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Debs Makes Legion and Rotary Backwater on Mobbing Threat

HENDERSON SEES COMMUNIST DEFEAT

British Leader Arrives to Lecture on the Labor Party

ARTHUR HENDERSON, M. P., who was secretary of the Home Office in Ramsay MacDonald's British Labor Cabinet, and the only laborite who held portfolio in Lloyd George's two wartime cabinets, arrived in New York City Wednesday from Canada. Mr. Henderson, accompanied by his son, W. W. Henderson, who was a member of Parliament, said he had come on an often deferred "holiday." While here he will deliver several lectures on the British Labor Party, of which he is secretary.

Interviewed at the City Club, Henderson declared the British Communists are not making any inroads on the British Labor movement, constant reports to that effect notwithstanding. He said the outstanding developments in the Liverpool conference of the Labor Party and in the Scarborough conference of the Trade Union Congress were the barring of the Communists by the former and the refusal by the latter to permit the affiliation of the National Minority Movement, the trade union arm of the British Communist Party.

Sees U. S. and Britain Friendly

Asked his views concerning the future relations of the United States and Great Britain, Henderson said:

"By no stretch of imagination could I conclude that there is any tendency to place international relations, insofar as the United States and Great Britain are concerned, in a less favorable condition than they have been since the Paris peace conference.

"Though the present situation is not all I could desire, certain factors have operated to bring us nearer to each other. First there is the naval conference which was held in Washington. Then again there is the fixing up of a method whereby Great Britain's debt to the United States could be finally disposed of. The Dawes plan, in which one of your nation's leading citizens played a leading part, is another factor that has gone to cementing our friendship."

On the Locarno Treaty

On the matter of the Locarno treaties, Henderson said:

"I am convinced that the workers, especially in the countries which were at war, are anxious not only to find a solution for the problem of security, but to secure a stabilized peace for the countries covered in the agreement and for the remaining countries of the world. They desire to see all questions of diplomacy dealt with by conciliation and arbitration. It was this spirit which led to such a universal acceptance of the principles enunciated at the 5th assembly of the League of Nations."

When he came to examine the Locarno agreement, Henderson said, his test would be: "How far do these agreements conform to the three great principles of the 5th assembly as applied in the Geneva Protocol." As far as he could ascertain from the press, the labor leader said, the Locarno agreement did not outlaw war and made only "a forecast with regard to disarmament." Both these points, he said, were definitely settled in connection with the Geneva Protocol.

"I welcome any step," he said, "that can safely be said to be a move forward for the solution of the problem of security and stabilization of the world's peace through the more universal adoption of the principle of arbitration and disarmament."

Questioned concerning the present industrial situation in England, Henderson said the unemployed number about 1,300,000. The general situation is "slightly improving," was his impression. He believed the Locarno agreement might possibly have a good effect on England's industrial situation.

Henderson will make his first public address in this country Friday evening, October 23, at Cooper Union, 4th avenue and Eighth street. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor, will also speak. Both addresses will be broadcast by station WGPC. The meeting will be held under the direction of the N. Y. city committee of the Socialist Party.

British Labor Leader Arrives



ARTHUR HENDERSON, who was Home Secretary in Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Cabinet, arrived in New York Wednesday to lecture on the British Labor Party.

Freedom Prostrate in Court But Exploitation Upheld

By The Editor

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States, in two decisions this week, again registered the fact that this "august tribunal" represents the controlling economic interests of the republic, as it has ever since it was established. As a thermometer registers the change in the weather so this judicial body has added to the Constitution, taken from it, or stretched it to fit the needs of early commercial and financial interests, then plantation interests, then extensive industrial capital, and now the greater capitalist and financial interests of the nation.

One decision nullifies the Arizona minimum wage law for women and the other dismisses for want of jurisdiction the appeal of Charlotte Anita Whitney of California, who was sentenced under the Criminal Syndicalist law of that state to from one to fourteen years. According to the American Civil Liberties Union these syndicalist and sedition laws are on the statute books of 35 states. In California 72 men are serving sentences for being members of the I. W. W.

Law Cannot Protect Women

We do not know and we do not care what the judicial reasoning is behind these decisions. We do know what their economic meaning is. In the Arizona case a minimum wage meant the fixing of a certain minimum income for women workers and such legislation has always been fought by the employing class. This is "unconstitutional," says the Supreme Court. We cannot by law protect the women of our class in the matter of wages.

