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# The New Leader

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

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**Just A**  
Nathan Fine  
328 W. 32nd St.  
N.Y. City  
1/19/25  
Gary Lin  
—The World  
Edison and Nor  
lina — When Har  
Resigned — Ku Kl  
Kansas.

## Skyrockets In Wall Street Prelude To Wage Slashes and Melon Cutting

FRENZIED BUYING BASED ON "SECRET" THAT AMERICAN BANKERS  
RULE THE WORLD AND MEAN TO REAP A GOLDEN HARVEST  
FROM LABOR OF THE MASSES IN AMERICA AND EUROPE.

### PROF. ZIMMERN ON AMERICA

British Laborite, Here,  
Urges U. S. Socialists  
Stop Imitating Foreign  
Movements.

By J. R. SMALLWOOD

As a pillar of society, a man  
opposed to everything that is bad  
and strong for everything that is  
good, Judge Gary has no rival these  
days. Incidentally, he says Presi-  
dent Coolidge is a man he can al-  
ways reach an understanding with.  
Gary ought to be glad Abe  
Lincoln is not in the White House.  
During the Civil War one of the  
industrial magnates of that time  
made a visit to the Capital. The  
man who presented him to Lincoln  
said, when the magnate left the  
room:  
"You understand, Mr. President,  
he is the weightiest man in my end  
of the State."  
"I can see that," Abe replied,  
"Ain't you afraid the State will tip  
up when he leaves it to come see  
me?"

There is no need in this country  
for a new political party, says The  
New York World. Voters who love  
freedom and justice, it declares,  
should jump right into the Demo-  
cratic party and clean up all social  
abuses. "See how brave and liberal  
I am," it exclaims. "I am a Demo-  
crat; why can't you be like me?"  
And straightway it joins the Na-  
tional Association of Manufactur-  
ers in the fight to keep little  
children chained to their slavery in  
mill and factory.  
Oh, mad, mad World!

Thomas Edison has invented the  
best cross-word puzzle yet. He  
says American college students need  
more training in morality.  
To meet this need he urges a  
course of lectures by business men.  
What do you make of that?

Speaking of education reminds us  
all of North Carolina. The old Tar  
Heel State is plunging right ahead  
to solve the mystery of the Holy  
Trinity.  
They believe it is a kind of  
Duke's Mixture.

That majority of one in the Sen-  
ate which sustained the Coolidge  
veto of fair wages for the postal  
workers is still interesting. Because,  
as they'd say in Ireland, four out  
of the one were lame duck votes.

It brings back an incident in the  
life of President Harding. Two  
years in office made that good-nat-  
ured, easy-going man mortally sick  
of the job. Late in 1922 Harding  
called to his side one day three  
newspaper correspondents whom he  
trusted. He was weary-eyed and  
melancholy.

"Boys," he said, "I am going to  
resign." The reporters' hearts  
stopped beating. "For just five min-  
utes," the President explained,  
"And I want you fellows to take  
my place that long. Are you will-  
ing?" The reporters grinned and  
nodded.

"Very well," said Harding. "Now  
you are President and must decide  
something for me. There are three  
big jobs to be filled. Jobs of great  
importance to the people. Three  
of your best friends are after the  
jobs. Those three men stood by you  
during a hot fight in Congress. You  
said you would never forget it. Now  
they are lame ducks and hungry  
for these appointments. Remember,  
they are your best friends. Only  
thing the matter is, they haven't  
got a single qualification among  
them for the public work they want  
to do."

Harding paused and pulled out  
his watch. "Three minutes are up,"  
he said. "Tell me, are you going to  
appoint those men or not?"

The reporters were silent.  
"Ye-e-s," one of them hesitated.  
"N-o-o," began another.  
"H-u-m," muttered the third.  
The President smiled sadly.  
"That's just the way I feel. Thank  
you, boys. Time's up." And he  
walked away to be alone with his  
problem.

Jonathan M. Davis is a good old  
American name. It belongs to the  
outgoing Governor of Kansas. Noth-  
ing alien, imported or "un-Ameri-  
can" about Davis or Kansas. The  
Ku Klux Klan controls Kansas and  
likes Jonathan M. Davis.

How comes it, then, that the  
Governor and his son are both under  
arrest, charged with felonies, mal-  
feasance in office and the like? It  
is charged that they were in the  
business of pardoning State pris-  
oners in exchange for cash money.  
Young Davis was caught in the act,  
we read, of taking \$1,250 in one  
transaction to free a banker jailed  
for forgery.

Isn't there some way to reverse  
the indictment and pin the crime on  
the Pope of Rome, the Elders of  
(Continued on page 2)

Professor Alfred Zimmermann, dis-  
tinguished Welsh scholar, author  
and authority on international  
affairs, and member of the British  
Labor party, placed his finger on  
what appears to many more than  
this interviewer to be the one big  
point which needs to be taken as a  
basis for all its thinking by the  
Socialists who so ardently desire the  
great American Labor party.

"I am naturally hesitant about  
offering advice to the political Labor  
movement here," apologized Pro-  
fessor Zimmermann, who has been in  
America several times before. "But  
it does seem to me that your move-  
ment never can have much solid suc-  
cess—never can get anywhere—by  
copying the methods or policies of  
the Labor parties of other countries.  
It must be thoroughly American in  
its makeup and method. It must be  
organized with American conditions  
always in mind. German conditions,  
Russian conditions, British condi-  
tions demand parties with remedies  
to suit themselves."

"As it seems to me, you have the  
habit periodically of looking to var-  
ious countries for inspiration and  
example. Thus, Germany was 'the  
rage' years ago; then Russia, then  
Britain; now, I understand, Mexico.  
This is not the way to construct a  
political Labor movement with any  
chance of success in America."

Almost the first of the many  
questions that Professor Zimmermann  
asked was:

**Facing American Conditions**  
"How do the Socialists feel now  
toward the La Follette-Progressive  
movement? Are they still thinking  
of sticking with the Progressives?"  
He wanted to know the exact stand-  
ing of the C. P. P. A. since the elec-  
tion, and altogether evinced great  
interest in the progressive-Labor  
movement.

"Do you see, in the party's stand  
in the election a sign that American  
Socialists are beginning to face  
American conditions and build ac-  
cordingly?" I asked him.

"Decidedly, decidedly. Meeting  
the representatives of the great  
farming population and of the great  
Labor unions so intimately was a  
fine thing. Your party is divorced  
from the unions, isn't it?" Pro-  
fessor Zimmermann's question indicates  
his polite disagreement with such  
a situation; "I mean," he added,  
"it is not a party based on the  
unions, with unions affiliated to it.  
It is just a party of individuals, who  
join as such; isn't that so?"

Professor Zimmermann is in New  
York for a month to lecture at  
Columbia University on the British  
Empire. He is the author of "The  
Greek Commonwealth," a notable  
book that has gone into four edi-  
tions, and the translator of Fer-  
rero's "Greatness and Decline of  
Rome." He was in the political in-  
telligence department of the British  
Foreign office for two years near  
the close of the war, and before  
that was Government inspector for  
the Board of Education, with special  
duties in connection with the Uni-  
versity Tutorial Classes system  
(Continued on Page 11.)

### Professor Zimmermann to Talk at the New Leader Dinner

Professor Alfred Zimmermann, famous internationalist, author  
and scholar, will deliver to the  
Socialists at The New Leader din-  
ner a message from the British  
Labor party, in the inner coun-  
cil-member. He was the Labor can-  
didate against Lloyd George in the  
recent general election.

Professor Zimmermann, who lived  
in Greece a year and wrote "The  
Greek Commonwealth," founded,  
while a do. at Oxford Univer-  
sity, the University Tutorial  
Classes system of adult educa-  
tion, and is with R. H. Tawney  
the leader of workers' education  
in Great Britain.

By PAUL HANNA

Get on the bandwagon!  
Join the Wall Street joyride down Easy Street to Opulence!  
Melons are waiting to be cut! Come early and scoop up  
your dipper-full of dividends! Take a ride on the shoot-the-  
chute from Poverty to Riches!

See the Labor donkeys, all saddled and waiting for you to  
get astride! Lay on the whip! Dig in your spurs, and those  
patient animals will haul you up from the ranks of poor  
men to the company of Croesus!

Only the pikers hesitate. If you are a Live one, now is your  
chance! Invest a little money in any one of forty different  
stocks, and you and your children can live without working for  
a hundred years to come!

#### The Brokers' Ballyhoo

Above we give a mild imitation  
of the ballyhoo that is ringing  
through Wall Street on the eve of  
Calvin Coolidge's inauguration as  
President of the United States.

It reveals plans already highly  
perfected by the Money Power to  
inflate stocks beyond their present  
dizzy level, to cut wages in a dozen  
basic industries and to squeeze un-  
heard-of profits out of the masses  
in both Europe and America.

Walk into Wall Street tomorrow  
with a little money or a good in-  
troduction, and any competent  
broker will give you the full details  
of the project. It is no longer a  
secret in what the newspapers term  
"investment circles." Only the  
wider public, which is worrying about  
rent bills and installments on the  
new radio set, is still in the dark.  
Upon these humble folk a great light  
will break between now and next  
Thanksgiving Day.

#### Balloons for Bankrupts

For here is the "dope."  
Bankrupt railroads all over the  
United States are to be pulled out  
of danger by the dynamic power  
of this investment frenzy. Roads  
that can barely scrape along to-  
day will have their paper securi-  
ties driven up to par or above dur-  
ing the next few weeks and  
months. See Missouri Pacific and  
similar lines.

Exporting corporations which  
have faced starvation because im-  
poverished Europe cannot take the  
goods off their hands will unload  
fresh securities upon this rising  
market.

#### Steel the Drawing Magnet

Industrial enterprises of every  
kind will come in (as they are doing  
now) to "cop" from buyers fasci-  
nated by the hypnotic power of a  
bull market and frantic to buy any-  
thing that shows symptoms of in-  
flation.

"Steel is the key," they are saying  
in the Street. "When steel goes up  
everything is sound."

And steel is climbing every day,  
boosted along by press stories of big  
standing orders.

Pop-eyed investors watch it rise,  
and swarm around their brokers  
with cries of, "Buy! buy! buy!  
before it is too late!" The trap

is baited with fresh, sweet cheese  
and the mice of hope and avarice  
are swarming into the snare.

Late in the summer, the dopesters  
tell you, United States Steel will  
cut the juiciest melon of its long and  
juicy career. A gigantic fund of  
surplus earnings will be handed  
around among the deserving.

Then the tide will turn.

Hard times, poverty and the need  
to economize will become catchwords  
in the market and the newspapers.

Then the Wage Slash  
And United States Steel, they  
tell you, will announce a 30 per  
cent cut in wages among all the  
tens of thousands of its employees!

Steel is basic. Steel leads the  
way. Big employers everywhere  
will discover the need to cut wages.  
And wages will be cut, to make  
way for the climb upward again  
of stocks—about a profit to the  
owners.

Why the slash in wages? many  
will ask. Why this brutal blow at  
the laboring world? The answer  
lies in this:

#### Europe Comes Under the Flag

We have annexed Europe, they  
tell you down in Wall Street. New  
York is the capital of the world.

The Dawes Plan is an economic  
scheme to govern our dominions  
in the Old World. And a great  
disparity between Labor conditions  
in Europe and in America cannot  
be tolerated! It's bad economic.  
You can see that for yourself!

Bankers say a balance must be  
struck somewhere between wages  
here and wages in Europe. Their  
investments abroad and their invest-  
ments here will begin to compete  
from now on. And competition is  
a bad thing. So American wages  
must be revised. And after wages,  
the American tariff.

If you live every week on every  
week's wages, you are out of luck,  
they say in Wall Street. But if you  
have a surplus, sink it in the rising  
market. Rich men need not fear  
"the eye of a needle" under this ad-  
ministration. Heaven for them lies  
just around the corner—at Broad  
and Wall.

### ASK JUSTICE FOR PORTO RICO

Santiago Iglesias, Island's  
Labor and Socialist  
Leader, in New York.

If the frauds that were com-  
mitted during the elections in Porto  
Rico last November are not investi-  
gated by a Congressional com-  
mittee and some remedy found for  
the conditions that led up to them,  
the prestige of the United States  
will suffer enormously in all the  
Latin-American countries, accord-  
ing to Senator Santiago Iglesias,  
leader of the Socialist and Labor  
movement of the island territory,  
upon his return from Washington  
last Saturday.

"Our criticism is not only of  
political conditions," said the Sen-  
ator, "but mainly of industrial con-  
ditions. The lot of the agricultural  
workers is terrible. Men work four-  
teen, sixteen and eighteen hours  
a day for 60, 70 and 80 cents a  
day. Most of the sugar plantations  
are owned by absentee owners, and  
the profits are taken out of the is-  
land to enrich residents of other  
parts of the world.

"Our Labor movement and our  
Socialist Party were uniting the  
working people to secure relief, and  
by long agitation and organization  
the workers came to put their faith  
in the 1924 elections. If there had  
been an honest election, the Social-  
ists would have gained greatly, and  
we would have been able to point  
to our political progress as a means  
of getting relief."

"But fully 50,000 votes were  
stolen from us, and the reaction-  
aries won, although the Socialists  
got 58,000 to about 80,000 for the  
Unionists, 40,000 for the Constitu-  
tionalists and 26,000 for the Re-  
publicans."

"The people of Porto Rico know  
about their industrial conditions.  
They also know about the stealing  
of the election, and if we can get  
no redress in Washington, what can  
we tell our people? What step can  
we take next?"

"For nearly twenty-seven years,  
since the American occupation, we  
have been teaching our people to  
place their trust in the American  
flag, the American Constitution,  
American political methods. Well,  
what is the result? The election was  
stolen from us. What next?"

"Maybe Congressman Perlman  
can give you some encouragement,"  
one reporter suggested. The Sen-  
ator didn't get the point, until it  
was explained to him that every  
election abuse he complained of,  
ballot-box stuffing, repeating, mis-  
(Continued on page 2)

### ONE-MAN POWER KILLED POSTAL PAY RAISE

Will of People Defeated by  
White House Clutch on  
Lame Duck in Congress.

By MARX LEWIS

WASHINGTON—The defeat of  
the postal wage increase through  
the lack of the one vote necessary  
to make the two-thirds required to  
override the President's veto should  
be thought-provoking to those who  
still believe that we have rule by  
majority in the United States.

The bill passed both houses of  
Congress by an overwhelming vote.  
No important measure in recent  
years was supported by so many  
diverse and, ordinarily, conflicting,  
interests. Chambers of Commerce  
and other agencies of big business  
joined with trade unions and lib-  
eral groups in urging Senators and  
Representatives to enact the mea-  
sure. In the Senate, only three dis-  
senting votes were cast.

Vetoed by the President, it be-  
came necessary to re-enact the mea-  
sure by a two-thirds vote. The two-  
thirds vote, in itself, is a require-  
ment that gives the individual who  
happens to be Chief Executive  
power equal to that exercised by  
two-thirds of both Houses of Con-  
gress—a condition that is not tol-  
erated in countries supposed to be  
less democratic than our own.

Had the measure been brought up  
shortly after it was vetoed, the two-  
thirds would have undoubtedly been  
mustered. That was conceded by  
the proponents of the veto. But  
then began the process of coercing  
Senators, not by threats as they are  
ordinarily understood, but by meth-  
ods which are familiar and feared  
by every legislator. By the Presi-  
dent's tremendous power of patron-  
age, which is exercised by enabling  
a Senator or Representative to re-  
commend the appointment of job  
seekers, the political life of every  
Senator is virtually in his hands.  
Without having his recommendations  
for appointment honored by the  
President, the Senator is unable to  
maintain his organization in proper  
form, and he is left to the mercies  
of his political enemies. A Senator  
knows the importance of this con-  
dition, and he is not likely to forget  
it or challenge it for light or transi-  
ent reasons.

Moreover, the possibility of get-  
ting legislation which he considers  
vital to his political fortunes, par-  
ticularly pork barrel legislation, is  
to be considered, and the adminis-  
tration can do much to either help  
or hinder the prospects in this direc-  
tion.

Then, too, no Senator or Repre-  
sentative knows when, in the vicis-  
situdes and mutations of politics,  
he will be defeated for re-election,  
after having served in the legislative  
body so long as to be useless for  
all other purposes, commercial and  
professional. "Lame ducks," un-  
able to find a political berth, are  
among the most pathetic sights in  
Washington—sights to which the  
attention of the thousands who  
visit the Capitol is never directed.

All this, and more, confronts the  
Senator who dares to defy the will  
of the Chief Executive. Not that  
it is always exercised. There are  
numerous occasions when the Re-  
presentatives and Senators vote as  
they see fit. But when the Chief  
Executive makes the vote one of  
confidence in and fidelity to him—  
as was the case in the postal mea-  
sure—the dissenting legislator can  
see the dangers which beset him.

So that, in addition to exercising  
a power equal to two-thirds of Con-  
gress, the President, by the other  
means in his control, is able to  
swing many who ordinarily would  
stand with the two-thirds. That is  
what happened—not in that prosaic  
way, perhaps, but it happened none  
the less—in the postal wage fight.

**MILL WAGES CUT**  
WOONSOCKET, R. I.—Em-  
ployees of the Blackstone Manu-  
facturing Company at North  
Smithfield, a plant of the Lons-  
dale Company, have been notified  
of a 10 per cent. wage cut, ef-  
fective Monday. The mill manu-  
factures cotton goods and has  
been working full time. Reduc-  
tions took place recently in the  
other mills of the company.

## Water Power Thieves Behind Struggle Over Muscle Shoals

By JUDSON KING

Director, the National Popular Government League

**T**O clear the ground and penetrate the fog of propaganda  
covering the country, an effort is here made briefly to point  
out that the real issue at stake in the fight over Muscle Shoals is  
not fertilizer, but WATER POWER, national as well as local.

When Congress adjourned last May the Senate had failed to  
approve the Ford offer for Muscle Shoals, which had passed the  
House, and by unanimous consent agreed to take up Senator  
Norris' bill for public ownership and operation when it should  
reassemble. In the meantime, right in the middle of the Presi-  
dential campaign, Ford withdrew his offer. Whether he is really  
out for good, no one knows.

The Senate met December 1. On  
December 2 Senator Underwood un-  
expectedly introduced a substitute  
for the Norris bill, which, in a par-  
liamentary situation could not be  
considered in Committee, but had  
to go straight to the floor of the  
Senate. The Bill gives the Secre-  
tary of War, with the approval of  
the President, power to lease Mus-  
cle Shoals to a private company on  
condition that the lessee agrees to  
manufacture 40,000 tons of fixed  
nitrogen annually for fertilizer pur-  
poses. No sale price is fixed, but  
the company is to have eight per

cent. profit and the lease to run for  
fifty years. In wartime the plant  
would be at the service of the  
Government. The lessee is to pay  
annually to the Government four  
per cent. on the cost of Dam No.  
2—that is, on about \$45,000,000.  
In case no lessee can be found on  
these terms the Government is to  
operate the plant.

