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The New Leader

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

Vol. II, No. 32.

Twelve Pages

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1925

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price 5 Cents

CRUISING TOWARD ANOTHER WAR

BRITISH LABOR IS WINNER IN FIRST SKIRMISH

LABOR RESENTS U. S. FLEET IN AUSTRALIA

LONDON.

FOR the present there will be no coal strike and the organized workers have won one of the most important victories in years. "Black Friday" of a few years ago, the day when the Triple Alliance failed to make good, has been succeeded by "Good Friday," the day when the solidarity of the working class won an unwilling concession from the Baldwin Government.

As a result of the agreement the Government subsidizes the mining industry and the miners get their demands. What appears to have been a mobilization of the whole Labor movement with the determination to support the miners to the last ditch forced Premier Baldwin to make his decision. The Labor victory is not only an economic success but it has an important political result. It has divided Baldwin's party, an influential section of which is opposed to the principle of a subsidy on the ground that it sets a precedent that may be demanded by other industries. To win a victory and divide the enemy are important results.

Estimates of what the subsidy will cost run all the way from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000. The reactionaries in Parliament, sore over the defeat, have succeeded in passing a bill over the protests of the Labor members making a slight reduction in unemployment payments. This action can only serve to increase the resentment of the whole working class and weaken the Tories in the next election. There is also a suggestion to add a further tax to the worker's beer and the mere proposal will have the same effect on working class voters.

What this victory means is that the workers of England have established the precedent that a wage sufficient for the workers to live upon must be the first charge upon industry. This charge must be the first consideration and its application to all other industries would make the human welfare of the workers come first in all matters of wages and hours.

The capitalist press is falling back upon that abstraction called the "public," insisting that this "public" will have to pay the price of the subsidy. To this complaint is added the scarecrow of "Bolshevism." The Daily Mail resents the decision as a "victory for violence, a blockade of the nation by a little band of conspirators carrying out the orders of Zinoviev and imagining themselves little Trotskys and Lenins."

As a matter of fact the mine owners precipitated the crisis in the coal industry when they decided to make a sweeping reduction in wages. Whether the owners were a "little band of conspirators" and received orders from Zinoviev we do not know, but we do know that their proposal meant extreme hardship for the families of hundreds of thousands of miners who are expected to starve without making a noise about it.

As for the "public," the London New Leader points out that the self-satisfied portion of it never thinks of widespread suffering until its own comfort is threatened. It adds that "in the early days of railroads, when accidents were of all but daily occurrence, Sidney Smith opined that the directors would never take proper measures for safety until their negligence had killed a Bishop."

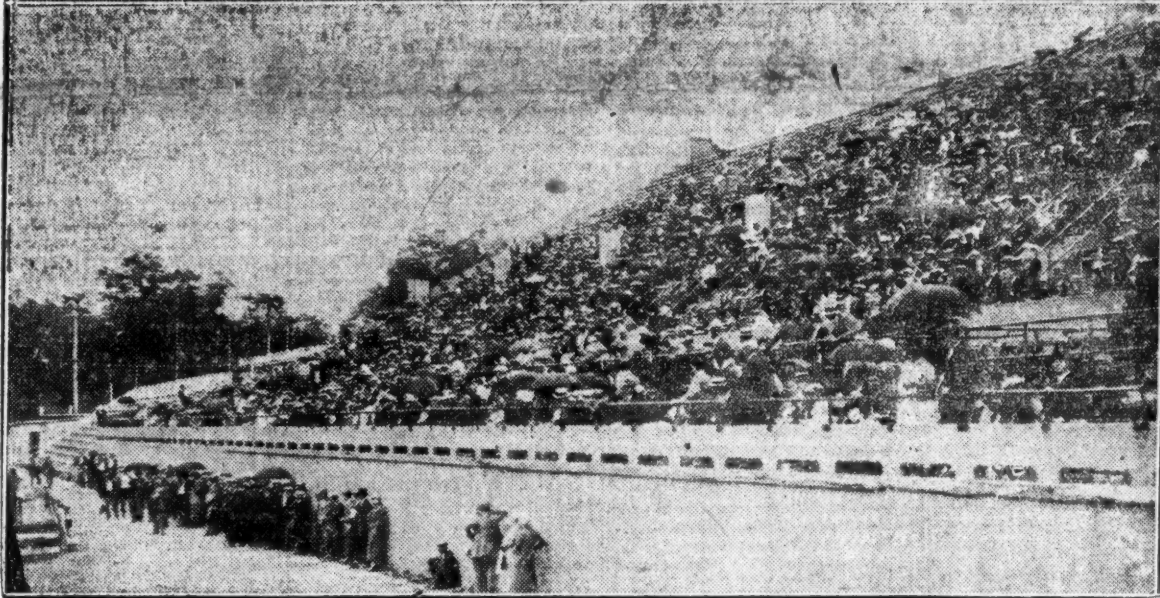
Every section of the British Labor movement is jubilant over the success attained in this controversy, while the London Daily Herald points out that the struggle was fundamentally one between the capitalist class on the one hand and the workers on the other. It follows with these significant observations:

"Last week came the first clash between these two groups. Organized Labor scored the first point. Labor's opponents knew quite well what the success of this power means. It means, if it is steadily followed by other successes, the end of the British capitalist system and social arrangements based upon it.

"That will be resisted to the utmost, maybe to the death, by those whose interests it is to keep things as they are.

"So be it. Labor accepts the challenge."

THE MAGIC OF DEBS' ORATORY DRAWS 30,000



—By Leader Staff Photographer

Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman of the Socialist Party, snapped as he was addressing a huge audience of 30,000 at the Wisconsin Fair Grounds, Milwaukee, two weeks ago.

On the platform in back of Debs are Congressman Victor L. Berger and other leaders of Wisconsin Socialism. Below is a portion of the tremendous throng that cheered Debs' every word to the echo.

At that the rain kept more than 10,000 listeners away.

Where is the man who said Socialism is on the downgrade?

“WHILE THE IRON IS HOT”

THERE often comes a period in the Socialist movement when it has the opportunity to reach an advanced position. That opportunity has again returned in New York City. We are on the eve of a campaign of great possibilities. Like most situations of this kind, it is not of our making—it is made by the enemy.

Tammany is divided. The charlatan who has served as Mayor is reluctant to leave office and Tammany feels that his usefulness is ended. Tammany is an efficient brokerage firm in dispensing contracts, soft jobs, and legislation. It has used one tool for its purposes and now intends to select another. Like a ghoul it preys upon peddlers, consigns unskilled city employees to a starvation wage, and gets its "velvet" from a thousand sources. Its chieftains generally quit as millionaires.

Opposed to Tammany are the Republicans, representing the higher aristocracy of capital and finance. They want more "efficient" government for their class. They want the headquarters of the City Government moved from Fourteenth street to the Union League Club. They want a Government that "gentlemen" can approve of. They have appropriated the intellectual baggage of the European Junkers and constitute a voluntary guard to protect the interests of the greater capitalism. A change to them would be like asking the gentleman crook to take your purse instead of the vulgar one.

Meantime the Socialist Party has made the most extensive survey of municipal conditions and problems that has ever been made. It is equipped with material and candidates to make a wonderful educational campaign. This campaign will begin very soon, but it cannot be waged by the candidates alone. They must have help, and this is a summons to duty.

We need volunteer workers and funds. Yes, funds. And funds can be obtained. A good beginning has already been made. Recently about sixty comrades came together to consider what they could do. About \$800 was raised for the campaign in a few minutes!

This means business. It means life, activity, enthusiasm. Others must give, give again, and yet again. Not only funds but services as well. Socialist meetings, printing leaflets, publicity, organization, are all dependent upon funds and willing workers. Our candidates cannot carry on a campaign without both, and every Socialist and sympathizer must give of himself as he never gave before.

Therefore, The New Leader puts to every one of its readers in

Greater New York the question, "WHAT CAN YOU DO AND WHAT WILL YOU DO?" You alone can answer and the Socialist Party expects you to give it. Are you a Party member? Get to your next branch meeting without fail. Are you only a Socialist voter? Join a branch. Have you signed a nomination petition? If not, call up the Party office, Stuyvesant 4620. If your signature is needed you will be informed.

While writing this we are interrupted by a young enthusiast. "I want to do some work for the Party. Where shall I go?" he asks. He is shown to the Party office and is "doing his bit." That is the spirit that is needed as well as the spirit that wins. The social order that makes life an unnecessary and bitter struggle for so many will only be conquered by just such service as this enthusiast is rendering.

Above all, we seriously urge our readers to roll in the financial contributions. Bring your contribution personally or send your check and make it a generous one. Come or send to Julius Gerber, Room 505, 7 East 15th street, New York City. He cannot call on the many thousands. You must call on or send to him. Not tomorrow—TODAY. Do this, and DO IT NOW!

LABOR'S DIVIDENDS

MINEOLA, L. I., Aug. 3.—One worker died of suffocation and another was overcome by the poisonous gases of a cesspool at 255 Mincola Boulevard today. A gas mask was used to rescue the survivor.

MACON, Ga., Aug. 2.—One man was killed and several others were injured this afternoon when the Southern Railway's Macon-Atlanta train crashed into the rear of a work train that was

clearing up the wreck of the Royal Palm, another passenger train, earlier in the day, near Dames Ferry, twenty miles north of here.

WILKES-BARRE, Pa., Aug. 3.—In an explosion of gas that caused extensive damage, two miners lost their lives and seventeen others were burned, four perhaps fatally, here today at the Dorrance Mine of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company.

THE visit of the Pacific fleet of the United States Navy in Australian waters is not the unsullied triumphal procession the panegyrics of the newspaper correspondents and official Government propagandists would have it appear.

As the great fleet steams toward New Zealand today the organized workers of that country are determined to take no part in the reception. Official resolutions have been passed by the political and economic sections of the New Zealand Labor movement urging the nation to refrain from giving the American fleet any spectacular welcome.

The visit of the American fleet to Melbourne was the occasion of a resolution by the Central Labor Council of that city urging a complete boycott of the plans of the native Jingoists to fete the American naval officers, and in a lesser degree the common sailor.

Two prime reasons are guiding the Australian workers in refusing to celebrate the visit of the American fleet.

FIRST—The visit of the fleet is regarded as an imperialist display of power meant to cement American and Australian Jingoists in their hatred of Japan.

SECOND—The Australian workers wish to demonstrate their hostility against a nation which is keeping scores of workmen in jail for the crime of joining a Union.

Thus the Melbourne Trade Council passed the following resolutions on the visit of the American fleet:

"1. That whilst desiring above all things to cement the bonds of friendship and good will between Australian Labor and the American people, the Melbourne Trades Hall Council, recognizing that all war fleets are but the concrete expression of imperialistic force and violence which creates the incentive to incite national hatred and is a perpetual menace to civilization and international peace; and further, in order to be consistent with our anti-war policy as declared at our 'No More War' demonstrations, recommends to all officers and delegates of the council to refrain from participating in any function connected with the visit of the American fleet.

"2. That in order to more effectively assist in the effort to gain the release of the industrial and political prisoners lying in American jails, the officers of the council be instructed to communicate with the editors of American, Canadian and European Labor papers, and call upon them to join in urging the American authorities to release all those political and industrial prisoners still lying in jail."

The first day of the American fleet's anchorage in the Melbourne harbor was the occasion of two pointed demonstrations by the unions. First, the official reception committee was embarrassed by a walkout of marine firemen on the reception boat.

As the American tars began to swarm into the city on shore leave, the street carmen staged a walkout, putting a decided crimp in the celebration.

The unions corresponding to the American I. W. W. have attempted to call a strike, but this has not met with any appreciable success. The Melbourne Wharf Laborers' Union, refusing to join the strike, has nevertheless passed the following resolution:

"While the union realizes the significance of the visit of the American fleet to the Pacific and deeply regrets that a war gesture of such magnitude should be made so soon after the end of the 'war to end war,' yet it feels that the proposed boycott will not in any way tend toward the release of your members; rather the reverse. "The secretary is instructed to write to the President of the United States protesting against the continued incarceration of member of the working class for the expression of legitimate working class opinions, though admittedly hostile to the continuation of capitalism.

"Also the secretary is instructed to write to the American Federation of Labor protesting the inaction of that body in failing to agitate for the release of the I. W. W. members in the United States.

WIPE THE WAR DEBT SLATE CLEAN! :-

By Rev. JOHN A. RYAN

Payment of Debts and Reparations Unlikely As It Is Undesirable—U. S. Must Act First

In any discussion of debt settlements and reparations one invariably finds one's self almost compelled to draw three important conclusions; First, that the war debts to the United States from France, Italy and certain other Continental countries will never be paid in full. Second, that the amount of interest likely to be paid on these debts will be insignificant for at least ten years, even though the European countries which have not yet funded their war obligations to the United States should do so within the next six months. The third conclusion is that the Dawes Plan is very unlikely to yield the maximum annual reparations payments which it contemplates, namely, two and one-half billion marks. These conclusions would probably be accepted by the majority of economists and other competent authorities.

The outstanding effect of this situation will be a continuance of the ill-feeling against Germany for non-fulfillment of technical obligations, and an increase in the same sort of feeling between the United States and the countries of Europe which are not paying, and cannot pay, the annual amounts that are legally and theoretically due to this country. All the Jingoists, ultra-nationalists, and economically ignorant persons in America will take up against our European debtors the complaints which have done so much injury in the last five years to the relations between France and Germany. New obstacles will be put in the way of the movement toward international peace.

Will We Benefit By Payments?

Let us assume, however, that all our European debtors were in a position to pay the full annual sums due us by way of interest and amortization on their war debts. In round numbers, the yearly total would be \$434,000,000, if all the debts are funded on the same basis

as that owed by Great Britain.

As every well-informed person knows, international transfers of pecuniary values must take the form of gold, goods or services. No part of the interest payment can be made by means of services, for these are all needed to compensate for our export surplus to European countries. The amount of gold that Europe can send us is insignificant and, indeed, has for several years been only a fraction of the amount that we have sent to Europe. Hence, this enormous annual sum must come to us in the form of goods. Some idea of the magnitude of that problem may be obtained by reflecting that \$434,000,000 is almost exactly 41 per cent of the value of all the goods that Europe sent us last year. The figure was \$1,065,599,400.

Since this enormous volume of goods must come to us as payment for obligations already contracted, they cannot be offset by exports. Therefore, they will take the place of goods now produced in the United States. If we assume that they will replace imports already coming to us, we do not change the final result, for the new imports will not be balanced by exports, that is, by goods produced in this country. In either case, therefore, the receipt of this great sum of interest payments in the form of goods means a displacement of the demand for American products to the value of \$434,000,000. Are we ready to face that contingency, to accept that situation? Is it not very probable that we shall raise our tariff wall still higher, and thus render impossible the payment of any considerable portion of the interest due us on account of the loans to European Governments?

Nor is this the whole story. Private loans by Americans to European

states, and American investments in European industries are now estimated at approximately \$2,000,000,000. The annual interest on this amount is at least \$120,000,000. While a large part of the interest is not regularly transferred to the United States, being reinvested in European industries, this process cannot continue indefinitely. Before long, the total amount of interest must come to us in the form of goods. Like the imports on account of the debts due to our Government, these incoming goods will not be balanced by exports. Combining both items, we have the enormous sum of \$554,000,000 worth of European goods which will displace commodities produced in the United States. Here is a neat problem to test the economic agility of the high protectionists who insist that European interest obligations must be regularly paid to the last dollar.

Suppose, however, that our European debtors were able to pay in full the sums annually due to our Government, and that we are willing to receive them in whatever form they come. How much benefit would the American people derive from the transaction? The amount, \$434,000,000, is approximately one-fourth of the amount received by the Federal Government as personal income taxes for the year 1924. Consequently, the Federal income tax could be reduced by 25 per cent. How many persons would have their tax burden lightened? The total number of Federal income taxpayers is about 7,000,000, or only one-eighth of the total number of inhabitants of the United States who are over 21 years of age. If the tax reduction, made possible by the receipt of the European interest payments, were applied by an equal percentage to all incomes, the benefit would be reaped by

only a small fraction of the American people. If the bulk of the reduction were to take place in the higher incomes, as contemplated by some of our administrative authorities, the benefit would go to a still smaller proportion of concrete American human beings. It is very misleading to represent the advantages from foreign payments of interest as going to "the American people."

Economic Advantage Of Cancellation

Now let us suppose that all international war debts and reparations were cancelled. The United States would lose, theoretically, the equivalent of 25 per cent of the Federal tax on personal incomes. Great Britain would lose, theoretically, considerably less than one-half of that amount. The war debt of France to the United States is now almost \$4,250,000,000, while her obligations under that head to Great Britain are in excess of \$3,000,000,000. Now let us assume that Germany could pay the utmost amount of reparations that anyone has ever seriously considered, namely, the face value of the A and B bonds as fixed in London, May 1921; that is 50,000,000,000 marks. The share of this going to France, 52 per cent, would be 26,000,000,000 marks, or \$6,250,000,000. Hence France would stand to gain about \$1,000,000,000, if her debts to the United States and Great Britain as well as her practical reparations claims upon Germany were wiped out. This leaves out of account her loans to Russia, Italy, Belgium and some other countries, but the total amount recoverable from these (\$800,000,000 are due from Russia) is probably under \$1,000,000,000. Therefore, the net result of the cancellation process would be favorable to France. It would

be much more favorable to Italy, and all the other Ally states.

Therefore, the only countries that would undergo any considerable theoretical losses would be the United States and Great Britain. Even if we assume these losses to be actual instead of theoretical, if we assume that the full amount of annual interest due to both countries on account of war loans were coming to them, it would be to their economic advantage to have all of the war debts and reparations cancelled. With cancellation actually accomplished, all the Ally peoples would regain the spirit and the capacity to produce, to export, and to import goods in such great volume that the peoples of both America and Great Britain would reap far greater economic benefit than from the receipt of interest on account of war debts. When we recall that these receipts are largely theoretical and illusory, we perceive that the advantage to be derived from the cancellation process becomes enormously greater. What is true of America and Great Britain in this respect is obviously true to a much greater extent of France, Italy and

the other countries which are interested in the problem of inter-Ally debts.

So much for the economic advantages of the proposal. Its capacity to produce international goodwill in the place of international suspicion and hatred is too obvious to need elaboration.

Up to the United States

The one nation which possesses the power to initiate and carry through this program of cancellation is, of course, the United States. All the other nations would be only too willing to accept such a proposal if made by our Government. But the Government of the United States should couple the proposal with certain important conditions. Chief among these conditions would be universal disarmament, the outlawry of war, and the establishment of an adequate system of international arbitration. Does anyone seriously doubt that our country now possesses the power to achieve all these great objects?

If there ever was a time when the precept of charity demanded something from one nation to other nations, that time is surely the present, that nation is the United States, and that duty of charity is to bring about the universal cancellation of war debts and reparations. And this would prove to be not only good morals, but good policy.

ANTI-PINKERTON LAW FOUND LEGAL

WISCONSIN'S private detective law was held constitutional, last week, when an order was filed in Federal District Court refusing an injunction restraining the registering and licensing of private detectives, sought by the Pinkerton National Detective Agency and the Corporation Auxiliary Agency, which contended the law was unconstitutional.

The Federal judges' refusal to hold the Wisconsin law unconstitutional gives the measure a nationwide standing, which undoubtedly would not be attained through a similar ruling of State courts.

The decision was proclaimed a signal victory for the organized Labor and Socialist movements in Milwaukee and the rest of the State, as their representatives have promoted a long campaign against the activities of private detective agencies, particularly in industrial plants, and obtained passage by the State Legislature of the original law and the amendments approved by the 1925 Legislature, requiring the licensing and registering of all private detectives.

Precedent Is Established

Socialists and officials of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and Milwaukee Federated Trades council united in a statement that the decision would attract attention throughout the country and be cited as a precedent in legal controversies between organized Labor and private detective agencies.

"Of course, I am elated with the decision," said John J. Handley, secretary-treasurer, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

"This decision makes Wisconsin the first State in the United States to register an inroad into the espionage of the private detective agencies. Organized Labor in Wisconsin has made a long fight for this result. This should eliminate from industrial plants the private detective agencies' 'under-cover' men."