We pass from Arizona to California and find a law which makes membership in certain organizations a criminal offense. Miss Whitney was convicted as a member of the Communist Labor Party, an organization that disappeared a few years ago. That law was enacted in response to the will of California chambers of commerce, land kings, and industrial magnates in general. It is a brazen use of state power by capitalist cliques to prevent organization of groups opposed to the rule of these cliques. The law seeks to close the mouths of opponents and to put them behind bars.

The Supreme Court cannot pass upon this. At least it says that it has no jurisdiction. It can intervene in Arizona and say to the state, "You must not attempt to fix a wage for women below which it is illegal to pay. We will step across your frontier and erase such a law if you enact it. You must leave the women workers of your state free to accept what the employing class sees fit to pay them and what the women's weakness will force them to accept. It is

unconstitutional to step between the exploiting class and those who are exploited by that class."

"The Robed Nobles of the Supreme Court"

Then the noble court turns to California and says to Miss Whitney: "It may be true that you have committed no criminal act. It may be true that you were merely a member of a certain organization. It may be true that the Federal Constitution says something about freedom of speech, press and assembly. It may be true that you are deprived of this freedom. But we have no jurisdiction in California when it is a matter of elemental human freedom. Organize a sweatshop, Miss Whitney, and pay wages to women that may drive some into the streets to engage in a nameless commerce to make up the deficit in their wages. If the California Legislature interferes with your right in this matter then we have jurisdiction. See what we said about Arizona, Miss Whitney, and conduct yourself accordingly."

No matter what the judicial reasoning may be this is the economic conclusion of the robed nobles of the Supreme Court of the United States. No power to interfere in a matter of elemental human freedom but supreme power to strike down barriers intended to protect the women of the working class.

It was Brooks Adams, a worthy descendant of a famous American family, who, after studying the work of courts in history, concluded that they played a tremendous role in bringing on the French Revolution and the American Civil War. Steeped in the dead lore of precedent, our ponderous legalists serve a ruling class with the dead ideas of dead men. So, Charlotte Whitney must go to jail while Arizona exploiters may legally drive women to the gutter.

This is capitalism speaking through its highest tribunal. We appeal from the decisions. We appeal to a higher tribunal, the masses of this country, and this highest court will some day reverse the decisions and discharge the court.

Scranton Babbitt Brigade Gets Cold Feet Despite Their Elaborate Threats

Cappillini and Another Renegade Join Legionaires in Futile Effort to Silence Socialist Party Leader

By Fred Holmes

Scranton, Pa.

SCORE up another for Eugene V. Debs! But this time his victory is tempered by the fact that he was worthy of far better opposition. Fighting the American Legion, the Rotary Club and a few week-knee labor renegades is "pie" for Gene Debs after what he has gone through.

MELLON ATTACK ON MINE UNION A FAILURE

Workers in Central Competitive Field Withstand Open Shop Fire

THE attack on the supremacy of the United Mine Workers in the central competitive field, led by Secy. Mellon's Pittsburgh Coal Co., has fallen far short of notable success, according to facts in a special article for Coal Age by Sidney A. Hale. Hale was on the engineering staff of the U. S. coal commission. His review of western Pennsylvania and southern Ohio goes far to explode the capitalist press attempt to show a rapid drift of union miners to the mines which the Pittsburgh company is trying to operate on a non-union 1917-scale basis.

"District No. 5 of the United Mine Workers—the western Pennsylvania area," says Hale, "has a membership of approximately 45,000 of whom, according to union figures, 23,000 are now employed in the mines of the district. Less than 400 men have accepted the conditions of employment at the two Banning operations of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. The Pomeroy Bend group of mines are in District No. 6. This district had a union membership of 48,000 at the peak of power in 1920; the most claimed for the 1917 scale and cooperative operations in the Pomeroy Bend area is less than 700. The combined totals in the two fields when compared with union membership of over 220,000 in the central competitive field as a whole, is pitifully insignificant."

So scarcely more than one percent of the union miners in the two districts where Pittsburgh Coal is making its anti-union drive have gone over to the enemy, although the scheme has been in operation since May 1. In fact Hale's figures show that after the first few desertions following the open-shop move the company has made no gains.