#### Gold Brick for the Farmer

Bravo and cheers! The faithful  
newspapers carried to the farmers  
of the nation the grand news that  
although Ford had failed to get

Muscle Shoals, they were still to  
have cheap fertilizer at the hands  
of a combination of Coolidge Re-  
publicans and Underwood Demo-  
crats. Since this combination con-  
trolled the Senate the passage of  
the bill was taken for granted and  
the power trust confidently looked  
for the end of Norris and his public  
ownership proposition.

It is proved that by no known  
process in the present state of sci-  
entific discovery can nitrogen be taken  
from the air and made into fertil-  
izer cheaply enough to lower the  
present market price, granting the  
company kept the contract. Prices  
would not be lower; 40,000 tons of  
fixed nitrogen would be sufficient  
to produce less than one-fifth of  
the fertilizer needed by the farmers  
of the nation. They now use only  
about one-half the amount they  
need because of the high prices.  
The proponents of the Coolidge-  
Underwood proposition have, under  
severe fire, been compelled to admit  
these facts upon the floor of the  
Senate. Hence we may dismiss the  
fertilizer promise as pure bunk de-  
signed to obtain political support.  
(Continued on Page 11)



## BRITISH RAIL MEN CHARGE ARMY PLOT

War Office Plan To Form  
Labor Reserve Corps  
Is Called Scheme To  
Break Strikes.

LONDON—Organized Labor on the British railways is combining to resist efforts by the new Conservative Government to mobilize them under the jurisdiction of the War Office. The official idea is to have the men volunteer as members of a Railway Reserve Corps, to be commanded by regular officers of the army and subject to military discipline whenever the Government shall decide "an emergency" exists to justify it.

Union officials have issued warnings to the men not to consider joining the Reserve Corps until absolute guarantees have been given by the Government that they will not be "mobilized" to break strikes, after the manner initiated by the Briand Government in France more than a decade ago.

John Bromley, leader of the smaller and more radical of the railway unions, has told his fellows to boycott the Reserve Corps entirely, since "there is no reason for its existence except to break strikes at the command of the War Office."

Government spokesmen have tried to assure the workers that the plan contemplates only that the railwaymen shall be ready for quick service against some foreign enemy. But

## Line-Up On Child Slavery

Balloting by the States on the amendment to forbid child labor has so far produced the following results:

For  
The Amendment  
ARKANSAS  
CALIFORNIA

Against  
The Amendment  
GEORGIA  
NORTH CAROLINA  
MASSACHUSETTS  
SOUTH CAROLINA

Favorable action by Thirty-Six States is required to ratify the amendment, but there is no time limit to the period within which favorable action must be taken.

## Second Child Development Conference January 28

Sixteen heads of international labor unions, state federations of labor and district councils of international unions, have issued a call for a conference of trade union delegates, to be held in the Auditorium of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, New York City, on Wednesday, January 28, for the purpose of launching a nation-wide campaign for a national children's movement featuring club activities and outdoor life. The movement is already functioning in New York.

The Labor officials signing the officers of the big and more conservative National Union of Railwaymen—J. H. Thomas and C. T. Cramp—also advise the men to wait until that assurance is backed by some form of guarantee.

call represent such diversified workers' groups as the machinists, needle trades, firemen and oilers, and building trades, their unions claiming an aggregate of 400,000 members.

This is the first time that organized Labor has taken such a definite interest, in a national way, in the education and development of workers' children. Every Labor union in New York City has been invited by the call to send three delegates to the conference, which will be the Second Annual Conference for Child Development. The first was held one year ago, when the trade unionists and educators attending organized the National Association for Child Development, committed to the popularization of "Labor's social ideals" among children of the workers.

The introduction of "anti-Labor" and "open-shop propaganda into the public school system" through the chambers of commerce and other anti-union bodies, and the development of "an anti-Labor and anti-social spirit" in the workers' children by reason of the propaganda of such employers' organizations is the cause of the new effort, according to the call. The driving force back of the National Association is the aim "to help the growing generation of boys and girls, who will make up the mass of laboring men and women of tomorrow, to understand the problems of the workers and thus create an ever stronger Labor movement."

The committee of Labor men and women signing the call includes: James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; William H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists; Thomas J. Curtis, President of the Subway & Tunnel Constructors' International Union, and former New York State Compensation Commissioner; Morris Sigman, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Abraham Baroff, Secretary, and Fannia M. Cohn, head of the Educational Department of the same organization; Morris Kaufman, President of the International Fur Workers' Union, and Abraham Brownstein, Manager of the New York Joint Board of the same organization; Dr. Henry R. Linville, President of the New York Teachers Union, and A. J. Muste of the American Federation of Teachers; Maud Swartz, National President of the Women's Trade Union League; Timothy Healy, President of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers; Philip Umstadter, President of the New York Printing Pressmen's Union; Philip Zausner, of the New York Building Trades Council; Max Zuckerman of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers; Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

## PORTO RICO

(Continued from Page 1.)

counting and stealing of votes, and the delightful custom of having election officials representing only certain parties, not all of them, are such commonplaces in this country that they are taken as matters of course. "In fact, Senator," one reporter told him, "your island is becoming Americanized rapidly."

Iglesias was met at the train when he arrived from Washington by Bertha Hale White, National Secretary of the Socialist Party; Joseph F. Viola, Executive Secre-

tary of Local Kings, and representatives of other party locals, as well as reporters from the Socialist and the general press. At the Continental Hotel, Iglesias explained that his mission in Washington was to get his resolution for an investigation introduced in both houses of Congress, and sufficient public opinion aroused to back it up and make the investigation not a mere Congressional junket, but a far-reaching and thoroughgoing inquiry.



## ADELMANN'S Dress Suit Parlors

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## Abramowitz Arrives



RAFAEL ABRAMOWITZ

Rafael Abramowitz, one of the most prominent Socialists of Europe and a member of the Executive of the Socialist and Labor International, arrived in New York Wednesday on the Mauretania. He was met at the dock by many Socialists and Labor men.

Comrade Abramowitz will remain in the United States for several months, lecturing on the Socialist and Labor movement abroad and especially conditions in Russia.

## Meeting Sunday Will Protest Treatment of West Virginia Miners

Mr. Alister Coleman, well-known American journalist, just returned from West Virginia, will be the principal speaker this Sunday afternoon in Cooper Union at a meeting which has been called by the Socialist Party and the League for Industrial Democracy to protest against the treatment of striking miners in West Virginia.

The arrangements committee urges all who have any old clothing to share to bring it to the meeting. The clothes will be shipped to needy strikers and their families.

The speakers will be Coleman, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Meyer London, B. C. Vladeck and Arthur Garfield Hays.

## Berger Lays Tresca Case Before Att'y General, Expects Pardon Soon

The prospects for an early pardon for Carlo Tresca, who is serving a sentence of one year and a day for having published a two-line advertisement of a book on birth control in his paper *Il Martello*, are bright, Representative Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, declared here today, following a conference he had with Attorney-General Stone.

Representative Berger discussed the matter with the Attorney-General for almost an hour, during which discussion Mr. Berger brought to the attention of Stone the charges that are being made that the representatives of the Italian Fascisti in the United States were responsible for Tresca's conviction.

"The Attorney General appeared to be sympathetic and desirous of bringing the matter to a close," Berger declared, following the conference. "I took occasion to point out that the publication of the birth control advertisement is not a heinous offense in view of the fact that the members of the American aristocracy are obtaining the information and are making use of it, apparently without suffering the consequences that come to those who endeavor to communicate the same information to the working classes. I am rather confident that Tresca will be released before long."

## BUFFALO PLANS NEW PARTY

Commercial Non - Union  
Daily Passes Away—Hill-  
man to Speak.

The Executive Committee of the Progressive Party of Erie County, formerly known as the Erie County La Follette Campaign Committee, plans to organize a permanent party in this district. A general membership meeting will later elect delegates to the Chicago Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

The following were elected as additional members of the Executive Committee: Miss Gertrude Kadish, Buffalo Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Samuel Obletz, representing progressive Jewish groups; Jesse Taylor, president of the Negro Progressive League, and Stanley Gregorczak, of the Polish-American Progressive Club.

Recently the Central Labor Council of Buffalo celebrated the passing of the Buffalo Commercial, the only non-union daily paper in Buffalo, and the birth of the Commercial's successor, the Evening Post, a 100 per cent union paper. Several thousand union members attended the meeting. The speakers included James M. Lynch, of Syracuse, International President of the Typographical Union, and William McHugh, of Kansas City, Vice-President of the Pressmen's International Union.

During the war the employees of the Commercial were told to subscribe to one of the Liberty Loan campaigns. One union member—a member of the Socialist Party—refused to do so. This employee was discharged, the union insisted on his reinstatement, with the result the union men were all locked out. Non-union employees were secured and for six years the Commercial attacked in vicious articles organized labor. The circulation of the paper steadily declined and finally its owner sold the paper. The first act of the new owners was to announce that the paper would be 100 per cent union, and its name changed to the Evening Post. The day the property was finally transferred, union workers displaced all non-union workers.

The speaker at the town meeting, a Civic Forum held in the Parish House of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church, Sunday evening, January 18, will be Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The meeting will start at 7.30 p. m.

## Just A Word

(Continued from Page 1)

Zion or the Negro population of Kansas?

Once more the corruption that breeds behind all prison doors has reached up to involve a Governor. It was the modern prison system, which holds 100,000 men at the mercy of prison labor contractors and fang-toothed politicians, that got Governor Walton in Oklahoma. Stench and slaughter-houses go together. Bludgeons and blood-money are the common features of prison life in America. And between the stench of Chicago stockyards and the stench in Kansas and Oklahoma, we prefer the former. It does not arise in the name of God and Government.

Paul Hanna

## Lectures

The Community Forum  
Park Avenue and 34th Street

Sunday, Jan. 18th, 8 P.M.

ZONA GALE

"Scholarship and the Spirit"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JNO. HERMAN RANDALL

"Can We Conquer Our  
Prejudices?"

## The People's Institute COOPER UNION

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18  
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN  
(The Great Mass Movements of History)  
"Psychology and the French  
Revolution"

SUNDAY, JANUARY 19  
Concert by the American Orchestral Society  
CHALMERS CLIFTON, Cond'r.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20  
PROF. IRWIN EDMAN  
"Philosophy for the Lawless"  
Flight o'Clock Admission Free  
OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

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

Sunday, January 18  
5 P. M.—LECTURE, at 9 Second Ave.  
DR. WILL DURANT  
"Roast"

8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.  
MISS ELIZABETH GREW  
"Birth Control and the  
Workers"

7:15 P. M.—American International  
Church, 239 East 14th Street  
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE  
"Who was Jesus?"

Prof. SCOTT NEARING vs. ALEXIS FERN

Chairman, Dr. HENRY LINVILLE  
"Has Propaganda Any Value  
in Education?"

The most important debate on Education  
for parents who are interested in  
their children's education.

Friday January 23—8:45 P. M.—in the  
RAND SCHOOL AUDITORIUM  
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NEAREST YOUR HOME — OPEN MONDAY AND SATURDAY EVGS.

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Money back if you are dissatisfied or can equal these values elsewhere.

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## THE NEW LEADER BIRTHDAY PARTY

Prof. Zimmermann, Hillquit, Thomas and Others to Speak at Dinner Celebration.

When Norman Thomas begins cutting up the first birthday cake of The New Leader two weeks hence there will be gathered around the holiday table friends of our year-old child from near and far.

From England, where Socialism has been making inspiring history these past years, will come Professor Alfred Zimmermann, a leading light in the brilliant group of intellectuals there who have tied up their lives with Socialism and Labor. Professor Zimmermann, fresh from an election contest where he stood as the Labor candidate against Lloyd George, has just arrived here for a series of lectures at Columbia and other American universities. His address at The New Leader dinner will be the last he will make in America while on this trip.

As an interviewer records in another column, Professor Zimmermann's knowledge of American politics and Socialism makes him, for a visitor, a peculiarly valuable observer. His impressions of America, which he will give in his address at The New Leader dinner, is sure to be an intellectual treat which will long be remembered. Professor Zimmermann, vice-president of the Workers' Education Association of Great Britain, is the author of the "Greek Commonwealth," which has won enthusiastic praise for its scholarship.

Congressman Victor L. Berger will represent the Wisconsin and Washington contingent. Morris Hillquit, whose activities in the movement might take a special supplement to list; Abraham Cahane, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; former Congressman Meyer London, and Norman Thomas, whose campaign for Governor last year won him enthusiastic praise for the masterful way in which he conducted it, are but a few of the host of others who will grace the holiday board.

In keeping with the festive spirit which will dominate the occasion, an excellent musical program, in itself a worth-while treat, will be presented. Further announcements concerning this feature will be made shortly.

The dinner is to be held Thursday evening, January 29, at 7 p. m., in the ballroom of Yorkville Casino, 86th street and Third Avenue. Tickets are \$2.00, and the arrangement committee urges that reservations be made immediately, lest there be some disappointments. Special tables for parties may be reserved if the requests are made without delay. Address the Dinner Committee, New Leader, 7 East 15th street.

The important thing is to send your reservations in immediately. The accommodations are limited. The requests for reservations are beginning to come in quickly. To insure against being left out in the cold Thursday night, January 29, call Stuyvesant 6885 and make your reservations now.

### WANTED AN UNUSUAL MAN

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The man wanted should have a general understanding of the Socialist and Labor movement—know its psychology—to be able to write live sales copy—know promotion and particularly circulation and subscription work. The man wanted will be started with a fair salary and be given advancement in direct ratio to results produced. This is permanent connection for the right man, who can qualify.

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### Keeping Cool With Cal on Thompson Street, New York



While New York City avenues lined with the homes of the rich, such as Fifth Avenue and Park Avenue, are immediately cleaned of all traces of snow, children of the workers are left to play for weeks in such filth as shown in the picture above taken this week on Thompson Street. Is it any wonder that health centers in this congested region are kept busy treating cases of malnutrition, exposure, and rickets among the little children of working-class families?

## Bourgeois Bedtime Stories

By McALISTER COLEMAN

FEELING exceptionally low in our well-known mind and casting about through the public prints, we were enheartened of late by reading of the Great Law and Order Dinner at which that just and noble Christian Judge Gary came out flat-footedly in favor of obeying the law.

It happened to be the law about intoxicating liquors and their consumption on the part of a free citizenry that Judge Gary so liberally endorsed. I hasten to inform my multitudinous readers to this effect just in case they thought it might be a law about interlocking directors, combinations in restraint of trade or any thing like that.

No, boys and girls, the Judge is hot under his collar because a persistent rumor has reached him that some folks are still drinking grog all this time after the Volstead Act. It does seem incredible to anyone who plays around with the Pittsburgh steel crowd.

Pretty soon someone may find out that steel men do not spend every evening in the Presbyterian churches of Pennsylvania and then there will be a pretty how-de-do and presumably another big protest dinner at the Waldorf, or wherever the Law and Order boys hang out.

The Judge's outfit is called the Committee of One Thousand and we have it on the best of authority that it has no official connection with the Committee of 48.

The idea of the committee is to get public opinion lined up against drinking. This is to be done by having dinners and speeches and writing books about it. Do you see what they are doing to our nice Constitution, and ain't it hell?

To this end such bulwarks of the Constitution as Mr. Rockefeller and Judge Gary are thrown as it were into the breach and you can't think what sacrifices they have to make.

Probably the supreme sacrifice of all, as Al Jolson would tell you, was going down to the White House and having breakfast with Cal.

We never did feel any too bright at breakfasts but the thought of having breakfast opposite that stern, silent man fairly terrifies us.

But the Committee of One Thousand would do anything for a principle and they took their punishment like men and snatched right out

in front of the President on the drinking population of America.

This information that ever so many un-Constitutional desperadoes were around mopping up contraband liquor came of course as a great shock to Cal.

He had put in a heavy day Christmas singing in that beautiful falsetto of his, "God Rest You, Merry Gentlemen; Let Nothing You Dismay," and naturally he figured that everything would be jake. The thought that there are still a lot of naughty men about who are thumbing their noses at the Constitution was most unsettling.

The great minds finally decided that something must be done and they went right out and had their pictures taken and gave out an interview to the papers saying something must be done about it and that the President was going to take action.

That would be a picture we would really like to see—a picture of the President taking action. If he ever does it we must say that he is mighty darn secretive about it, sort of like a secret drinker.

But maybe this time something will happen. Something usually does when Mr. Rockefeller and Judge Gary go down to look over their Government. Usually it means that a bunch of steel-workers or coal-miners are about to be smacked on their collective beazers, but this time perhaps instead of wages they will just take away their rum.

Which will be a fine thing. Instead of wasting their energies and "jack" buying white mule and things that are liable to make them forget their troubles, they can just sit around the company stores trying to figure out what they owe to the maintenance of the company minister, undertaker and detective. This is an exercise that tends to sharpen the wits and keep all hands in good humor.

Of course, nothing will be done about the wine-cellar of the Law and Order boys.

If a Hungarian steel-worker is caught intoxicated in his cellar he

### LABOR'S BANKS

Thirty Labor banks have been opened in the United States and many others are being organized. The characteristics which distinguish Labor banks from the prevalent banking institutions of today are: ownership and control by a union or a group of unions, limiting profits paid to stockholders, sharing profits with depositors, and welcoming the small depositor.

is promptly hurled into the calaboose. But if a Scotch Presbyterian steel operator gets plastered in his cellar, he gets asked to address the next meeting to uphold the Constitution. This teaches us the great lesson that there are plain cellars and best cellars and that you want to be careful which you select to do your drinking in.

Well, as we have heard so often, it's a great country, where there are no class distinctions and you can look anybody in the eye and tell him to go to hell—provided, that is, that you have enough U. S. Steel stock in your jeans.

As our President sings so sweetly, "God Rest You, Merry Gentlemen; Let Nothing You Dismay."

You Cannot Be Beautiful  
unless you are healthy, and you cannot be healthy  
unless you have a good, sound stomach and liver.

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### Rand School Activities

At the Saturday Afternoon Camaraderie, January 17, at 3:30 p. m., in the Debs' Auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Prof. H. W. L. Dana will speak on Anatole France. At 1:30 p. m. Scott Nearing will lecture on "Eastman, Du'e and Practical Philanthropy."

On Wednesday, January 21, at 8:30 p. m., B. Charney Vlodeck, business manager of the Daily Forward, will discuss Topics of the Times. That evening at 8:30 p. m., January 21, Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch, dramatic critic of the Nation and New Republic, will lecture on American Dramatists. He will discuss the most popular current themes and their relation to

popular thought, in particular, "What Price Glory?" "Desire under the Elms," "They Knew What They Wanted."

