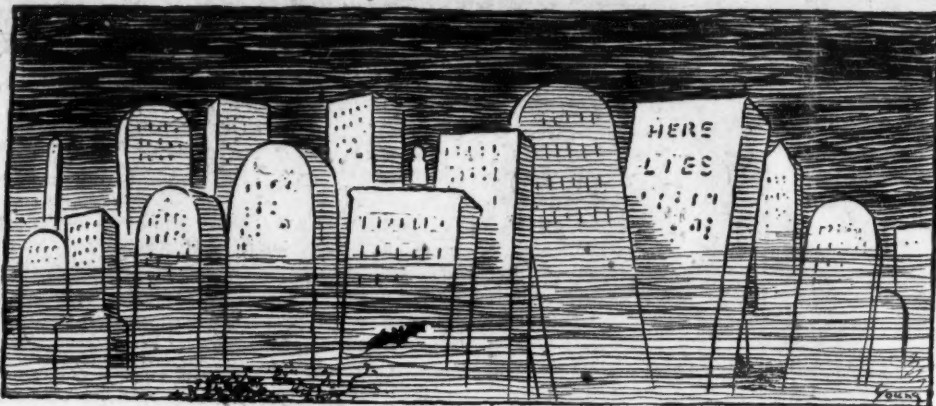
To idleness that is the one relief  
And in men's lives supplants the joy and grief  
Of beauty stark above the hill: the joy that hives  
Its garnered wealth in chambered honeycomb  
Of sweet reward, where man's desires may roam  
Feasting, fighting for dreams beyond the gift of sword...

The surging sorrow endless as the sea,  
Where spiring mast, bare muted majesty,  
Is whelmed and beaten down and overborn at last  
To the forgotten bed whence beauty rises.  
Seek your blunt shocks, your sparking quick surprises;  
They are even as the idle patter of rain on pillared rocks.

You drive the pegs of pleasure to your heart  
(While never a spurt of quickened blood will start)  
And stake your claim to life and pan the clinging dirt  
For gold: What do you hold intense enough  
To burn into the thread of beauty's stuff,  
Weaving your days in a story, old yet always new,  
Upon a loom that shall consume your days  
And you? Beauty is drawn on hidden ways;  
Eyes fevered for the market-place shall win to see  
When death strikes vision through their straining lids.

WHAT God-sent summons have ye heard, that bids  
Count all that is of earth as void, and vacuum?  
Was it the bursting of a single star  
Into the sea of night, one falling bar  
Between your yearning hearts and heaven's mystery?  
Was it the golden widening of a rift  
Through the grim cloud that bears mankind adrift,

## The Sky Line of New York



As it looks to those who go down in the struggle.

## THE Chatter-Box

### Columbian Anthology

Samuel Gompers

This will not weigh much against the drossy praise  
Now heaped upon your name by those  
Who would have hated you, and spat upon  
Your tomb.

We have heard the masters praise in like phrases

The passing of a bank president,  
A Chamber of Commerce Chairman,  
A prelate, a Pope,  
A Grand Past Master, or a King Kleagle,

But for a leader of workers,  
For a captain of the creators,  
Still oppressed and disinherited,  
Their adulation carries doubt  
And condemnation.

They will not sob threnodies  
For Gene Debs, when he will pass.  
No more than they made grief  
Or donned sackcloth when Frank Little's  
Soul

Slipped through his bullet-ridden sieve of a  
corpse,  
Or when Nick Lenin's clay  
Led Slav, Tartar and Jew in processional  
Through the Moscovian snows.

You will soon be forgotten;

While Debs, and Little and Lenin  
Are memories, time will never grow old  
Enough  
To forget.

We heard a fine spirited Christian Lady  
over the radio appeal for contributions to  
feed the poor on Christmas. Too bad we  
cannot broadcast this:

### Christmas Carol

Chip in for Christmas Dinners  
To feed the famished poor;  
We love this Christmas spirit  
So gentle warm and pure.  
But please forgive our wonder  
And questioning you here—  
How do the poor get dinners  
Through the balance of the year?

And while the Christmas spirit is going  
on in Moronia, Queen Marie of Rumania, a  
hard headed and clever business woman, is  
coming over to sell her stock in Rumanian  
Royalty, Ltd., or one of her daughters to  
a dill pickle potentate.

And while we are in the mood may we  
call attention to the following, culled from  
the daily newspapers:

James P. Stillman—Mr. Leeds—with a  
child born out of wedlock—O. K.—good food  
for scandal. Reason—father got plenty  
of dough . . .

George J. Gould, father of three children  
born out of wedlock—O. K.—swell sex—in-  
teresting stuff. Reason—father multi-mil-  
lionaire.

William Froewies—Helen Vineski—with  
a child born out of wedlock . . . Terrible  
—horrible—immoral—shame, disgrace—  
father too poor to marry—out of a job—  
mother in jail for attempting to abandon  
child she could not support—damnation,  
and the punishment of hell upon her. Reason—  
father and mother, workers, out of  
work and penniless.

God bless our American Institutions.

For a Christmas gift of beauty and gen-  
uine worth we suggest you buy yourself or  
your friends David Berenberg's new book  
of Poems, "Letters of Glaucor and Sarai."  
It isn't very often that one finds a man  
a good Socialist and a good poet all in one.

### Applying for a Factory Job

I rise this morning from my bed,  
And go about with drooping head;  
My feet unwilling bear me through  
As I go for an interview.

Nature greets me with a sigh  
As if this were a last good-bye;  
Beauty speaks with plaintive note  
As I take off my hat and coat.

Through each window and each door  
I see my spirit elves implore;  
Briskly though I make a start,  
Their calling voices break my heart.

Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.—So Leon  
Trotzky must be ruminating these cold  
Yuletide days as he goes into banishment  
prodded by the bayonets he himself ranged  
into the unconquerable battalions of the  
proletariat.

We say this with all due sincerity. For  
last night the Communist Party of America  
in its various locals voted Leon into the  
horrible category of the bourgeois.

Merry, Merry.

S. A. DE WITT.

John H. Kirby of the National Associa-  
tion of Manufacturers observes that the  
Child Labor Amendment is "a step in the  
direction of the Socialist plan to make the  
children the chattels of the State instead of  
the jewels of the home." There are nearly  
2,000,000 of these jewels, John, that are not  
shining in the home and will never so shine  
while they are being robbed by your class.

Child labor survives in the United States  
because of the greed of exploiters, neglect  
of State Legislatures and lack of a fighting  
front by the workers of the nation. We  
cannot abolish greed but we can chain it.  
States now neglectful can be made the scene  
of great activities. The fighting front of  
awakened Labor is a matter of organization  
and education.

"McAvoy Gags Lawyers," said a head-  
line in an evening paper the other day, the  
evoking in our breast the first real enth-  
iasm we have felt for the Supreme Court  
in many years.