The Dark Hollow mine, which opened about May 1, had a working force of 156 men by the middle of July. The average for the first week of September was still 156. Similarly the Forest Run mine, which opened the last week of May, had an average of 131 men by the end of July. From then on the number slowly dwindled with an average

(Continued on page 3)

Tet it is worth while to record the facts that almost two years after the country had been worked back to a situation somewhat resembling sanity the Legion and associated Babbitts attempted to revive the fires of hate and hysteria; that they accordingly threatened to mob "Gene Debs; that Debs urged them to "come on," and that they cowardly wilted and gave up their scheme of violence.

Force and violence, which our national, state and local governments have set out to erase from our "fair land," threatened to break out again in Scranton Friday night. The Socialist Party came to the defense of law and order and successfully maintained peace.

A mass meeting at which Eugene V. Debs, national chairman of the Socialist Party was to be the principal speaker, was announced some months ago. Socialist preparations for a peaceful, legal gathering went quietly ahead. Two or three weeks before the meeting was to take place, the American Legion announced that, constitution or not, Debs was not to speak.

In this determination our zealous upholders of American traditions found willing, enthusiastic aides in The Constitutional Educational League, the Rotarians, etc. Debs was to be "shipped" out of town or his meeting was to be broken up by a counter-demonstration, it was announced daily in the public prints.

Here is a typical news story: "This one was wired to The Newark Evening News and appeared in the issue of Oct. 16:

"Meanwhile, possibilities of new developments in another direction appear. This whole region is much worked up over events which are scheduled to occur in Scranton tonight."

Judge Joins The Pack

Eugene V. Debs and James H. Maurer are to be here. They will hold a radical Socialist meeting in the town hall. Debs needs no introduction anywhere, himself embodying the extreme Socialist aim. Maurer is president of the state Federation of Labor, but is better known outside the state for his reputation as a radical.

"Viewing with distinct and outspoken alarm the Debs-Maurer meeting plans, mine union and substantial citizenship have combined in opposition. Under the auspices of the Constitutional League, which claims Chief Justice Taft as its titular head, a monster counterblast is planned for the public square at the court house. Cappellini, who is to speak, has urged the 75,000 mine workers of the district to "show their loyalty by attending this and not the Debs meeting."

"The presiding judge of the (Continued on page 3)

PRICE OF COAL MOUNTING HIGH

Buyers in Small Quantities Suffer as Strike Drags Along

THE vast anthracite area of Pennsylvania lies still as though a perpetual Sabbath were in force. Dispatches in our daily papers, telling of the coal strike, are rare. A visitor could not tell from the most visible signs that a strike is in progress.

If one would look for the most noticeable effect of the suspension they must go to one of two places. They must cross the door of the miners' poor homes and find there that the miners' scant savings, put aside in anticipation of the suspension, have been exhausted and that poverty has begun to strike at the wives and children. Soon this strike must begin to take on the form of a reality.

But the city dweller does not have to wait. In the poorer sections of New York City, one may see all hours of the day, long lines of men, women and children, waiting in line with pails, boxes and other receptacles. They have come to buy coal in the only quantity they can afford, 100 pounds, or 50 pounds. And the prices they pay per ton, on the basis of these small quantities are almost fantastic. In one coal yard in New York City, a superintendent figured coal was being sold at \$33 a ton; another figured the price per ton at \$37.50. At that, no definite price could be fixed, for they have been changing every day. And the change has invariably been upward.

In one day in New York last week, coal, in the wholesale went up \$3 a ton. And it was officially reported that many small dealers are holding their stocks for even higher prices. As an indication of the prices being asked of those who can afford to buy coal by the ton, there is one Brooklyn concern who demanded \$23.50 for stove coal. Others offered to deliver at \$22.00 per ton. The customary price for these grades is \$14.20 and \$14. An emergency commission in New York placed the fair price at \$16.

In the face of the plight that has enveloped the working people of the cities and in view of the terrific suffering that is certain to come with the first real blast of wintry weather, the New York Health Commissioner has at length been led to act. He has started an investigation!

Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for Mayor, has summarized the situation in the following succinct manner. He says:

What does coal at \$23 a ton mean to the people of our eastern cities? Discomfort, privation, sickness, perhaps death. Yet steadily in New York, and doubtless in other cities, coal is mounting to that figure. Speculators are already at work creating an artificial shortage, popular panic and extortionate prices.