On Thursday, January 22, at 8:30 p. m. Dr. Walter N. Polakov will discuss "Waste in Industry" in his course on "Managing Industry for Production;" Mr. Herman Epstein will discuss "The Walkure" in his course on the Nibelungen, and Scott Nearing will discuss "Are American Workers Revolutionary?" in his course on Current Opinion at 7:00 p. m.

On Friday, January 23, at 8:30 p. m. Mr. Carl Van Doren will give the second lecture in his course on "The Love Theme in American Literature."

## RAND SCHOOL

7 East 15th St.

### Courses Beginning

FERDINAND VARRELMAN ..... January 21, 8:30 P. M.  
"A Scientific World View"  
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH ..... January 21, 8:30 P. M.  
"Realism and the Drama"  
SHERWOOD ANDERSON ..... January 22, 8:30 P. M.  
"The Modern Impulse in Writing"  
CLEMENT WOOD ..... January 22, 8:30 P. M.  
"Our Expanding Universe"

Saturday, January 17—1:30 P. M. and 3:30 P. M.  
SCOTT NEARING ..... "Philanthropy"  
H. W. L. DANA ..... "Anatole France"  
Wednesday, January 21  
B. CHARNEY VLODECK ..... "Current Topics"  
Thursday, January 22  
HERMAN EPSTEIN ..... "Walkure"  
Friday, January 23  
CARL VAN DOREN ..... "Love in American Literature"

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# The Need for A Progressive Labor Party, American Style

By JOSEPH W. SHARTS  
(Member, National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party)

NATIONS get the kind of Government they deserve. Classes get the kind of political party they deserve.

The American working class, in its present stage of industrial, economic, and social development, is a jelly-like mass. A political party truly expressive of this class today must reflect to some extent that jelly-like condition. We can't put a backbone on a jelly-fish, neither can we build a clearly class-conscious party out of the present American working class. Yet, above all, it is necessary to build at Chicago in February something that will approximately express that class on the political field.

There must be a genuine political expression of working-class interests in America. Whether that will be the new "Labor party" which is to be organized in February may be a question; but that there must come some Labor party admits of no question. Every political party is simply the reflection politically of certain industrial and economic interests. In all history, organizations which have striven for political power have been nothing more or less than the expression of the interests of groups on the industrial and economic field, sufficiently large and sufficiently conscious of their peculiar interests to band together and come within striking distance of success.

It was natural, in the pioneer days of the United States, that parties should form which aspired to be the political expression of the interests of everybody. The economic struggle was not so much one of man against man, or group against group, but of man against nature. The vast wilderness of the West was being conquered; "business" interests were in their infancy; banking was practically unknown; the steam engine was but newly invented, it had yet agglomerated capital in large masses nor confiscated hand-tools. There was no Labor problem—except how to get more workers. Political organizations might present a program that really expressed the interests of all the people in a vague general way.

**Parties and Class Conflicts**  
The Federalist party expressed the interests of the manufacturers and shippers of New England, but had also a program of road building and land grants which was directly in the interest of the Western pioneers. The original Democratic party, the party of Jefferson and Madison, was rather an expression of Southern agrarian interests, but it also had a program not directly hostile to manufacturing interests at first.

As the United States gradually settled, as pressure of population increased, as manufacturing activities developed, as the struggle for the more desirable lands became intense, lines of sharp distinction began to appear. Classes emerged in clearer outline. Class politics showed themselves in the Congress of the United States in the struggle over the tariff. The Federalists, and their successors the Whigs, naturally favored a high tariff to protect the manufacturing interests. The Democratic party naturally favored a low tariff, to protect the class interests of the agricultural communities.

The Civil War was the final struggle between the manufacturing and the agrarian interests. The manufacturing interests triumphed; with the elimination of chattel slavery Capitalism became full born.

The growth of industrial interests along manufacturing, mining, and transportation lines since then, and the tremendous development of financial interests, are the most significant indication of the need of new forms of political expression to correspond. The internal combustion engine and the burning of oil in transportation and manufacture have radically revolutionized industry; electrical developments are swinging the revolution still further. New industrial classes are being born; they are blindly groping for political expression. That expression must, from the basis of things, be a radical departure from the old political forms.

## The Old Parties

The Republican party is the direct political expression of capitalist interests; it always has been; it develops its program with the development of capitalism.

The Democratic party is an anarch-

## THE PROFITEER!



"I'm as good a friend of Labor as the next man—but there is no denying the fact that the workingmen do spend their money foolishly."

nomism. It should have perished in the Civil War. The reshaping of industrial forces after the Civil War, however, was such a confused affair, there was so little clearance of vision as to the trend of events that the instinctive conservatism of our ignorant masses kept the old political form known as the Democratic party. It has in vain tried to adapt itself to the rapidly developing anti-capitalist interests; but, like Palmyra of the desert, it has outlived its people and its purpose. It tried to function as an expression of popular discontent, notably in the free silver uprising of 1896, again in the Wilsonian effort at a progressive and anti-capitalist attitude in 1912. But it was weighted down with a rusty old armor of traditions and handcuffed to the Bourbon land-aristocracy of the South. It had affiliations

with the slum elements of Northern cities, and tried also to pose as a champion of the working class. Thus it has always played the role of Mr. Facing-both-ways.

The real American working class has little in common with either the land-and-slave-holding aristocracy of the South or the slum element of Northern cities. A party shackled to those elements cannot express the aspirations or interests of the real wage-working class.

### Changing to Old Views

Neither could the Socialist Party at this time express fully the real working classes of the United States, for the reason that it has a distinctly class-conscious proletarian program, whereas most of the American wage workers are not yet pure "proletarians" and have not acquired a "proletarian" point of view. We Ameri-

cans, even if detached from the soil, working for wages, and dependent upon our labor power for existence, still cling to the old point of view which we inherit from our pioneer fathers. The detachment from the soil has come too rapidly to make us class-conscious, to disillusion us. We still hear the rustle of the corn leaves about our ears. Our imaginations and hopes, even in the shops, are set on owning a piece of land and cultivating the soil. We still retain the peasant psychology. A program which ignores that all-pervading fact remains a mere academic suggestion; the party which refuses to adapt itself to it remains a futile few.

The political organization that will properly express for the present this great vaguely defined working class must be one which does not assume

a strictly class-conscious attitude. It must represent others than "proletarians." It must be a working organization, broad enough to include that great mass who are not strictly wage workers, i. e., the dirt farmers, even the little business men who are nothing more than commission agents for the great capitalist sources that absolutely control their credit, their supplies, their markets.

Effective political action requires, for the present, a uniting of all exploited elements. Effective political action requires of us Socialists that we discard our Brahmanical aloofness for the present and join hands with these others whose philosophy is less pure. After all, America is neither Russia, Germany, nor England. Its industrial and political developments thus far have pursued a course of their own which has been neither Russian, German, nor British, although revealing many resemblances.

A genuine effective political expression of those interests and the present stage must conform to our American racial, historical, and industrial peculiarities.

The nearest to such a political expression thus far has been the La Follette movement. With 5,000,000 votes for a send-off, it proves its right to exist. Any political party that wins the support of 5,000,000 voters must be regarded as essential to our public affairs.

### Should Not Leap Ahead

I, as a Socialist, am heartily in favor of organizing a party in February which will be a political expression of those interests and classes that instinctively adhered to the La Follette organization in the last campaign. It may be an ephemeral formation; rapidly changing economic foundations may shatter it soon for a more clearly class-conscious form. But for the present it is the only kind that will be genuine. Of course, as a Socialist, I wish we had a more class-conscious element in the United States which could support a more clearly class-conscious program and make the fight

more clearly one between exploiters and exploited. But we have no right to leap ahead of our times and the present inchoate industrial development. We must cut our pattern according to our cloth. I should like to see a platform adopted by the new party radical enough to hold the radical forces, but at the same time moderate enough to avoid alarming the timorous and more conservative that are also among the dissatisfied to whom we must appeal. An organization adapted from the British Labor form could be utilized so as to enable the Socialist Party to retain its separate existence, its class-conscious program and yet to function with its allies of a more conservative tone.

With the culmination of capitalism in America there will be pressure for a more and more class-conscious presentation of the interests of the exploited elements of society. Our program will be reshaped from time to time to meet the new developments. If our Marxian teachings are sound, we can trust capitalism to drive the new party to more and more radical positions—a repetition to some extent of the history of the British Labor party.

Let us have faith in our Marx. Let us trust a little to the developing hand of time. Let us go forward to the Chicago February conference in full faith that we are able to join hands and give to the United States its first genuine political expression of the exploited classes as distinct from Wall Street.

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By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M. P.  
Formerly Chancellor of Exchequer in the British Labor Cabinet

I AM not sufficiently aware of the American position to offer advice on your political situation. Your difficulties in any case would be far greater than ours, owing to your having a cosmopolitan population with varied political traditions.

The only suggestion which I might, perhaps, profitably make would be that you should not aim at making your new organization too inclusive. To admit bodies which have only one interest or aim and which are out of sympathy on all others would be fatal.

The British Labor party confined itself to the Socialist bodies, the trade unions and the cooperative societies as being a movement which had a common aim, namely, the emancipation of Labor from capitalist control.

The great aim should be to get organized Labor made conscious of the need for political action. It is in this respect that American Labor seems to me to fall behind this country.

When your Labor Unions and the Socialists get working together in politics they will find a common bond of union.

I wish your convention every success.

**VOLUNTEERS WANTED**  
YIPSELS, PARTY MEMBERS, AND SYMPATHIZERS OF THE NEW LEADER WHO CAN SPARE ONE EVENING A WEEK OR MORE, TO HELP IN SOME INTERESTING WORK, ARE REQUESTED TO CALL THIS MONDAY BETWEEN 5 AND 7 P. M. AT THE OFFICE OF THE NEW LEADER, ROOM 507, 7 E. 15th STREET, AND ASK FOR THE BOOSTER DEPT.

P. S.—IF YOU CAN—CALL THIS MONDAY, ANY OTHER EVENING THIS WEEK WILL DO.

## France, a Menace to Peace

By SCOTT NEARING

FRANCE is laboring under a mountain of debt. Her total internal debt on December 31, 1923, was about 270,708 million francs and her total external debt, both political and commercial, was about 165,538 million francs, making a total debt of about 436,376 million francs. Although the French are paying no interest on their debts to Britain and the United States (143,951 millions), the "debt service" for 1924 used up 16,548 million francs, or 48 per cent of all Government expenditures. Each year since 1914 France has paid part of her current expenses by issuing bonds. These bond issues totalled 21,293 million francs in 1919; 31,783 million francs in 1920; 22,947 million francs in 1921; 10,153 million francs in 1922

and 7,892 million francs in 1923. Even in 1924 the French Government continued to issue bonds, though in a decreasing volume. The rate of interest at which the bonds are taken up proved ruinous in 1924.

France left the war with three major financial relations—her borrowings from Great Britain and the United States; her loans to various European countries, and her expectations of reparations payments from Germany. During the war France borrowed about \$2,500,000,000 from Great Britain and about \$3,000,000,000 from the United States. In the latter case, accrued interest has raised the total obligation to more than four billions at the present time. The total borrowings of France from allied Governments were \$5,605,000,000.

While France was borrowing from Great Britain and the United States, she was lending to most of the smaller European nations, particularly to those nations whose strategic military and trade importance promised a high return in the future of the French empire. Russia received from France \$955,000,000; Belgium, \$535,000,000; Jugoslavia, \$297,000,000; Poland, \$235,000,000; Roumania, \$220,000,000; Italy, \$172,000,000; Greece, \$156,000,000. These were the principal ones. In addition, France made loans to Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Lettonia, and Lithuania. Several of these loans, particularly that made to Poland, were virtually military subsidies.

### Franc May Go Lower

Clemenceau promised France that Germany would pay, and for years the majority of Frenchmen seemed to believe that their chief financial difficulties would be removed by this automatic process. As the years have passed since the signing of the treaty it has become more and more evident that German reparations payments did not constitute an effective solution to the French financial problem. Even should the Dawes Plan realize the full expectations of its authors, and should, by 1929 or 1930, turn over to France \$400,000,000 a year, the payment would come too late to save the French financial situation. The French franc has a par value of 19.3 cents. Late in 1923, the franc was selling at about twenty

per cent of its par value. There was, however, indication that it would go still lower, perhaps following the mark in its disastrous fall? The Morgan loan of \$100,000,000 saved the situation at this point and restored the franc to a five-cent level which it has occupied during 1924.

The weakness of the French economic position was well illustrated by the result of the recent sales of seven per cent bonds. These bonds were floated at about 94 and they are quoted now at 91 on the market, with indications that they will go lower rather than higher in the immediate future.

French credit is we only one thing will strengthen it—a balanced budget and a demonstrated ability to meet current expenses out of current receipts. Is such a result possible? The new Finance Minister, M. Clementel, believes so. His budget for 1925 calls for a total expenditure of 32,500,000,000 francs. On a basis of 1924 receipts this would leave a deficit of 6,000,000,000 francs, a deficit which M. Clementel proposes to cover by a considerable increase in taxation.

### Want a Moratorium

But this budget provides nothing for the payment of France's debt to Great Britain and the United States. In the case of the United States alone, where the principal and accrued interest on the debt amount to \$4,900,000,000, a four per cent charge would add more than \$3,000,000,000 to the national debt.

The newspapers report that the French desire a ten-year moratorium on the debt with the understanding that at the end of that time the principal and accrued interest are to be paid in sixty-eight annual installments, the last one maturing about 2003. Such a solution would enable France to get over the next ten years very comfortably. At the end of that time one guess is as good as another concerning her ability to pay.

During those ten years, however, France will probably maintain the largest standing army in Europe; she has already provided herself with the most formidable air fleet in the world. French military machines are actively directing military

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# Carrying Civilization to Morocco

(Spain's military dictator, General Primo de Rivera, has come to grief in Morocco. He is now clinging to the coast of that region with his beaten army of conscripted Spanish workers and the "foreign legion" of wanderers whom fate tied to his adventure. The following story, translated by The Living Age from the Swedish daily, Göteborgs och Sjöfarts Tidning, gives a picture of how "the white man's bludgeon" sometimes cracks the skulls of those who wield it.)

EARLY in 1923, having overstayed my shore leave and lost my ship at Huelva, I set off with a fellow Swede for Malaga. We covered the whole distance on foot, and it took us twenty days to reach the latter city. There we learned that many Germans and Scandinavians had joined the Spanish Foreign Legion for service in Morocco, and decided to enlist. It was easily done and, according to what I could make out with my little knowledge of Spanish, we were to receive five pesetas a day. In a jiffy we were Spanish soldiers. Everyone turned to stare at us, for not many men in Spanish uniform measure six feet two. Soon we were shipped to Ceuta on the African coast, and there our military life began.

In Dar Kiffen, a training camp near Ceuta, I met an Englishman who bade me welcome and assured me I had now reached Hell. I was soon to learn he was not given to exaggeration, for I look back with horror on the days that followed—the filth and the stench of the barracks, the food that was hardly edible, the heat and the flies. Every morning we were sent to work on a road under the supervision of soldiers. This strict surveillance and the tight tunics we wore made us feel like convicts. At noon we were served dinner, consisting of soup made of water and oil, meat or fish, and weak black coffee. Afternoons were spent in more warlike occupations—target practice at empty bottles, marching and squad drill.

At seven in the evening we were free and could gather around a bottle of wine near the canteen. Our conversations invariably turned on the best method of escape, though the prospect of success was almost hopeless. Many had tried, but the majority had been caught and made to endure horrible punishments. On Sundays we had some liberty, which we Scandinavians devoted to washing and bathing.

## Lessons In Thievery

When men of so many nationalities are brought together and so much riffraff is mingled with honest folks, there is naturally much stealing. It was no use to complain. If

## Joining the Spanish Foreign Legion—The Filth and Knavery of a Military Camp—In Battle With the Moors—A Break for Freedom—Capture and Imprisonment.

you were robbed and reported it, you were laconically told, "Steal back." Such is military life in Spain. Every fifth day we were given our pay, 1.25 pesetas. It is easy to imagine our feelings when we were told that from the promised five pesetas two were deducted for rations and 1.75 for clothes!

Thus the time was spent until we were finally ordered to the front. The Moors had attacked a position at night and decapitated 150 Spanish legionnaires. Reinforcements must be sent forward. My friend and I were among those selected. Each man was given a new rifle, 250 rounds of ammunition, and rations for a three days' march. This food consisted of four boiled eggs, four small loaves of bread, a piece of tough meat, and a can of preserves. After a long march we were embarked on a train where we were so crowded that we could not sit down. At every station the Spaniards shouted, "Viva España! Viva el Rey!" Our own sentiments about Spain and its King were not fit for publication. They would constitute lese-majeste.

At last we reached our rail destination, and there the real trip began. We could not travel on foot, but had to use mules, and their backs were wickedly sharp. I was so unfortunate as never to have been mounted before, and my sufferings cannot be described. After being thrown off again and again, I finally became so sore in my whole body that I could hardly hold on. The Spaniards laughed at me, which made me sorer still. But everything has an end, even a mule's back, and after a few days' ride we finally reached the front. Our detachment consisted of 800 legionnaires, 1,000 Spanish regulars, and 300 mounted Moors—for some of the natives enlist to fight their own countrymen.

In a few days we made our first advance. Communications with a nearby fort had been cut off, and it was our task to break through the enemy's lines and to relieve the

fort with food and ammunition. We crossed a wide river, and then our route lay for an entire morning up a mountain chain called Monte Magan. Many of my comrades dropped out from the intense heat. It was over 104 degrees F. Finally, at about noon, we reached our objective without contact with the enemy. After resting we returned, and late that night we were back in our original camp.

## Moors Make A Raid

A period of about three weeks ensued, during which the enemy kept relatively quiet. Then one day the telephone connection with another fort was cut, and some of the Moors showed themselves in the neighborhood of our detachment. At once we opened fire, and our aviators dropped bombs, whereupon our uninvited guests retired.

The next day there was another clash, the most violent of all. We lost eighteen dead and about fifty wounded. The enemy's losses we could not determine, but I imagine they were very light.

Another quiet period followed during which we had a relatively easy time. Our only duties were to mount guard, clean the mules and the stables, fetch wood, and carry water. But our life was an uninterrupted battle with fleas and other insects that threatened to eat us alive. When we woke up in the morning we were covered with red spots. And yet nearly every day we stole away to the river to bathe and wash our clothing.

This squalid way of living, together with our poor food and the brutal treatment of our officers, strengthened our determination to escape. It was a decision of despair. We knew what awaited us in case of capture—reduced rations and hard labor from early morning till late at night with one sandbag tied on the chest and another on the back, varied by forced marches.