"The decision of these three Fed-

Wisconsin Test Case Lost By Detectives

eral judges makes me happy, as it is a just one and will go a long way to eliminate from industrial plants the tactics which for years have made private detectives notorious," said Assemblyman William Coleman, State Secretary, Socialist Party, and for years active in the organized Labor movement.

Coleman made the fight in the Assembly for the amendments to the law enacted by the 1925 Legislature. Senator Joseph A. Padway, Socialist, counsel for the State Federation of Labor and the Federated Trades Council, made the campaign for them in the Senate.

The amendment approved by the last Legislature, which provoked two private detective agencies to appeal to the Federal courts, in their effort to have the law held unconstitutional, was jostled about by six committees.

Attorneys representing five detec-

tive agencies, including Pinkerton, Corporation Auxiliary and the John Ferris organization, fought the amendments before the committees. Senator Padway and Assemblyman Coleman answered by detailing activities of private detective agencies in Milwaukee and other places extending over several years.

Coleman included in his indictment of the private detective agencies reference to the strike of the employees of the Cudahy Bros. Company, Cudahy, several years ago, in which one of the strikers was killed by a bullet alleged to have been fired by a private detective.

Coleman also explained how private detectives have obtained membership in unions, and even gone so far as to serve as captains on the picket lines near industrial plants.

Under the law, operatives, as well as the owners of detective companies, must obtain licenses and file

a bond with the city or county clerk. The law contains the following section:

What the Law Provides

"Any person, firm or corporation, who shall act as a private detective, private police or private guard, and any person who shall solicit or perform services in this State as a private detective, private police or private guard, without having procured the license and filed the bond required by this section, or who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, or by imprisonment in the county jail not less than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

During the hearing, attorneys for the detective agencies asserted that the business of these companies would be ruined if the judges held the law constitutional. They contended the clause in the law, requiring operatives to be registered, would take away the most effective weapon at their command—secrecy.

CHAOS IN THE COAL INDUSTRY

By NORMAN THOMAS

PRIVATE ownership of the coal mines that no man made and their operation for profit has got things in a mess in Great Britain, Germany and America. In all three countries the operators are talking reduction of wages as the only cure for their own greedy and unscientific mismanagement. In Germany the Government seems to be considering some sort of direct or indirect subsidy to its mine owners so that they will not further reduce wages or lengthen hours. England's only hope of averting a serious strike seems, as we write, to be the proposition of a loan to the coal industry in order to maintain the tragically low wage scale without reducing profits. That is, the taxpayers will pay to keep up profits.

In this country a strike in the anthracite fields is probable and in the larger and worse mismanaged bituminous field not improbable. Here it will not be the citizen as taxpayer but the citizen as consumer who may have to subsidize private owners to keep up wages—this through the Federal Trade Commission and the Pennsylvania Department of Mines have both shown that the increase in the price of anthracite (and hence of the profits of the operators) is out of all proportion to the last wage increase. Wage increases in the anthracite field should come out of the profits.

For a real reform of the coal industry two things are necessary: (1) efficient and democratic nationalization of coal in industrial nations and the elimination of the profit taker; and (2) some sort of international understanding which

will prevent waste and destructive international competition. As a step toward it the workers in Great Britain, Germany and America ought to try to get together so that international strike-breaking can be ended. Such common understanding may be denounced violently as anti-

patriotic. If it is, so much the worse for that kind of patriotism. In the long run not only the workers but the consumers in every country suffer from the present chaos in coal mining. There is no way to end it so long as it is left to the mercy of private profit seekers.

Paper-Box Makers Unite Their Ranks

The paper-box workers in this city, who have suffered considerably in the last year because of various internal struggles, have effected a united organization again. Many conferences of the different groups of the more active workers have helped to bring this about. As a result, a fine spirit of cooperation and harmony has been developed in the rank and file. A new administration satisfactory to all concerned has been elected to office.

Fred Caiola has been elected as

manager of the union. Among the other newly elected officers are Tom Di Nonno, President; Sam Schnell, Treasurer; Florence Geller, Financial Secretary; John Repace, Organizer, and Joe Dimino, delegate.

The new administration in the union is now preparing extensive plans for a vigorous organization drive to round up the unorganized workers in the industry and to better the conditions of the workers in the shops.

Nova Scotia Mine Strike Ends

The miners of Nova Scotia employed by the British Empire Steel Corporation agreed by a majority of 1,133 in a plebiscite this week to return to work under the proposals of the Provincial Government. There were 6,693 votes polled, many of the miners failing to vote. The directors of the corporation, meeting in Montreal to consider the same terms, adjourned to meet again Thursday. Wages paid would be those of 1922 or a reduction of 5 to 8 per cent, from the 1924 rates, and working conditions would be those of 1924.

This strike was one of the most stubborn ever waged in Canada. It involved civil war with hired mercenaries of the company in which men were killed on both sides.

Every social system changes ceaselessly, and ultimately, having fulfilled its mission, passes away. Capitalism is the connecting link between Feudalism and Socialism. The industrial forces are now making for Socialism, preparing the way for it, and sooner or later it is sure to come.—Eugene V. Debs.

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I. Introduction II. Teaching and Evolution

By JAMES ONEAL

I.—Introduction

IN this first installment of the series on modern science which was presented for the court record in the Dayton trial, the necessity of leaving all teaching and investigation unhampered by statute law is stressed. That we have to argue this in the twentieth century instead of taking it for granted indicates the low level of intelligence that prevails in wide areas of the United States.

In presenting this series The New Leader would have it understood that it does not necessarily approve of everything that is said by the authors. Neither does it mean that everything that is presented is a part of the Socialist philosophy. Socialists generally believe in progress, development, change, Evolution—call it what you will—but there is no standardized opinion regarding all phases of Evolution.

It is necessary to remember what Professor Robinson has said in his "The New History" when he wrote that "No set of investigators can any longer claim exclusive jurisdiction in even the tiniest scientific field, and nothing indeed would be more fatal to them than the successful defense of any such claim." Moreover, "The bounds of all departments of human research and speculation are inherently provisional, indefinite, and fluctuating." In other words, there is no final truth. There is only approximation to the truth.

A Supreme Insult To Intelligence

The supreme insult to modern intelligence is the Fundamentalists' claim that it has the final truth. Where a cult, a class or a clique has been obsessed with this idea and has had the power to enforce it men have been broken on the wheel, have had their tongues pierced or cut out, have been forced to endure the filth of the pillory or have been consigned to the flames. What is more, every idea that is today accepted was at one time a heresy. There is no exception to this rule. The very fact that a new idea is new brings it into conflict with the prevailing opinions of the time. How are we ever to abandon erroneous views and accept saner ones if the law is to penalize one view and protect another one?

Buckle, in his review of Mill's essay on "Liberty," wrote that "We are too apt to speak as if we had penetrated into the sanctuary of truth and raised the veil of the goddess, when in fact we are still standing, coward like, trembling before the vestibule, and not daring from very fear to cross the threshold of the temple." Science now has crossed the threshold of the temple, but there are those who would now have us not only withdraw but also close the temple to all seekers of the truth.

Mill, in the famous essay referred to, wrote that "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." Bury, in his "History of Freedom of Thought," wrote that "the individual should at any cost refuse to be coerced by any human authority or tribunal into a course which his own mind condemns as wrong. That is, he asserts the supremacy of the individual conscience, as we should say, over human law." To the Fundamentalists we commend the language of Wendell Phillips on the Boston mob. To a clergyman who

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By DR. FAY-COOPER COLE

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of Rutgers and State University of New Jersey;

DR. WINTERTON C. CURTIS,
of the University of Missouri.

The writers were selected for their eminence in the World of Science by the defense in the Scopes' Evolution Case to testify at that trial. The Court refused to permit their testimony to be entered as evidence. The New Leader believes the people are the Highest Court. Therefore we are submitting these articles to them, so that they may judge of the merits of Evolution for themselves.

defended a pro-slavery mob he said:

"The coward priest forgot, if he ever knew, that the early Christians met in secret beneath the pavements of Rome, only to pray for the martyrs whose crosses lined the highways, whose daring defied Paganism at its own altars, and whose humanity stopped the bloody games of Rome in the upper air."

The Record of Man's History

What is evident in the struggle to think, write and teach is that conventional opinion has always taken refuge behind coercion and conventional opinion, has always lost in the end. Modern science has rendered many archaic views obsolete. The antiquity of man is known to all but the prejudiced, the ignorant and the miseducated. "After prehistory, history; intense, tumultuous, short, its millenniums, compared to prehistory's eons, are a dynamic instant of time," is the language of Professor Giddings in trying to convey an idea of this antiquity. Man has left a long record of his history in flint chips, the crude drawings on the walls of his caves, the wood, bone, bronze and iron tools of the infancy of the race. Were it not

for science we would know little or nothing of our shaggy forebears.

Aside from all this the working class has a tremendous stake involved in this issue. If the physical sciences are to be outlawed, the next to be strangled will be the social sciences. The free teaching of all science is bound up with the emancipation of the workers from wage servitude. Even the theoretical concession of democracy in education under capitalism leaves much to be desired. The social sciences are perverted by reactionary political and economic interests. How much worse would this be if obscurantism were a protected creed and science became an outcast?

We therefore recommend these articles to the serious attention of our readers. Many of us have been unable to follow the advances made in the sciences in the past decade or two and these articles are contributions of specialists who give the results of the latest thought and researches in their respective fields. We express the hope that our readers will call the attention of their friends to this series and induce them to become readers of The New Leader. Herewith follows the introductory article.

Winning the Negroes for Unionism

At a Conference of black and white trade unionists held recently in Arlington Hall, N. Y. C., there was formed "The Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers" with Thomas J. Curtis, General Manager of the Building Trades Compensation Bureau, as Chairman and Treasurer, and with Frank R. Crosswaith as Executive Secretary. Mr. Hugh Frayne, New York representative of the A. F. of L., delivered the main address.

"The Committee" has now opened headquarters at 2380 Seventh Avenue, Room 504, in the center of Negro Harlem, and is now engaged in carrying the message of trade unionism to the great mass of Negro workers of New York City, who today number nearly 150,000 and over 50 per cent of whom are organized. When seen by the reporter, Secretary Crosswaith said: "There is no gainsaying the fact that the work we are endeavoring now to do should have been done long, long ago. The Negro worker is abandoning the South and the farms for the great industrial centers in the East and North; he is a factor now to be reckoned with in our industrial life, and unless we reach him now

Crosswaith Outlines New Trade Union Drive Among Colored Workers

and line him up on Labor's side those who stand for autocracy and chaos in industry will use him to their own advantage.

"Labor has seen fit, and rightly so, to create special instruments for the induction of women in trade unions and for their protection in industry, note The Women's Trade Union League; Labor has also given special attention to the Jewish workers, note The United Hebrew Trades, note also The Italian Chamber of Labor for the Italian workers; and we feel that now is the opportune time to consider the case of the Negro workers, especially when we bear in mind that in every important strike in the United States within the last fifteen years the Negro worker has played an important part, always, however, against organized Labor."

"Over one-seventh of all workers in the United States are Negroes, and with the immigration laws now operating to keep out European and other foreign labor the Negro worker will be entering more and more into industry. We must therefore

By CHARLES H. JUDD

Director of the School of Education, University of Chicago

II.—Teaching and Evolution

IN the normal schools of the State of Tennessee it will, I think, be impossible to obey the law without seriously depriving teachers-in-training of a proper view of the facts of human mental development. Every psychologist recognizes the fact that the human organs of sense, such as the eye and the ear, are similar in structure and action to the organs of sense of the animals.

The fundamental pattern of the human brain is the same as that of the higher animals. The laws of learning which have been studied in psychological and education laboratories are shown to be in many respects identical and always similar for animals and man. It is quite impossible to make any adequate study of the mental development of children without taking into account the facts that have been learned from the study of comparative or animal psychology.

It will be impossible in my judgment in the State University as well as in the normal schools to teach adequately psychology or the science of education without making constant reference to all the facts of mental development which are included in the general doctrine of Evolution. The only dispute in the field of psychology that has ever arisen among psychologists so far as I know has to do with the methods of Evolution. There is general agreement that Evolution in some form or other must be accepted as the explanation of human mental life.

Elaborate studies have been made in the field of human psychology dealing with such matters as the evolution of tools, the evolution of language and the evolution of customs and laws. All of these studies are based on definitely ascertainable facts and show without exception that a long process of evolution has been going on in the life of man as it is definitely known through historical record and prehistoric remains. In my judgment it will be quite impossible to carry on the work in most of the departments in the higher institutions of the State of Tennessee without teaching the doctrine of Evolution as the fundamental basis for the understanding of all human institutions.

Whatever may be the constitutional rights of legislatures to prescribe the general course of study of public schools it will in my judgment be a serious national disaster if the attempt is successful to determine the details to be taught in the schools through the vote of legislatures rather than as a result of scientific investigation.

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SHALL WE BUY OR SHALL WE TAKE? :-

One of the most valuable and suggestive reports ever submitted to a Socialist conference in any country was that made by a sub-committee of the Information Committee of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain at its annual Easter Conference in Gloucester. This committee had studied the problems that must accompany the transfer of property in the means of production and distribution from private to public ownership. This document is invaluable for Socialists in all countries and we are glad of the opportunity to present it to our readers.

Transferring Property From Private to Public Ownership

I.

The Problem of Compensation
THE first question that arises for consideration is whether it is desirable to pay any compensation at all when private property is socialized, or whether private property should be simply confiscated.

Our opinion is, that as a general rule, the payment of compensation would be necessary and that confiscation is not expedient. We assume that in this country socialization will take place gradually, one industry after another being transferred to public ownership and organized as a public service. On this assumption the case against confiscation is three-fold. It would

- (1) be unjust as between owners of different kinds of capital;
- (2) lead to serious economic disturbances; and
- (3) greatly strengthen opposition to Socialism, and prevent us from carrying out our policy as rapidly as we would otherwise be able to do.

1. Let us consider as a practical example the nationalization of the railways, and suppose that the Government simply confiscated all rail-

Justice and Expediency

3. In the third place, piecemeal confiscation would have very serious political effects. It would create the maximum of resistance to Socialism and would unite all property owners, large and small, and also many others, who would be afraid of losing their employment or their livelihood, in common opposition to the whole of our program. It would give a golden opportunity for panic-mongering to the capitalist press and would certainly result in a severe political set-back for the Socialist movement.

For the above reasons we believe that the general principle of paying compensation, when private property is transferred to the State, must be accepted.

If Socialism is to be achieved, not gradually but at one swoop, by means of a catastrophic revolution, the above arguments against confiscation lose most of their force. But we do not consider that this latter contingency is at all likely to arise, and we do not feel called upon to discuss it in this report. This, however, assumes that the property class would act constitutionally in their opposition to a Socialist Government. If they attempted to sabotage Socialist changes by unconstitutional means, we should be confronted by a state of national emergency, which would require to be dealt with on similar lines to those adopted during the war.*

* During the war the Government claimed the right to take land and any other property without being bound to pay any compensation whatever, on the strength of a doctrine of the Royal Prerogative propounded by Sir John Simon and F. E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead) as Law Officers of the Crown. The corollary was that any compensation being paid was purely a matter of grace, and ex-gratia compensation was in fact only awarded by the Defence of the Realm Losses Commission in the

How Shall the Nation Acquire the Industries? Shall It Be Confiscation or Compensation?

way shares. This would be unjust to railway shareholders, poor and rich alike, as compared with the owners of other forms of capital. A person possessing a few hundred pounds of savings all invested in railways would be ruined, while a millionaire with no capital invested in railways would be unaffected. Even in less extreme cases, the injustice is equally apparent. Compare the fate of two capitalists of equal wealth, one having his capital invested in railways while the other holds no railway shares, but has invested entirely in breweries, armaments and Daily Mail shares. The former would lose all his wealth, and the latter would lose nothing. Socialist principles do not justify arbitrary discrimination of this kind.

2. In the second place, the confiscation of any particular form of capital would lead to serious economic disturbance; it would remove the basis of credit from many individual concerns and would as a consequence gravely injure trade and employment. Confiscation of railway shares, for example, would not only affect railway shareholders, it would also affect banks which had lent money on the security of railway shares, and business men who had borrowed money on the security of such shares. The banks would have suddenly to call in their loans and business men would either be reduced to bankruptcy or would have to restrict their operations and discharge many of the workers. Trustees who held railway shares would also be affected, and many would default. If the existing economic and financial machinery is to be transformed in a Socialist direction it is essential not to throw it violently out of gear before we are ready to replace it with something better. Piecemeal confiscation would undoubtedly have this effect.

The Justice and Expediency of Compensation

It is possible to argue that private ownership of all land and capital of certain categories thereof is, by its very nature, unjust, and that a transfer to the community without compensation for the owners, there-

fore, is justifiable. It is clear, however, as we have stated, that expropriation without compensation could only occur in the event of a sudden and catastrophic revolution, and, as this is not contemplated here, the question of confiscation will not be further discussed.

On the assumption that the transition from Capitalism to Socialism is to be gradual, extending over a period of years, equity demands that compensation should be paid to the owners of such land and capital as are transferred to the community in the earlier stages. If, in other words, certain persons are to be allowed during the transition stage to draw rent, interest and profit, because the undertakings in which their capital is embarked are not ripe for nationalization, those persons whose investments are in undertakings ripe for nationalization should not, thereby, be penalized.

Equity is reinforced by expediency. Nationalization by a Socialist majority with an acquiescent majority of non-Socialists involves the satisfaction of the sense of justice of the ordinary man. The possessions of the small capitalist bulk very big in his mind, and unless the small man is satisfied he will become the shield of the big capitalist. It is essential, therefore, if Socialism is to be peacefully achieved, that the violent opposition of the small capitalist should not be aroused by any course of conduct with the appearance of confiscation.

The Principles of Compensation
The conclusions having been reached that confiscation is inexpedient and inequitable (except when a case of national emergency exists, as indicated on page 2), the next step is to determine the principle upon which compensation should be paid. The question immediately arises as to whether this principle should, so far as it proves possible of application, be the same for all classes of property. This question is a difficult one and raises a number of controversial issues. After careful consideration, however, we are of the opinion that (except in the special cases to which we refer later) there is no ground for discrimination between various classes of property with a view to compensating the owners falling within different classes on different bases. Different methods of compensation would, no doubt, be found, applicable to different types of business, and these also will be dealt with below.

Two Kinds of Owners

Two kinds of property owners are frequently cited in this connection as requiring special treatment. The first is the land-owner, beneath whose land coal is discovered, who receives royalties from those desiring to exploit the coal. It is alleged that since the existence of these royalties is in no sense due to the foresight, energy or initiative of the landowner he is not entitled to receive any compensation when the royalties are sequestered by the State. In this connection, it may be noted that the Nationalization of Mines and Minerals Bill (1919), 1924, submitted by the miners to the Sankey Commission, proposed that no compensation should be paid in respect of "all rights and easements arising out of or necessary to the working of any mine... including all mineral way-leaves... or other royalties, lordships, or rights in connection therewith." In considering even this class of property, however, it should be remembered that, in many cases, such mineral rights have been disposed of by the original land-

owner to other persons for value received. Companies may have been formed for the purpose and shareholders have invested their savings in them, as they might have done in any other form of undertaking. Special reference will be made to this matter (see footnote) when the problem will be related to the attitude of public opinion and the practice of Capitalist Government with regard to it.

The other class of property for which special treatment is sometimes demanded is that constituted by private undertakings which are carried on under special license or permission from the community, the amount of profit made by these undertakings being in some sense subject to the community's vote. Instances of this class of undertaking are the railways (in 1913, for example, the railway companies were compelled to approach Parliament for the right to increase their rates), the provision of gas (gas companies have to obtain a special license from Parliament enabling them to supply gas, and their prices are to some extent fixed), and public houses which can, at any moment, be closed by order of the Justices of the Peace for the district. It would not, however, appear that any new principle is involved in the treatment of these undertakings as far as transfer to the community is concerned.