Who is to blame? The profiteers, of course, from mine operators down to retailers. But also ourselves. If we were not first class bores we should not have left the business of mining and distributing coal to private profit makers. An intelligent community long ago should have been able to get men to mine its coal without murdering them by thousands, or forcing them to toil for less than living wages. It ought, then, to distribute coal without allowing fabulous profits to swarms of middlemen who often buy and sell coal without seeing it or performing any useful physical service in transporting it.

What should be done? The mines should be nationalized and that not on the basis of the swollen valuation of the operators. They should be democratically administered with full recognition of the workers' own union.

Municipalities should take over local distribution. This latter step could be taken without much red (Continued on page 3)

Norman Thomas and James O'Neal were speaking at a noon-hour meeting on Madison Square the other day. Despite a cold wind which whistled across the park, a good-sized audience had gathered. On the outskirts of the crowd hovered a rather large portly person, smoking a fat cigar and with his head cocked at an angle to better hear the speaker.

Just as the meeting adjourned a passing friend hailed our prominent citizen with: "Well, John, have you left the Republican Party?"

"Never," he replied, "but while listening to these two men the thought struck me that we need have no fear for Socialism as long as the people read and believe the Republican and Democratic papers for after all in meetings like this they can only reach a few hundreds." And then they drifted off to carshot.

Readers in New York, when you go to the newsstand purchase THREE New Leaders instead of one AND PUT THEM TO WORK.

Readers everywhere (this means YOU also), please secure one new subscriber this week. It's not difficult. Just try and remember: Once landed they invariably renew, just as you do.

TO LADY CYNTHIA

A Miner's Wife Addresses The Socialist Recruit

DEAR Lady Mosley: I have been reading about the common motion aroused in aristocratic England because you, the daughter of Lord Curzon, have chosen to cast your political lot with the workers of Great Britain, running as a labor candidate for Parliament. I am much interested in your career. Of course, you have never heard of me, but I believe we have something in common in our past. That sounds strange, I know—you a daughter of a lord and I a daughter of a miner. My own background is coal. And to some extent so is yours.

I understand that your mother was an American and a daughter of the Chicago Lettters. Now, the history of the Lettler family, Lady Mosley is in part the history of the coal miners' union in America. Perhaps your research work has not carried you back into that period of American industrial history wherein the Lettters figured but I am sure you will be interested in knowing what it was.

The Lettters were among those Chicago capitalists who got in on the ground floor of the development of the rich coal field of southern Illinois. I don't know that you were yet born at the time, but I read that you are the mother of two children, so it is quite probable that in those days you were a very little girl. Of course you could not have known anything of the labor troubles of your grandfather's family, you who were so carefully shielded by nurses and governesses. Perhaps you were playing in the sunny gardens of an English country house. I, too, was a little girl at the time, living in a coal camp not far from the Ziegler camp owned by your mother's people, the Lettters. But of course I had no governess, though I was perhaps much more in need of one than you because I had no mother. While you were playing

with your dolls, Lady Mosley, I was cooking and washing and scrubbing.

Up at 5 o'clock

Did you ever have your sleep disturbed by the factory whistles of a big city? Perhaps not. In those days when the fortunes of Chicago capitalists were being swollen by the output of that coal field, I was jumping out of bed at the first shriek of the 5 o'clock whistle, for it was my duty to get the breakfast and fix the buckets for the miners of our family.

If you will read the history of the 1897 coal strike of America, you will learn that the Chicago coal barons had looked upon the virgin coal field of southern Illinois as the West Virginia of their day. At first they relied upon the native labor, rural folk who knew nothing of unions and whose hard struggle with the soil caused them to regard a coal mine as a way to salvation. But when bands of ragged, hungry miners from the union fields came marching down into this "Egypt" and told their story of industrial bondage, these rural Americans responded to their appeal for brotherhood and justice.

Unionism Spreads

You see, Lady Mosley, what happens when workers are left free to choose for themselves. Unionism spread almost as rapidly as the mines were opened. But not so in the Ziegler camp where the labor policy was dictated by the Lettters of Chicago. Your forbears, stern and unyielding, would not make the mistake of other coal operators who had yielded to the de-

mand for collective bargaining. If they could not rely upon the native labor, they could import scabs from other fields. They could house them in barracks. They could build stockades around their property. They could station gun men at strategic points. And all this they did. And when their work was finished and they had called it good, they placed upon the tipple of the big mine an enormous, revolving searchlight to expose the "invading enemy" and to broadcast their deadly warning.