But even these prospects did not deter us. The only question was, how? Several plans were discussed. The best seemed to be to try to cross

to Gibraltar or land in Spain or Portugal. One day I made my way to the river to find a boat that we could steal. Great caution was required. I did not dare to look too closely at the boats of the Moors tied up to the bank near the camp. But farther down, near the mouth of the river, I discovered a suitable boat hidden in the reeds. That one I selected, and we set a week later for our escape.

## Five Men In A Boat

In the meantime we saved as much food as possible and some tobacco. Finally, late one evening, we sneaked down to the shore. We did not dare to row directly away, but undressed and swam toward the mouth of the river, towing the boat behind us. We were five—two Swedes, one Norwegian, one Austrian and one Negro.

Early in the morning we hoisted sail and made good progress toward the coast of Spain. But several days passed before we sighted the Spanish coast, and on the sixth day we were forced by hunger and lack of water to steer for the nearest land.

We filled our water bottles and bought some bread at a village, and after consulting together decided to abandon the boat and make our way overland to Portugal. At first everything went well. But on the second day we were caught by two mounted police, who demanded our passports and other papers. Of course we had none. As our boat had been discovered and our escape had been reported from Ceuta, our fate was settled. It was no use denying who we were. Soon we were locked up in a jail in Matril, the village where we had left the boat.

The next day I wrote a letter to the Swedish Minister at Madrid, describing our unhappy situation. He replied very kindly and promised to appeal to the Ministry of War for our release from further military service in Morocco. But it takes time to get things done in Spain. We lingered in that jail seven months before we learned our fate.

We spent the time reading a few newspapers which the Minister kindly sent us. When we had read everything from beginning to end, even the advertisements, we amused ourselves drawing copies of the pictures on the walls. The jail is now like a picture gallery. It has also been honored with distinguished visitors. Even the Mayor of the town was a guest for a week, having been arrested for embezzling the municipal funds. He seemed to thrive in confinement.

At length I received a letter from the Minister, informing me that though he had done everything in his power, there was little hope of our being pardoned, since, in addition to the deserting, we had also stolen the boat. A week later, however, there arrived full pardon from the Spanish King. "Viva el Rey!"



ALFONSO (to PRIMO): You've deceived me. You're as incompetent as the others. And I've staked my throne on you.  
—L'Ere Nouvelle

## The Russian Triumvirate

BY JAMES ALLMAN

HISTORY repeats itself in the rise of power, out of the Russian communistic chaos, of the triumvirate: J. V. Stalin, Leo Kamaneff and Gregory Zinoviev.

Of in the past a period of popular disturbance has resulted in an oligarchy, and the oligarchy has concluded, first, in the domination of a few and eventually in the predominance of one among the few as arch-oligarch, dictator, or imperator.

Out of the conflict between Optimates and Populares under Marius and Sulla arose, eventually, the First Triumvirate: C. Julius Caesar, Marcus Crassus and Cnaeus Pompeius. The elimination of Crassus in Parthia and the destruction of Pompeius at Pharsalia left the way open for the triumphant advance of Caesar as imperator and brought to an end the few remaining liberties of Republican Rome.

The tragic culmination of the French Revolution, the Reign of Terror in 1793 with its Cordeliers

But before being set free we must be transferred to Ceuta. We were escorted thither by two gendarmes. Upon our arrival we had to don prison garb once more, and were locked up in another jail for the very offense for which the King had pardoned us! . . . We have now been here for three months and the future looks pretty dark for us. I pin my only hope on being liberated upon the prospective amnesty when the Italian royal couple arrive in Spain.

and Jacobins, its St. Just, Fouquier, Tiville and Robespierre, resulted in the 9th of Thermidor in the downfall of Robespierre and the rise of the Directoire, an oligarchy of five, with Barras as President, until the 13th Vendémiaire and the 18th Brumaire placed unlimited power within the grasp of Bonaparte and resulted in the establishment of the First Empire upon the ruins of the Republic.

The same forces are working in the same way in Soviet Russia. That mighty Slavic demos, the mass of the Russian peasants and workers, after a titanic struggle for liberty, find themselves mastered and dominated by a timocratic force, the Red Army, and terrorized by an organized bureaucracy of espionage and violence in the form of the Cheka, excelling even the Holy Inquisition in Spain or Fouquier in France under the First Empire. There now emerges that usual historical sequence: militarism, bureaucracy and wholesale espionage and persecution, a triumvirate with Leo Kamaneff as Crassus, the weakest of the three, soon doomed to elimination. Gregory Zinoviev, the weaker of the two, vain and ambitious but lacking in power and force, like Pompey, will meet his Pharsalia.

There remains Stalin, the crafty and scheming semi-oriental Georgian, to whom one might truthfully and aptly apply the words used by Merivale, in his "History of the Romans" in describing Julius Caesar: "From an early period of his career he was fully conscious of the real nature of the revolution on which he was embarked; but if it was his hand that moulded and directed it, the change he effected was in fact demanded by his party and enforced by circumstances."

## Glengarry's Review

Written for The New Leader

WHY all this FARCE About the TOLLING child? What are ITS CHAINS But the PRODUCT OF THE PARENT'S BRAINS—If they sit IDLY by And watch their babies SLAVE, WHY should not the DRIVERS GOAD the child to YIELD A greater GAIN?

WHAT are we who deign disturb? The NATURAL relationship OF PARENT and CHILD—Their RIGHTFUL portion Until DEATH? WHAT are we who seek to curb The MERCIFUL hardship Which EARLY frees the child? A SPEEDING toll Brings WELCOME death.

This brand of PROFIT-MAKING Is (by RESPECTABLES) esteemed Because it is in vogue For nigh 150 sodden years; While APATHETIC parents, MINISTERS and PRIESTS, Gaze ADMIRINGLY at GREED TAKE its weighty TOLL OF BLINDING gold FROM sweat of blood And tears that WELL Through INFANTS' groans, And PILING up Upon the ROTTING heaps Of tender infants' SKULLS A PYRAMID of profit— WEALTH in whose intoxication The human race is reeling.

Ah, wretches, you are DUMB, Because YOUR favored child IS NOT that little pile Of dwarfed and twisted bones Which YIELDS to GREED Its GNARLED claw-like hands And dragging, BLISTERED feet; Its rightful years of play, And all the HAPPY things Which draw delightful sounds From normal baby-lips And fill with bubbling joys The normal infant-heart That only sweets of life Should find to SIP.

Because numberless parents Are underpaid and semi-starved, TWO MILLION INFANTS— Enslaved by their parents— Are DRIVEN into the industries: SORDID the life of a father Whose bread is the SWEAT Of his INFANT, And WOEFULLY sunk Is the heart of a mother Whose MEAT is the price Of her offspring; But ACCURSED A THOUSAND TIMES MORE ARE WE to whom is given The POWER to FREE them, And do not (NOR TRY), But sit at our ease While innocent VICTIMS ENDURE it and PERISH.

The BALLOT is ours—

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## "But It's Tough On the Women and the Kids"

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# Kennedy Succeeds Green As Miners' Secretary

Thomas Kennedy

Succeeds Green

Thomas Kennedy, president of District 7 of the United Mine Workers, has been elected to fill the position of Secretary-Treasurer left vacant by William Green, recently elevated to the Presidency of the A. F. of L. Kennedy, is 40 years old. He hales from Hazelton, Pa. Years ago a member of the Socialist Party, he has since been considered a progressive. While he has generally followed the non-partisan political policy of supporting Labor "friends" in the old parties, he has on a number of occasions declared himself in favor of the formation of a Labor party in this country.

On the question of nationalization, he supported the program of the Nationalization Committee, of which Christ J. Golden, head of District 9, was chairman. With Golden and William Brennan, then president of District 1, he joined in recommending to the U. S. Coal Commission, in 1922, "liquidation" of private ownership of the anthracite mines. They recommended that all profits earned by the mines above 6 per cent. be used to buy out the mines, which were then to become Government property.

## 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.  
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PETER MONAT, Manager.

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UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 141st St. Melrose 7690  
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Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union.

Office and Headquarters, 945 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: Bklyn. 9758  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.  
M. REISS, President.  
S. FINE, Vice-President.  
F. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.  
E. WENDEL, Fin. Sec'y.  
H. KALNIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

## FUR FLOOR WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 3, F. I. U. A.

Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stage 5220.  
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.  
FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President Secretary

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS

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

Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 St. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, N. U. SMAN, Pres.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Razano, Rec. Sec'y. Treas.  
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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

General Office: 621 BROADWAY (Room 323). Phone Spring 2758-2759

ALDO CURCI, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.

Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
All Meetings are held in the Office of the Union.

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

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America

Uptown Office: 50 West 87th street. Phone Fitzroy 6784  
Downtown Office: 210 East 5th street. Phone Orchard 1042  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Uptown Office  
SAUL SCHULMAN, J. DILLON, ALEX. ROSE, Chairman Exec. Bd. Rec. Sec'y. Fin. Sec'y-Treas.  
ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, I. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

## FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
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MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President  
ANDREW WENDEL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

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OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 East 22nd Street. Phone Caledonia 0350  
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office  
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ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLF LEWITZ, Sec. Treas.  
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## FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15

Executive Board meets every Monday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
A. ROFFER, Chairman.  
F. FISHER, 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. STALL, Chairman.  
H. SOMINS, Vice-Chairman.  
H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

## PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1208  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
LOUIS SMITH, President.  
HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

## TRADE UNION TOPICS

### St. Paul Labor College Opens

The Labor college of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly will begin its fifth year when the first of the classes organized this season will begin its work. Considerable delay, due to many obstacles encountered, has resulted in postponing the opening of the season; but it is expected that the work will be carried forward with an increased interest that will make up for the late start.

The education committee in organizing and planning for the particular work assigned to it has endeavored to benefit by the experiences of past seasons in formulating courses of study which will meet the needs of the students, and be of practical advantage to them personally, and in advancing the interests of the Labor movement.

### Reading Council Elects Officers

At the regular meeting of Reading Federated Trades Council, held in Labor Lyceum on Tuesday night,

the council was reorganized and the following officers were re-elected for 1925: President, J. Henry Stump; Vice President, J. Frank Meglathery; Secretary, M. L. Wolfskill; Financial Secretary, A. P. Bower; Sergeant-at-Arms, Samuel Riegel. The council decided to send a delegate to the national conference to be held in Chicago on February 21 to organize a permanent national Labor party. The delegate will be elected at the meeting of the council on February 3.

### N. Y. Plans for Gompers Memorial

A movement is on foot to memorialize the late Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, by naming as Gompers Square an open space and park in the heart of the East Side. It is now known as Rutgers Square. It was here that the youthful Sam Gompers, cigar maker, made his first speech for organized labor. Other suggestions are being put forward to erect a Labor temple

that will symbolize his work, to build a monument of scholarships for students of greatest talent in the larger universities, where they may specialize in economic subjects and devote themselves to the study of Labor's progress.

The Central Trades and Labor Council is receiving these suggestions. In the main, however, it is deferring its judgment to that of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which has the matter in hand.

### Laundry Drivers Out On Strike

The Laundry Drivers' Union, Local 810, affiliated with the Teamsters' International Union has declared a strike against the Clovelin Wet Wash Laundry Company of 779 Van Sinden avenue, Brooklyn. This firm has repeatedly violated its agreement with the union to employ only members of the union, and therefore compelled the organization to take this action. The union through its manager Samuel Rosenzweig appeals to the public for its moral support by patronizing only union firms, the drivers of which display the Teamsters Union button.

## On The International Front

### AUSTRIA

#### Winning the Country Workers

The results of the election for members of the local governing bodies in practically all cities and villages of Lower Austria on November 30 show that the Social Democratic party's campaign of education and agitation among the farm laborers and small farm owners, as well as the residents of the little villages, has borne rich fruit. Now of the some 1,700 community councils there are very few without Socialist members, whereas before the election there were hundreds where the Clericals and Pan-Germans had no opposition. Of the some 19,000 councillors elected November 30 the Socialists won 3,439, gaining 156 in the purely country districts and losing 154 in the industrial towns. The loss in the towns is explained by the fact that many industrial workers had been forced by the economic crisis to

leave their homes in search of work in other parts of Austria or to emigrate. Furthermore, as the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung remarks, the Socialists have lined up about all the eligible recruits in the cities and big towns, so the big field for their agitation is now in the country. Under a new system of apportioning seats, the total number of councillors was materially reduced, especially in the larger towns, another reason for the cut in Socialist representation. All in all, the campaign greatly heartened the Social Democrats in their fight for the "souls of the farmers." The Communists lost six of the twenty-eight members they had in the old councils. The bourgeois parties this time combined their forces in nearly all the larger towns.

#### More Legislative Victories

As the result of Social Democratic work in the National Assembly, the unemployment benefits have been raised about ten per cent, bringing the basic weekly payment for a single man living home up to about \$1.60, with many additional allowances for family men. The Socialists admit that the rates are still much too low, but they remind the few Communists who protest about it that their tactics are only calculated to make trouble without helping the unemployed men. When the new tariff law was put through some time ago, the Socialist Deputies, led by Otto Bauer, forced the addition of a clause authorizing the Government to raise duties as much as 33 per cent. on goods coming from countries not enjoying the eight-hour work day.

### SWITZERLAND

#### Socialist Gains in Berne Canton

Victory for a straight, uncompromising Socialist policy in the December election for members of communal councils in the Canton of Berne. In all but two districts the Socialists played a lone hand, refusing to ally themselves with the Gruetliancers (a semi-Socialist organization) and also coming squarely against the agrarian and bourgeois parties' plans for tax reductions. In the twenty communalities from which complete returns are available the Socialists increased their representation in eleven (winning the absolute majority in three), in seven they held their number of seats and increased their popular vote, and in only two did they suffer a loss of a mandate. In the two districts (Spiez and Steffisburg) where the Socialists and the Gruetliancers united on the same candidates they merely held their own.

### DENMARK

#### Attack On Borgbjerg Fails

A recent attempt by the Danish Conservatives and so-called Liberals to put the Socialist Government of Premier Stauning into a hole by passing a resolution censuring F. J. Borgbjerg, Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, for having recommended Marius Wulff, a former member of the staff of Sozial Demokrat, the leading Danish Socialist paper, for a place in the diplomatic service, failed when the Radical Deputies lined up with the Socialists in the Lower House and defeated the resolution 73 to 71. It appears that Wulff, who was separated from his job on the Sozial Demokrat some time ago, wrote a pamphlet accusing his old chief (Comrade Borgbjerg was Editor-in-Chief of the Sozial Demokrat before entering the Cabinet last spring) of having accepted bribes from a convicted bankrupt and also of having worked in the interest of the German Government during the World War by allowing the office of the Sozial Demokrat to be used as a relay point for messages from New York to the Frankfurter Zeitung, which contained military information. This charge was ridiculed both by Borgbjerg and the editor of the Frankfurter Zeitung and it was stated that the New York messages were nothing but commercial dispatches, with no secret meaning, as averred by Wulff. The Frankfurter Zeitung pointed out that any attempt to use a secret code disguised as commercial information would have been detected, as such messages would have been meaningless to the business world and would have attracted the attention of all concerned. When Wulff found himself out of work and in financial trouble he had the assurance to ask Comrade Borgbjerg for a job, and the latter, in the kindness of his heart as he admitted, suggested to the Foreign Ministry that something might be done for

### POLAND

#### Conference With Russians

At a conference held in Teschen, November 22-23, between representatives of the Polish Socialist Party and of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party (the Kerensky group) it was decided, according to reports found in Robotnik, the Warsaw organ of the Polish Socialists, to work together for an eventual solution of the boundary dispute between Russia and Poland by peaceful means and to combat any warlike talk or actions. The Russian Social Revolutionaries, like the Mensheviks and other opponents of the Bolshevik regime, never have recognized the line established by the Soviet-Polish treaty of peace, and they hope some day to see it revised in favor of Russia. The delegates also agreed upon the need of getting all the Socialist parties in Eastern Europe together to work for peace in the Balkans and elsewhere and they resolved to continue their campaign against Communists, inside and outside of Russia. About a month before this meeting, representatives of the Polish and Czechoslovak Socialists had gathered in Teschen and planned for a conference of delegates from all the Balkan countries to be held under the auspices of the Socialist and Labor International.

#### German-Poles In Convention

A feature of the second convention of the German Socialist Party in Poland, held in Bielitz, December 7-8, was the insistence by all the delegates upon the necessity of the Polish Socialist Party's Deputies in the Sejm doing more toward making life more endurable for the various racial minorities in the overgrown Polish Republic. Representatives of the Polish Socialists assured the convention that they would do their best and pointed out that their party had already fought for minority rights. The German Socialist Party in Poland is small in numbers, but its influence over the working people in the new acquired Polish territory in Upper Silesia and the Teschen district is considerable.

### RUSSIA

A curious and instructive document is the "Appeal to the International Communist proletariat" recently issued by a body calling itself the International Communist Group, in protest against the persecution inflicted upon the so-called Labor groups of the Communist party in Russia. The signers are Kasakova, Moskovski, Vasilieff, and Stranovskova of Russia, Betsyn and Lepyn of Latvia, Berger of Czechoslovakia, Bratsky of Poland, Hartz, Lauterbach, Pehringer and Steinbrecher of Germany, Ali Akbar of India, M. Safar of Afghanistan, and Achmet Halieff of the Tartar Republic. The signers explain that the elements on whose behalf they appeal are Communist working people in Russia, who do not hold any office or positions in the Soviets, the trade unions, or the party organization. (Continued on Page 9)



# Roads To Freedom

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

## VIII. SINGLE TAX.

ALL of the schools of thought thus far discussed, with the exception of the individualist-anarchists, have urged a change in the ownership and control of both land and capital, as a means of attaining an ideal social order.

The school known as single taxers has, on the other hand, maintained that a revised system of taxing land would be the means of eliminating poverty and of ushering in an era of equality of opportunity.

### Land Value Created by Society.

According to the single taxers, the value of land is created by society, not by individual effort. Land may be purchased for a song in a sparsely occupied territory. Society develops the neighborhood, constructs buildings, carries on trade, and, after a series of years, without a stroke of work on his part, the owner may be able to sell his possession at many times its former value. In fact, according to the single taxers, land has a tendency to absorb all of the value due to "the growth of population, the increase and extension of exchanges, the march of invention, the spread of education, the improvement of government," etc.

This increased value should not be absorbed by the individual owner, but by society, its creator. The single taxers therefore propose "the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term 'land'."

### Results Claimed for Single Tax

Accompanying this proposal, they maintain that taxes upon industry and the products of industry should be abolished, as they tend to discourage enterprise and, furthermore, as profits resulting from the production of commodities in industry, are the result of individual, not social exertion.