Where prices or charges are fixed by Parliament or the municipality, the result naturally affects the size of the company's profits and the value of its shares. In such cases, therefore, compensation would automatically be payable at a lower figure than would have been the case had the undertakings been entirely uncontrolled. Furthermore, it should be noted that there exists a statutory right to purchase undertakings of this class, which is normally included in the Charter given to local public authorities.

Relation of Compensation to Taxation

Before proceeding to outline the policy of compensation which they advocate, the Committee wish to emphasize the distinction between the two quite distinct problems.

1. The re-distribution of wealth with special reference to unearned income.
 2. The transference of property from private to public ownership.
- Each of these problems demands a different method of treatment; the first raises the question of taxation,

with which any policy of compensation must in our view be allied; the second raises the question of compensation proper.

It is neither possible nor equitable to combine the solution of these two problems in a single process. An Act of Parliament nationalizing a particular industry deals with the property interests of a limited number of persons in the community, some rich, some well-to-do, and some of very small means. It must be borne in mind that nationalization with compensation does not abolish the capitalist qua receiver of unearned income; it only removes his power of control. Hence a Socialist Government setting out on a policy of nationalization must at the same time deal with the burden to the community, constituted by the receiver of unearned income. It should, in fact, either by capital levy or by methods of graduated taxation on the lines of the present income tax and death duties, or by both, progressively reduce the share of the national wealth taken by the capitalists as owners of land and capital, or as drawers of compensation on account of nationalized property.

1. A Policy for Taxation

We propose, therefore, in the first place, to outline a policy of taxation, which in our view should supplement the policy of compensation and accelerate the extinction of the private interests which compensation would otherwise perpetuate.

In order to limit the period of capitalist exploitation we suggest

Assessment of Compensation

The adoption of such a plan at the present time would result in the transfer to the State, over and above the yield of the death duties, of some £200,000,000 worth of property annually, in exchange for the issued terminable annuities. Under this arrangement a steadily increasing quantity of terminable annuities would be running off annually. This plan would strike at the root of large fortunes but without involving any immediate reduction of the income of the rich in addition to that caused by other taxation, it would speed up the extinction of War Debt over and above the effects of the Capital Levy, and it would steadily accelerate the second stage of nationalization as defined above by clearing off private compensation claims.

(a) Assessment of Compensation

The general principle which we recommend is that when land or capital is transferred from private to public ownership, the private owner should receive compensation from the State based on the value of the property transferred. In this connection we regard it as a fundamental principle that regard should primarily be paid, not to the character of an individual's wealth, but to its value, or amount. This principle is recognized in the existing death duties and in the proposals for a capital levy.

The value of property of all kinds is being constantly assessed at present in connection with death duties, local rating, etc., and the existing methods of assessment are, on the whole, satisfactory. In most cases, the method adopted is to take either stock exchange quotations or a certain number of years' purchase of the income, or annual value. The appropriate number of years' purchase varies with the character of the property. For a wasting asset like coal the appropriate number is obviously less than for agricultural land.

We recommend that, as a general rule, the present methods of assessment should be adopted. Broadly speaking, factors such as over-capitalization, wasting assets or future expectations, will express themselves in the market value of the property. In the case of shares the value may be either the market value on an appointed day or may be the average value taken over a period of time. It is not possible to distinguish between various classes of capital on the basis of moral judgments passed on the means whereby capital has been acquired or augmented. Rapid transference of property is one of the distinctive features of the present system. The "respectable" industry of today has very frequently been built up on extortion and sweating in the past. High dividends may mean small return on capital to the present holders who have bought at inflated prices while the real profiteer has cleared off with his booty. It must, in short, be remembered that it is individuals who are to be compensated.

(b) Prerequisites of Nationalization

It is, of course, important to prevent the community having to pay an extortionate ransom to the capitalist, and the policy of taxation, described above, will be a salutary safeguard in this connection. In addition, however, to this policy, there are certain prerequisites of nationalization which a Socialist Govern-

ment would be wise to adopt. Legislation for a national minimum wage, price control and reform of the Companies' Acts, should be instituted concurrently with nationalization proposals. This legislation will have a tendency to reduce excessive profits and thus also to reduce the amount of compensation payable. It should, however, be general in its scope; what is required is not that drastic legislation on wages and prices should be applied to a particular industry, in order, when the industry is nationalized, that compensation might be paid to shareholders in the industry at a specially low figure, but that a policy of general legisla-

tion on the above lines, with its inevitable resultant effect on the market value of the shares of all undertakings, should precede nationalization.*

* Objection, as we have previously stated, is sometimes made to compensating "mine" royalty owners. As a matter of fact, the continuous criticism of the "royalties" and the threats of legislation are reflected in the value today and this insecurity would, as in other cases, materially reduce the compensation payable.

The principle of speciality taxing mining royalties has already been put into operation by Capitalist Governments, and might be further extended in this matter of compensation.

(c) Trusts and Monopolies

Generally speaking the industries first to be nationalized will be the old-established undertakings where the rate of profit is not exceptional, but it may happen that public opinion will demand the nationalization of some profiteering combine such as the Milk Trust.

Under conditions of profiteering, exploitation or monopoly, if the above prerequisites of nationalization have not yet been adopted, it is clear that excessive compensation would have to be paid if market value of the shares was to be the criterion.

These cases should therefore be considered as exceptions to the general rule that all undertakings should be compensated on the same basis. They should be dealt with on their merits. Compensation on a basis inflated by those conditions could not equitably be permitted. When, therefore, the existence of such circumstances is established, it may be expected that the tribunal charged with the duty of assessing fair compensation, would take those factors into consideration.

(d) The Form of Compensation

Compensation would be paid in the form of bonds or annuities equal to the ascertained capital value of the property. Very exceptionally in the case of small proprietors a lump sum might be payable.

Compensation would, by these annuities, thus take the form of freely negotiable Government stock. This would bear a fixed rate of interest equal to the existing yield on long-term Government loans or similar trustee securities. We do not consider that the holder of such stock should be entitled to profit from a subsequent fall in the rate of interest. We propose, therefore, that, though the holders of such stock should not be entitled to demand redemption at any fixed date, the Government should be entitled to redeem at par whenever it pleased, e.g., if a fall in the rate of interest enabled it to borrow more cheaply. Note.—The possibility of the Government competing with trusts and thus reducing their profits should also be borne in mind.

The Question of Finance

Finance of Nationalized Industries

It would be outside the terms of our reference to consider the structure of the nationalized industries, but certain financial points must be considered. Although, owing to the superiority of Government over industrial credit, the interest payable to the former owners on the bonds will be less than the amount paid out as interest and profit before nationalization, and although greater efficiency and economy under nationalization will be forthcoming, it is necessary to face the fact that in some industries special circumstances may make it difficult to meet the full burden of capital charges.

It is essential, of course, to give proper conditions to the workers and the public will also expect better service. The economics of the new regime cannot become effective all at once. Heavy expenditure for reconstruction, etc., will have to be met. It may well be, therefore, that arrangements may have to be made for a portion only of the sums necessary for payment of compensation to be payable by the industry during the first few years of national-

ization. This would mean that part of the charge for compensation would have to be borne on some other fund than that of the nationalized industry. The Committee do not lay down any hard and fast principle, but it has been suggested that a central fund might be formed into which should be paid the profits of State enterprises of all kinds from which deficiencies in the earlier stages of nationalization should be met. At the same time the Committee would emphasize the necessity of nationalized industries meeting their liabilities at as early a stage as possible.

(Signed) CLIFFORD ALLEN (Chairman).

C. R. ATTLEE, M.P.
HUGH DALTON, M.P.
WM. GRAHAM, M.P.
ALF. SALTER, M.P.
R. C. WALLHEAD, M.P.
E. F. WISE
ERNEST E. HUNTER (Secretary).

JAMES MAXTON, M.P. and
W. T. SYMONS, dissent.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

WE, US and I

MY fellow-citizens Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller, own a great deal of oil land in Mexico, and because these three worthy brothers and I are all citizens of the United States it is said that we have interests in Mexico to defend.

Of course, we, that is the United States and I, do not draw any dividends from our interests in Mexico. The dividend end is strictly the private concern of my fellow-citizens, Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller. All that we, meaning the United States and I, have to do is to wrap Old Glory around those dividends to protect them against Mexican tax collectors.

So they sent me down to Vera Cruz in a cruiser to start a crusade in behalf of crude oil. I make those Mexicans take off the tax they had placed on the crude oil which makes crude oil cheaper for my fellow citizen, Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller. Thereupon, my fellow-citizens Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller, induce our Congress to reduce the duty on Mexican oil, which also happens to be their oil, and that makes or should make oil cheaper to us, meaning the United States and I. But when I come home and load my flivver as a preliminary to going to the mine, I find that my fellow-citizens Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller, have hiked the price of gasoline from 15 cents to two bits (said difference coming out of my own pocket). And when I get to the mine the super breaks the sad news unto me that on account of the great influx of Mexican crude oil, folks are now burning that stuff in furnaces and railroad engines in preference to coal, which means that by going on that crusade to Mexico I crusaded myself out of a job for the glory and profit of my fellow-citizens Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller.

Now there is some talk again that our interests in Mexico may presently demand another crusade to that benighted country. It seems that we, that means the United States and myself, also own vast estates in Mexico which the Mexican Government wants to distribute among the landless Aborigines who evolved on that land.

From what I heard this land was bought from the aboriginal Mexicans by the Spaniards with the aid of spiked clubs. Later the Mexicans restored it to themselves with flintlocks. Then their good President Diaz took it away again with Mausers and presented some of it to influential American citizens such as newspaper proprietors and brothers of Presidents, to secure the moral support of the good people of the United States while he made our sister republic safe for foreign exploiters.

So those land titles seem to be perfectly clear and regular, as all land titles are, including those we acquired from the Indians in exchange for Paris green, fire-water and leaden bullets. But as for me going to Mexico on another crusade in defense of these land titles, "I hope to be excused," as Weber used to say to Fields. That land is none of my business and if I can help it it is not my funeral, either. If those land owners want to cross the Rio Grande to fight for their homes and firesides on the other side they've got my blessing—in fact, I shall be glad to see them go; and being somewhat of a musician myself (my instrument is E flat alto), I might even join the band at the depot to give them God-speed in a patriotic outburst of Ump-ta, ump-ta, ump-ta-ta-ta's.

But please get me right. I don't want to see Mexico made safe for American rent collectors. On the contrary, I am strong as horse radish for Mexico for Mexicans. I want the Mexicans to get a hold of their own soil and work it without being forced to pay rent to guilty bystanders in San Francisco, Boston and Cincinnati. For I dearly love the Mexican people in Mexico. I would even love the Mexican people in the United States if they came here as tourists or to study our peculiar institutions for getting something for nothing. But the trouble with the Mexicans who come to our hospitable shore is they don't come to play or study. They come to work. Get that?—work.

They deprive poor but deserving American citizens of the glorious privilege of feeding concrete mixers, spreading asphalt on boiling avenues, juggling railroad ties when it's 100 in the shade and digging in three-foot veins. All these fine jobs belong to the Anglo-Saxon race by right of discovery, and, by golly, we're going to get them if we have to sacrifice the last landlord and his last dollar in the attempt.

So long as the Mexicans are shut out from their own land they are bound to come over here and take hard work away from superior races. The only way to keep them at home is to give them homes at home. If President Calles can give every Mexican a little farm in fee simple, as he says he will if we leave him alone, then before long every frugal Mexican will have a first and second mortgage on his farm, and if those twins don't keep his nose to the native grindstone I know nothing about mortgages.

However, I am afraid I'm getting ahead of my time, as usual. Those landlord warriors haven't gone to Mexico yet. Perhaps they won't go. And come to think about it, that kind never does go. So I guess they are waiting for me to go. Well, let 'em wait. My motto is "My country right or wrong, but my country ever." I'd rather be wrong and live in my own country than be right and get shot for somebody else's country.

Besides, this country is large enough for me. If it were twice as big my proportionate share in it would be still less. My interest in Mexico could be balanced on a consumptive moonbeam and it wouldn't even bend, and the same holds good for every working-man, farmer, storekeeper or professional man in the United States of America. "Our interest in Mexico," tell it to Sweeney. Tell it to William Randolph Hearst, to Charles Taft or editor Chandler, of the San Angelo Times. Tell it to my fellow-citizens Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller. But please leave us and I out of it. If these gentlemen think they have anything coming to them in Mexico let 'em go there and get it—or get it in their neck. Let the bugles blare and the snare drums snare—for me there is a place like home. Let the banners wave and the spouters rave—for me the girls they leave behind.

However, let no man call me a slacker. If Doheny, Sinclair, Rockefeller, Hearst, etc., shoulder guns to fight for our interest in Mexico I shall volunteer my service as a four-minute speaker. I have always been an advocate of a short work-day and two four-minute speeches a day comes about as near to my ideal of a fair day's work as I can think of.

Adam Coal-digger.

HOW TO CURE WORLD UNREST



No. 5
GIOVANNI PILEUPPI

San Francisco, Cal.—In a public statement Giovanni Pileuppi, a billionaire broker of this city, says he favors absolute restriction of all immigration from Europe, as the first step toward quieting the unrest that has become such a menace to profitable business. Mr. Pileuppi came to this country thirty years ago and claims that we have been getting nothing but the scum of Europe since his arrival.

Louis Blanc's Ideal THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph.D.

LIFE OF BLANC: The first Utopian Socialist to attempt to use the political machinery of his own time to put his ideas into operation was Louis Blanc (1813-1882). Blanc was the first also to appeal to the workers rather than the privileged classes to effect the social transformation and was in a sense a connecting link between the older utopians and the Marxian Socialists. He was utopian in that he felt that the impossible of his generation could in that generation become a reality.

Blanc was born in Madrid, Spain, where his father had been sent by Louis Bonaparte as Inspector-General of Finance. He passed his early years in Corsica, the home of his mother, studied in the College of Rodez, and continued his studies in Paris, earning part of his expenses by copying and teaching. After several years of editorial work, he founded, at the age of twenty-six, the *Revue de Progrès*, which became the organ of the advanced democrats of his time. It was in this paper that his most important socialist work, "Organisation du Travail," appeared serially in 1840. During the ensuing years he wrote excellent histories of the years 1830 to 1840, and of the French Revolution, and became a prominent member of the Provisional Government of 1848. As such, he demanded that the Government guarantee work to every one unable to obtain it elsewhere, and that it create a Ministry of Labor and Progress. He was afterwards forced to leave the country on account of alleged connection with an insurrectionary movement and resided in England as a correspondent until the overthrow of Napoleon III in 1870. In 1871, on returning to France, he was elected to the National Assembly as a member of the extreme Left, but, during the rising of the Commune of Paris, lost popularity with the revolutionists by opposing the insurrection. He even supported the 1872 law against the International Workingmen's Association. Blanc died in 1882, and was voted a State funeral by the Chamber of Deputies. He possessed a brilliant pen, and was noted for his simple, generous and lovable disposition and for his fine integrity.

Development of Personality: The Highest Aim: How did Blanc's concepts agree with those of his fellow utopians, and how did they differ from them? He was at one with many of his predecessors in emphasizing that human happiness and human development should be the goal of social effort. By development Blanc meant that everyone should have those means which he required for his highest mental, moral and physical growth; that each individual should have an opportunity to develop a well-rounded personality. How can society guarantee this sort of opportunity? It is not now guaranteed. The present competitive system means *bellum omnium contra omnes* (war of all against all). It pits every man against his brother. It renders man "the sole and exclusive judge of that which surrounds him, gives him an exalted sentiment of his rights without indicating to him his duties, abandons him to his own powers, and proclaims *laissez faire* as the only rule of government." The result is want and misery. Society must be transformed into a more brotherly system, modeled after the human body, which is the work of God. All men should be regarded as common members of one great family, and government should be based on common consent.

The Social Workshop: The first step in teaching the ideal society is in the contriving of some means whereby everyone shall be guaranteed work. This can best be at-

tained by the erection of social workshops by the State, "destined to replace gradually and without shock individual workshops." The poor cannot at present produce commodities without the capitalist because they do not own tools and machines necessary in production. These instruments should be furnished by the State, which thus becomes the banker of the poor. The State should lend to the workshops credit without interest, pass laws regulating their conduct, and see that they are administered for the common good. During the first year it should select the administrators on the basis of ability, but after that the workers, becoming better acquainted with each other, should have the power of selection. Thus the principle of workers' control would be established. Money for this State venture should be secured by the State from general taxation and from revenues derived from the railways—which must become public property—and from such other undertakings as mines, insurance enterprises, and banking.

The ateliers of workshops should be united into a great federation, and should form an insurance company to cover the losses of any individual workshop, a part of the profits of each concern being set apart for an insurance fund. Capitalists should be welcome in these shops. They should be paid interest on their capital investment, and should receive a wage for their labor. Private workshops should not be forced to join the federation, but inability to compete against these enterprises, would probably lead sooner or later to a merger. With the disappearance of these private concerns the socialist State would come into being. Such a State would assuredly be conducive to the best interests of the rich as well as the poor, for who can gain any contentment from an order like the present, in which so many are doomed to lives of misery?

Service According to Capacity: Blanc is not a believer in the equality of talents. He realizes that great differences exist in the powers and abilities of men. In the development of social industry the ideal to be attained is the placing of each individual in such a position that he may be able to use his capacities to the full. However, he should not use them for his own aggrandizement or for the exploitation of others. For God gave them to man as a measure of his obligation to society. "They are but the supreme indication of that which each one owes to the society of which he is a member; and this indication each one bears. . . . If you are twice as strong as your neighbor it is a proof that Nature has destined you to bear a double burden. If your intelligence is superior, it is a sign that your mission is to scatter about you more light. Weakness is a creditor of strength; ignorance is a creditor of learning. The more a man can, the more he ought; and this is the meaning of those beautiful words of the Gospel: 'Whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant.' Whence the axiom, From every one according to his faculties; that is one's duty."

Reward According to Needs: Man, then, should give according to his capacity. What should he receive? The Saint Simonians declared, as we have stated, that the reward of labor should be commensurate with works. Fourier would make a division among labor, capital and talent. Babeuf believed in absolute equality. Louis Blanc, however, rejected all of these formulas. They did not come up to a sufficiently high moral standard. The formula of the Saint Simonians, he believed, would condemn the weak to extinction, and would give to those who through no merit of their own, were born with superior ability, too great a handicap over their fellows.

Louis Blanc coined another formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Each one should have that which he finds necessary to the development of his capabilities, limited of course by the ability of society to supply these needs.

"All men are not equal in physical force, in intelligence; all have not the same tastes, the same inclinations, the same aptitudes, any more than they have the same visage or the same figure; . . . but each one should be placed in a condition to derive the greatest possible advantage from his faculties in so far as this can be done with due regard to others, and to satisfy as completely as possible, without injuring others, the needs which Nature has given him. Thus there is no health or vigor in the human body unless each member receives that which is able to preserve it from pain and to enable it to accomplish properly its peculiar function. Equality, then, is only proportionality, and it exists in a true manner only when each one, in accordance with the law written in some shape in his organization by God himself, produces according to his faculties and consumes according to his wants." Thus Blanc contributes an ideal of distinct merit in the sphere of distributive justice.

Misery the Great Materialistic Force: Blanc, in putting forth his plan to guarantee employment and gradually to usher in a new order, resented the charge that his proposal was a materialistic one. On the other hand, he claimed, it was laying the foundation for a nobler spiritual order, by eliminating the materialistic influence of misery. "Misery," he declared, "restrains the intelligence of man in darkness, in confining education with in shameful limits. Misery counsels always the sacrifice of personal dignity and almost demands it. Misery places him whose character is independent in a position of dependence, so as to counsel a new torment in a virtue and to change into gall what there is of nobility in his blood. If misery creates long suffering, it engenders also crime. . . . It makes slaves; it makes the greater part of thieves, assassins and prostitutes."