Thus were the Lettters the fore-runners of gun man mine control of the present day West Virginia.

Why should they surrender to the demands of the miner's union? Had not their capital sunk the mine? Had not their capital provided shelter and paid the transportation of their workmen? And were they not providing these men with steady work?

Union and

Non-Union Camps

You liberals, Lady Mosley, are fond of talking of one's reactions and especially are you keen about the reactions of a worker to new stimuli. Perhaps you would be interested in knowing the reactions of the children of our camp to what was going on at the Lettler mine. You say you have two little children and that you know how you would feel if you couldn't get enough food or proper clothing for them or had not a roof over their heads—that is one reason why you believe in Socialism and are now a labor candidate for Parliament. I am sure that you have surrounded these children of yours with the happiest of influences, as it should be every mother's privilege to do. But we children whose fathers were producing coal did not play in lovely gardens. We had never seen a beautiful lake. We could not even imagine what the seashore was like.

The nearby ponds were polluted with the refuse from the mine. We roamed among weeds and tin cans and slack piles, but we were free to roam whither we willed. Over in the Lettler camp the little children were constantly warned by their mothers to stay close by—there might be shooting.

Our daddies could protest against injustice in the mine and the Union would protect their rights. Over in the Lettler mine the miners had no rights. They had made no bargain with the company. We heard surdaddies call them slaves. We, too, lived in company houses, desolate enough, but far worse were those awful barracks built by the Lettters. These union miners could build their own homes, a dream the years have brought to pass.

But in Lettler's camp no land could be bought and the miners there were too terrorized for dreams. In the quiet of the night in the union camps some child would shout, "There it is!" And across the sky would flash that ominous light. At such times our daddies would speak in earnest tones that brought disturbing thoughts to us children. To us that warning in the night suggested some fierce monster who had the power to sweep down upon a little mining community and compel the people there to do its bidding. But there was the Union! The Union would save us from the fate of Lettler's miners.

Heart and Conscience

And then, as memory recalls it now, there came a terrible disaster in the Lettler mine, and in the work of rescue, so we heard, the ladies of the Lettler family hurried down from Chicago to lend aid to the heroic nurses. Another reason you give today for turning Socialist, Lady Mosley, is that you have a heart and a conscience, and they are always worrying. No doubt the heart and conscience of your mother were worrying in those days.

But it came to pass that the Lettler tyranny gave way under the progress of the miners' union. The Lettler mine was unionized and the camp became a free community. The miners then enjoyed the rights of American citizens. They could erect their own public schools. Enterprising individuals could establish business. The citizens were free to mingle with the citizens of other communities. When unionism came in, fear went out of the hearts of the people.

Should you ever make a tour of America, Lady Mosley, it would be of interest to you to visit the scene of this one time feudalism of the Lettters. You would still see some of the evidence of those days of terrorism. Those awful barracks still remain, a sinister picture against the background of the mines. But at the other end of the town may be seen the newer homes of very different character. Green lawns and flowers give a touch of beauty to these miners' homes. Here may be seen a very fine example of what men, left free to live their own lives, can accomplish.

Today, Lady Mosley, you are championing the cause of the miners of Great Britain. You say that you and your husband stand with the labor movement in backing up the miners' refusal to accept a wage reduction. You go further than that. You stand for nationalization of the mines. You are indeed a woman of vision and courage. The lords and ladies of high degree may ridicule you. The Lettters of America may feel disgraced because of your Socialist ideas. But in my opinion, Lady Mosley, you are doing more for the family name than any of your kind. You are in some measure redeeming the name of Lettler, so long despised by the miners of America.

Agnes Burns Wieck.

RAND SCHOOL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE WILL HOLD HALLOWEEN DAY DANCE

The Women's Committee of the Rand School, organized two years ago to aid the Socialist-Labor School, will open its activities this winter with a Halloween party on Friday evening, October 30, in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. The famous Camp Tamiment Dance Orchestra, and Dorah, the beautiful dancer, will be but two of the many pleasant features that are being planned for the evening. The hall will be specially decorated for the occasion. Tickets may be obtained at the Rand School office.