The imposition of the single tax upon land, declare the single taxers, "will compel every individual controlling natural resources to utilize them by employment of labor or abandonment to others; will thus provide opportunities of work to all men and secure to each the full product of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished and the greed, intemper-

## PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

What advantages are likely, in your opinion, to result from the single tax? What are its disadvantages? Does single tax, in your opinion, adequately deal with the problems of industrial wastes? Does it supply a remedy for exploitation? Is it likely to satisfy the demands of the worker? Why has the single tax philosophy failed of late to appeal to the masses as widely as have such philosophies as Socialism?

ance and vice that sprung from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away."

The father of the single tax school was Henry George. His great work was "Progress and Poverty."

### Schools of Single Tax.

Among the present day single taxers there are several schools of thought. There are the individualists, with their doctrines of natural rights, and with their leanings toward individualist-anarchism. This school opposes all tendencies toward public ownership of industry. There are those who advocate public ownership of public utilities, together with the single tax, as a means of ensuring a free field for competition in industry. Henry George long urged the nationalization of the railroads as a supplement to his taxation policy. There are others, however, who, while believing that the single tax will bring markedly better conditions, have no objection to the socialization of as many industries as is deemed necessary to ensure equality of opportunity. "I favor," said one prominent single taxer, a while ago, "not only the single tax, but the public ownership of natural monopolies, of municipal utilities, of the credit systems, of the great trusts, and, if these changes don't correct present economic injustices, a complete socialization of industry."

Controversy has also waged within the movement on the question of the relative desirability of nationalizing the land and of correcting the evils of landlordism merely through taxation.

### Criticisms.

Socialists in general have placed themselves on record in favor of a tax on land values, though objecting to the singleness of the tax. They urge income, inheritance and other forms of taxation as well as land taxation.

They deny the validity of the philosophy of "natural rights" which has played so large a part in the formulation of the single tax theory. They deny the contention that, while right results from the effort of society, profit results from individual effort. They maintain that capital as well as land bears a social char-

acter; that every commodity produced in industry is a social, not an individual, product.

Socialist critics of the single tax theory maintain that special privilege is not based on the ownership of land alone; that this may have been true under a land economy, but that, in modern industry, he who owns and controls machinery and credit is by virtue of such control in a privileged position. The worker will not be placed on an equal plane with his employer by having the choice of retaining his position in a factory or of taking up free land, although he may be in a better position than at present. Unless he had very considerable capital, he would find it difficult to earn a decent living on the land. He would be at a disadvantage as compared with other farmers, mine owners, etc. He would be subject to exploitation so long as he had no share in the ownership of the machines of production. Nor have the single taxers shown how their tax would reach in any effective manner such industries as banks, which generally occupy little land, and yet, through control of credit, earn very large sums.

Free competition is enormously wasteful, Socialists continue. What is needed is not free competition in all spheres of industry, as many single taxers would have it, but a sane and orderly cooperative system which would eliminate competitive wastes.

The worker is demanding more and more a greater share in the control of industry, and a part share in its ownership. The single taxer fails completely to satisfy this growing demand. Nor has this school of thought proved its contention that the landlord, as opposed to the capitalist, absorbs all of the increased products of industry.

The writings of Henry George were noble and eloquent indictments of things-as-they-are. His analysis of the social character of land values was a distinct contribution to social progress. But the failure of his philosophy to capture the imagination of the masses or of a great and increasing number of thinking men and women seems to indicate that his remedy was not far-reaching

enough and many of his followers, still calling themselves single taxers, are gradually adopting a program which bears a very close resemblance to that of the Socialists.

### For Discussion Groups:

Literature—Pamphlets: Write for pamphlets to Single Tax Publishing Co., 150 Nassau St., New York City, and Single Tax Party, 3 E. 14th street, New York City.

Books: Henry George, "Progress and Poverty" (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1916, 568 pp., \$1.75); C. B. Filibrown, "A B C of Taxation" (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1909, 229 pp.; out of print); Frederic C. Howe, "Privilege and Democracy in America" (New York: Scribner, 1910, 315 pp.; out of print); J. D. Miller, "Single Tax Year Book" (New York: Single Tax Publishing Co., \$2.50); Louis F. Post, "Taxation of Land Values" (Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill Co., 1915, 179 pp., \$2.00); Yetta Scheffelt, "Taxation of Land Values" (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1916, 489 pp., \$2.25), critical of single tax; Morris Hillquit, "Socialism in Theory and Practice" (New York: Macmillan, 1909, pp. 291-5; out of print); A. N. Young, "Single Tax Movement in the United States" (Princeton, N. J.: University Press, 1916, 340 pp., \$1.50).

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Office and Meeting Room:  
106 Seventh Avenue, Phone Chelsea 9519  
Regular Meeting Every Monday, 8 P. M.  
Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 P. M.  
GEO. B. HOVELL, JAS. F. CONLON,  
President Sec. Agent  
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Rec. Sec. Fin. Secretary

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Engineers' Local 56  
Meet every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 3944. Office hours, 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M., Room 14.  
P. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

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42 University Place, Streetcar 6358  
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 161 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Garfinkel, Org. Sec. H. Kaplan, Sec.

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Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday, Board of Officers Meet 2nd and 4th Friday, 243 East 84th Street, New York City  
Frank Warner, H. Kramer, President Sec. Agent  
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175 EAST BROADWAY  
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### PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 892  
Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St. Tel. Regent 3525  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening 8 P. M.  
John Barry, President  
Peter Golic, Vice-President  
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### WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, B. & R.E.A. & B.I.L. of A. Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 80 St., N.Y.  
LEONARD HETZ  
Regular Meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M.  
Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Lowe, President Bus. Agent & Sec.

### PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters: 366 EIGHTH AVENUE Telephone Longacre 5629  
Day Room Open Daily, 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.  
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### HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

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Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday  
AL GRABAL, President  
L. KORN, S. JACOB, Manag.

on the party. Later he came to the conclusion that he was mistaken in his course. He wrote a manly letter acknowledging his mistake and again joined the Socialist Party. He has been giving loyal service to it ever since.—Editor.)

### NAPOLÉON'S PRESS CENSORSHIP

What adverse criticism Frenchmen might have directed against the (Napoleonic) empire was stifled by the activity of a splendidly organized secret police and by a rigorous censorship of the press. So complete was Napoleon's control of the State that the decisive naval defeat of Trafalgar (Oct. 21, 1805) was not mentioned by a single French newspaper until after the fall of the empire (March 31, 1814).—Hayes, "History of Modern Europe."

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## UNION DIRECTORY

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

### BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL 34 Telephone Lenox 4550  
Office: 239 East 84th STREET  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple  
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary THOMAS CAHILL, President EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

### BRICKLAYERS UNION

Local No. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage.  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening.  
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### United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST ST. Telephone Melrose 5674.  
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### Carpenters and Joiners of America

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### United Brotherhood of

### Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 366 4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.  
Regular meetings every Monday evening  
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RICHARD DAMMAN, President  
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### DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1455, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA. Orchard 6804  
Office: 12 St. Mark's Place.  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.  
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Lenox 7429.  
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Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. S. BLOOM, Rec. Secretary  
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN LEAVY, Business Agent. JOHN DOOLEY, Recording Secretary JOSEPH LAMONTE

### Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283  
Meets Every 2d and 4th Wednesday, Brethoven Hall, 210 East 6th St., 630 Sharp  
A. NADIELL, President  
L. NAVATSKY, Vice-President HERMAN ALPERT, Sec'y-Treasurer  
PIERCE H. DEAN, Bus. Agent

### Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

### PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: Telephone: 62 East 106th Street University 2528  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office. Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFIELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

### N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Phone Watkins 9185  
LEON U. ROUSE, President  
John Sullivan, Vice-President  
John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas. Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer  
Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.  
Meets Every 2nd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 51 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.

### JOUR NEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York.  
Office and Headquarters, 259 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.  
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.  
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President. WILLIAM PIOTTA, Financial Secretary.  
WILLIAM NEHEM, Recording Secretary. CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN Business Agents.

### U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION NO. 463 OF NEW YORK CITY  
Meeting Room, 243 East 84th St., New York City  
EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8 P. M.  
2033 Fifth Ave. Phone Harlem 4878

### International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
JOHN P. BURKE, President Secretary, 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

## The New Leader Mail Bag

### Importance of Negro Workers

Editor, The New York Leader:  
I think it necessary in a new political movement to take account of such opportunities that are presented for the good of all. To ignore matter of great importance would be to invite disaster.

We have a colored population of nearly 12,000,000 who under present conditions are almost completely unrepresented in our legislative bodies. The colored people were once slaves, a servile race politically and economically. If we can organize them as a great power, colonize and direct their energies to take charge of as many states as possible, and educate them for the new party, we should do so.

If they took possession of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, we could secure for them representation in Congress and the State legislatures, put them in charge of their post offices and industrial plants, give them power, liberty and a respect for them by Southern white people. They never can obtain this in their present disorganized condition.

Break up the Solid South and at the same time strike a mortal blow at Wall Street and our monarchical money system. We can use intelligent colored people and old veterans of the Civil War such as the writer, in whom the colored people will have the same confidence as they had in Lincoln. I have written to the bloc in Congress to enact legislation that will protect the colored people in their natural rights.

If we can move on these lines and take from the old parties the support of 12,000,000 people and break up the Solid South we would emancipate ourselves and our industrial friends.

M. Davison.

Milton, Ore.

(We fear that this program, offered with the best of intentions, would perpetuate the Solid South. An appeal to the Negro people of the South to act as a solid unit as Negro workers would tend to increase the race prejudice. What is needed is to awaken both white and Negro workers to the necessity of their common interests as against exploiting masters of both colors. Knowledge of class brotherhood irrespective of the color of the skin will eventually break up the Solid South which is "solid" only in the sense that it serves the exploiters of both white and colored Labor.—Editor.)

### Experience of a Rural Carrier

Editor, The New Leader:  
As The New Leader represents Labor and as I am employed by Uncle Sam in his slave pen and the dungeon department of it (the rural service) for 22 years, I think my experience will interest your readers.

I have been in the service since 1903 and have been practically driven from the service or soon will be unless some relief is given. There is no limit to the work, and the carrier must do it or quit. I should quit now, but at my age (55) after serving 22 years you can understand why I hesitate.

During the holidays, when all branches except the rural had help, I had to go to work as early as 3.30 a. m. and not get through at 6 p. m. I had to pass through suburban territory with a large number of insured packages C. O. D. and special deliveries which took me to the side streets and byways. I generally start to work at 5.30 and continue to 4.30 and 6 p. m. according to the amount of work and the season of the year.

I have felt that something should be done for us and that these conditions should receive general publicity. I practically worked during the Christmas season for an average of 75 cents a day as I had to drive a taxi or let the mail accumulate.

Having contributed to the pension fund I feel loth to quit but I cannot hold out much longer. If you can give these facts some publicity it may help. I appreciate what you are trying to do and will remain a reader of The New Leader.

Newcastle, Pa. W. C. H.

### An Inquiry

Editor, The New Leader:  
In a book entitled "Social Politics in the United States," the author, Fred E. Haynes, writing of the Social Democratic League, states that many Socialists, chiefly intellectuals, resigned their membership in the Socialist Party to form this league. Among these intellectuals were Rose Pastor Stokes, John Spargo, W. E. Walling and Upton Sinclair.

I have always had the idea that Upton Sinclair had never been anything else but a good standing member of the Socialist Party. I wonder if you can enlighten me in the next issue of The New Leader.

HARRY MIXSY, Brooklyn.

(Upton Sinclair disagreed with the party regarding the war and joined the league, but he never participated in the attacks made by it



# The Realm of Books

## New Russian Master

A Review by MADELIN LEOP

**THE ENCHANTED WANDERER.** By Nicolai Lyeskov. Authorized translation by A. G. Paschko. Edited with an introduction by Maxim Gorky. New York: Robert McBride & Co. \$2.50.

Russia's literature is inexhaustible. Just as we think we can name the best Russian authors with confidence, along comes another one to make us recalculate. Now Maxim Gorky introduces us to a master artist whose reputation is very small in English-speaking lands, so small that the Encyclopaedia Britannica gives him not even one measly line. He is Nicolai Lyeskov, true son of the Russian soil and the Russian spirit, imbued with a knowledge and an understanding of humanity's tortures that are essential parts of the Russian soul.

Maxim Gorky writes an inspiring, singing preface to "The Enchanted Wanderer" in which he concisely and perfectly sums up Lyeskov's abilities: "Lyeskov is a magician of the word, but his style is not plastic. He narrates, and in his art he has no equal. His tale is a spiritualized song; the simple, essentially Russian words, joined together in ingenious lines, are at times pensive, at others cheerfully resonant, and you always hear in them a tremulous love for humanity, a tenderly concealed, almost womanly love which, being pure, is a little, just a little, ashamed of itself. The characters of his stories often speak of themselves, but their words are so alive, so truthful and convincing, that they stand up in your imagination quite as mysteriously perceptible, as physically distinct as the heroes of Tolstoi and the others. In other words, Lyeskov attains the same result by using a different artistic method."

Lyeskov, like Gorky, understood that a man has the right to be pitied and loved and that he should learn to pity and love. His hero is Golovan, a half simpleton, a half buffoon, condemned because of a childhood sin to wander from mishap to mishap until he takes refuge in the church. The story is a picaresque romance following the naive, simple, and often understanding, Golovan from Russia to the Steppes and back to Russia again. Once in a while Golovan has a happy moment, but usually he is engrossed in getting himself and others out of what seem to everyone else but himself hopelessly insurmountable difficulties. Inborn in this Russian horse-thief, horse-dealer, almost horse-magician, is an irresponsible faith that leads him from trouble to yet more trouble, but which always seems to bring him out on the surface again ready to love and pity others.

Lyeskov's power over words makes of his narrative of anecdotes a fascinating fable of the Russian soil. It breathes Russia. From no other land could such a tale have come, a strong, powerful romance full of the tragedy and futility of human existence interwoven with the simple Russian faith that puts a touch of child-like simplicity over all things.

"The Enchanted Wanderer" is in narrative form similar to "Lower Depths" in play form. Both are extremely Russian; they treat of the lowest strata of Russian humanity, of its filth, its poverty, its despair, its criminal traits; they touch on the aristocracy, its heartlessness, its wealth, its pretensions; they are replete with pity, with sorrow, with suffering, with death, with simple, blind religious faith; they have as their principle protagonists a wanderer, a roamer over the earth, a man whom none knows how to accept—wise, foolish, innocent, understanding—but yet a soul who has learned how to pity and to love in his roving among humanity's homes.

Nicolai Lyeskov is assuredly a great and powerful Russian artist whom we welcome to our American libraries.

## Party News

(Continued From Page 6.)

urge them to communicate with the county office!

Following the lead of Williamsburg, the Brownsville and East New York branches have elected delegates to a Central Committee. No doubt this will result in rebuilding the weaker branches of the district.

Plans are being formed to reorganize the 21st Assembly District, which covers a part of Flatbush. The organization in that district has been inactive for the last two or three years, but from indications it is possible to create a real active branch which will function throughout the year.

**5th A. D. Theatre Party**  
Members and friends of the 5th A. D. will have a theatre party on Monday night, January 19, at the Funch and Judy Theatre, to see "Emperor Jones." Tickets can still be obtained from the organizer, Ida C. Pilatowsky, 482 Decatur street. The branch expects to turn out in full

## Socialized Banking

A Review by J. R. SMALLWOOD

**THE BANK OF NORTH DAKOTA: An Experiment in Agrarian Banking.** By Alvin S. Tostlebee, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.50

With a few outstanding exceptional cases, the Socialist movement in the United States has paid no attention to what in many respects is one of the most stupendous of the problems that lie in store for solution by those who would substitute social for predatory control of production.

The accumulation of capital and its manipulation; its giving or withholding by bankers and financiers; in a word, Credit, with a very big C—this is a nut of really first-rate importance that society shall one of these days have to crack. Credit is king in the world today, and much of the abuse heaped upon the heads of industrialists in sober reality is due the czars of credit.

Socialization of industry without socialized banking is inconceivable. This is seen by the British Socialists, and there is now a definite urge of interest being shown in the subject. In Australia the Labor party has long recognized the importance of credit; and when before the war they got control of Government and established the present Commonwealth Bank, the nominal object of "setting up a fund with which to pay off the national debt" was second in importance to their desire to enter the thin edge of nationalization of banking.

Directly traceable to the presence of the Labor party in the Cabinet, the South African Government has taken action with regard to establishing a national bank, according to a letter received by the writer from Thomas Boydell, M. P.

In America the starting of so many Labor banks may have had its original urge from the general dissatisfaction with the tyranny of private banks, but the difference between the two types of reform is apparent. A widespread interest in State banking has yet to be born.

The one great American experiment in State banking was the daring adventure entered upon by the Non-partisan League (farmers') government which captured North Dakota in 1919. Dr. Tostlebee, who is an instructor in economics at Columbia, has undertaken to write a detailed account of this highly

significant institution. He has achieved a well-documented volume, but the fact that he collected his data from his office at Columbia and wrote them up without once visiting the scenes of the experiment, instead of constituting a special qualification for the job, as he claims, seems rather, after a perusal of his book, to be a distinct drawback. The author's dependence upon correspondence, often with interested persons, is evident, and when one recalls that "the political storm that has been beating against the Bank of North Dakota from the beginning, growing in fury as month succeeded month," one cannot but feel that it was difficult for the author in his correspondence and reading not to be unduly, even if unconsciously, influenced in his choice of material and in his judgments.

Nevertheless, while one would wish to read a parallel account written by, let us say, Frederick C. Howe, this is a volume to be studied by all who are interested in State banking. We imagine that many readers will peruse most of the facts and documents and draw conclusions different from his own.

Starting at first as a State clearing house, and constituted by law the exclusive depository for all official State funds, including school funds, and serving largely in the same capacity as the Federal Reserve banks, the Bank later accepted individual deposits, opened branch offices and did a regular banking business. This further infuriated the private banking interests, who, backed by the ubiquitous Wall Street, began a campaign of renewed savagery, so that by the winter of 1920-21 the banking situation became so serious that, to save the State, even the warring factions had to come together temporarily and cooperate. In their unscrupulous attacks the predatory interests had all but ruined themselves and everybody else.

It is impossible here to relate the story of the Bank of North Dakota. The experiment of the Non-partisans has been well justified, and the success of the bank, backed by the increased progress produced under the new regime of the league, which has recaptured control of the State, will stand out as a challenging example to other States that have eyes to see.

## On The International Front

(Continued from Page 7)

but are really working in factories. They desire the strengthening of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" through the direct participation of the working class in the administration of the State and of industry by means of councils of workers' deputies in the various factories and other enterprises and the industrial federations. This demand, they say, is distasteful to the officialdom of the Communist party and the Soviet Government, who have denied the Labor groups the right to express their views by speech and press, and through severe prosecution have driven them to "underground activity."