Government Organizes Social Workshops: While the complete Socialist State which he pictured could be brought about only gradually, Blanc felt that a start, through the establishment of a number of national workshops, could be made immediately. So, as a member of the Provisional Government in 1848, he put forward this idea with great insistence. This was opposed by a majority of the politicians of the day, but they felt that some pretense at trying his scheme should be made in order to stop public clamor. Everything, however, should be done to ensure failure. To make failure doubly sure, Emile Thomas, one of Blanc's worst enemies, was placed in charge. In appointing Thomas to his office, the Minister of Public Works wrote him that the experiment could not have anything but good results, "because it would demonstrate to the laborers the emptiness and falseness of these inapplicable theories and cause them to perceive the disastrous consequences flowing therefrom for themselves, and would so discredit Louis Blanc in their eyes that he should forever cease to be a danger."

Under these conditions, the workshops of necessity had but a short life, and during that short life their achievements were greatly misrepresented. Thus all hopes of an immediate start toward production for service vanished. Blanc's social principles, however, have had an important influence on the thought of the ever widening Socialist movement.

Bed Time Stories for the Bourgeoisie

UNTIL the other day I thought that a long and painful experience in the advertising and selling business had given me an intimate knowledge of the scum of the earth. I refer, of course, to the Go-Getting Salesman.

At different times I have become acquainted with murderers, forgers, pimps, pickpockets and professional gamblers (other than stock brokers, I mean), and in most instances I have found that these possessed certain engaging characteristics, the willingness to take chances, a whimsical outlook on life, a spirit of camaraderie, that made them not wholly unlovely.

The go-getting salesman has no such qualities. He goes from dewy morn to ginny eve, peddling his hokum, tearing his shirt, beating his breast, forcing a sullen world to surrender to his assaults by the very power of his brassy lungs.

"Boys, get the money," is his philosophy and he has made it a national slogan.

Because of his incredible activities, we go through this vale of tears cluttered up with one million and one things that no sane being could have the slightest use for. It is his insistent foot that forces open the doors of the country, his nasal voice that regulates the councils of Government, his god that we are compelled to worship.

For him there is but one god, Bruce Barton, and Dr. Crane is his prophet.

But, boys and girls, there are still lower forms of human life on this insane planet of ours. We live and learn. Lower even than the Male Go-Getter is the Female Go-Getter, a new type in the American scene that needs the pen of a Sinclair Lewis for adequate delineation.

Here she comes, broad-bosomed, steely-eyed, looking you over with snake-like deliberation, wondering how much you can be shaken down for. She is sexually chaste, don't mistake us; she is not to be confused with the professional "gold-digger." She is a business woman, pure but not so gosh-darned simple.

You will find her in the advertising agency, the uptown tea-shop, the more modern banks, the advanced "physical culture academies," the broker's office, and most especially the private "employment agencies."

And whether it's a lot at Rockaway, an investment in railroad securities, an a la carte lunch, an advertising campaign, or a job that she has to sell, take my tip and hang on to your watch all the while you talk to her.

In her there is the mercy of a hungry python confronted with a fat rabbit, the loving kindness of a Fundamentalist towards Clarence Darrow.

There are instances on record where a Male Go-Getter loved his victim carefree after the raid (called in the jargon of the trade the "canvass") was closed. After an encounter with a Female Go-Getter you are indeed lucky if you have so much as the buttons on your shirt left.

It is notorious that the worst employers of labor are those who have risen from the ranks. No tyrant of antiquity strutted quite so obscenely as strut the clothing manufacturers who a few short years ago were working at the bench.

Their excuse is that it is only natural to rub it in on the underdog once you get on the top of the heap—you are just giving back what you got.

But even this excuse fails the Female Go-Getter who sweats her help in tea-room, employment office, and business concern with a thoroughness that arouses even the grudging admiration of her male rivals.

Outwardly to her customers, except when they owe her money, she is all smiles, the fine retired gentlewoman, forced by cruel circumstances to make her way in the world and lavishly praised therefore by the dull young men of the American Magazine. Whether she is running a gyp millinery store on Sixth avenue or kidding the buyers in the back-room of a speak-easy in the padlocked Forties, the manner is the same. She is a "good fellow" working hard to keep the little home together and bring up the "kiddies," and she deserves the business.

But when the last customer has gone and she is alone with the shrinking clerks—oh man! how little you know about the fine art of skinning the help alive!

If you wonder how she gets anyone to work for her, you have never heard her hand out the line to an applicant! "Refined surroundings, dearie," "a chance to learn the business under the most pleasant auspices," "the telephone company is just one big family." And that last, by the way, is true, too true.

The Female Go-Getters who boss the telephone operators are splendid examples of what we mean. They make an exchange so much like a big family with popper sleeping off a bun, mommer moaning about her poor back, big brother strangling the cat, and little sister pulling off the wings of flies, that the New York Telephone Company's figures for labor turnover are almost as high as their rates.

Equal rights for women are O. K. with us. We aren't kicking about women's invasion of the business field. We'll admit that we were once old-fashioned enough to think that women might bring a softening influence to bear upon the cut-throats. But now that it turns out that the Female Go-Getters are more dangerous than the Male, we have no complaint.

Who knows but that in a few more years, when they have gained complete dominance over their masculine competitors, they will make all business so intolerable that the rest of us will rise and drive all these money-changers, male and female alike, out of the Temple which is Life?

McAlister Coleman.

THE WHITE MAN'S BLUDGEON IN INDIA

By D. CHAMAN LALL
Chairman of the All-India
Trades Union Congress

MR. JOHN BURNS, when asked by Chicago interviewers to state his opinion of Chicago, exclaimed: "Chicago is the epitome of Hell." Pressed to state, at the time of his departure, whether he had revised his opinion, he added: "Yes! Hell is the epitome of Chicago."

I have often invited Mr. John Burns to visit India. He will find there a worse Hell than the Chicago which he visited in the days of Jack London.

Harboring feelings not dissimilar to those which led Mr. Burns to describe Chicago so picturesquely, seeing poverty and disease and starvation all around me, I decided, five years ago, to set up a central organization of the dumb and driven workers of India. That organization is known as the All-India Trades Union Congress. Trade unionism was new to India. Our endeavour was to start with the principle of the One Big Union, to create Provincial Federations directly controlled by the Central Executive, to set up unions where none existed. Our movement has courted many failures, and here and there a success, but after five years of unremitting toil we are convinced that there is no going

back on the central principle which guides our actions. Today the All-India Trades Union Congress embraces more than 500,000 industrial workers.

Let me give you a glimpse of the tragic lives led by these despoiled and starving workers. In 1922 we held our Trades Union Congress at Jharia, in Behar. Jharia and the adjacent town of Ranigumpha produce about 84 per cent of the total coal supply of India. Thousands met us at the railway station—thousands that were half-naked. These people live in dark and unventilated huts which barely contain two beds. Often on the cold nights a family, possessing no covering, huddles round a coal fire, and, as there is no ventilation, sometimes falls into a sleep from which there is no waking.

Outside one of these huts we found a nude, emaciated baby lying on a dirty piece of torn cloth. The mother could not afford to buy any milk. Who looks after the babies when the mothers are at work? "God and a decrepit old woman"—we were told. Thus are nurtured the citizens of an empire.

Ghastly Conditions in "Misery-Laden" Country Described by Labor Leader

At every colliery I heard the same complaints of hunger, low wages, and bad housing, and nowhere a denial.

Fines are levied on the merest pretext, sometimes amounting to 25 per cent of the wages. The Industrial Commission appointed by the Government of India declared that a miner's wages were a little over seven pence a day. Nearly 200,000 miners are living on the verge of starvation.

Official statistics declare that an Indian miner raises 108.3 tons of coal in a year. The export price of this coal amounts to 1,200 rupees (the present value of the rupee is about 37 cents), and the miner gets out of this less than 70 rupees.

Again, take a glimpse at the man who produces the tea which you

drink in peace and security in your suburban home. The monthly average wage paid is as follows:

	1913	1921
Men	\$2.03	\$2.34
Women	1.57	1.92
Children94	1.15

Do not forget that dividends of 50 to 100 per cent and more have been declared by the British planters of Assam.

The poor Indian indentured laborers on the tea plantations revolted against these conditions and against slave penal laws which tied them to the soil (under the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act) and set out for home on foot. Government agents placed Gurkha soldiers at the disposal of the planters, and hundreds of the laborers were bayoneted. Many perished of hunger and cholera on this march, but

none returned to the plantations.

Let me proceed to an examination of the textile industry. Infant mortality in the cotton area sometimes reaches 667 per 1,000. The workers often live in one-room dwellings, open pitch dark, traversed by an open drain. According to the report issued in 1914 by the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the death-rate from consumption was ten times higher in the slums of Calcutta than in the slums of Birmingham.

The average wages in the cotton industry in Bombay vary between \$10 and \$11 a month. Women workers get a little over \$5 a month. Compare with this the position of a mill with paid up shares of the value of £17 each. The market quotation of these shares in 1920 was nearly £143. It paid a dividend of 120 per cent in 1920.

Similar conditions are to be found among the jute workers of Calcutta. The average wage is nearer 10 shillings a month than 15 shillings. Dividends often amount to over 100 per cent per annum.

Now there is a lesson to be learned from this tale of misery. Our masters in India are both Indian and British. The tea-planters are mostly British. Many cotton mill owners are British. Out of 76 jute mills, 74 are owned by the British capitalist.

Your capitalist can afford to shut down his factory in Britain so long as he can depend upon slave labor in India and elsewhere. Such labor conditions as I have depicted are a menace not only to India, but to the workers of Great Britain and to humanity. No optimist has yet denied that the average income of an Indian today, under a system of ruthless capitalist exploitation, is a little over threepence a day. English publicists have stated that millions in India get no more than one meal a day, and that millions have actually died of starvation and many more millions of preventable disease during the nineteenth century.

Shall such an abomination, made possible by the present system of Imperialistic exploitation, continue?

India today, to use Mr. Bernard Shaw's expression, is a kept nation. The keeper is the capitalist exploiter—often your master in Great Britain and our master in India. He has invested more than a thousand millions every year. You can drain him of the last penny by your incessant struggle against him, but you will never break the magic ring of slavery which surrounds you, unless you rob him of the power to rob the world. The combined might of the organized millions of Indian workers and of the organized workers of Great Britain can achieve this.

Today there is no greater enemy of the common people than he who mumbles the foolish saying: "The eyes of the fool are turned to the four corners of the world." The cry of the Brotherhood of Man (and let me say: The Brotherhood of the Working Man) is not merely a great spiritual truth, it is sound economics. And I ask my colleagues in the Labor Movement, the British, in particular, to make a beginning by applying the full significance of this truth to the condition of the misery-laden workers of India.

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

International For Free Trade

After a discussion of the hampering effect upon world trade being exercised by the riot of protectionism now in progress in nearly every "civilized" country, the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, at its meeting in Amsterdam on June 29-30, passed the following resolution:

"The International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam places on record that since the war a protectionist commercial policy has been carried on to an ever-increasing degree in all European countries; a policy which divides the peoples, instead of uniting them. Not only the newly-created post-war States, but also the old free trade countries, are being swept into this tendency. The International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam wishes to raise a warning voice against this policy; it herewith urges the affiliated National Trade Union centres to fight protectionism in their countries as being a burden to the peoples and as tending to increase unemployment and the cost of living, and it calls upon the centres to make an energetic stand for the general withdrawal of customs tariffs and for the creation of an economic alliance, the object of which shall be to secure the international distribution of raw materials, thereby making impossible unfair competition between the nations arising out of sweating and dumping."

The Executive Committee turned down a series of proposals made by the Communist International, the Red Trade Union International and the International Workers' Relief for joint relief action in China, but decided to collect information from all the Chinese unions with which it could get in touch in order to learn what assistance was required and how it could be effected. Decision was postponed regarding sending a committee of inquiry to China; as suggested in a cablegram sent to the British Trade Union Congress General Council by a group of Chinese unions immediately following the beginning of the trouble in Shanghai.

It was decided to continue protesting against the anti-union policy of the Mussolini Government and to urge the organized workers of the world to renew their campaign for freedom of organization in Italy.

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The features of the third congress of the Polish Federation of Trade Unions, held in Warsaw, June 11-14, were reports showing that material gains were being made in the matter of settling the troublesome problem of national minorities and that the consolidation of the various national unions was making rapid progress. Since 1919 the number of national unions has been reduced from sixty-seven to thirty-one. Due to unemployment, emigration and internal dissension, the membership of the Polish unions on January 1, 1925, was only 300,221, against 369,814 a year before and 445,774 in 1921, but the decline apparently has been brought to a standstill and the prospects for recovery are said to be favorable. The report of the national officers calling for firm resistance to the employers' war upon protective legislation and the unions, for further centralization of the organization and for close cooperation with the Socialist Parties, was adopted practically unanimously, as the near-Communist opposition had only eleven out of a total of 174 delegates. At a conference held in Katowice on June 19 under the chairmanship of Johann Sassenbach, one of the Secretaries of the International Federation of Trade Unions, between representatives of the Polish Trade Unions and of the German unions in Upper Silesia, steps were taken toward effecting unity between the two organizations so that eventually the German unions would form a part of the Polish central organization, although retaining considerable autonomy. Although no definite proposals were acted upon, the feeling of the delegates seemed to be that the difficulties created by the division of Upper Silesia due to the plebiscite of 1921 were in a fair way to be overcome in the near future.

Workers' Education in Italy

In a report on the National Center for Workers' Education in Italy, the establishment of which was mentioned in The New Leader of July 4, the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U. says: that the new body is being backed by the General Confederation of Trade Unions, the National Cooperative League and the Federation of Labor Insurance Societies. It comprises the various Labor education bodies, the Labor University, the Groups of the Friends of Art, the Labor Holiday and Sports Union and similar organizations. Its full name is the Federation of Cultural, Educational and Sports Associations. That the Fascist Government fears the new educational movement and is hastening to build a backfire against it is indicated by a decree of that Government establishing a National After-work Center for the purpose of developing and centralizing all sorts of educational and sporting activities and incidentally carrying on "propaganda," the kind of which may easily be imagined.

Progress in Central America
According to reports received by the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U., the seventh conference of the Trade Union Federation of Nicaragua, recently held in Managua, may be regarded as the beginning of a new era for unionism in Nicaragua, as new rules based upon modern Socialist principles were adopted which should result in the affiliation

of a number of groups that have thus far stood aloof from the central body. Twenty organizations were represented at the conference. At the second congress of the Trade Union Federation of Salvador, held May 1, eighteen affiliated and six non-affiliated groups were represented. The congress revised the rules of the organization and elected a Central Committee made up, according to the Amsterdam Bureau, of "comrades of the most class-conscious type."

Cubans Would Free Marichal
Accion Socialista, the Havana Labor paper, reports the organization of a strong committee of railroad men and other Labor and Socialist leaders for the purpose of urging President Machado to pardon Emilio Marichal, the youth serving a jail sentence for having slightly wounded Archibald Jacks, the British manager of the United Railways of Havana, on June 9, 1924, during the height of the excitement caused by a strike forced by Jacks' stubbornness. The committee has already appealed to the Socialist and Labor International, the British Labor party and the big British railroad unions to use their influence with the British Government in Marichal's behalf.

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IGLESIAS AT NEW POST

New Pan-American Labor Secretary at His Desk

SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, president of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, who was recently elected Spanish-language secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has arrived in Washington and assumed his new duties.

Mr. Iglesias succeeds Canuto A. Vargas, who resigned as Spanish-language secretary when he was appointed labor attaché to the United States by the Mexican Government.

Among the first matters to engage the attention of Mr. Iglesias will be the conference of representatives of Mexican and United States organized labor, to be held in Washington late in August. The conference will discuss immigration matters and will also, it is expected, take up questions raised by Secretary of State Kellogg's much criticized statement on Mexican affairs.

"I feel sure," said Mr. Iglesias to International Labor News Service, "that the conference will be productive of much good and will serve to strengthen the good will existing between the workers of Mexico and the United States. The meeting will show the world at large that the toilers of two great republics—the United States and Mexico—are firm in their friendship and are determined to work together, despite the efforts of those who may strive to stir up ill feeling between the two nations. I am convinced that the results of the conference will make a favorable impression, not only in Mexico and the United States but in all of Latin-America."

Discussing his work for the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Mr. Iglesias said that foremost among his activities would be to build up the labor movement in Porto Rico, Cuba, Mexico and the nations of Central and South America. He said that recent reports have convinced him that the workers of Latin-America are awakening to the urgent need of organization and are showing a keener interest in organization than ever before.

"The workers of the United

States," he said, "have demonstrated the value of organization beyond the shadow of a doubt and the workers in Spanish-speaking countries of North and South America are beginning to profit by the example of their fellow toilers in the great Republic of the North. The Pan-American Federation of Labor expects to

take full advantage of this feeling and to push the work of organization and the gospel of trade unionism in every Latin-American nation. In this work I am confident that we will have the hearty support of every organization affiliated with the Pan-American Federation."

Mr. Iglesias will continue as Presi-

dent of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor and will work, as heretofore, to organize the toilers of Porto Rico under the banner of the Federation, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He will also retain his seat in the Porto Rican Senate, where he has been a consistent and effective champion of the interests of the working people of Porto Rico.

Though born in Spain, Mr. Iglesias has lived most of his life in Porto Rico and he understands thoroughly the needs and aspirations of the people of the island. He is also familiar with conditions affecting the workers of Cuba, where he spent some years.

THE PRICE OF TRUTH

By DANIEL MORGAN

AS one of the 6,000,000 voters who supported the late Mr. Bryan during all the stirring scenes from 1896 to 1908, I was finally compelled to question his honesty. On the witness stand, under the brilliant scientific questioning of Clarence Darrow, he had to acknowledge that he had never been honest enough to examine the religion of his parents.

He revealed himself as an expert barker for the great side-show of the circus of capitalism. This is the same side-show that has served to uphold the power of rulers and chieftains from the earliest ages.

As soon as a man arose in barbaric times who could swing a bigger club than any one else in his tribe, the stern logic of events made him the leader.

It was likewise inevitable that the tribe's soothsayer would have to support the new leader, otherwise he might have his own head knocked off.

Changed Bosses And thus arose the partnership of Church and State. Now that we have deposed kings as masters, we have simply changed to bosses that

rule by wealth. It is a sad fact how history is bound to repeat itself.

The one thing that the early American pioneers of 300 years ago were united on was to break up the alliance between Church and State. Now, as we have simply changed rulers, we have the same old fight on our hands which our early Americans so bravely tried to win.

Thus it happens that in 1925 we are faced by a condition similar to that which confronted Europe as a result of the thirty years' war from 1618 to 1648.

"These are the times that try men's souls," just as surely now as in the times of Thomas Paine and the American Revolution. We still have the same old job of weeding out the sheep from the goats, of sifting the chaff out of the wheat, of separating error from truth.

Now I will give you a formula, a yardstick, which I devised more than a quarter-century ago, but which has until now not appeared in print: ETERNAL CRITICISM IS THE PRICE OF TRUTH.

A Magic Key

This is the key that will open every door that can be opened. By applying the yardstick of criticism to every problem it is possible to ascertain the truth. And it can be done in no other way. So if you, dear reader, have not the courage

and honesty to use criticism you will never get anywhere. In economics you will still be a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water." In politics and citizenship you will still follow the leader's chariot or bandwagon and pick up the crumbs of patronage.

In the field of morals and ethics you will not dare to formulate new and truthful rulers of your own as long as you blindly worship the idiotic dogmas and creeds of the past. But you can be free from bigotry, from economic slavery, from political childishness, if you will think for yourself and criticize unmercifully every proposition that confronts you.

Thus you will acquire the newer freedom that will finally lead to happiness and prosperity here on this earth, regardless of the fear of everlasting torment or the promise of eternal bliss.

This is truly an age of transition. The old fetishes are being junked every day. The old idols are being knocked off their high perches. The old lies are being found out. And every one of us must do his or her part.

Freedom and happiness will never be conferred on us by others; we have to earn them ourselves. Therefore, I say again that Eternal criticism is the price of truth.

The CHATTER-BOX

(Continued from Page 12)

print what to him sounds like a mere product of our poisoned imagination. "It moves nevertheless," we say with Galileo under the lash of the Doctor.