THOMAS TO BE GUEST AT MOROCCO-INDIA DINNER

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York, and associate director of the League for Industrial Democracy, is to be the guest of honor at an Indo-Morocco dinner to be given by the National League of India at the Garden of India Restaurant, 672 Eighth avenue, New York City, Sunday, October 25th at 7:30 p. m. The speakers will be Hamdi Bey, Sean Conway, Ali Kamel, Chaudery Khan, and John Martin.

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D. BARNETT L. BECKER
OPTOMETRIST—OPTICIAN

PEOPLE ARE LIKE THAT

EVERY last man and woman of us has a certain something which is music to our ears. With the race track follower it's the thunder of hoofs as the ponies come dashing through the home stretch. The explosion and smell of powder gives it to the soldier, while the sweetest sound to a sailor is the music of the waves. Desert silence is what some demand for their thrill and others are most happy when the wind whistles through the trees and dry leaves crunch underfoot. To the baseball fan the sound of Babe Ruth's bat connecting with a ball is probably the ideal music. For some it's poetry and for all of us at some time or other the very best music is "I love you," providing, of course, it's from the one you love, but it's pretty fair melody at any rate.

Our staff is no exception to the general rule. Let's confess frankly that they are a just human crowd. We know that it's music to the ears of Jim Oneal and Eddie Levinson when a subscriber writes, "You have a splendid paper," or when Norman Thomas after his cheery "Good morning!" says, "Boys, you have a nice paper this week." Even our manager endeavors to work up a thrill occasionally, but the sweetest music of all to the entire staff, both business and editorial, is when the mail brings in a large crop of subscriptions, the proof that the work is not in vain.

A letter like this one sings a splendid tune all its own: "Please find enclosed check for three dollars for three subs to your valuable paper," signed A. C. Bruce, Du Bois, Pa. It's short, but, oh, so sweet. A continual flock like that would make us the happiest family in the world, and even a letter demanding we go back to the farm would not dampen our merriment.

Dear Rufus:—

Good work! Let's hope this keeps up. As Dr. Cooley said, week by week The New Leader is getting better and better. I am so enthused by the improvement in The Leader that instead of buying three copies and distributing them, I buy five.

I ordered the twenty-two books and the two cards. So far I have two books left. I am giving them away to people who would be interested in them. I ordered another set of books and the two sub cards to be given away as a prize in Circle One, Bronx.

Say, Rufus, I think Bartholomew Depew is right. You ought to get back on the farm. After all, you aren't doing anything for this column but picking out letters that come in and insert them in the column. If you want to stay you had better write something.

The best joke I've ever read was in August Claessen's column, "Sparks and Flashes," about the deaf and dumb fellow stuttlung.

Well, here's hoping that in the next issue I will really see an honest-to-goodness article written by you.

New York City.

Nathan B. Appel.

"Your issue last week was the best ever. McAlister Coleman's article on the United States Army preparing poison gas for strikers was most illuminating. The story of the barring of The New Leader from San Quentin prison in California was worth the price of a year's subscription, and I am sending you enclosed two dollars to pay the price for our lodge reading room. We must get a larger circulation. The paper is much too good to hide among a few thousands and here is my pledge for one new subscriber a week.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Charles Heller."

Since you write so many good things about last week's issue we will let you in on a secret. Very shortly we will publish a serial story which covers labor, politics, adventure, yes and romance. For two years the editor has been on the watch for just this type of fiction and at last his quest met with success. Its never been published before and all we want to say about it now is that we sat until three in the morning before our interest ceased. Then it was only because the last words we read were "The End."

In a recent issue we said something about patronizing our advertisers. This brought forth a number of letters from people who tell us they always favor The New Leader advertisers when making purchases. Very fine, indeed, but what we would like to have every reader do is—not only favor our advertisers BUT TELL THEM WHY.

Take the case of The F. & S. Store, at the southeast corner of 84th Street and Third Avenue. We have carried the advertisement of this reliable house in every issue from our first number. No doubt you have noticed their large advertisements, which always appear on page two. They are deserving of patronage not only because they advertise, but their merchandise for the price can hardly be duplicated in the city. For men's or boys' clothes give this store a trial and TELL THEM WHY.