The appeal tells a story of mass arrests, of the imprisonment or deportation to Siberia of Miasnikoff, Kuznetsoff, Prostatoff, and many other leaders of the workers' opposition, and of abuses which compelled the victims to resort to hunger strikes in protest.

The signers naively say that it is of course quite right for the Soviet Government to use such arbitrary repressive measures against Socialists and bourgeois, but that it is a shame for it thus to persecute malcontent Communists.

### ARGENTINA

**Victory in Municipal Elections**

When the count of the votes cast in the municipal election held in Buenos Aires on November 16 was completed on November 23, it was found that the Socialist Party had won another victory, having elected five members of the City Council, with 57,159 votes, against 55,760 for the Irigoyenists (followers of ex-President Irigoyen), 35,721 for the partisans of President Alvear,

force for this first reunion of the year.

A correction to last week's notice of the Williamsburg Central Committee: The Social Dinner will be held January 24, instead of February 24 as reported, at the Royal Palace, 16 Manhattan avenue. As the tickets are limited, those who wish to procure them should go to 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn. A concert has been arranged for and a good time is in store for all.

### YIPSELDOM

All Circles should continue at their next meeting not more than two candidates for Executive Secretary, Organizer and Financial Secretary; the city officers of the Greater New York League. Circles should arrange their program to permit voting for League officers at the following meeting.—Morris Novik, Executive Secretary.

The Central Committee of the Greater New York League will meet this Saturday, 5:30 p. m., at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Room 609. All delegates are requested to be prompt, in order that the full agenda may be considered.

A meeting of the old and new Executive Committee of Circle 7 has been called by Hyman Hochberg, former organizer, for Saturday, 7 p. m., at their headquarters, 24 Ridge street. The Circle will meet at 8:30 sharp. The order of business will be, nominations for League officers; report on the last National Convention by delegate Hyman Hochberg, and a talk on "Labor Mexico and What We Could Do to Help," by Morris Novik, Executive Secretary of the league, who attended the recent inauguration of President Calles.

A general get-together of all past and present members of Circle 3, Manhattan, will take place Saturday

## Dragging Into A Harbor

A Review by MARY FULLER

**DEAD RECKONINGS IN FICTION.** By Dorothy Brewster and Angus Burrell. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

A book like "Dead Reckonings in Fiction" attempts to chart us where we need soundings and steerings though it does not guarantee a harbor. The authors make a thorough examination from the modern psychological viewpoint of some of our recent writers. They review critically the life problems of characters which the novelists create; they analyze their perplexities (in a more penetrating manner than did Dr. Collins in "The Doctor Looks at Literature"); they have voyaged searchingly and exhaustively in the tide-waters of fiction. They feel that they have travelled in uncharted waters with only the simplest aids to help them plot their course, even as a sunless, starless mariner has but his compass and wind to guide him; without astronomical assistance the pilot, too, must "dead reckon."

Dorothy Brewster and Angus Burrell have selected, in each instance, fiction which exhibits a character's failure in adjustment to reality, or a problem of living unresolved. They take up in considerable detail a novel of Henry James, the Puritan-reared, contrasted with one by Anatole France, the complete Continental; the contrast is particularly effective since both books are lived in Paris. They analyze many of the short stories of Chekhov and of Katherine Mansfield. Both show a similarity in attack upon and handling of the plotless story. Conrad's "Nostromo" is, they claim, our modern life in miniature, more so, perhaps, than his tales directly bearing on the wide sea. An illuminating point of view is brought to Dostoevsky; it is maintained by them that his people, commonly recognized to be subjects for a psychiatric clinic, exhibit, in truth, characteristics which are so normal that the reader can identify with them his own sub-conscious rumblings and disturbances. Light is thrown on May Sinclair's many books; especially they emphasize the development of human motivation as shown in "The Three Sisters" and "Mary Oliver." A comparison is made between Paul Morel in "Sons and Lovers" and "Mary Oliver," two protagonists manifesting the results of "mother-dominance."

As unquestionably autobiographical expressions of their authors, each book is weighed; the writer's creation is linked up with some of the conflicts and encouragements he has met along the way of life. In the introduction, James Harvey Robinson rejoices in the "modern recognition of the obvious that the writer is an important factor in making a worth-while book."

In justification of their selection of studies in "failure" as a means of escape for the intelligent person, they explain that the author of each story has made the reader share his own particular illusion, and by sharing this illusion the reader can escape his especial "sense of frustration" and participate in new experience. Besides a desire for "escape" the reader yearns for a "solution," perhaps dreams of an ultimate solution for himself and for all the difficulties he meets in the world. "They" (these baffling puzzles) "are solved only as tragedy is ever solved," say our authors and quote Gilbert Murray's book on Euripides to expand the statement—"The powers of evil and horror must be granted their full scope; it is only thus that we can triumph over them. Only when they have worked their uttermost will do we realize that there remains something in man's soul which is forever beyond their grasp and has power in its own right to make life beautiful. That is the great revelation, or the great illusion, of tragedy."

### BOOKS RECEIVED

**Social Science**  
**THE HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE.** By J. Bruce Williamson. New York: Dutton.

**TANTALUS, OR THE FUTURE OF MAN.** By F. C. S. Schiller. New York: Dutton.

**Literature**  
**BARBARA, A PLAY OF YOUTH.** By H. S. Barnet. Boston: Stratford Co.  
**THE 9TH OF NOVEMBER.** By Bernhard Kellermann. New York: McBride.

**WE.** By Eugene Zamiatin. New York: Dutton.

**WHEN WE WERE VERY YOUNG.** By A. A. Milne. New York: Dutton.

**THE HERE AND NOW PRIMER.** By Lucy Sprague Mitchell. New York: Dutton.

**THE BEST SHORT STORIES OF 1924.** Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

evening at the headquarters, 257 East 4th street. A jolly time is assured to all who attend. The meeting will launch a drive to bring in thirty new members in the next thirty days. The circle meets every Sunday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, at the above address.

The witty Samuel De Witt, able columnist of The New Leader and former Socialist Assemblyman, will give a talk on "Literature" as well

## Frances Wright

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

**FRANCES WRIGHT.** By William Randall Waterman, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.50.

Few of our generation know of Frances Wright and her permanent contributions to the early Labor movement in this country. Born of a well-to-do English family, she was early attracted to the institutions of the United States by glowing accounts of some travelers. Her first visit resulted in a book confirming her views of the United States, but a second and longer visit brought disillusion which she embodied in her lectures and writings. Her critical attitude brought the loss of wealthy American friends and she was soon plunged into work in behalf of popular education, extension of manhood suffrage, encouraging trade union organization, emancipation of the slaves and promotion of free inquiry and free discussion of social, political and economic questions.

Her unfortunate experience with the Nashoba experiment brought the first disappointment of her career. This was a program of gradual emancipation of the slaves "based upon a system of cooperative labor somewhat similar to that which had proved its worth financially in the Rappite and Shaker communities." Into this she plunged with all the ardor of a crusader, engaging in the hard labor of a frontier environment until her health broke down. Left in the hands of an incompetent agent, she liquidated the wreckage by taking the slaves to Haiti and giving them freedom.

A lecture tour in many cities in the Middle West and finally in New York brought upon her the venom of conservative newspapers and cultivation of the mob spirit. Halls being denied her, she obtained one which became known as the Hall of

Science. Here the masses flocked many evenings and she spoke to audiences crowded to the doors. This period of the late 'twenties brought further disillusion. The sheer ignorance and malice of the ruling classes, their attacks upon her work of education, their fears that the workers would be inspired to take control of the Government, gave rise to a campaign of vituperation that only the Abolitionists two decades later were to face.

The story of her connection with the trade union movement and the Labor party of the city, its division into two factions after electing one Labor man to the Assembly, the perversion of her connections with the movement by the newspapers, and her decision to leave for England in order that the movement might not be further injured by her presence, is familiar to students of that period of Labor history. The attacks upon her and the Labor party are strikingly similar to those we heard over the radio a few months ago and read in the newspapers when our Bahitts became fearful of a big third party vote.

Miss Wright's marriage and later estrangement from her husband; her enduring friendship with Lafayette, so affectionate that it even evoked the suspicion of his family; her return to the United States; her sad and lonely years in Cincinnati, ended by her death following a fall upon the ice, are told with a sympathy and understanding that leave us grateful to the author. That this noble woman should be almost forgotten by the Labor movement of this generation is one of its tragedies. One cannot read this biography without renewing his resolution to give of his best in making this a world something after the ideals of this pioneer woman educator, organizer, and humanist.

## Lamb Lives Again

A Review by RAYMOND FULLER

**"CHARLES LAMB," a Play in Five Acts.** By Alice Brown. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Alice Brown has done an altogether lovely thing. Whether it be a play or not, or even whether it be Charles Lamb or not, is actually beside the point. It is a Charles Lamb, done in five vignettes called Acts. She anticipates criticism from both the historic and dramatic sides in the following words from her preface:

"After long trying to distill the essence of Charles Lamb's life, ripe with hidden drama, one suspects there may be, according to theatrical conventions, no play in it."

And then, beautifully: "The biographer, if he falsely by a syllable to support a theory, a preconceived guesswork, shall be damned. But one may suspect that the more agile the playwright shows himself in withdrawing his foot from the domain of unprovable truth, the better. For him, fact is at a discount, and fancy must be allowed a certain breadth of artistic license. He must so weave the texture of a man's life that, no matter on what fairy loom the thread is spun, the completed tapestry moves and trembles and its branches rustle in the wind."

But by means of this dramatized, if not theatric, spiritual biography she has made Lamb very live, very real, very saddening—Act Five has a strangely affecting depth of sentiment. The piece, "colloquy called Charles Lamb" (as he speaks of it), could have been written about any other name, perhaps—but how could it then have carried with it such arresting characters as Coleridge, Dyer, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt? and how could it have slid along so well without the glazed brilliancy of Charles Lamb's whimsical wit? For those who live, when they do live, in old books, and love crisped, yellowed belles lettres, there has not been served a more delectable pabulum in many months to equal this broadly and well-read bit of literature.

What power, and style of using it, is this New England playwright developing? Hear another quotation from the Preface:

"Life, as seen by human eyes, is not logical, nor do the gods concern themselves greatly about results swiftly arrived at. Often it is only by interrogating Nemesis after a long time, and following the road backward from penalty to a determining act, that we understand even obscurely what has happened to the soul of a man."

Alice Brown is so socratically and sternly "interrogating Nemesis" as any one in this intellectual continent whom we know of.

as read some of his poetry at the meeting of Circle 6, Brooklyn, of the Y. P. S. L., to be held this Sunday night at their headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue.

Yipsels and sympathizers are in-

## Brief Reviews

**TWO TREATISES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.** By John Locke. Introduction by Professor William S. Carpenter. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$8.00.

One experiences the same kind of intellectual compact, and realizes the same sensation of voyaging into a great stretch of new country where every side glance reveals something fresh and arresting, from reading this reprint of Locke's great philosophical work as one got from wading into, let us say, Buckle's "History of Civilization," Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," or H. G. Wells' "Outline of History." There is the same feeling of being privileged to follow the working of a great but secret piece of machinery, the machinery being the brain of the author.

Published in 1690, John Locke's two treatises anticipated by eighty-six years the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. Ideas which by many today would be counted radical are here set down with a profound simplicity that denotes the man of genius. "There remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them," is not only a great claim in behalf of the democracy in 1690, but remains to this day, in spite of its having been repeated in the American Declaration, an arresting challenge to our Security Leagues and Charles Evans Hughes.

Laboring under the terrific disadvantage of having to argue his case from the Bible, and knowing nothing of the rich discoveries of science since made, John Locke nevertheless constructed a brilliant and lasting monument to democracy and what may be surprising—Socialism, and dealt a cruel blow to the theory of the divine right of kings.

J. R. SMALLWOOD.

**SITTING ON THE WORLD.** By Heywood Brown. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.00.

When Heywood Brown sits on the World, and writes, he is invigorating. When he sits within the covers of a book and doles out newspaper column material that he has used before, he is everything else but the lively, popular, original man of ideas that we find him with our daily breakfast. Mr. Brown is a high type journalist who gives us at least one thought a day in his "It Seems to Me." Ever since "Seeing Things at Night," his one charming collection of papers, whenever we read a book of Mr. Brown's we wish he had not written it.

M. L.

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



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

### A Theatre Without Profits

**Birmingham Repertory Theatre a Pioneer in the Development of Repertory Movement in England**

WHEN Barry Jackson decided that the public should know the story of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, he consulted with his friend and collaborator, Bache Matthews. From this consultation we have the history of the repertory movement and the awakening of dramatic interest throughout Great Britain. In his review in the London Daily Herald he continues this fascinating story of how a band of enthusiastic amateurs, headed by Mr. Barry Jackson, put on, in the dining room of the Grange, during the autumn of 1907, an old morality, "The Interlude of Youth," and how, from that modest beginning, in the face of impediments and difficulties of every sort, the enterprise grew until it reached the established position which, it is to be hoped, is now ensured for it, one that cannot be set down here, but may be followed in Mr. Matthews' book, "A History of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre," London: Chatto & Windus.

The story of Birmingham's "Little Brown Theatre" is both heroic and tragic. Mr. Barry Jackson, its founder, set out some dozen years ago to demonstrate that even the people of brass-bound Brummagem must, in drama, love the highest when they see it. It is just a year since he gave up his heroic struggle in despair and left Birmingham for London, but it would be wrong to say that his struggle has been in vain.

When Mr. Jackson closed down the Birmingham Repertory Theatre a year ago, there arose such a weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth that one would have imagined the theatre to be the most popular in the city, instead of being the least patronized. The explanation is, as Mr. Matthews points out, that "in eleven years Birmingham has become proud of its Repertory Theatre, even though it does not support it, and besides the few who really would miss its intellectual stimulus there are many who recognize that it gives to the city a distinction and a dignity which it cannot afford to lose."

That is just like Birmingham! Its civic pride in its institutions is very much akin to the pride of Mr. Newrich in his costly collection of old masters—like Mr. Newrich, Birmingham still goes to the "movies" for its intellectual stimulus. So the citizens of Birmingham, through the Birmingham Civic Society, declared with some show of enthusiasm that its Little Brown Theatre must continue its job of giving the theatre-going public drama for drama's sake, and as they have—like the keen business people they are—backed up this declaration with a guarantee of support, Mr. Jackson has consented to keep the theatre open.

Among the many good things which have come out of Birmingham's Repertory Theatre are "Abraham Lincoln," "Back to Methuselah," "The Immortal Hour," and "The Farmer's Wife." For

these alone Mr. Jackson deserves the thanks of every lover of all that is good and wholesome on the stage. And those who, like the writer, have found in this beloved Repertory Theatre such treasure as they could never find elsewhere, cannot tell Barry Jackson in words all that they feel towards him and his fine team of players.

The Repertory players are unique in that they work together for the highest expression of their art. There is no "star" actor in the company, because none is needed. Barry Jackson has no love for "star" actors who detract the minds of the audience from the play. To him, "The play's the thing," not the actor. He has tried, with indifferent success, I fear, to convert playgoers to his point of view, and to train his audiences up in the way they should go. Until quite recently he would never allow the curtain to ring up once it had fallen on the last act, because he believed that the actors should not spoil the effect of the play by bunching themselves together on the stage and bowing to the applauding audience.

Mr. Bache Matthews, the genial manager of the Repertory Theatre, has told his story faithfully and well.

Mr. Barry Jackson's introduction urges that any effort to raise the aesthetic standard of the stage is doomed to failure unless it is fostered by the local or national governing body. "So long as our theatres are organized to show a handsome profit," he says, "in other words, to depend on the taste of the masses, they will sink further and further from the ideal."



J. HAROLD MURRAY comes to the Martin Beck Theatre in John Cort's production of "China Rose," opening Monday night.

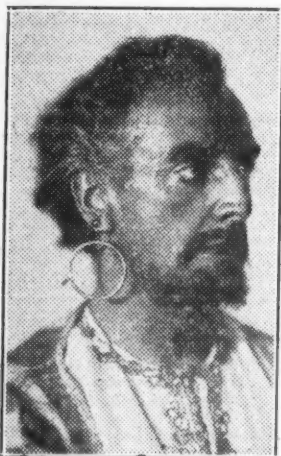
### Shakespeare's Moor

**Walter Hampden Gives a Dignified Performance of "Othello," Now Playing at the Shubert Theatre**

Among the serious actors who are devoting themselves to that high art which through the years of rapidly passing frivolity will remain a memory and a glory, Walter Hampden is holding his high place. Equipped with a voice that ranges at his will through the phrases of emotion, and with a body and face that respond to his slightest change, he possesses, beyond these, a sense of genuine value and an understanding that lead to great presentations. Hampden's Shakespearean performances are no great innovations; they seek neither the gorgeous nor the bizarre; simply and honestly in the great tradition, they aim at a sincere reproduction of the beauty left us as a dowry from the days when England was a glory and hearts thrilled with pride and with love.

In great measure, Walter Hampden succeeds in re-creating this beauty. His own majesty bears a mark that ensures respect for the Moor, even when we behold him the dupe of a villainous schemer; the jealousy of Othello is in the measure of his power of command and love. Balliol Holloway, as Iago, is quite equal to the demands of his part: a suave, subtle villain, reasoning out with what we moderns call "rationalization" all his deeds, careful to use others where danger lies, yet in the end when trapped no coward but defiant as he is damned. The women of the company are weaker; although Mabel Moore as Desdemona has a high moment of tender pathos, of love despairing yet resigned, in her "O, Willow Willow" scene before the fatal night. Iago's wife (Mary Hall) is a good enough stout-hearted soul, speaking out her mind with force—but weak, she also, in the emotionally tense moments.

The others of the cast make a capable grouping behind the main actors, and in costume and action add to the pictures most effectively staged. Of the play itself there is not much need to speak. Shakespeare is seldom truer in his analysis of the motives that underlie the movements of men; all the persons of the play are clearly bodied forth. It has often been overlooked, however—and therefore is worth the noting—that jealousy has begun earlier than in Othello, to work its poisonous way. Those who consider Iago merely a black villain supplied out of dramatic necessity overlook the suspicion in that person's mind that his own wife has been unfaithful to him, victim of the Moor's enticements. Thus jealousy and revenge run a bloody trail from low to high, and carry all before them, in a stirring study of the natural passions that man shares with the beast. J. T. S.



WALTER HAMPDEN as Othello. Mr. Hampden gives an intelligent and human impression of Shakespeare's Moor at the Shubert Theatre.