His defense of the drug store pirates is as short and general as could be without admitting the truth of our contentions, that doctors recommend to their patients certain drug stores for prescriptions; that Prescription Pete must in the nature of business appreciate the recommendations in the form of service or money, for which the poor patient pays well when he pays \$1 for a powder that costs actually, with all overhead, 13 cents. We suppose the Doctor will ask us to commandeer the books of our corner druggist to prove our point.

As for the family medico, whatever we have said about him we say, repeat, and will continue to repeat, until those who come under the indictment commence to take their profession seriously. They are as a class thoroughly unread, indifferent to the intellectual development of themselves and their work, and as void of ideals as any produce dealer on First Avenue. We have always looked upon the art of Hippocrates as one of the highest. It is the most important to the physical well-being of humanity. It is criminal to have it degraded and desecrated by irresponsible, self-seeking little business grubbers. If the situation can be remedied during the transition of the world from capitalism to Socialism, it is our task to attempt it. For heaven knows, no one suffers more from inadequate and stupid doctoring than the worker who cannot afford the real specialist and comfortable

hospital accommodation. The horrible ghoulery of a tree-buck-a-visit medico recommending a specialist at \$25 a visit to a worker earning \$35 a week, and then sharing to the extent of \$5 to \$10 in the fee, is unfortunately still rampant. Maybe the Doctor will want proof of this last statement. If he does not know it—then we envy him his blissful oblivion.

S. A. DE WITT.

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NEW MANHATTAN CASINO

155th

LET US SUPPOSE

By G. R. KIRKPATRICK

SUPPOSE all of us lived entirely on fish.

Of course, in such case the production and distribution of fish would be of prime importance. That would be one of the "great questions of the twentieth century," the "burning question of the hour," a "paramount issue," if you please.

Let us suppose also that the total available supply of fish is in two equally good, well-stocked lakes—with plenty of fish for all of us in either lake. Let us suppose further that one of these lakes is socially owned and socially controlled, with a social purpose, the social purpose being the welfare of all who are willing to get a living by producing a living. Then let us suppose that the other lake is owned and controlled privately by a corporation of pompous and cunning "leading citizens," "big business men," capitalists who are in the fish business for profits.

Let Us Suppose All Of Us Lived On Fish.....

Now, let us suppose that you are free to fish in either lake, just as you may prefer—on the following conditions:

First—If you fish in the socially-owned lake and catch five fish, you will be required to give up one fish (to cover your share of the general expenses of upkeep, superintendence, etc.) and keep four fish for yourself.

Second—If you fish in the privately-owned lake, and catch five fish, you will be required to give up one fish—as before, to cover your share of the expenses of superintendence, upkeep, etc.—and also give up three more fish as net profits for the private owners, and keep one fish for yourself.

Question: Which lake would you fish in—if you are not crazy or bewildered with the advice of your "superiors"?

Wait! Hold on! If you are a working man, just a wage-earner, a "hand," a clerk, a servant, a "stung" farmer, a person of the working class, if you "work for a living," you should be very careful how you venture in answering such a great question. By all means, before you risk an answer to this question, you should see some of your "superiors," a big business man, a banker, a mineowner, a railway magnate, a statesman, a politician, or a college professor who knows he'll lose his job if he answers sensibly. All of them will always give you the wrong answer, but you will be so bewildered you will accept their cunning advice. A child will promptly give you the correct answer—because the child's mind is not yet poisoned and thus paralyzed with false and vicious economic teachings to suit the interests of the economic ruling class.

Please don't try to answer it yourself. You might get the headache.

Your superiors will always advise you to fish in the privately-owned lake, catch five fish and give up four fish. Common sense clearly urges you to fish in the socially-owned lake, catch five fish and keep four fish.

For thousands of years millions of chattel slaves accepted the advice of their superiors and remained slaves, supporting the "superior" social parasites who advised them that the "Lord loves the poor and the meek" and the stupidly humble. Slaves accepted slavery.

For many hundreds of years tens of millions of serfs—under serfdom—accepted the advice of their superiors, supporting the social parasites who gave them the false advice that the "Lord loves the lowly and the poor" and the stupidly humble. Serfs accepted serfdom.

Today hundreds of millions of wage-earners in capitalist nations accept from their "superiors" the cunning advice that "poverty is a blessing in disguise," and that one fish is better than four.

And thus they make a "sucker" of the worker.

Now let us read the nobly eloquent and unforgettably beautiful words of the prophet, Ezekiah, 23rd Chapter and 13th verse: "It is inconvenient to be crazy and it is hell to be a fool."

The New Leader Mail Bag.

Objection and Answer

Editor, The New Leader:

It is with sorrow that I find The New Leader persists in being an infidel paper instead of a Socialist paper. You misrepresented it to me as a Socialist paper and I subscribed for it. You have cheated my family and my neighbors out of a Socialist paper as I am obliged to consign it to the fire instead of passing it on.

You may fool a lot of subscribers by misrepresenting it to subscribe once, but that is all. Your object is not Socialism but monkeyism. You print some grand Socialism, then kill it all by your ungodly infidel poison, more poisonous and dangerous to a Christian home than the rattlesnake's fangs. You use Socialism only to try to get your deadly poison in Christian homes.

You have a right to your opinion, but you have no right to use Socialism as your scapegoat. You curse Socialism. You do it more harm than all its enemies. We need a Socialist paper badly in this community but no infidel paper.

U. A. WELCHONS.
Falls Creek, Pa.

We regret to learn that you misunderstand the policy of The New Leader. It is not an agnostic or infidel paper, no more than the New York World and many other papers are that oppose the Fundamentalist law of Tennessee. We would oppose a Catholic law of this character or a law that attempted to make Evolution a State dogma. We believe that teaching should be free and all ideas, whether religious, scientific or political, should have an opportunity to compete for the allegiance of human beings without any one being especially selected by the State or being especially excluded by the State.

We have opposed the Ku Klux Klan, which has tried to give its views a specially protected status by the State. We have always been opposed to any such favoritism to Catholics or others. This is the historical position of Socialist parties in all countries. This does not mean belief or opposition to religious beliefs. Our Socialist movement has in it people of all sorts of religious beliefs, but as Socialists they recognize the danger of State legislation favoring or opposing any one belief.

Darrow is an agnostic and we opposed his support of the Democratic party last year. Ingersoll was of the same type and was a Republican. We would fight him to the last ditch as a supporter of capitalism if he lived today. First, last and all the time we stand for the workers and their final emancipation from capitalism. We oppose injection of religious questions which have always been used to divide the masses and insure their exploitation by the ruling classes.

This is our position and we cannot depart from it. We know that most of the professional agnostics and infidels are also supporters of capitalism and for us to become an agnostic paper would be for us to range it with these capitalistic supporters.—Editor.

Sweating the Engineers

Editor, The New Leader:

It will be considered a great help by the United States Engineers, First District, New York, if you would publish and bring before the public the contents of the enclosed article. We will greatly appreciate your cooperation in enlightening the people of our existence and working conditions.

A Government Engineer.

The City Engineers have raised another howl about their wages, for they have the right to kick; but has any one given a thought to what salaries the Engineers employed by the Government in the First District, New York, receive? Their pay is even less than that of the City Engineers; it has been a mys-

tery as to reasons why the Government Engineers have not received increases in the past few years. The pay averages from \$115 to \$160 per month to men who have gone through colleges—to men who have studied from four to five long years and who are constantly facing true dangers in overcoming obstacles to place ranges or take soundings in order to make the rivers safe for navigation. They work regardless of weather conditions and great responsibilities are placed on their shoulders. Can anyone, then, justly blame an Engineer who quits his job with the Government after obtaining sufficient practical experience? Accuracy, speed are wanted; but does their pay warrant them? The Engineer is praised for his work by his superior, but why is he rebuked when he demands more money or promotion? These are the vital questions which the men cannot get suitable answers to, and so they search for places that have better working conditions and better prospects of promotion, where they receive more pay. Interest in the work is thus thrown to the winds as time goes by and the general efficiency takes a sudden drop. These are the conditions that exist today in United States Government employment. The heads of the department know about them, but so far they have shown no interest to correct them. An investigation is therefore absolutely necessary, and it is the voice of all the men employed to know why they are not treated fair and square.

It cannot go on indefinitely; steps have to be taken to correct these evils, and they must be taken soon.

Science and Religion

Editor, The New Leader:

In regard to Mr. Benjamin Chass's article in The New Leader, I would like to say a few words if you will be fair and print them. Mr. Chass calls those who believe in God and stand by the Christian faith and the Church "religious bigots." Now, in the dark ages Christians were persecuted, killed, sawed asunder, boiled in oil, yet they increased in number.

Josephus tells of the Roman army slaughtering thousands of helpless unarmed men and women and children because they believed and worshipped the true God. Now we see the same resentment by Mr. Chass in the expression "religious bigots." But the Christian religion went through fire, stood the test, and there are millions of Christians today who will testify to the power of God to save from sin and thousands can testify to the power of Christ to heal the afflicted body and who know by experience.

Can Mr. Chass produce one witness who has ever been benefited by this Darwinism or monkey philosophy? Hasn't faith in God and His word, the Bible, been tested time and again and always proved true? Take the Bible history of the Jews. Mr. Chass, if you believe that, each time that they forgot God and went into idolatry they were punished; and it seems that any sane man would accept Jewish history, for we have them today just as the word of God told thousands of years ago.

But this little bunch of Evolution scientists of about 5,000 that Mr. Chass called truth would have them force their Evolution theory down the throats of the 110,000,000 people in the United States. Now that seems preposterous to me. Mr. Chass says that Church and State should be kept separate. We grant it, but should the State force this monkey anti-religion on our children in the public schools? I say no. I have no objection to some people believing their ancestors were monkeys, but when they want to teach our children such rot we call a halt. No one but an atheist would foster such doctrine as that. He cites Luther Burbank. Now Mr. Burbank is too smart a man to believe that gravity, electricity, velocity of light, or telescope, microscope, or spectroscopic has anything or any quali-

ties that would cause a monkey to evolve into a man.

E. O. ROBERTSON.
Fallbrook, Calif.

Answer

Our contributor, Benjamin Chass, did not call those who "believe in God" "religious bigots." There is nothing in his article to warrant this assumption. He applied the phrase to all those who would exclude the teaching of Evolution from educational institutions and who would make teaching of the Fundamentalist creed obligatory. This is the main issue he stressed and it is the fundamental issue today in matters of education. It is not a question as to whether religion or science shall be taught, but whether one shall be selected to the exclusion of the other. Fundamentalists want to include their creed and to exclude science. The truth or falsehood of either religion or science is not involved in this issue.

Here we want to emphasize for the benefit of all correspondents like Mr. Robertson that The New Leader has only one interest in this matter. It fights for free education in all fields, the presentation of all subjects within the sphere of education, and will oppose the selection of any special doctrine, creed or science for State support. It so happens that Fundamentalists are trying to make their creed a State dogma. We oppose such favoritism and we would oppose it if some other creed, science, philosophy, doctrine or belief, was seeking such State support.—Editor.

Congreve's "Love for Love," seen at the Greenwich Village Theatre during the spring, will reopen at Daly's Sixty-third Street Theatre on September 24, under the management of A. L. Jones and Morris Green.

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Frank Walker, H. Kramer,
President Vice-President
A. Fugittie, Wm. Dattelbach,
Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y
H. Vais, August Schrempf,
Treasurer Business Agent

United Hebrew Trades
375 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 11 Noon.
M. ABRAMSON, Chairman
M. GOLDOWSKY, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTONE, Secretary-Treasurer

PAINTERS' UNION
LOCAL 892
Office and Headquarters: 214 E. 59th St.
Tel. Regent 2625
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening
David Callanan, Clarence Barcos,
President Vice-President
Peter Golden, J. J. Connell,
Vice-President Fin. Sec'y

WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS
Local 219, N. & R.E.J.A. & B.I.L. of A.
Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 80 ST., N.Y.
LENEX 1874
Regular Meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M.
Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Levy,
President Vice-President Sec'y

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51
Headquarters 366 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 5629
Day Room Open Daily, 1 A. M. to 6 P. M.
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA,
President Vice-President
M. McDONALD, G. F. HUBBEN,
Vice-President Rec. Sec'y
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

MEETING HALL TO RENT
FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES. Seating Capacity 350.
LOCAL 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
BRUNO WAGNER, President,
CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

German Painters' Union
LOCAL 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
BRUNO WAGNER, President,
CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.
176 E. B'way. Orchard 5259
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
AL GRABAL, President
L. KORN, S. JACOB,
Manager Sec'y

Structural Iron Workers
UNION, Local 361, Brooklyn
Office: Telephone
371 Pacific Street Cumberland 1819
Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.
Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
at Columbus Hall, State and Court Sts.
Charles McDermott, E. R. Culver,
President Sec'y-Rep.

Amalgamated Lithographers
of America, New York Local No. 1
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 265 WEST 14th ST.
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at
ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE
Pat'k Hannon, A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Flynn, Frank Schel, Treas.
Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y

N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union
Local 51, International Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union
Office: 22 WEST 10TH STREET
Regular Meetings Every 2nd Thursday at 8 P. M.
PHILIP UNSTADTER, President
Edward Neway, John E. Donnelly, Chas. T. Stewart, Wm. Anthony,
Sec'y-Treas. Rec. Sec'y Bus. Agent

N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union
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Sec'y-Treas. Rec. Sec'y Bus. Agent

UNION DIRECTORY

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

BRICKLAYERS' UNION
LOCAL 34
Office: 239 EAST 84th STREET Telephone Lenox 4289
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS UNION
Local No. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage.
Regular Meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENGERT, President, CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y.
VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President, JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer.
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y. ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America
LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 5674.
THOMAS DALTON, President, CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent.
HARRY P. KILERT, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

Carpenters and Joiners of America
LOCAL 385
67-69 Lexington Avenue. Madison Square 5197.
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.
MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres. J. CASTELLI, President.
N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent. WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary.
CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary.

Carpenters & Joiners of America
Local Union 366
Regular meetings every Monday evening
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Dulcan, Fin. Sec'y
Victor Sant, Vice President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas Nobis, Business Agent
Board of Trustees—Jas. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Glaw

Carpenters and Joiners of America,
LOCAL UNION No. 808
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue.
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours, every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HALLKETT, SYDNEY PEARCE, HENRY COOK, Treasurer.
FRANK HOFFMAN, JOHN THALER, CHARLES FRIEDELL, Business Agent.
Vice-President Fin. Secretary.

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS
LOCAL UNION 1456, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA.
67-69 Lexington Avenue. Madison Square 4992.
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President.
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y.
Christopher Gulbransen, Charles Johnson, Sec'y.
Recording Secretary Business Agents

COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS
UNION, Local 63, I. H. C. & C. L. of A.
Office, 12 St. Marks Place. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day.
DRY DOCK 6062.
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
DANIEL HUNT, PETER FINNERAN, JOHN MCPARTLAN, JOSEPH MORAN,
Vice-Pres. Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary Bus. Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60
Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY,
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. JOSEPH LAMONTE,
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y.

Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76
Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283
Meets Every 2d and 4th Wednesday, Beethoven Hall, 210 East 6th St., 6:30 Sharp
RALPH LEVY, President
H. VALENTINE, Vice-President HERMAN ALPERT, Sec'y-Treasurer
PIERCE H. DEAMEL, Bus. Agent S. BLOOM, Secretary

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 Lehigh 2141
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 9138
LEON 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 3rd Sunday of Every Month at
SHIELDS HALL, 57 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418
Of Queens County, New York.
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 East 84th Street.
MICHAEL J. MCGARATH, President.
WILLIAM PIOTTA, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHTENS, 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
Office 2023 Fifth Avenue. Phone Harlem 4878.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 East 84th Street.
MATTHEW J. MORAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President.
FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary.
GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT DREW.

International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
JOHN F. BURKE, President-Secretary, 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers
LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9733.
Regular Meeting every Monday evening, at 183 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board Meets every Friday evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
THOMAS F. OATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

CALIFORNIA

District Organizer Emil Herman reports the regional convention at Los Angeles a great success, with 250 delegates present and enthusiastic for the upbuilding of the State movement in lower California. The banquet is likewise reported as a rousing event long to be remembered because of the renewed fellowship, the happy speeches, and Debs' compelling power in his reviving, inspiring address.

The demonstration Sunday afternoon at Hollywood Bowl was a rouser. Herman reports 7,000 people present. Union Sinclair presiding; 900 books sold, great enthusiasm, a great oration by Debs, and a deep renewal of determination that the Socialist movement shall live again in California and march on to control of the Golden State.

Comrade Herman's latest achievement was the sale of forty-two yearly subscriptions to the American Appeal in one day last week. He writes: "Send me a new supply of American Appeal cards but no half-yearlies." Comrade Herman is now on an organization and reorganization tour in the valleys of Southern California, even more zealous than ever before to make things happen. He is enthusiastic over the regional convention and demonstration in Los Angeles.

Next on the program was the convention banquet and demonstration in San Francisco, August 1 and 2.

ILLINOIS

William R. Snow is now on the job in Chicago working on the old-time organization, getting everything in line for the regional convention-demonstration, going strong. His results are sufficient to make him smilingly optimistic, yet Snow is one of the boys who rarely get excited. So his smile of confidence is significant of success in the organization work. Comrades Lillith Wilson and George R. Kirkpatrick spoke on August 1 at a Socialist picnic held in the Forest Preserve at north end of Karlov avenue. "Kirk's" picture was distributed to keep the crowd from being too large.

WISCONSIN

In Wisconsin everything is ready for some effective activity in the rebuilding of the State movement. On August 9 there will be a general rally and picnic at Wausau. Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee and William Coleman of Milwaukee will be the speakers. There is every indication that the movement is improving in Wisconsin. The District Organization work will be a real boost to the general movement throughout the State.

MICHIGAN

District Organizer Joseph F. Viola now has an average temperature of 700 in the shade. At Detroit he made a speech that pleased and roused the comrades and friends in a great way. Someone asked him a simple question about the American Appeal. Then Joseph started again—and went a considerable distance, with the result that right then and there they sold \$67 worth of American Appeal cards. Joseph is now in Pontiac scoring low-gear. State

Secretary Charles Robson is on the war-path for a real State organization. His cooperation with Comrade Viola is all that it should be—and that is a lot.

PENNSYLVANIA

TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS

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

State Office Notes

Birch Wilson, National District Organizer for Pennsylvania, expects to go into Scranton this week to arrange for a Debs meeting about the middle of September. He hopes to reorganize several branches in that part of the State and all New Leader readers there are urged to write him, General Delivery, Scranton, and to cooperate with him in every way possible.

As usual during the summer months our due stamp sales have fallen off. All branch treasurers are urged to look up their members and see that they place themselves in good standing. This will put money in the treasury of the branches, locals, State and National Offices, and will make it possible for us to go ahead with organization work.

The distribution of literature is our most important duty. We must educate the people towards a new social order. Get your neighbor to read a good leaflet or pamphlet and then discuss it with him. Show him how much better it will be to work together for the good of all than it is to try to acquire wealth for yourself at the expense of your fellow-men. Society is naturally evolving towards Socialism, but its evolution will be greatly retarded if we do not counteract the propaganda of Big Business. What a noble task is ours! We should be proud to be Socialists and prouder still to be torch-bearers of knowledge in the dungeons of ignorance.

Count that day lost whose low descending sun Views, by thy book or voice, no Socialist convert won.

Comrade Birch Wilson will take up district organization work in Pennsylvania at once, working first in the locality of Scranton, where his organization work will also promote the success of the Debs meeting to be held in Scranton in September. Pennsylvania is an important State in our movement and always has been. Comrade Wilson's work will be a perfect test of conditions there, seven years after the war, revealing what is or what is not possible in the way of organization. No one could go about his organization work more methodically than Comrade Wilson is now preparing to do. Moreover, he is thoroughly acquainted with every county in the State.

INDIANA

William H. Henry refuses to let up. He is placing the matter of

organization up to the comrades and friends in a businesslike way, as a business proposition, the upbuilding of an organization for the defense of the workers. He visits a town, not to tease them to "come on in," but to get together for self-defense in the increasing crisis in the life of Labor in the United States. His success is most encouraging.