Dear Rufus:—

"Your column last week was the worst yet. It's a good thing The New Leader has subscribers who send in letters with their subscriptions because the letters are the only things worth reading. That high wind last week took the roof off your uncle's barn. Come back to the farm and help him. That's more in your line. I see that little fellow, August Claessens, who I heard in Newark once, is now writing for your paper, and I'll say he's pretty good."

Branchville, N. J.

"Bartholomew Depew."

Dear Rufus:—

"Why don't you tell the people that The New Leader circulates everywhere. Today, for instance, had orders from seven States and from Mrs. Alma E. Rose of Fairbanks, Alaska. Last week I had bundles of books for Cuba and South America."

Jack.

Jack is the chap who, by might and main, wraps the books so securely that they reach even the most remote rural delivery in excellent form. The bundles he refers to are the big offer we made to readers of two half yearly subscription cards and 22 booklets for \$2.90. It's a big job with much detail, each bundle weighs over three pounds, and Jack handles the C. O. D.'s under Irwin's supervision with efficiency and dispatch.

"The fact that my subscription had expired completely escaped me. By all means renew it. Every edition of The New Leader is an educational course complete."

Amsterdam, N. Y.

"J. Kirby."

Irwin, the energetic young man, in charge of our shipping department has requested us to tell you all that this is the last call for all those (that means everybody) who have NOT TAKEN advantage of our offer of twenty-two booklets (weight over three pounds) and two half yearly sub cards for the small sum of two dollars and ninety cents. The young man says that all you need do is to just send us a postal card or letter and say:—"SEND ME THE BIG BOOK OFFER AND SUB CARDS." Then in a few days the postman will deliver and you pay him the \$2.90. It's very simple, no money order to bother with, etc. Irwin is a good boy and wants to hold his job. Unless there is work for him why—Let's have your order today. THIS IS POSITIVELY your last chance.

"Please send me the two half yearly subscription cards and the twenty-two booklets as announced in The New Leader. You certainly publish a good Socialist paper."

Los Angeles, Cal.

"S. Elstein."

Thanks, and with your help and that of many other readers, we will continually try to improve. Perhaps you have noticed that August Claessens has recently joined the staff with his column, "Sparks and Flashes." Speakers usually do not write as well as they orate, but August does—which is saying a lot.

The Women's Committee of the Rand School

Invites all the friends of the School to the HALLOWEEN COSTUME DANCE

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YOU. SCRATCH ME, ETC.

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

THE office of Surrogate of Kings County isn't the most important in the world, and the struggle of the Hon. Mr. Alvah W. Burlingame to wrest it from the equally Hon. General George W. Wingate, who now adorns it, isn't the most thrilling political battle in the annals of democracy. Indeed, that battle has all the earmarks of a deadly bore, being almost entirely confined to a display of two sets of dull faces in Brooklyn store windows.

But there is one incident that has developed out of Mr. Burlingame's campaign that throws a sharp flashlight upon what goes by the name of democratic self-government in this country.

Several years ago the Legislature of New York gave the school teachers of the city a sorely needed although inadequate increase in salary. Naturally, in the absence of a large Socialist group in Albany, it was necessary for the teachers to beg and lobby and cajole and flatter and play politics to get the morons from the various districts to vote for the bill for increased pay. That's an old story, and it is repeated every time another group goes after a salary increase.

Mr. Burlingame was then a State Senator. It happened that his committee assignment placed him in charge of the teachers' salary bill for a while, and he hasn't forgotten that yet, and probably never will so long as he yearns for a place at the public trough and so long as teachers have votes.

The other day every school teacher living in Brooklyn got a communication, unsigned and with no hint as to its origin, addressed "Dear Teacher," and at the bottom, "Committee of Teachers," plainly a mythical committee. It begins, "The man who got out of committee at Albany the Lockwood-Donohue bill and thus made possible your present salary is a candidate for Surrogate, Senator A. W. Burlingame. Blah, blah, blah. How much do the teachers owe him for this great act of friendship shown at a moment when they needed a champion? It is for us teachers now to show our gratitude by having our families vote for Senator Burlingame on November 3d."