### Miller and Lyles, in "Runnin' Wild" at the Bronx Opera House

Miller and Lyles will present their entertainment "Runnin' Wild," at the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday night. The revue was written by Miller and Lyles. The company includes Revella Hughes, prima donna, George Duke and Monty Hawley, May Barnes, Saltus and Cross, Jessie Wallace, and the Song Bird's Quartette. "The Best People," after the run at the Lyceum Theatre, will be on view Monday, January 26.

### THE NEW PLAY

#### MONDAY

"CHINA ROSE," an Oriental operetta, will be presented by John Cort at the Martin Beck Theatre, Monday evening. Harry L. Cort and George E. Stoddard are responsible for the libretto, with the music by A. Baldwin Sloane. The cast includes Robinson Newbold, Harry Clarke, Alfred Kappler, J. Harold Murray, Edna Cabot, George E. Mack, Harry Short, Viola Gillette and Miti Manley.

### "Big Boy" Jolson

**Al's Here In New Musical Comedy Packed With Blackface Fun**

Jammed houses and laughing themselves sick at Al Jolson and his "Big Boy" at the Winter Garden—until Jolson got sick himself and the show was stopped. By the time this notice gets into print the blackface funny man will be himself again, we hope, and the fun-hungry world will have its chance to laugh some more. "Big Boy" is all Jolson. As the alleged stable boy at a Kentucky racehorse, he romps all over the Winter Garden stage and emits a continuous crackle of anecdote, quip and syncopated song. When he goes off the sun sets abruptly, leaving the audience with only an artificial spotlight to play upon scores of artificial men and women who try, with song, dance and dialogue, to make us forget Jolson long enough for him to catch his breath and change his apron. Many people must wonder why the garb of sex is used so freely in Jolson's stories. He can be hilariously funny without that tiresome old soap stock. An old patron of the Winter Garden says it is written in the ground lease that four out of five jokes there must get under the breech-cloth. Well, property rights and primitive instincts go together and can't be changed overnight, can they?

Another conventional superstition prevailing along Broadway is that a 1925 audience demands jazz first in speech and music. But we noticed that the outstanding song hit of "Big Boy" was the melodious Negro spiritual done by a real Negro chorus lead by Jolson. It was the only number that the audience would not let go of until given a pledge that a second helping would be served later on. Incidentally, it was a false pledge, but it worked. "Big Boy" has 'em rocking in the stands through every furlong. Aside from the Negro pieces, the music is dull but nobody cares. Jolson's tom-tom dubs every faculty except the risibilities. There are swarms of girls and some other men in the cast. One of these is Colin Campbell, who makes a lot out of the English jockey, and would make more if they would let him. P. H.

The Film in the Lecture Room

A NEW departure in the methods of medical education and in the application of the cinematographic process took place at the Sorbonne, when a demonstration of vivisection was given by means of a film in the physiological lecture room of Professor Laugier. The demonstration was attended by a large number of physiologists as well as by the students following Professor Laugier's course.

The subject of the film was a full-grown mongrel of the police dog species, continues the Paris correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, which had been obtained from the home of lost dogs. The animal was shown undergoing the process of anaesthetization, after which it was attached to the operating table and chloral administered. A student operating under the direction of his professor was then shown opening the animal's body, the subsequent proceedings including a demonstration of the actual state of the animal's nerves, the working of the heart, and the final stoppage of the latter, and the death of the subject from asphyxiation.

The film was created with the assistance of a special credit of 15,000 francs voted by the Paris Municipal Council. By its means, according to statements made by some of the eminent scientists present, students are able to follow the details of the experiment much more satisfactorily than by observing the actual operation. It is also urged that anti-vivisectionists will find satisfaction in knowing that by utilizing multiple examples of the same film the number of experiments on living animals will be substantially reduced.



HELEN WESTLEY a standby of the Theatre Guild players—now playing "Mamma" in Molnar's comedy "The Guardsman" at the Booth Theatre.

### "Greed," Frank Norris' Realistic Story, at the Capitol Theatre

"Greed," recently presented at the Cosmopolitan, will be shown at the Capitol Theatre, beginning Sunday. The picture is by Eric Von Stroheim of Frank Norris' novel, "McTeague." The cast includes Gibson Gowland, Zasu Pitts, Jean Hersholt, Dale Fuller, Fanny Midgley, Chester Conklin, Sylvia Ashton and Frank Hayes. Owing to the length of the production, the only other numbers on the program will be the special prologue devised by S. L. Rothafel and the "Rienzi" Overture by the Capitol orchestra, David Mendoza conducting.

## --- T H E A T R E S ---

America's Foremost Theatres and Hits, Direction of Lee & J. J. Shubert.

### WINTER GARDEN

Broadway and 50th Street

Eves. 8:30. Mats. Tuesday and Saturday

### AL JOLSON

in His New Spectacular

MUSICAL COMEDY

### "BIG BOY"

### SUNDAY NIGHT—WINTER GARDEN

ALWAYS THE BEST SUNDAY ENTERTAINMENT IN N. Y.  
BIG BILL OF ALL-FEATURE ACTS  
SMOKING PERMITTED IN ALL PARTS OF THE HOUSE

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

### GARRICK

45 West 35th St. Evenings, 8:30. Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30.

### PROCESSIONAL

A new play by JOHN HOWARD LAWSON with a cast including George Abbott, June Walker, Donald MacDonald, Blanche Frederick and others

KLAW Thea. 46th St. W. of Bway. Eves. at 8:30. Mats. Wednesday & Saturday, 2:30.

### THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED

A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOWARD With a Cast Including RICHARD BENNETT, PAULINE LORD, GLENN ANDERS AND OTHERS

BOOTH West 45th Street. Evenings at 8:30. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.

### THE GUARDSMAN

A COMEDY BY FRANZ MOLNAR with ALFRED LUNT and LYNN FONTANNE and DUDLEY DIGGES

SHUBERT Thea. 44th W. of Bway. Eves. 8 Sharp. Mat. Sat. at 2. Tel. Lackawanna 7175.

### WALTER HAMPDEN

IN

### OTHELLO

LONGACRE Thea. Eves. at 8:30. Matinees Wed. and Sat.

WILLIAM HARRIS presents

### TWO MARRIED MEN

By VINCENT LAWRENCE in the cast Frances Carson, Ann Andrews, George Gail, Minor Watson, James Dale

44th STREET THEATRE Evenings, 8:30.

### "BETTY LEE"

with HAL SKELLY—GLORIA FOY—JOE E. BROWN, a superb cast of 69 artists and the handpicked, youngest champion dancing chorus of all times.

MATS. WED. & SAT. at 8:30

### THE MUSICAL MIRTHQUAKE

### BENCHLY SAID:

A war play which shows up war . . . and other war plays.

### WOOLCOTT SAID:

I think this play has more of the look and color and sound of the A. E. F. than anything that has ever been written.

### MANTLE SAID:

"What Price Glory" is the play for you to see.

Presented and Directed by ARTHUR HOPKINS

Written by Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallars

### PLYMOUTH THEATRE

44th St. W. of Bway. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thursday and Saturday, 2:30.

### MADGE KENNEDY

—AND—

### GREGORY KELLY

WANT YOU TO COME TO SEE THEM IN

### "BADGES"

AT THEIR NEW HOME

AMBASSADOR Thea. 49th St. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

BEST MELODRAMA SINCE "WITHIN THE LAW"

H.B. WARNER in "SILENCE"

NATIONAL THEA. 41st St. W. of Bway Eves 8:30 MATINEES WED. & SAT. 2:30

### CENTURY THEA.

62nd St. & Central Pk. W. Eves. 8:15. Mats. WED. AND SAT.

The MESSRS. SHUBERTS' Production of

The Most Elaborate Operetta Ever Staged!!!

### The LOVESONG

Based on the Life and Music of the GREAT COMPOSER, JACQUES OFFENBACH

With A Cast and Ensemble of 250 Persons and an Alexis Kosloff Ballet of 50.

### JOLSON'S THEA.

59th & 7th Av. Evenings, 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30.

The Most Glorious Musical Play of Our Time!

### The STUDENT PRINCE

IN HEIDELBERG

Staged by J.C. HUFFMAN

"Gales of Merriment."

GEO. S. KAUFMAN, TIMES.

39th ST. Thea. E. Bway. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

You don't merely laugh—You scream and roar at this new American Comedy.

### IS ZAT SO?

with the BEST COMEDIAN IN TOWN

"Gales of Merriment."

GEO. S. KAUFMAN, TIMES.

ELTINGE THEATRE. W. 42nd St. Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30

A. H. WOODS presents

### LIONEL BARRYMORE

IN

### "The Piker"

A PLAY IN A PROLOGUE OF 3 ACTS BY LEON GORDON

with IRENE FENWICK

### 1000 LAFFS

"PIGS"

AT THE LITTLE

### The Play that is Making History

Anne NICHOLS RECORD-BREAKING COMEDY

3rd YEAR REPUBLIC

44th St. W. of Bway. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30.

ABIE'S IRISH ROSE

ANNE NICHOLS' LAUGHING SUCCESS

Wendell Phillips Dodge announces the return engagement of M. Maurice de Feraudy, Sociétaire and Vice-Dean of the Comédie Française, and his company or artists at an Erlanger House on January 26.

Rev. Harry Bettman, cantor of Temple Adath Israel, is now a member of the male chorus of "The Student Prince," at Jolson's Theatre.

Frieda Inescourt, Claude King, John Williams and Reginald Mason will be in the cast of "The Dark Angel," to be produced by Robert Milton.

Constance Howard succeeds Ella Peroff in "Dancing Mothers" at the Maxine Elliott Theatre.

Edgar Selwyn and William Le Baron are collaborating on a comedy entitled "Something to Brag About."

"The Emperor Jones," by Eugene O'Neill, now playing at the Punch & Judy Theatre with Paul Robeson, will be host to the Civic Club, who purchased the entire house for the night of January 23.

A benefit performance of "Abie's Irish Rose" will be given at the Republic Theatre, Thursday afternoon, January 29, the entire proceeds to go to The Dug-Out, a club-house and workshop for disabled service men.

Rev. Harry Bettman, cantor of Temple Adath Israel, is now a member of the male chorus of "The Student Prince," at Jolson's Theatre.

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## THEATRES

"Perfect Candida at Actor's Theatre."—Burns Mantle, Daily News.

"Bernard Shaw's comedy masterpiece now being played for a limited engagement every evening and matinee Wed. and Sat. at the 48th St. Theatre.

"Same brilliant cast as at the phenomenally successful matinee: Katharine Cornell, Pedro de Cordoba, Richard Bird, Clare Eames, Ernst Cossart and Gerald Hamer.

### What Must a Play Have To Last 1000 Years?

Passion and Poetry  
Wisdom and Wit  
Humanity and Humor

All of these are packed in  
"The Little Clay Cart"

at The Neighborhood Playhouse  
466 Grand Street  
Every Evening (Except Monday)  
Matinee Saturday, 2:30  
Orchestra, \$1.50, Balcony, \$1 and 75c.  
Telephone Dry Dock 7515

### YIDDISH ART THEATRE

27TH STREET  
& MADISON AVE.

Maurice Swartz  
IN  
"WOLVES"

By ROMAIN ROLLAND  
(Author of "Jean Christophe")  
FRIDAY, SATURDAY &  
SUNDAY, MATINEE &  
EVENING, 2:30 & 8:30.

### CAPITOL

BROADWAY  
AT 51st ST.

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

BEGINNING SUNDAY  
FIRST TIME AT POP. PRICES  
ERIC VON STROHEIM'S  
"GREED"

From Famous Novel "McTeague"  
By FRANK NORRIS

Famous CAPITOL Program  
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA  
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE  
Presentations by ROTHAFEL (ROXY)

### B.S. MOSS' B'WAY

"Where the crowds all go"

ALL NEXT WEEK  
TOM MIX in  
"THE  
DEADWOOD COACH"

NED WAYBURN'S  
"Honeymoon Cruise"

PAUL KIRKLAND & CO.  
McGRATH & DEEDS, and Other  
B. F. KEITH ACTS

### THEATRE CLUB BENEFIT

Shaw's "Candida"

Monday Evening, January 26th

48th ST. THEATRE

East of Broadway

FOR THE BENEFIT OF  
RAND SCHOOL, TEACHERS UNION,  
WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Tickets on Sale at 7 East 15th  
Street and at the Box Office.

### Ned Wayburn's

"Honeymoon Cruise"

at Moss' Broadway

Ned Wayburn's "Honeymoon Cruise,"

a junior musical comedy in six scenes,

will be the head-

line attraction at

Moss' Broadway

beginning Monday.

The principals

include James Clem-

ons, Hazel Bow-

man, Arthur Swan-

strom, Mildred Bil-

liert, and Helen

Shapiro. Arthur

Swanstrom wrote

the book and lyrics

and Carey Morgan

composed the

score. Other

vaudeville acts in-

clude Paul Kirk-

THEY HAVE CAPTURED  
ALL NEW YORK!

**DUNCAN SISTERS**  
CATHERINE  
CHISOLM CUSHINGS  
"TOPSY and EVA"  
BIGGEST LAUGHING SHOW IN TOWN!  
SAM HARRIS THEATRE  
42nd ST. 12th Ave.  
EVERY 8:30-MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30

### THE PUBLIC

acclaim\*

**THE BULLY**

With EMMETT  
CORRIGAN

A THRILLER

HUDSON THEATRE, W. 4th St. Eves.  
8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30  
Management MRS. HENRY B. HARRIS

### Bronx Amusements

**BRONX OPERA HOUSE**

149th ST., E. of 3d Ave.  
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

The Show Worth Going Miles to See!

**MILLER & LYLES**

— IN —

**'RUNNIN' WILD'**

— THE —

Snappiest! Jazziest! Wittiest!

Zippiest!

Musical Revue of the Day.

Week of January 26  
"THE BEST PEOPLE"  
Direct from the Loew Theatre

### B. S. MOSS' COLONY

Broadway at 53rd Street

NOW Noon to 11:30 P.M.

CONTINUOUS

5th Big Week

FIRST SHOWING ANYWHERE

AT POPULAR PRICES

**DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS**

IN

"The Thief of BAGDAD"

EDWIN FRANKO GOLDMAN

CONDUCTING

Colony Symphony Orchestra

### Music and Concerts

**N. Y. SYMPHONY**

WALTER DAMROSCH

Conductor

Carnegie Hall Thurs. Aft., Jan. 22, at 3:30

Fri. Ev., Jan. 23, at 8:30

INCLUDING SYMPHONY NO. 1 AND

Symphony No. 9

— SOLOISTS —

Ruth Rodgers Charles Stratton

Helen Marsh Fraser Gange

and the chorus of the

ORATORIO SOCIETY OF N. Y.

GEORGE BRIDGES, Manager (Steinway Piano)

**STATE SYMPHONY**

IGNATZ WAGHALTER, Conductor

Soloist, OSSIP GABRILOVITCH

TSCHAIKOWSKY "Romeo & Juliet"

5th Symphony

Sets 5c to \$2.50 at Box Office. (Steinway)

James Gleason, co-author of "Is Zat So?"

at the 39th Street Theatre, has

a new play, "The Fall Guy," written

in collaboration with George Abbott,

(now appearing in "Processional").

Frank Craven will produce it.

Eugene O'Neill's play, "Desire Under

the Elms," moved to the Earl Carroll

Theatre last Monday night.

## D R A M A

### With Double Punch

"Is Zat So?" Hammers

Humor Home at the

39th Street Theatre

The gulf that widens between the

two groups in "this great democracy,"

after a generation or two of wealth

on the one side and of lack of opportunity

on the other, is emphatically

presented in a sugar-coating of humor

in "Is Zat So?" at the Thirty-ninth

Street Theatre. The prize-fighter is

able to speak hardly more than the

phrase that gives the play its title;

his manager, a "gas-house" product,

falls in love, and in order to be elig-

ible tries to learn English. Most of

the humor of the play rises from the

exhibition of the virgin simplicity of

the one and the Garbage Street Slang

of the other.

Of course, "Pure hearts are more

than coronets," and in these humble

breasts there best bosoms as noble as

those of the aristocrats, much nobler,

indeed, than in that of the husband

who has intruded into the select family

of the Blackburns—the husband whom

these two pure specimens of manhood

undefiled help to root out in his vil-

lainy. The progress of the prizefighter

towards the world's championship—he

advances by being knocked out three

times, once in a bout on the stage—

is cheerfully accompanied by his ad-

vance (and that of his manager) in

the more dangerous field of matrimony.

When the Blackburn honor is cleared,

the two men are captured for life.

The play is effectively written by

Richard Taber and James Gleason,

the latter also carrying off with uncon-

quered part of the prize, Chick's loqu-

acious manager. Indeed, what marks

the entire humble element of the cast

—stenographer, nurse and their two

male victims (Robert Armstrong is the

boxer)—is the simplicity of their per-

forming; they seem to be really at

home. The upper-crusters are a bit

less easy in their parts, as though

society and great (if uncertain) wealth

were a bit of a load to carry—all save

Victor Morley, who brings the touch

of an Englishman to complete the

varieties of comedy offered in this un-

pretentious and entertaining play.

W. L.



LIONEL BARRYMORE

is back on Broadway in Leon

Gordon's new play "The Piker"

at the Eltinge Theatre.

### O'Neill's "Hairy Ape" in Prague

THE "Hairy Ape," Eugene O'Neill's

play, has found its way to Prague.

It has aroused qualified admiration

there. The performance was good.

The problem, however, of translating

its dialect undoubtedly increased the

difficulty of a foreign rendering, and

the mixture of Platt-Deutsch and Vi-

ennese spoken by the American stokers

seemed to spoil the effect. The matter

remains the same story that America

knows so well. Mr. O'Neill, when he

shows his ship-stokers' contented com-

placency destroyed by the million-

aires' fainting-fit at sight of him, as

though he belonged to another species,

and pictures class-hatred in such a

simple and as surging to such heights

that he "auto-suggests" himself into

an ape, and is last seen writhing in

a monkey-house, must be allowed to

have touched on elemental things, but

he does not work them out. The whole

gives the effect of a fantasy instead

of a living drama.

German translations of O'Neill's

plays are very popular there. If Mr.

O'Neill can hold his own in a country

which was the stronghold of psycho-

logical plays, he will have gone far.

## Rapid Transit Solved!

Greased Tubes and Cushion Bumpers Big Features In Scheme Offered By Volunteer Traffic Expert.

By PIERRE DeNIO

Something must be done to solve the transportation problem in New York City. I shall therefore submit a plan that I think would prove effective. My plan would involve very little change in the present construction of cars or station platforms. The principal change required are an arrangement of the tracks in a criss-cross and circular system to take in the whole city, and the installation of certain greased chutes and cushion-bumpers for loading and unloading. The new system might be operated by radio from City Hall by the Mayor himself.