OHIO

Local Dayton holds a picnic August 9. Joseph W. Sharts, August Panshar, State Secretary, and George R. Kirkpatrick will be the speakers. Visitors are expected from surrounding counties for a high old time. Dayton once had an organization that could distribute 50,000 pieces of literature systematically at the front doors of residences in 45 minutes. The Dayton comrades are determined to rebuild that movement—bigger than ever.

NEW JERSEY

Leo M. Harkins is discontinuing his city organizing work in Cleveland to begin activities as District Organizer in New Jersey at once. Comrade Harkins has all along been the first choice of the New Jersey comrades for the work of District Organizer in that State. His engagement in Cleveland has interfered with his acceptance of the New Jersey engagement. He now feels free to go ahead in that State, and the comrades there are greatly encouraged with the prospect of months of systematic work by a District Organizer of energy and ability who is well acquainted with the State movement and its resources for really great organization. The New Jersey organization has been most loyal to the National Office in the matter of contributions to the Organization Maintenance Fund.

The State Committee has decided that Comrade Harkins begin his work in Hudson County. Comrade Harkins is now circulating several hundred prospectus in this county and will attend a joint meeting of the County Committee and the Campaign Committee of Local Hudson County at Party headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, on Monday evening, August 10, at which plans will be made for the immediate canvassing of the prospects who are now being circulated.

State Committee meeting, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, Sunday, August 9, at 2 p. m.

Outdoor Meetings in Hudson County, Saturday, August 8

HOBOKEN—Washington and 5th streets. Speaker: Leo M. Harkins, Socialist candidate for Governor of New Jersey.

BAYONNE—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker: Richard Boyajian, Union City—Summit avenue and Courtlandt street. Speaker: Charles Kruse.

UNION CITY—Bergenline avenue and Main street. Speaker: May Harris Mainland.

WEST NEW YORK—Bergenline avenue and 14th street. Speaker: Frank Crosswaith.

MARYLAND

The meetings held by State Organizer William A. Toole every night in Baltimore are growing in popularity. When these meetings first started this year, it was difficult to interest people, largely on account of the reaction from the disappointing La Follette campaign. This attitude is now rapidly disappearing, and the meetings are growing in size and interest.

At present, Organizer Toole is speaking as follows: Every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday night at the corner of Baltimore and Commerce (Holliday) streets. Monday nights at Baltimore street and Carrollton avenue; Wednesday nights at 36th street and Roland avenue in Hampden; Friday nights at Eastern avenue and Third street in Highlandtown. All meetings begin at 7:30 p. m.

These meetings, however, are subject to change to suit the wishes of the Maryland Socialists. Organizer Toole desires to hear from Socialists in Baltimore or anywhere in the counties of Maryland who desire meetings. They are requested to write to William A. Toole, State Organizer, 2134 North Fulton avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

District Organizer Lewis is now in Attleboro, Massachusetts, reorganizing the Socialist Local there. He has a long list of prospective members and undoubtedly he will have a fine functioning local. After finishing in Attleboro, he plans to go to Taunton, Massachusetts, which place offers an excellent opportunity for the formation of a local.

Comrade Claessens will speak from the band-stand in the Boston Common, Sunday, August 9, and on Winter and Tremont streets, Boston, Monday, August 10, August 11 and 12, he will speak in Quincy on Chubbuck and Washington streets; August 13 in Lynn, August 14 and 15 in Haverhill, on Washington square.

A communication was sent out to all the locals and branches in the district notifying them of their quota of American Appeal subscriptions which they are to secure by January 1, 1926. The district has placed a quota upon itself of 10,000 subscriptions which it intends to reach before the date of publication.

District Secretary Warren E. Fitzgerald represented the Socialist Party at a conference called by the Fellowship of Youth for Peace to see what joint action could be taken on the matter of bringing the Chinese situation properly before the people of Massachusetts. The Conference appointed a committee to formulate plans which will be presented at the next meeting of the Conference.

CONNECTICUT

BRIDGEPORT

Bridgeport Socialists have engaged the Park Theatre for the Debs' meeting to be held on September 24. As the theatre has a seating capacity of only 1,700, orders for tickets are pouring in and early indications are that the house will be sold out weeks before the event. Tickets may be

secured of Fred Schwarzkopf, Room 33, 62 Cannon street, Bridgeport, Connecticut. The prices are twenty-five cents for general admission and fifty cents for reserved seats. A Debs Committee will have charge of the meeting. Organizer Carl R. Johnson is general chairman, and Frank Carr has been named treasurer. Comrade Fred Schwarzkopf is in charge of the tickets and anyone desiring to help sell them will kindly communicate with him at the above address. The committee will meet every Wednesday evening at the party headquarters.

The City Convention of the Party meets Wednesday evening, September 16, at which time candidates for municipal offices are to be named and a City Platform adopted. A Campaign Committee will also be selected and plans will be laid for a vigorous and extensive battle against the capitalist parties. Members will please bear this date in mind.

MASSACHUSETTS

Tour of August Claessens
Rockland, August 8; Boston 9 and 10; Quincy, 11 and 12; Lynn, 13; Haverhill, 14 and 15.

NEW YORK STATE

National Organizer Stille has gone to Glens Falls for a few days of finish-up work there. The first night he copped six members. Stille reports the "going" much better in Glens Falls than in Albany. He will return to Albany to complete the reorganization of the Local.

The up-State speaking tour of Esther Friedman began at Poughkeepsie on Wednesday. Arrangements are being made to have her give Rochester and Buffalo each a week of meetings before she goes to New England.

Schenectady has practically completed its county and city tickets. Charles W. Noonan, former Socialist Alderman and former State Secretary of the Socialist Party, is the Party candidate for Sheriff; Thomas D. Pashley, of Glenville, County Treasurer; Lucia N. Oliviere, Assemblyman in the 1st Assembly District; Hawley B. VanVechten, manager

and editor of the Schenectady Citizen, Assemblyman in the 2nd District. Wesley E. Cole has been chosen for standard bearer in the municipal campaign. John L. Meyers, former Socialist Comptroller, is the choice for that office. The Republicans have three men seeking the nomination for Mayor, including the present Mayor, William W. Campbell, and former Mayor Simon. The latter is considered a decided reactionary, having even refused a permit for a Mooney protest meeting while he was in office, but he will receive the support of the Church and Prohibition element in the primary. District Attorney Blessing will be the Democratic mayoralty candidate. Blessing, like Simon, is an ardent phlogder of the Volstead Act. The Socialists will make an issue of the unemployment situation. There never was more unemployment in Schenectady than just now, the General Electric being down to 60 per cent capacity, according to estimates of local Labor men, and the Locomotive Works to less than 40 per cent.

GREATER NEW YORK

At a recent meeting of the City Committee of Greater New York, Julius Gerber was elected Campaign Manager and Executive Secretary of the Greater City. Comrade Gerber takes up his duties immediately. It is expected that the interborough confusion that often hampered cooperation will be eliminated by the new arrangement. The big job now is to get the nomination petitions signed and filed. The office will be open till 10 p. m. all next week and comrades are urged to get their petitions in as soon as possible. The office is in Room 505, People's House, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Central Committee Meeting
Tuesday, August 11, at 8:30 p. m., 247 East 84th street. Urgent and important business.

3rd-5th-10th A. D.
Monday, August 10, at 8:30 p. m., (Continued on Page 11.)

Your Last Opportunity!
This Offer Will Not Be Repeated

ARE YOU ABLE TO DISCUSS EVOLUTION?

Since the Scopes case at Dayton came into the limelight, there have been many requests for a book on Evolution which condenses in an interesting manner the scientific thought on this subject. There is such a book, informative, clear and very readable. We refer to

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On The International Front

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

THE INTERNATIONAL

Action On Morocco Delayed

Besides adopting resolutions supporting the Chinese workers in their struggle against capitalism and imperialism, as reported in The New Leader of July 25, the Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International, at its meeting held in London, July 4, took up the situation created in the French Socialist movement by the Socialist Deputies' more or less half-hearted support of the Painlevé Government's war program in Morocco and listened to a detailed statement by Pierre Renaudel on the different views of the matter held within the French party.

In view of the fact that the Socialist Party of Spain had not been able to send a representative to the London meeting and that a joint conference on the Moroccan situation by officials of the French, Spanish and British parties was scheduled for near future, the Bureau decided to delay definite action until after this conference should have taken place. In this connection, Otto Bauer of the Social Democratic party of Austria, supported by Th. Dan of the Russian Social Democratic party and Dr. Czech of the German Social Democratic party of Czechoslovakia, made the following declaration:

"The question of the line to be taken by the French Socialist Party on the war in Morocco has within itself, in miniature, the term of all the problems which at the time of the European war split all the Socialist Parties in two. If at the present moment we abstain from enter-

ing into discussion of this matter, it is only for the reason that we have full confidence in the ability of the French Socialist Party to arrive in its own way at the right solution of the question."

Regardless of the developments of the Moroccan campaign, it is certain that the problem will come up at the Marseilles Congress of the International which opens August 22.

Sticks By Geneva Protocol

In a resolution on the general world situation as revealed by the negotiations over various "security pacts" among big and little nations, the Bureau reaffirmed its support of the Geneva Protocol as "an interpretation and a realization of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the principles of universal arbitration which alone can give safety to the nations and disarmament to the world." The resolution urges all the affiliated parties (such as the German Social Democracy) that are in favor of some of these security pacts to "take care that they should be approved within the range and under the control of the League of Nations in order that they shall not be used against any measures of arbitration and international disarmament, and that they shall not serve to set up a false balance of power against one or several Powers." The affiliated parties are asked to take advantage of the discussion in the various Parliaments on the security pacts to insist upon the virtues of the Geneva Protocol and then to report on the whole matter to the Marseilles Congress.

Minorities Commission Organized

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The Commission recently appointed by the Executive of the S. L. I. to study the question of national minorities held its first meeting and organized itself during the Bureau meeting in London. Louis de Brouckere (Belgium) was elected Chairman and C. R. Buxton (Great Britain), temporary Secretary. Other members are Otto Bauer and L. Abramovitch (Russian Social Democratic party), the latter being represented at the London meeting by Tr. Dan. The Commission immediately got to work arranging the sequence of its problems and allotting the preparation of reports on the racial troubles so fruitful of discussion in Central Europe.

Women's Conference in Marseilles. Women delegates from the parties making up the S. L. I. will hold a conference in Marseilles immediately preceding the opening of the Congress, at which reports on the present state of organization work among Socialist women in the various countries will be discussed and the aims and methods of the Socialist movement among women clarified. Arrangements for this conference, which will submit a report to the Congress, are being made in consultation with the International Committee of Socialist Women.

ITALY

Plan a Matteotti Institute
As a permanent monument to Giacomo Matteotti, the martyred Secretary of the Unitarian Socialist Party of Italy, the anniversary of whose death at the hands of Fascist assassins on June 10, 1924, was observed by his comrades all over the world, a scientific institute for the study of the Labor movement, to be called the Matteotti Institute, is to be founded in Italy. The appeal is issued by the association for the institute, which includes Comrades Turatti, D'Aragnone, Sacardote and Labriola, reads in part, as follows:

"While the evil and dishonor of the regime admittedly responsible for this assassination still endure, the surviving workers and free spirits of Italy propose to honor in a form worthy of him the name and work of the Socialist martyr who stands as a symbol of all the fallen and of all the martyrs in this dark period." The fundamental quality of Giacomo Matteotti's work was that, in the defense of the working class and in the dissemination of Socialist doctrines, he never made use of vain rhetoric, but always based his efforts on facts, documents and ob-

servations. These efforts are now to be continued."

Individuals and organizations wishing to join the association may send letters and subscriptions (of at least \$5) to Filippi Turatti, Portici Galleria 23, Milan, Italy.

LITHUANIA

Cops Expel Opposition Deputies

With the help of a detachment of gendarmes, armed with rifles, the Clerical majority in the Seimas managed to throw out the Opposition Deputies, of whom the eight Socialists were the most militant, and put through a series of reactionary measures on June 20, according to reports found in the Sozialdemokrats of Riga. These new laws, inspired by fear of Communist and Socialist propaganda, practically abolish freedom of press, speech and assembly, provide the death penalty for political offenses, and will make the coming electoral campaign more or less of a farce. Comrade Bielinis, President of the Social Democratic party of Lithuania, was the most vigorous in his denunciation on the floor of Parliament of the high-handed action of the Clerical reaction and was the first Deputy to be thrown out. The Kovno papers containing accounts of the outrages committed by the reaction against the Opposition were confiscated.

That the Socialists are coming back in Memel, the little port district turned over to Lithuania by the Council of Ambassadors of the Allies in February, 1923, following its seizure by Lithuanian irregulars, was evidenced on July 12 when they won six seats in the main District Council, where they had no members before. Twelve seats were captured by the Agrarians and the Citizens' Leaguers, while the Greater Lithuanian party got only two. Similar Socialist gains were reported from other parts of Memel Land.

PALESTINE

Laborites Gain In Tel Aviv
Reports of the recent communal election in the thriving colony of Tel Aviv show a gain of six councillors by the Labor party, bringing its total up to fourteen, against four Landlords, four Orthodox, four Nationalists, four Independents, four Renters and four members of smaller parties. Tel Aviv is generally classified as the liveliest colony in Palestine, with a population of about 30,000 and a fine spirit of cooperation everywhere in evidence. It was founded in 1909,

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DRAMA

Direct Action Plays

WHAT is a play with a punch? The real kind is one that knocks the playgoer down and leaves him remembering nothing except the object of the play. There are two kinds of plays with a punch, continues Huntley Carter in the London Sunday Worker, the aggressive and the cruel.

What is the difference? The aggressive hits the playgoer and sends him home full of its own importance. The cruel inflicts pain on the characters and leaves the playgoer cold. There are quite a lot of cynical young authors who take a delight in torturing their miserable characters. For example, Messrs. Lonsdale and Coward in England, Jacques Natanson in Paris, Arnold Bronnen in Berlin, all sex-mongers.

Which is a good example of the cruel play? The ringleader is "Hassan," the one-time big splash at His Majesty's Theatre. (The play was seen in New York last season, but did not receive much patronage.) It is all over horrible revenges. Here is how the executioners get busy. Yasmin has been serenading a woman whose man appears at the window and fires off some "Billingsgate." Whereupon Hassan believes himself of the following:

"O thou villainous, unclean dog, Selim. O thou unutterable woman. I will have you both whipped through the city and impaled in the market place, and your bodies flung to rot on a dung heap. Ah, you foul swine. May you rot in hell for ever."

The Caliph appears to be a first-class expert in torture. Rafi, who is engaged in a plot to do him in because he has made a corner in other men's sweethearts, is hauled before him. The Caliph says to Rafi, "Thou has merited not one but 100 deaths. Now, if I impale thee for conspiracy, how shall I burn thee for blasphemy?"

Rafi asks what he is liable to. The Caliph replies, "For lunacy to be nailed, for conspiracy to be stretched, for blasphemy to be split."

The torture business is only equalled by the lust. "Oh, Jaspur, what incomparable hours will claim your eyes tonight? What rosy breasts, what

silver shoulders, what shapely legs, what jasmine arms!" is a sample. The Caliph has a star turn in his harem "who dances naked with one leg round her neck." There never was a play so full of ruling-class cruelty and lust. Yet the capitalist galley-slave critics boosted it as the greatest poetical play since Shakespeare.

Which is a good example of the aggressive play?

Several could be quoted. There are the anti-war plays, "Havoc" and Allen Monkhous's "The Conquering Hero," and there is C. K. Munro's "The Rumor," a savage attack on capitalist imperialism.

German samples are Kaiser's "Gas," Toller's "Machine Wreckers" and "Mass Man." But it should not be forgotten that Toller is using the drama as an educator in the avoidance of violence. Gerhardt Hauptmann's "Weavers" is another German example.

When Germany went democratic there was quite an epidemic of converting plays, by the great old spiritual educators, Goethe, Hebbel, Kleist, etc., together with Shakespearean ones, into direct-action plays. The stage was cleared of all the old imperialistic tinsel, the characters were stripped of their magnificent clothes and trimmings, and a background and costumes of aggressive expressionism were used instead. By this means the spiritual message got across the footlights and battered the playgoers.

The direct action play is the kind that the workers want to start with. But there is no need to model it on the lines of the plays I have mentioned. Direct action can be got by very simple means, such as are used in the Left Front Theatre in Russia today.

The general idea of the Russian method is the use of the forms, motor and other, and sounds and movements that you find in a city today.

The playgoers are familiar with these things. They keep them awake, excite them, rouse their feelings, and send them away with an intention to do things.



WALTER HUSTON

continues his excellent work as the New England farmer in "Desire Under the Elms." The O'Neill drama is now in its 40th week at the Geo. M. Cohan Theatre.

"Spring Fever"

Vincent Lawrence's Amusing Comedy Well Acted at the Maxine Elliott Theatre

It is reasonably certain that the witty and engrossing comedy "Spring Fever," by Vincent Lawrence, produced by A. H. Woods, with James Rennie and Marion Coakley heading the cast, which opened Monday night at the Maxine Elliott Theatre, will become chronic and uncurable until many Manhattanites have passed sentence on its symptoms, although report has it that the play had been considerably doctored already before Broadway was allowed to see it.

Mr. Lawrence has succeeded in retaining the lightness and deftness displayed in his former comedies with an easy running plot that is strong enough to take it out of the class of light summer shows.

For two acts one may snicker over the funny side of golf before the conversation is taken indoors—yes, in a bedroom. What a disappointment to the public a Wood show would be without one bedroom and one real bed.

The story of the play itself is ingenious and with one or two exceptions quite plausible as stories of comedies go. The main character is a young shipping clerk who incidentally has obtained prominence in golf outside of business hours, and by a twist of the plot through his employer obtains the guest privileges for two weeks at an exclusive country club. Here the girl comes on the scene—a snobbish and money-seeking young woman who, on account of her father's sudden financial straits, marries the shipping clerk under the impression that he is a very wealthy man, which information has been given out by his employer after a fracas in the club to prevent both himself and his masquerading shipping clerk from being thrown out of the club, and here, of course, the astute box-office eye of Manager Woods visualized the bridal suite under the comedy conditions of exposing how both the bride and groom deceived each other. This act is a give and take of confessions, bickerings, retribution, with the final raptures of a happy ending more than hinted at.

The play contains clever endings to all its acts and a love scene in the lounge at the country club that is original and amusing, and incidentally quite true to life.

Mr. Rennie takes every advantage of the big chance he is given for the featured player, to be in turn witty, slangy, wistful and he-mannish as the role demands. As the heroine, Marion Coakley is beautiful to look at and as tempting and appealing as the role demands. Joseph Kilgour makes the best of a not entirely plausible part. Henry Wittemore, who plays Harry Johnson, also in love with the girl, plays excellently well.

"Spring Fever" is amusing, not too serious as comedies should be, and, with the exception of the last act, that reverts more or less to the stagey to attract box office patronage, a successful performance that should endure for some time to come. All in all, an evening agreeably spent in the theatre if one enjoys light, bright comedies.

Al Jolson Will Reopen In "Big Boy" Aug. 24

"Big Boy," with Al Jolson as its star, is announced to reopen on Monday night, Aug. 24, at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre. Mr. Jolson, who was twice compelled to interrupt his engagement in the Spring because of illness, is now reported to be again in perfect health. The production will play in Atlantic City, a week previous to reopening here.



ALICE JOYCE plays a leading role in Dorothy Canfield's film story, "The Home-Maker," coming to Moss' Colony, Sunday.

THEATRES

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Vaudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

The Broadway Theatre next week will feature a new photoplay, "Night Life of New York," directed by Allan Dwan, from a story by Edgar Selwyn. The cast includes, Rod La Rocque, Dorothy Gish, Ernest Torrence, and George Hackathorne.

The Keith-Albee vaudeville will include James B. Donovan and Marie Lee; Ned Norworth with Patricia Caymans, with Kenneth Nichols; Johnson and Baker, and other acts.

REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Sam Liebert and Company; Shaw and Lee; other acts. Zane Grey's "Light of the Western Star," with Jack Holt and Noah Beery.

Thursday to Sunday—Charles Irwin and other acts. "Eve's Lover," with Irene Rich and Bert Lytell.