At all stations chutes would extend from the street down to the side of the car. On the inside of the circle the doors would open to a right angle, the station platforms would be copiously greased, and at the back or far end would be built padded bumpers.

Now the potency of the plan with this arrangement is the cars would travel continuously, and at any rate of speed required to keep traffic clear, and the whole operation would be very simple.

During the rush hours at night the vast horde of people, instead of madly rushing up to the L and down to the subway and jamming and poking each other and losing their sweet tempers, would merely run to the nearest chute and jump in, to slide immediately to the side of the car, where the car doors, being always open while passing the stations, would embrace the potential passenger and quickly deposit him among his fellows in the car.

Now the process of discharging the passengers would involve a very simple operation. The doors would be open while passing stations. All the passenger would need do would

be to keep still till his station was reached and then jump again. Upon striking the greased platform he would straightway open negotiations with the bumper in the rear of the station. This might seem to a timid, nervous person a rather strenuous method, but I feel that it offers an improvement over the present strong-arm squad that loads the cars and uses everything but a prod pole in handling the passengers.

Another plan that I have in mind would be a traveling platform that would run at the same rate as the train, and could connect with an elevator, so when people stepped from the train on to the platform they would continue to the sidewalk with no loss of time and would be ready to start running when they struck the street.

I hope in suggesting this improvement in the city's method of transit I am not assuming any obligation that should rightfully rest upon the shoulders of others, and I hope they will in no wise feel that I am trying to usurp what is obviously their prerogative.

## WATER POWER THIEVES BEHIND STRUGGLE OVER MUSCLE SHOALS

(Continued from Page 1)

in giving away Muscle Shoals to private interests.

Real Purpose of the Bill

The real purpose of the bill is disclosed in the fact that the re-

maining water power is at the dis-

posal of the lessee after having

made the nitrate. Also, incident-

ally, as a matter of good measure,

in addition to Dam No. 2 and the

nitrate plant, the private company

would come into possession of a vast

property which has cost the Govern-

ment something like \$100,000,000,

including such small items as two

steam plants capable of producing

100,000 horse-power of electricity,

4,000 acres of enormously valuable

land, three towns built and equipped

with 500 permanent houses, fifty

miles of railroad, engines, cars,

and a big stone quarry, a vast

amount of material, etc. It will be

observed quickly that the main pur-

pose of the water power trust is

here carried out, viz:

1. That the private interests

get Muscle Shoals.

2. It would prevent the Govern-

ment from demonstrating to the

nation how cheaply hydro-electric

power can be produced. It is now

charging ten cents per k. w. h. for

three cents domestic juice and pro-



## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, January 17, 1925

Our readers will observe that The Chatterbox is missing this issue. This is due to the illness of its "conductor," Samuel De Witt, who promises to return to his favorite sport at the earliest opportunity. We hope, and we are sure that our readers share it, that Comrade De Witt and his troupe of bards and essayists will be found in The Chatterbox next week.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S OPPORTUNITY

WITH an enrollment of more than 42,000 Socialist Party voters in Greater New York, an increase of 23,000 over the enrollment of 1923, the party organization has a splendid opportunity before it. This should be taken advantage of at the earliest possible moment for strengthening the organization and increasing its membership.

After a number of years of declining interest this increased enrollment shows that the tide has turned. Not even the most hopeful of optimists would have hazarded the prediction that the last enrollment would show such a remarkable increase. It has come as a surprise to all of us.

But enrollment in the legal party organization is not enrollment in the Socialist Party branches. The latter enrollment will not be realized by relying upon these voters voluntarily seeking a party branch. They will not come to the party organization; the party organization must go to them.

The conclusion is obvious. The party executives and committees must immediately take up the important question of reaching as many of these enrolled Socialist Party voters as possible. A considerable percentage of them can be obtained as party members and be enlisted in important party work. This requires a careful survey of our opportunities and the formulation of plans for reaching these voters.

The New Leader submits that our responsible party officials have nothing of more importance facing them now than this problem. It hopes that no time will be lost in giving it the careful consideration which it deserves.

## BARTERING NATURAL RESOURCES

OUR history is strewn with examples of Congress voting immense riches to capitalists and expectant capitalists but it is doubtful whether in one grant it ever contemplated a gift of the magnitude described by Judson King on another page. It is a king's ransom. If the Coolidge-Underwood plan regarding Muscle Shoals goes through it will spawn a new brood of super-rich who will also control the coming power resources of the South.

Moreover, the bill is dishonest in its claim that it will produce any large amount of cheap fertilizers for the farmers. This is a drug intended to make the farmers groggy while the pilferers get away with one of the last of the nation's great natural riches. A decisive vote has been cast in the Senate against Government ownership of Muscle Shoals and the first step in delivery of the latter to private interests has been taken.

The main argument against retaining Muscle Shoals is one against centralization and "taking the Government out of business." But this delivery of national riches to private exploiters has itself become a lucrative business, the Government serving as one of the chief agents in these transactions. As for centralization, these transactions nurse and extend this centralization among private oligarchs. It therefore is a question not of centralization or decentralization but whether ownership shall center in the hands of the nation or in the hands of private exploiters.

The philosophy of the old parties favors capitalist ownership and centralization of national riches that promise enormous fortunes to favored capitalist cliques. They regard Government as a nursery of these private interests.

Only the impotence of a politically weak Labor movement makes it possible for this enormous steal to be effected. In no country where the working class is politically strong would it be possible for capitalist representatives to soberly plan this thing. The lesson is obvious. The organized workers of the nation must have a party of their own.

The numerous reductions in wages received by the textile workers in New England will probably enable them to understand that Mr. Coolidge is the man that put "con" in "economy."

## For Liberty and Labor

THE NEW LEADER is one year old today. Only twelve months have passed since it was born, yet that brief period has been long enough to confirm the faith of its founders and harden the allegiance of its public to the cause of Labor and democracy. On the threshold of a second year the paper re-dedicates itself in glad confidence to the principles it is bound to serve.

### Labor

WE CARRY on the conviction of Abraham Lincoln that "Labor is prior to Capital and deserves much the higher consideration." Who and what is Labor? You are Labor, if you work for a living. You till the soil, you mine the coal, you write the books and spin the yarn. You invent cunning machines, you serve and sell across counters and you build the dwellings of men, all the world over.

In America you are the great majority. All that serves Labor serves the nation. All that harms Labor is treason to America! No line can be drawn between these two. If any man tells you he loves America yet hates Labor, he is a liar. If any man tells you he trusts America, yet fears Labor, he is a fool. There is no America without Labor, and to fleece the one is to rob the other.

### Democracy

THE WORLD WAR stunned men's faith in majority rule and gave color to Caesar's claim that men were like cattle, to be driven under the lash whithersoever the herdsman might desire. On the right and on the left prophets appeared crying, "Hail to blood and iron!" and falling down to worship murder as the first prop of progress. In America there came a kindred ogre of intolerance to flog and imprison the humble, to cow the workers and terrorize every friend of justice.

Against that menace The New Leader unfurls a flag. And there the flag will stay. We have gone this far along the road to democratic freedom, and will not turn back. Our faith has nursed too long at the breast of Liberty to be weaned away by the hags of intolerance. Majority rule does not lead to perfection. But it stands first among all the plans so far devised to guard the rights of men from tyranny. Without it freedom withers. To defend and extend it as the surest shield of social justice, at home and abroad, will always be the aim of The New Leader.

### Politics

POLITICAL parties make laws, levy taxes, appoint judges, send men to prison, wage wars and conclude peace. In the United States bankers, manufacturers and merchants, have two political parties with which they are well pleased. To those parties—Republican and Democratic—they give money and certificates of character. And from those parties they get in return everything they ask.

But Labor—America's big majority—has no party of its own. For a century and a half it has allowed the few to rule the many. And now it is sorry. It is so sorry that three months ago 5,000,000 workers with hands and brains went to the polls and wrote across their ballots the plain warning: "We are done with the Republican and Democratic parties."

That was the first step toward a real Labor party in America. Another step will come at the conference in Chicago next month. The New Leader voices a hope that there will be born at this gathering in Abraham Lincoln's old State a clear-cut American Labor party, worthy to commemorate this 116th anniversary of the birth of the Great Emancipator. Then or later—the event cannot be long delayed.

### The New Year

WITH these principles to guide it, these prospects to encourage, The New Leader goes forward to a second year. Thousands have stamped its program with their endorsement, and tens of thousands are waiting to enroll. The army grows. It draws upon a great host of intelligent men and women. It appeals to all those who would break the grip of money upon the throat of mankind and hasten the fraternity of a world that shall be free to labor and to live.

## TROTSKY vs. ZINOVIEFF—also FOSTER vs. RUTHENBERG

EVERY issue of the Chicago Daily Worker, the organ of the Communist or Workers' party in the United States, is nowadays devoting columns and often whole pages to bitter internal controversy. Foster and Ruthenberg head the opposing factions, and the "short and ugly word" is freely used on both sides. So far as we have observed, the terms "crook" and "thief" have not yet been employed, but they might as well be, for the combatants exchange pointed queries as to what became of this or that sum of money (pretty big sums, too) which, they say, have not been duly accounted for.

Of course, this is all quite according to Hoyle. Chicago has to ape Moscow, and for some time Moscow has been ringing

with accusations and recriminations between Trotsky and his friends, on the one side, and Zinovieff, Stalin, Kameneff and their supporters, on the other.

Neither here nor in Russia does the controversy rise above the level of personal rivalries and animosities. Some readers in this country, relying on the long but very sketchy press dispatches, have surmised that Trotsky was advocating some measure of democracy, as against the autocratic rule of the "big three." Now that the famous introduction to his book is at hand—the publication which started the whole trouble—it is clear that such is not the case. On the contrary, Trotsky accuses Zinovieff and company of being too weak in heart and head to lead a real, original, and only genuine bolshevistic world revolution, or even to know how it should be done. They are all wrong in trying to dictate to him, but they are equally all wrong in not dictating

## Importance of the Chicago Conference

THE importance of the coming February conference of trade unions, cooperative organizations, farmer organizations and working-class parties in Chicago cannot be overestimated. It will be the fourth national meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Each conference has brought the affiliated organizations closer together. Each organization has come to have a better understanding of the views and problems and aims of the others.

These conferences are the first in the United States that have brought great groups of toilers together to consider cooperative action and common aims. Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and organizations outside that body have been brought together in an offensive and defensive political alliance. The Socialist Party and Farmer-Labor parties have fought side by side with the other groups in this coalition. Tillers of the soil, despoiled by post-war capitalism, have also thrown in their lot with the railroad, the machinist, the printer, the miner and others of the industrial armies of the cities.

It is a truism that people who live in a period of important social changes are often unaware of their significance. Let us hope that the organizations that have con-

tributed to this increasing solidarity fully understand the significance and the importance of it. It is the most promising development that has appeared in the history of the Labor movement in the United States. Nothing like it has occurred before. It would be folly not to encourage it. It would be criminal to neglect any service that would help to make it a powerful and enduring force for human emancipation.

There was a time when each division of the Labor movement was shut up in little parochial boundaries. The railroad organizations would have no relations with the rest of the organized movement. In fact, each railroad group ignored the others organized in the railroad service. Bricklayers and others followed the same course. Common action was impossible and even sympathy for the struggles of others was lacking.

The American Federation of Labor from time to time was casting off dissenting organizations or factions. Organizations were also formed outside its fold for one reason or another. Mutual jealousies and suspicions were the inevitable result. Wherever we might look the Labor army was divided, quarreling, and often impotent. The ruling masters of industry alone profited by this situation.

But post-war capitalism descended with an oppressive heel upon regulars and dissenters alike. The farmers found their sav-

despotically enough to various other elements.

The whole affair—both the serious conflict in Moscow and the parody in Chicago—marks a perfectly normal and predictable stage in the life-cycle of Bolshevism. Given the formula of "the resolute minority," and the historic situation under which a group holding that theory can seize power, the time inevitably comes when that minority will split into lesser cliques, each of which will seek to use against the other just the same methods by which the group as a whole has thus far maintained its dictatorship over the masses.

The struggle of 1917 was at any rate grandiose. That of 1924-'25 is becoming comical without ceasing to be ferocious. After all, the fight of the Kilkenny cats was a gruesome business.

## A POOR ARGUMENT AGAINST A LABOR PARTY

A CURIOUS argument is occasionally heard against the organization of a Labor party resting upon the support of political and economic organizations of the workers. While it is admitted that the British Labor party has achieved a marked success by this form of party organization it is asserted that it is foreign to American political organization and not practical any way.

To assert this is to ignore the most glaring facts of modern party history. The slightest acquaintance with our dominant party organizations shows that it is the most practical and effective form of party control. True, it is not openly avowed as a necessity of party faith. True, the steel trust, the mining corporations, the great banks, and other powerful interests do not get together in annual conventions and determine programs for the parties they own. They cannot afford to do this for obvious reasons.

But if we look to the Democratic and Republican organizations in each State and the nation as a whole it is evident that they rest upon the support of capitalistic organizations and that they cannot survive without this support. Is it not true that these parties are the creatures of the anthracite mine owners, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the United States Steel Company in Pennsylvania? Are they not the servants of the mine corporations in West Virginia?

The most elementary lesson of party politics in this country requires knowledge of the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties are possessed by capitalistic organizations in states and sections. In the cities the agents and lawyers of the public service corporations often serve as the chief directors of the local party organizations.

Nor does the selection of candidates in primaries modify this judgment. Voters who are ignorant of the real forces that control their parties will ratify the choice of candidates that are satisfactory to the capitalistic organizations. American economic and financial organizations of the great propertyed classes control their parties as successfully as the Labor organizations of Great Britain control their Labor party. This economic control of party organization is certainly "American." To recognize it is to understand; to deny it is to deny that we have any grievances against the parties of capitalism at all.

Mr. Gary of the steel trust has assured President Coolidge that the most important question before us is the enforcement of all laws, always excepting, of course, the enforcement of the bill of rights for the workers in the steel areas.

A recent Government report shows that a quantity of fruit raised in the State of Washington and retailed in New York City at five dollars, contributes the following sums to the respective human factors: The farmers, one dollar and eighteen cents; railroad owners, eighty cents; handling charges, twenty-seven cents; jobbers, forty-nine cents; wholesalers, thirty-nine cents; retailers, one dollar and eighty-seven cents. What the consumers get is often bad fruit and always the privilege of supporting superfluous middlemen in comfort.

Mussolini has postponed the Italian elections from March to some time next year while his new electoral law will give two and three votes to bankers, capitalists and property owners in general. What they will give Mussolini is what Mussolini is giving them—the extra votes.

## Prison Politics

By SCRUTATOR

THE spicy show known as "The Prison Scandals of 1925" opened in Topeka last week with the then Governor, Jonathan Davis, and his son, Russell, under arrest and indictment for peddling pardons and paroles.

Waiting in the wings for their cues are several other States which, according to competent observers, may be expected to speed the performance after Kansas retires from the front page. Colorado, where Warden Tynan has physically barricaded the prison against investigation; Indiana, where the people hope, yet fear, that the crime factory known as the State Prison will at last be subjected to some sanitation by the new Governor; Missouri, where the prison contractors who were exiled several years ago are planning to recoup; Oklahoma, suffering from a hang-over of the Jack Walton orgy of prison corruption; even New York, where the self-martyred Anderson promises, if granted immunity, to reveal startling facts about the parole system.

Back of these revelations, past, present, and promised, spreads a process of corruption which is known, among penologists, to be an inseparable element of the prison system as now organized.

The standing prison population of the country consists of more than 100,000 able-bodied men. Every one of them longs for liberty and will pay any price to get it. Outside of the prison there exists a group of prison contractors, some of them highly placed, who will pay any price for the privilege of exploiting the labor of these men—labor which can, as a rule, be bought for seventy or eighty cents a day, which can be sweated without end and which can produce incalculable profits.

### Steady Stream of Graft

Between the pull and haul of these two forces the prison system of the country is in a perpetual state of scandal. The notion that you can impound the liberty and labor of 100,000 men without some consequence is so fatuous that it can be entertained only by orthodox statesmen, judges and penologists, who have an infinite capacity for self-deception. Everybody else knows, or suspects, the true situation.

Everywhere the pardon brokers, parole peddlers, prison contractors and go-betweens buy and sell the influence of Governors, prison boards, wardens, guards. Much of this is in the open. Several years ago a notorious swindler, convicted in a Kentucky court for mail order frauds, boldly told the judge, "You'll never see me in Atlanta!" And they never did; the pardon reached him on board the train bound for the Federal prison.

The prison contract system, which has been an open sore in American life for several generations, is spreading more rapidly than ever, as Kate Richards O'Hare has proven abundantly in her series of articles in the American Vanguard. In those states where the system has been permanently eliminated the forces of corruption necessarily focus upon the sale of pardons and paroles. Where the contract system still operates the graft is doubly rich, as Oklahoma showed last year.

The informed reader will do well to watch these two focal points. Whenever news of a prison scandal "breaks" from some new quarter, as may happen frequently in the course of the next twelve months, it is more than probable that the crux of the matter will be found to lie in the private exploitation, for profit, of the labor or the liberty of the men whom we have sentenced, for their sins or ours, to penal servitude.

tend down the line to the last candidate for office. Nor has it gone to the extent of common understanding and agreement on all the main issues bound up with a better organized world. But it would be absurd to expect this complete understanding and solidarity in so short a time. Human beings of diverse occupations, training, experience and knowledge do not suddenly realize a complete meeting of minds on all matters. They grow into this, just as this realization of solidarity in 1924 was the growth of a few years of common suffering.

Now the call has gone out for the fourth national meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. It will meet in Chicago on February 21. The terms of the call do not bind any organization to any special program. It is called to consider the advisability of permanent organization of a Labor Party. The delegates may decide to organize one. They may decide not to. But what they do and what they decline to do will be the mature judgment of delegates who come fresh from the membership of thousands of organizations.

Whatever the decisions may be, it is important that all organizations represented in previous conferences and as many more as possible should elect delegates to the Chicago Conference. For any organization to neglect this would be for it to throw its weight against the forces that have been wiping out the old parochial and separatist tendencies of the pre-war era. The conference needs and is entitled to have the sober opinions of every organization in the United States presented.

The New Leader therefore urges the importance of every organization entitled to representation to elect delegates. No matter what policy your organization favors it should send its representatives. If nothing more is accomplished than a further strengthening of the solidarity and understanding of the organized masses the coming conference will be justified. That is the big achievement thus far. It should not be hazarded by neglect or indifference.

Make this your business at the next meeting of your union, cooperative, party or farmer organization. No other action of yours this year will better serve the tendencies that are binding the Labor forces of this country into a solidarity that will eventually sweep reaction into the dustbin of history.