JEFFERSON

Monday to Wednesday—Charles Irwin; Ibaes Entertainers; other acts. "Light of the Western Star," with Billie Dove and Jack Holt.

Thursday to Sunday—Morrissey and Wheeler, and other acts. "Eve's Lover," with Irene Rich and Bert Lytell.

Greenwich Village

Maxwell Anderson's Play, "Outside Looking In," To Open September Season

Kenneth Macgowan and Robert Edmond Jones on their return from a trip to Bermuda to consult with Eugene O'Neill announced yesterday the following plans for next season. The Greenwich Village Theatre will reopen early in September under the direction of Macgowan, Jones and O'Neill. They will make five productions there next season, moving the successful plays to uptown theatres. The first will be "Outside Looking In," a play of tramp life by Maxwell Anderson, founded on "Beggars of Life," by Jim Tully. In October, in association with A. L. Jones and Morris Green, they will produce Eugene O'Neill's drama of Ponce de Leon, "The Fountain." Late in November will come O'Neill's latest play, "The Great God Brown." The fourth production will be "When In Rome," a comedy by Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallings. The final production of the season will be "The Last Night of Don Juan," Rosenda's last play.

Messrs. Macgowan, Jones, and O'Neill also announce that they have withdrawn from active management of the Provincetown Playhouse. Mr. O'Neill will continue, however to act in an advisory capacity at the Provincetown.

In association with Jones and Green, two companies of "Desire Under the Elms" will be sent on tour, and one company in "Love for Love."



HANS KINDLER, the noted cellist, will be soloist at the Stadium Thursday night, when an all-Strauss program will be given.

Broadway Briefs

Perry Ivins, the original Peter Cabot in "Desire Under the Elms," on Monday night replaced Allen Nagle in the role of Simeon Cabot. Nagle has gone to New England for a month's vacation.

A. L. Jones and Morris Green have taken over the 48th Street Theatre. The lease is for 21 years.

"Spooks" will move from the Cort Theatre to Wallack's next Monday night.

Gertrude Hoffman, whose unit "The Eighteen Gertrude Hoffman Girls" is featured in "Artists and Models," is organizing another troupe of dancing girls.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Night Life of New York," by Edgar Selwyn, with Rod La Rocque, Dorothy Gish and Ernest Torrence.

CAMEO—"The Trouble With Wives," with Tom Moore, Florence Vidor and Ford Sterling.

CAPITOL—Lon Chaney in "The Unholy Three," with Mae Busch and Matt Moore.

COLONY—"The Home-Maker," from Dorothy Canfield's story, with Alice Joyce and Clive Brook.

RIALTO—Zane Grey's "Wild Horse Mesa," with Jack Holt and Billie Dove.

RIVOLI—"The Ten Commandments."

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"IT ALL DEPENDS," a new play by Kate McLaurin (author of "Whispering Wires"), will be presented by John Cromwell and William A. Brady Jr., Monday night, at the Vanderbilt Theatre. Norman Trevor, Jane Grey, Katherine Alexander, Felix Krembs, Charles Throwbridge and Lee Patrick are in the cast.

TUESDAY

"A LUCKY BREAK," Zella Sears' new comedy, with incidental songs by Harold Levey, will be offered by the American Producing Company, at the Cort Theatre, Tuesday night. George Macfarlane is featured. The supporting cast includes Louise Galloway, Charles Dow Clark, Lucille Sears, Edgar Nelson, Viola Gillette, Ursula Ellsworth and Marion Haslup.

THURSDAY

"SOMETHING TO BRAG ABOUT," Edgar Selwyn's first production of the season, a satiric comedy, written by Mr. Selwyn in collaboration with William LeBaron, will open Thursday night, at the Booth Theatre. The cast includes Sylvia Field, Richard Sterling, Enid Markley, Edward Robins, Earl House, Marjorie Wood, Mark Smith, Cecil Kern and Booth Howard.

The Realm of Books

Reforming Regulation

A Review by LOUIS F. BUDENZ

EFFECTIVE REGULATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES. By John Bauer. Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company.

WHEN Senator La Follette, in 1913, pushed the now-famous Railroad Valuation Act through Congress, regulation of public utilities was in the zenith of its glory. It had become the sacred mystic formula by which we were to be freed from all the ill effects of corporate corruption and tyranny. Barely a dozen years later, just before his death, "Fighting Bob" honestly admitted that his Act and its machinery had been captured by the transportation interests for their own use and purposes. He then proposed that control of the carriers be taken back by Congress from the Interstate Commerce Commission, to which it had been given.

Dr. Bauer does not specifically mention these facts in his volume on utility regulation. But his indictment of regulation is as scathing and drastic as gentlemanly and technical language can make it. The book bristles with adjectives and phrases denunciatory of the "control" of utilities as here and now practised. "FAILURE" is written, in capital letters, on the attempts of the patient, purblind and pitiable "public" to do something effective in this direction.

"After a twenty-year struggle with rate regulation," says he, "the public authorities today are scarcely in a better position than when they started. During these two decades they have conducted endless investigations, caused the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, piled up mountains of records and opinions, and mostly have not reduced rates when fairly justified nor advanced them when reasonably needed. They are all but helpless before the huge task of prescribing rates for the many utilities operating under greatly varying conditions, rapidly shifting prices and tremendous transitions in industrial organization."

To which he adds the inevitable "unless." It is upon this that the purpose of the book hinges. The helplessness of the utility commissions, as outlined above, will continue—"unless principles and policies of regulations are definitely established and exact methods prescribed." It is an "automatic process" at which Dr. Bauer is aiming, one that will cure the "uncertainty" and "cumbersomeness" and "lack of harmony" and the "deadlock" and the "vicious circle" and the "unsatisfactory results" which have characterized our two decades of "control," according to his charges.

To achieve this automatic and exact regulation, Dr. Bauer proposes nothing simpler than the establishment of a set and certain "rate base." A valuation shall be taken, once and for all, based on "actual investment" instead of the companies' "reproduction cost" basis. It is refreshing to note his detailed and demolishing argument against the latter theory of fixing "utility values." It is the most convincing feature of the work, which he has gone into in a painstaking way. Our ardor on the whole business, however, is perceptibly cooled when we reflect that this "reproduction cost" theory was formerly the pet of the advocates for the public side of the utility fight—in the days of lower prices. It also has been captured by the companies—in the war and post-war days of higher prices!

As long as Dr. Bauer is dealing with the valuation of the actual physical plant, we feel fairly certain that he is making a good case of it. But when he gets into the subject of "intangibles" we scent trouble ahead. "Intangibles" are those expenditures made by the companies to build up the utility which do not show in the plant itself—promotion costs, for example. It is around them that the companies have woven fictions as great as those of Baron Munchausen. Dr. Cook and other great and powerful imaginations. Past experience with commissions does not show that there is much hope of these fictions ever being officially blasted through their initiative. Nor can we be too sanguine that his strong plea for a proper discount of "depreciation" and for valuation on the basis of "actual investment" will ever come to light—despite his interpretation of the conflicting Supreme Court decisions in a way to bolster up his own expectations.

The long and short of it is: that the author has found so many holes in utility regulation that we find our doubts mounting with every page, that it can ever be adequately reformed or remedied. Imagine a situation—supposed to be based on mathematical figures; therefore, on an exact science—in which "nothing is certain about anything." The investors are supposed to be guaranteed a "fair return on a fair value"—and yet, nobody can tell what either term means. The fertile-minded experts for the companies increase, with almost every case, the new and wonderful sources

of valuation on which the utilities must earn—unless "confiscation" is to ensue. And "confiscation" is the fearful and uncertain thing forbidden by the United States Constitution. Logically, Dr. Bauer's suggestions would help greatly to bring order out of chaos, and to assist the "public"—some. But the history of regulation does not justify us in believing that anything logical will be done about it.

The fact is, that nothing is likely to be done except what the utilities want done—that is, in the long run. The fundamental trouble with regulation is that the "control" of the utilities is "controlled" by the utilities themselves—and always will be as long as private ownership persists. The outstanding decent valuation from the public viewpoint thus far obtained was secured by Mayor Couzens of Detroit—not through the presentation of a long line of figures or by any other hocus-pocus, but by attacking the company in an intelligent and militant way until it threw up its hands.

Utility commissioners and judges are looking to the days when they will enjoy utility business for themselves, and always find their judgments "mellowed" thereby. Even Senator La Follette's great Wisconsin Commissioner, Halford Erickson, fell from grace in that simple manner.

To Dr. Bauer we can say, when all is summed up:

"God speed in your effort. But nothing much will come of it while private ownership and commission rule endure."

A Liberal's Book

THE PUBLIC LIFE. By J. A. Spender. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 2 Vols., \$10.

A Review by McALISTER COLEMAN

HERE a veteran English Liberal journalist looks back over a life spent in the march and go, the excitement and monotony of public affairs in England, the Continent and America, and tells us what he has learned of the ways of statecraft and the men who keep the wheels of Government grinding. In discursive but never wearisome style Mr. Spender shows us the old giants of English Parliaments at work and compares their methods and techniques with our modern rulers. There are illuminating pictures of Bright and Cobden and Placé, of Gladstone and Palmerston and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, one of Mr. Spender's heroes of whom he has written a notable biography; and then he brings on Asquith and Lord Grey and Lloyd George and the Laborites and ponders on the changing styles in statesmanship, and is frankly troubled in his Liberal soul over much that he finds sinister in the new order.

It is a fascinating theme that the author has chosen and he treats it in an engagingly informal manner, passing from a discussion of the outstanding merits of the Sovereign Parliament which is England's to the outstanding disadvantages of a Parliament co-equal with the Executive which is America's, to a consideration of religious aspects of statesmanship, the part played by civilian ministers in war-time, and a host of unexpected by-paths.

Like all Liberals who profess to despise formulas, Mr. Spender at the last reveals his own formula that too much time is spent in debate over matters that should be factual rather than controversial, and he proposes, as did Walter Lippman in his "Public Opinion," a sort of super fact-finding commission which will settle things for good and all by presenting facts to a candid world. The recent experience of Americans with a super fact-finding commission on coal makes us a bit skeptical when we are told that the mere presentation of facts to the public will act as closure to debate. With some 1,000 pages of facts at their command, collected at the expense of \$600,000 to the taxpayers, the public still seems a bit up in the air on the matter of coal and apparently no one thinks enough of the report of the Coal Commission to go to the small extra expense of having it printed.

But would it be unfair to give the impression that these two fat volumes are devoted to propaganda for reform. They are for the most part analytic and descriptive and they are valuable indeed to those who still take democracy seriously.

G. L. Miller and M. Goldreyer have taken over "The Makin's," a comedy by Alan Burton, and will offer it on Broadway about Labor Day.

A new opera from Czechoslovakia, unnamed, will open the production season for Carl Reed. Following this he will give in Baltimore, October 5, the first performance of Lowell Sherman in "The Passionate Prince," with Florence Johns and Stanley Logan. "Black Tents," an Arabian play, by Achmed Abdullah and Jean Wick, will follow shortly after.

THE IDOL

(By Ricardo Jaimes Freyre of Bolivia. Translated from the Spanish by Alice Stone Blackwell.)

Oh, the incessant thunder that shakes the earth! Oh, the lightning that annihilates! Oh, the brightness that blinds!

From the lofty summit, the thousand eyes of the Idol gaze upon the frightful conflict.

He has gold in his breast and might in his arms, and a poisonous reptile coiled around his tongue.

The sea of blood and fire that reaches even to the summit licks his feet and kisses them, like a submissive greyhound.

When the secret pangs, the deep agonies, and the dumb protests are joined together in one sheaf, And that sheaf balances the quivering arrow that trembles in the inflexible hands of Justice.

And the missile starts, and, whistling in its flight, reaches the Idol moulded out of blood and misery.

And, his entrails broken, he pours out, in gushes, all the gold and mire from his black entrails—

Then the pale dream will become incarnate, and a sun of redemption will light up the world.

More Nationalism

A Review by DAVID P. BERENBERG

NOW AND FOREVER. By Samuel Roth, with a Preface by Israel Zangwill. New York: Robert M. McBride and Co. \$1.75.

THE rising tide of anti-Semitism in the United States furnishes the excuse for discussion of the Jewish problem. There can be no doubt that there is a greater feeling of antagonism against the Jews than ever before, and one of the most regrettable sequels of the anti-Jewish tendency is the intensification of narrow racialism and arrogance among the Jews. The Jew has always been naïvely sure of his innate superiority; he has been amusing in his efforts to appropriate for the race important men, notable Roosevelt and Columbus, in recent years. Of course, this beating of the tribal tom-tom is the result of an inferiority complex. How much louder the beating must become when to fancied wrong is added actual discrimination and injury!

I have seldom met a more deluded exemplar of race pride than Mr. Zangwill's interrogator. He is quite sure that the Jews are the leaven that have saved the Western World from barbarism. He is as sure of this as Lofthrop Stoddard is that the Nordic element alone is capable of civilization. What, for example, did the world consist of before the Jewish idea, in the form of Christianity, descended upon Europe? What—Roman greed, Greek slavery, Egyptian stolidness and European aggressiveness. From this—or, at least, from the worst of this, the Jew, through Jesus, has saved the world. Can you expect Europe to be

grateful? Is it not inevitable that the Jew should be hated and feared by people who are his inferiors, and who, in their hearts, know their inferiority? Even in modern life the Jew leads the world. Nearly everyone, says Mr. Roth, if he thinks at all, must follow Freud or Bergson or Marx—all Jews.

For some things we must be grateful to the author of this remarkable book. For example, he disclaims any specific Jewish mission; he gracefully punctures the illusion of the Reformed Synagogue; he rejects, with commendable indignation, the sycophantic flattery of Madison Peters and the Andreyevs. Other writers on Jewish matters have not been so discerning. But it is difficult to accept his argument. All that he says about the Jews may be true, yet another writer, using the same material, arranging it differently and altering the emphasis, might utterly change the picture. He might make the Jew out an insufferable prig. By adding facts that Mr. Roth chooses to ignore, he might somewhat alter the idyllic image. So, for example, I (a Jew myself) have fault to find with Jewish social mores, with Jewish business methods, with that tendency to arrogance so aptly exemplified by the insulting expression "a goyishe kopf."

All nationalisms are a nuisance. Certainly we have paid a sufficiently heavy toll for the nationalistic insanity of the nineteenth century. Let us have done with the mania, and turn our attention to important problems, such as rescuing America from John Roach Straton or digging the political grave of Mr. Hylan.

The Socialist Party at Work

(Continued from Page 9)
7 East 15th street, Room 402. Branch meeting.

22nd-23rd A. D.
Wednesday, August 12, at 8:30 p. m., corner 15th street.

14th-15th-16th A. D.
Thursday, August 13, at 8:30 p. m., 227 East 84th street. Branch meeting.

6th A. D.
Friday, August 14, at 8:30 p. m., 137 Avenue B.

BROOKLYN

Special Meeting 2nd A. D.
All members of the 2nd A. D. are hereby notified that a special meeting will be held Friday, August 7, at 8 p. m., at our club rooms, 420 Hindsdale street. The main order of business will be what disposition shall we make of our house. Do not fail to come on time.

I. M. Chatcuff, Organizer.
City Central Committee
A special meeting of the City Central Committee will be held Saturday night, August 8, at 167 Tompkins avenue. All delegates are especially urged to attend this meeting.

Tear-Gas Used On Strikers

FARMINGTON, W. Va.—Mine guards at Mine 9 of the Jamison Coal & Coke Company, near here, are charged with using tear gas on the strikers doing peaceful picketing at 6 o'clock Monday morning, with disastrous results.

Mrs. July Srinto was among the thirty-five victims of the vicious assault of the "guards" and the attending physicians report that she is in a serious condition.

J. L. Studdard, former president of sub-district No. 4, and now international representative of the United Mine Workers of America, immediately filed a protest with the Conciliation Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor at Washington.

Acting Secretary of Labor White is said to have referred the matter to Governor Gore, who it is under-

stood is making an investigation, and who stated that the State police had the matter in hand before information from the Government was received.

The publicity agents of the coal operators, with the active assistance of the "kept" newspapers, are smoke-screening the affair by claiming that a tear-gas bomb carried by two mine guards in an automobile accidentally exploded, and the daily press is shedding copious tears because a whiff of the poison somewhat "inflamed the eyes" of the "guards" and are featuring the incident in glaring headlines, but giving but passing notice to the fact that one of the strikers' wives is in a serious condition as a result of the "guards" gassing the strikers on the picket lines.

Whither?

A Review by AUGUST CLAESSENS

QUO VADIMUS. By E. E. Fournier d'Albe. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. \$1.

IT must be a large temptation and a great relief for a specialist in some branch of science to leave his limited sphere of interest occasionally and roam about at large. However, with his harness off and a universe to scamper around in, he is not apt to display his noted qualities. There is the lack of restraint, a tendency to cavort and a recklessness for jumping fences into neighboring fields. All these exhibitions may be but venturesome frolics, and then again they may expose to view characteristics that are far from praiseworthy. And so it often comes to light that when an eminent specialist leaves his domain and enters into strange pastures he is most likely to betray himself as an ass, and a highly specialized one at that. This impression is strengthened by reading d'Albe's little volume, "Quo Vadimus."

In answer to the eternal question, "Whither are we going?" he delivers a few wise predictions and several shockingly stupid observations. His super-intelligence stands out in bold relief as he surveys the jungle of world-wide ignorance and it is hardly accidental that a considerable part of his speculations deal with the cheerful prospect and the many different possibilities as to how the whole human race may ultimately meet extinction.

As one reads on through these dire prophecies the pessimism of the writer shades off into some brighter lines. In his glimpses of the future he discourses on the probability of 1,000 years of uninterrupted progress and presents some compelling thoughts on the trend of progress in transport and communication, privacy, clothing, housing, children, education and government. His

views on Labor, its present and possible future status, expose him as a primitive Tory. It might be charitable to observe that in scanning the future of the toiling masses, our professor has absent-mindedly peeped into the wrong end of the telescope.

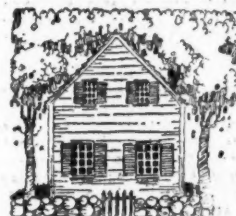
His conception of modern economics, the nature of capital and wages, is as naive and grotesque as a Tennessee Fundamentalist's notion of Darwinism. "A working-man going to his work has quite a respectable capital to accompany him on his way," says this savant. This "capital" consists of his clothes, boots, tools and muscles. Just a little more ink along this line and maybe, dear Professor, we can picture the worker as a land-owner, for he has real estate under his finger nails; a financier, for he carries carfare in his pockets; and an exploiter, for he thrives on his wife's cooking.

To the numberless utopias d'Albe adds a new one. Social justice would reign thereunder, as "each worker would contribute capital in the form of a certain amount of work. In case of a total loss of the undertaking, he would receive no reward or wages whatever, any more than the capitalist who engages in a profitless scheme."

Pleasant prospects, eh? Our latest social prophet cannot conceive of a coming society without profits and capitalists. Neither could Plato vision an ideal Republic without slave-owners. The particular social environment and the course of his comfortable income is often the basis of the philosopher's or scientist's views, and I am more than curious to know E. E. Fournier d'Albe's source of income to account for his myopia.

This booklet is hardly a wise addition to the thought-provoking and immensely valuable collection of short essays that comprise the "Today and Tomorrow" series of E. P. Dutton and Company.

THEATRES



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Strauss Program Thursday

Rudolph Ganz concludes his week as guest conductor of the Stadium Concerts Sunday night and will be succeeded on Monday by Fritz Reiner, conductor of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra.

The programs next week: Sunday: Beethoven's "Egmont" Overture, Second Symphony of Brahms, Strauss' "Heldenelegie." Monday: "Waltz Badinage" of Bladow, Second Symphony of Borodin, Stravinsky's "Petroushka" Suite, "Oberon" Overture, Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Bumble Bee." Tuesday: Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony, Berlioz' "Roman Carnival," Strauss' "Don Juan," "Finlandia" by Sibelius. Wednesday: Leo Sowerby's "Suite from the Northland," Brahms' Second Symphony, Beethoven's Third "Leonore" Overture, excerpt from "Die Meistersinger." Thursday: Strauss program, "Don Quixote." Hans Kindler will play the cello solo, "Death and Transfiguration," "Till Eulenspiegel," Salome's Dance. Friday: De Falla's "Love, the Magician," Franck's D minor Symphony, Auber's "The Muse of Portici" Overture, "Sylvia" Suite of Delibes. Saturday: Concert for Wind Instruments and Orchestra by Rietz, Overture to Wolf-Ferrari's "Secret of Suzanne," Weber-Weingartner "Invitation to the Dance," Tchaikovsky's "March Miniature," Chabrier's "Española" Rhapsody, Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

Twenty-four Negro soprano voices will compete in a public audition and recital in Town Hall, this Friday evening, August 7, for the free course of instruction in grand opera offered by Edoardo Ferrari-Fontana.

Edwin Franko Goldman will bring forth several special programs next week on the Campus of New York University. Monday's program will be devoted to German composers. On Wednesday, half of the program will be devoted to comic opera music. On Friday, there will be a contest of Boys' Bands in which several bands will compete. Saturday, August 15, a "Children's Program" has been arranged, and on Sunday, August 16, the music of Russian composers will be played.



SYLVIA FIELD

will be seen in "Something to Brag About," a satiric comedy by Edgar Selwyn and William LeBaron, opening Thursday night at the Booth.

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association.

PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City
Telephone, Stuyvesant 6885

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United States	
One Year	\$2.00
Six Months	1.25
Three Months75
Single Copy05
To Foreign Countries	
One Year	\$3.00
Six Months	1.50
Three Months75

Saturday, August 8, 1925

UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT, the curse of the wage system, is widespread although the newspapers are saying little about it. The New Leader has carried a number of stories in the past few months to show that there are millions out of work.

The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, in a report for June, states that employment in manufacturing industries decreased 1.1 per cent in June as compared with May, while the aggregate earnings of workers "decreased 3.1 per cent, and per capita earnings decreased 2.1 per cent. These are the most marked decreases shown in any one month since July, 1924, and are due chiefly to curtailment in the automobile, boot and shoe, cotton goods, and iron and steel industries."

We may add to this statement that the American Railway Express has discharged many thousands of its workers all over the country in the past few weeks. When this great agency for distributing goods throws this mass of workers on the scrap heap it is certain evidence that the production of commodities has slumped in many industries.

But all this is not "news." The view of the press appears to be that if the masses do not read of it they will not know of it. This is true of the employed and the part-time employed, but the workless know that their labor power is worthless and that their families must want in an age of plenty.

GARBAGE JOURNALISM

RECENTLY, the Echo, a Catholic weekly of Buffalo, quoted Harper's Magazine, which in turn quoted an editor, regarding the ethics of his trade. He compared himself with a keeper of a park zoo feeding animals: he feeds the animals garbage, why not those who read the newspapers?

The editor answers his own question. "Well, you and I aren't hired to make the world a better place to live in," observes the editor, "or to fight and die for noble causes, or to tell the truth about this particular Main street. We're hired to feed human animals the kind of mental garbage they want. We don't have to eat it. I don't read my paper for instruction or even fun. I just read it for errors and see if we're handing out regularly what the boobs like for breakfast."

Those who have an acquaintance with capitalist journalism know that this frank and cynical statement is by no means unusual among journalists. They "know the game" and the man who pretends otherwise is regarded as a "sissy." The millions who devour their stuff do not understand that they are regarded as animals who are fed garbage which the keepers "don't have to eat."

There are honest journalists, to be sure, and it is impossible to indict the whole tribe. But thousands of them who try to work against the commercial ethics of the capitalist newspaper in time resign themselves to practices which they know to be dirty but which they have not the power to correct, just as the keeper of a zoo may feed tainted meat to the animals in his charge knowing that others have done it before him and others are ready to take his place if he complains.

Build your own press. If the working class is to avoid being fed this garbage it must sustain its own periodicals.

THE NON-PARTISAN POLICY

IN playing up the announcement of the Executive of the A. F. of L. that it would have nothing to do with third parties, the daily press

forgot that this action was a mere formality following the decision of the El Paso convention last year. However, the official statement is interesting. It announces that it will give no "aid or comfort" to "those who seek to launch third party movements." Moreover, the non-partisan policy in politics "has proved to be the best plan yet adopted for Labor to voice itself politically."

In the coming years an increasing number of members of the union will dissent with both statements. When a majority of the members decide that they want a Labor party they will have it. It is all a matter of education, and more sad experience will reinforce their education. It may take years, but that the organized workers will eventually abandon a policy that has proved a failure in every country, including the United States, is certain.

It has not proved the "best plan" in this country. If it were so proved we would not have had the numerous "bills of grievances" that have been issued nearly every two years by the A. F. of L. since the plan has been followed. Every such complaint has been an unwitting admission of its failure.

Moreover, the British workers solidly followed the same plan into the twentieth century and then abandoned it, with the result that it has prestige and power. The Courts can no longer confiscate union treasuries or issue the infamous injunctions they do in this country. Our union treasuries are still at the mercy of the courts. What is more, the great mass of union men pay little attention to the plan in campaigns as the pitiful reports of their small campaign contributions for years prove. If Labor is to be effective in politics it must have its own party, just as to be effective in industry it must have its own unions.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

IN one of his informing articles to the Times from Shanghai Thomas F. Millard gives some interesting early history of the acquirement by the British of concessions in China. The question arose as to whether Chinese should be admitted to the concessions, the British Consul opposing such admission. The spokesman of a deputation of British merchants then proceeded to present the reasons why

the Chinese were necessary in the concessions. Among other things, he said:

In what way am I and my brother land-holders and speculators concerned in this? You are Her Majesty's Consul, and are bound to look at national and permanent interests; this is your business. But it is my business to make a fortune with the least possible loss of time, by letting my land to Chinese and building for them at 30 or 40 per cent interest, if that is the best thing I can do with my money.

Rarely has the crusader for assuming "the white man's burden" been so frank. The Chinese were to be admitted because of the opportunity of British capitalists to get 30 or 40 per cent out of them "with the least possible loss of time." That this argument won and that the Chinese were admitted goes without saying and foreigners have been skinning the Chinese ever since.

The imperialist powers, however, never admit such carnal motives. Their diplomats raise their eyes to heaven and solemnly assert that they come to establish "law and order" and to do God's will. If the noble sacrifice did not pay 30 to 40 per cent they really would not care a brass farthing whether the Chinese committed hari-kari or whether they landed in hell.

THE RIGHT-THINKERS

ALL right-thinking people—and people who think with the Sentinels of the Republic are right-thinking people—will be happy to know that some sort of memorial will be erected to the late Louis A. Coolidge for his disinterested work as a founder of the Sentinels who are "minute men" guarding the sacred Constitution from contamination.

Mr. Coolidge had some wide interests. They included the United Shoe Machinery Company, lead, zinc, smelting, and other corporate enterprises. These properties enabled him to be a right-thinker and a protector of the Constitution and gave him entrance to the Civic Federation, the Constitutional Liberty League, and other disinterested organizations.

One of the great achievements of this notable right-thinker before his death was to play an important part in preventing the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. There were ungodly people who wanted to take children out of industrial enterprises, including those that Mr. Cool-

idge was interested in. These ungodly ones would make no exception of his enterprises.

Every right-thinker immediately saw what this proposal would do with the sacred work of the "founding fathers." Every right-thinker rushed to the front and fought gallantly against the new barbarians and the Constitution was saved. Mr. Coolidge led a host in Massachusetts and now he is to have a shrine. Nicholas Murray Butler, another right-thinker, will take care of the financial drive and all right-thinkers are expected to come across.

So here is your opportunity. Pay homage to the disinterested right-thinking corporate investor. Your country calls you!

SUPER-POWER

GOVERNOR PINCHOT is fighting a super-monopoly of hydro-electric power in the United States and to prevent it from "acquiring industrial, commercial, financial, and the political control of this nation." He attacks Hoover's power policy because it considers the problem as a local matter to be dealt with by each State. Pinchot is right in ridiculing this policy. One might as well urge that Jones County has sufficient power to solve the transportation problem in a State as to assume that the latter can deal effectively with the hydro-electric problem in the nation.

On the other hand, Pinchot makes it clear that he favors Federal regulation rather than public ownership. This is to substitute one folly for another. Pinchot offers this at the very time when the evidence is overwhelming that the regulation embodied in the Federal Trade Commission is a farce. The regulators are themselves regulated by the capitalist interests of the nation.

Public ownership is a step in the right direction as it involves the use of national power to deal with a national situation. But even public ownership might easily fail of its purpose in the hands of capitalist politicians with no wider vision than that based upon capitalist property interests. In the hands of administrators with a social vision and the idea of administration for human welfare public ownership would be an advance to social democracy and the welfare of the workers.

THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

Issues in the Garment Workers

Workers made public some interesting letters of the Workers' party during the past week. The letters show the executive of this party ordering its members in the union what to do. One sentence of the official instructions states that "to capture official positions in the unions is good." The documents are conclusive evidence of an outside organization guiding the actions of its members in the unions. For the International to oppose this is to incur the charge of "bureaucracy." We turn to The Worker of July 29 and find that the Workers' party is trying to eliminate a group within it. In a ponderous resolution on "the liquidation of Loreism" we read that "Loreism must be liquidated organizationally. This means that no organized Lore or Poyntz groups will be permitted to exist in the party." Well! Now shall the International permit any organized group to exist in the union? The Communists answer, Yes! It is this issue that we have stressed and no other. The New Leader will never interfere in any union controversies except in a case where a dishonest code of conduct is openly and actively avowed and practiced. We shall have nothing to say of any other union members who may wish a change of policy whether they be radical, conservative, moderate, Socialist or otherwise, in any unions, but we shall fight poison as we would an armed lunatic running at large.

Forced Labor in Africa

A hideous ulcer has been exposed in Portuguese Africa by Professor Edward Ross whose report on the treatment of the natives by the Portuguese slave drivers shows to what extremes "civilized" exploiters will go to extort wealth from workers. That the system of "forced labor" is worse than the slavery once maintained is evident from the fact that the natives prefer to go back to slavery. As a slave the owner had a stake in preserving the health of the native. Under the atrocious regime that has succeeded, slavery natives have been worked and starved to death. Most of the unfortunates did not even receive any payment for their services! Certainly, "Christian" Portugal was won the palm of infamy in the long history of robbing the worker of the wealth he produces. The report itself carries the facts because Professor Ross declined the services of Portuguese officials who desired to accompany him in his investigations. He went with his own interpreters. The Portuguese Government is all aflutter over the report and the League of Nations' committee on slavery is nonplussed over this bomb cast into their midst. It remains to be seen what will be done to relieve the natives of the "blessings" that civilization has brought them.

Polish and German Exiles

The lunacy of the imperialist peace treaties left Europe a crazy patch of impossible frontiers and mixed and warring nationalities. Some fruits of this work are now being gathered by the spectacle of thousands of Germans being evicted from Poland and thousands of Poles being uprooted in Ger-

many. It is true that this also follows agreements between Germany and Poland, but the procedure in each case is calculated to widen the breach between the two nations and nationalities. The concentration camp in Prussia has received at least 10,000 men, women and children from Poland who are gathered in a space scarcely sufficient for one-third of the number, in sheds that once housed prisoners of war, with sanitary and food conditions such as to make their misery acute. The German exiles appear to suffer more than the Poles. The ruling officials in both countries are responsible for the brutality that has been heaped upon the refugees, the mass of whom consist of workers. How different is the procedure when a break occurs between two nations and the diplomatic officials of capitalism are given all the care possible to insure their comfort and safety while getting out of the country.

The Chinese Strike

The Chinese strike has entered its tenth week and there is no indication of its being early abandoned. How the strikers manage to hold out is a mystery but one Shanghai dispatch asserts that they are getting aid from the Peking Government. A correspondent at Shansi, writing of the strikers, says that "the energy and careful organization displayed are almost incredible to those who recall the apathy of former days in regard to politics." Of course, it should be remembered that this is a political as well as an economic struggle. Mr. Thomas F. Millard writes the Times an informing article regarding the mixed courts that have caused so much irritation among the Chinese. They were not contemplated in the original treaties. In the early days the few Chinese who lived in the foreign concessions were turned over to Chinese officials for trial of offenses. As the number of Chinese in the concessions increased it complicated the question of trying Chinese, and out of this situation grew the system of mixed courts. The impression that the system of foreigners and foreign law in China has on the Chinese may be imagined if a foreign power were to establish the same system in some of the larger American cities. This was not objected to at first because of general dissatisfaction with their own courts, but as the Chinese have grown in consciousness their humiliation and resentment have increased.

A Setback for The Fascisti

Despite a mobilization of the whole terrorist machinery of the Fascista Government during the last days of the campaign, the election in Palermo, the leading city of Sicily, last Sunday resulted in 16,616 votes for the Liberty Bloc (a temporary group including the Unitarian Socialists, the Catholics and all other opposition parties except the Communists and Maximalist Socialists) against 26,458 for the Fascisti. Mussolini's followers tried to beat up ex-Premier Orlando, the leader of the Liberty Bloc, after he had ventured a few mild criticisms of the "black shirts." On election day a horde of Fascisti imported from Naples and other Mussolini strongholds invaded Palermo and attacked the head-

quarters of the Opposition parties. So intimidated was the electorate that it is estimated that little more than one-third of the some 104,000 registered voters went to the polls. Thus far there are no figures on the vote cast by the Communists and Maximalists. In view of the circumstances, the Palermo election may be regarded as a moral defeat for Mussolini. Fascista law and order was illustrated on Monday last when three women and a man were killed and fifteen persons wounded when the police fired upon a mob storming the municipal building of San Giovanni in Southern Italy as a protest against administrative grafting and an increase in local taxes. Under the decree of amnesty signed by King Victor Emanuel on Aug. 1, practically every Fascista who by chance happened to be convicted or indicted for crimes will be set at liberty, except in the case of actual murder, which leaves the Matteotti affair untouched. Some Communists and Socialists will also be released under the decree. Italian Liberals condemn the wholesale amnesty and say it will make crimes of all kinds still more common. That the murder of Deputy Matteotti will ever be avenged under the Fascista regime is not believed, even though some form of judicial investigation is being gone through. In this country Count Antonio Cippico, the Fascista Senator who is defending Mussolini at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, became highly indignant when it was suggested that a remedy for Italy's overpopulation might be found in limiting the annual output of some 500,000 surplus Italians. He denounced advocates of birth control as "apostles of infanticide"—a deliberate misuse of language, as the Count knows English very well. In answering Count Cippico, Professor Edward M. East of Harvard unfortunately mixed good logic with a general denunciation of the quality of men produced in Southern Italy that sounded more like the rantings of a 100 per cent Nordic than the argument of a scientist.

New South Wales Greets America

With the departure of the American fleet from Australian waters, after a continuous round of entertainments and merry-making, the organized workers of the big Commonwealth, through the medium of K. T. Lang, the new Labor Premier of New South Wales, sent the following message to their American brothers: "It is my earnest wish that the mingling of many thousands of American citizens with our people during the visit here of the United States fleet will lead to a better understanding between the workers of both countries. Only by united efforts of workers of the English-speaking family, working by constitutional means, can we make the world better. There can never be any improvement in our conditions until war is relegated to its place as something belonging to a barbaric age. It is only the insistence of workers in our countries that can abolish war. We in Australia look hopefully to American workers, from whom many peace proposals emanate. We assure them we are heart and soul in every move they make." In New Zealand there is a movement among the labor elements against welcoming the American fleet "as a fleet."

THE Chatter-Box

We knew well when we took a potshot at the Ancient and Honorable Clan of Pulse Feelers that our mail-box would become gorged with pros and cons, adulations and anathemas, and blabber to the utmost. Naturepaths, chiropractors, rib ticklers, and spinach prescribers of every tint and conviction have taken it for granted that our angle was a distinct oblique from the long accepted and ardently proven field of medicine, surgery and materia medica as the most efficient means of preventing and curing the ills of the flesh. Let us here thank them all for their well-meant congratulations and voluminous propaganda tracts. About disease and its treatment in any form we are as conservative as a pillar of granite in the building of the National City Bank. With one intolerant sweep we relegate them all into the waste basket. We recognize only that our modern capitalist society is the breeder of all ills, carnal or spiritual, and that while our troubles of the spirit must await a cure in an advanced Socialist system, our bodily aches and disorders can be quite adequately taken care of by a medical profession that places study, ethics, and intense analysis above dollars, motor-cars and X-Ray adorned offices.

The excellent doctor-correspondent who misunderstood our words in his half-page article last week must be set right first before we can clearly continue on our ram-page. His effort to combat our effervescent foam with the bludgeons of heavy generalities make our own attempts at humor sound tragical: "Ignorant, intolerant, bigoted, prejudiced, hateful, narrow-minded, uneducated, unread, imaginary, untrue on the surface," etc. etc.

After these preliminaries, Dr. Dourmaskin enters into a series of paean pealing on the pretty points of his profession that knocks spots out of any valedictory address ever delivered by a graduate of any medical academy in these here States. As the first refuge, instead of the usual last, patriotism is indulged in to the extent of reminding us how valiantly the doctors of this country accepted the hazards of war, and how splendidly our gassed, crippled and maimed boys were refitted by medical assistance for the industrial carnage of peace. Thousands of them gave up homes and practices to indulge in their inspirational work. What does that prove or disprove, con or pro, about our arraignment of the modern medical profession? Nothing. The men who went were brave, many of them conscientious, most of them too pitifully incompetent even to stem the inroads of mumps and scarlet fever among the Negro and poor white mountaineers who flocked into the Southern training camps. Nothing need be said of the thousands that died or became life-time invalids when influenza and pneumonia stalked through tent cities and laid battalions low. If governmental ignorance and red-tape vices were responsible, a greater blame lies at the door of that enlightened medical profession the honorable doctor so eloquently defends, which did not prepare or advise or campaign for sanitary defenses before the millions of America's youth were compressed into vast military units. Will the doctor please refer us to one book, letter or resolution, from any individual or group of the medical men, that spoke up so that Congress might hear of the necessary precautions to be taken before congestion and its attendant ills took their brutal toll? The doctors in the main were as occupied before our entry into the war as they have been ever since the post-war influenza epidemics with the horribly unethical problems of keeping themselves comfortable. Here, of course, we may say with Comrade Leonard D. Abbott, who has written us a sweet congratulatory note, that our indictment should be against humanity and not merely the doctors.

But we will hold the complaining doctor to task for his placing the 100,000 medicine-men in the category of intellectual workers. As workers in intellect, we must expect a fuller sense of devotion to ideals than many have manifested lately.

He holds a brief for the hard-working medical student—the drilling and experimenting done through incessant hours to prepare him for his task in life. All of which might be praiseworthy in a sense if the result of all this would not be a young man with a diploma, a fierce determination to equip a swell-front office, a \$20,000 practice within two years somewhere on West End avenue, and a \$3,000 benzine-buggy. Again, we must place the blame upon this capitalist society that makes money grubbers out of the professed saviors of humanity. What we hold against these young intellectual workers is not so much their natural succumbing to the temptations of success, but their utter lack of initial fight against commercialization. Where, oh where, is that budding young medico that stepped out of the academy in years gone by with visions of saving a diseased world for its own great sake? We still see poets, musicians, artists, editors, and intellectual workers of all sorts scraping and struggling against the great God Greed—holding dear their ideals, bitterly contesting to preserve their illusions from commercial contamination. How few, indeed, are they to be found among the medical profession. We can only see to-day a great body of men—trained in a great art—going the sure road of degradation.

As for the specialist humbuggery, we will admit that quite a number of the more serious dollar-chasers go across and better themselves concretely for their concrete purpose of bettering their incomes. But heaven alone can count those who profit no more from their European tour than a visit to improvident relatives, and come back with a pronounced mandate to their clientele that the visiting fee has been raised on a specialistic plea. What we say here is common knowledge, and hardly worth reiteration to sound any more convincing. We regret that the Doctor will have this opportunity of reading again in

(Continued on Page 7.)