Not a word, you'll notice, about the miserable wages teachers used to get, not a word about the fact that the teachers earn every cent they get, and in return for the salary increase Mr. Burlingame so nobly says he got for them they give intelligent, loyal and indispensable service to the public. So far as Mr. Burlingame's tame committee of teachers is concerned, they don't owe teaching service to the city for their salaries; they owe votes to Mr. Burlingame.

But that isn't all. With the communication came a little pad of coupons. "We are," says the phoney committee, "taking the liberty of suggesting that you use the enclosed book of coupons in enlisting the support of the tradesmen whom you patronize to the end that a friend of the teachers shall know of our gratitude at the polls."

The coupons that teachers are delicately invited by Mr. Burlingame's campaign committee, thinly disguised as a "Committee of Teachers," to pass around to Krausmeyer's delicatessen, Ethyl's Beauty Shoppe, the corner drug store and presumably (in these emancipated days) to the cigar store, reads: "I have always patronized you. Patronize me in return by voting for Surrogate A. W. Burlingame, Honest, Able, Patriotic." Hooray!

Schools

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SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25th

8 P. M.—Brief Service and Address on "The Moral Issues of the Campaign."

—Rev. LEON ROSSER, LAND.

8:30 P. M.—Open Forum: "The Transit Situation in New York, and the Way Out."

—Ex-Assemblyman LOUIS WALDMAN.

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UNANIMOUS

VOTER



DEM.—He is deceiving you.

REP.—He is deceiving you.

If any naive lady or gentleman doesn't believe in the existence of this amazing circular it is on exhibition in The New Leader office. One dollar a look—proceeds to the Socialist campaign fund.

Now, there isn't anything very startling in his incident because it is so infernally common. But this is a peculiarly stupid—and outrageous—example of what modern democratic self-government has come to mean in America.

There are some 3,000,000 men and women in New York eligible to vote. Less than 1,300,000 registered, and if 1,000,000 of them vote I'll eat my brand new hat. Men have fought and died for the right to govern themselves. Oceans of blood have been shed by heroes in the struggle to win the right. The history of the past century is to a large extent the history of that struggle, a noble and inspiring heritage

that the nineteenth century will hand down to history. We have that right, and we use it in this little, cheap, puffing kind of pushcart politics—I did you a favor and now you give me a vote to get me a job! Is it any wonder that every year more and more millions of Americans say in effect, "To hell with voting! What's the score?"

It isn't only Mr. Burlingame. The late Mr. Hyman bitterly complained before a public meeting during his primary campaign that he couldn't understand why Tammany Hall put its heavy hob-nailed boots where they would swiftly propel him in the direction of the ashcan because he had given Tammany everything it had asked for. Indeed, he said, at the beginning of his most illustrious reign a civic organization had come to him with the proposal that he appoint certain officials for merit alone. But he

repulsed them, he said in that speech, and gave the jobs to Tammany. And what the dooce did Tammany mean by being ungrateful?

If anybody wants to know what's the matter with American politics—that's it. You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours. The city of New York has 6,000,000 people. The city administration comes closer to human life than any other government agency in the country. And instead of thinking in terms of human beings Mr. Inkman talks of making things all right for bankers and employers of labor, and Tammany and a lot of the small fry on both old party tickets peddle favors for votes. Yes, we knew it all the time, but this particularly cheap and disgusting example of it causes the gorge to rise just a little more than usual.

New York needs a rebirth of political idealism. New York needs to get rid of its ghastly political cynicism. New York needs to be taught that there are some people who look beyond the cheap pickings when they go into politics; that politics has something to do with human life and the future of our children; that with politics the workers can face and solve their own problems.

New York needs a huge and impressive vote for Norman Thomas and the whole Socialist ticket. New York needs a huge, growing, a vital and living Socialist party.

That will be the answer to the cheap mendacity of the little pewee politicians begging for votes. That will be the answer to the miserable cynicism that threatens to destroy the people's faith in democracy.

Talks With Thomas

A Weekly Letter from the Socialist Candidate for Mayor of N. Y. City

BEFORE turning to our own municipal campaign, I want to express in your name and in my own, our Socialist condemnation of two recent Supreme Court decisions which inflict serious wounds on democracy. The court has overruled the Arizona Minimum Wage Law and the same court which found plenty of reasons to upset this good State law could find none to upset the Criminal Syndicalist Law in California under which Charlotte Anita Whitney was convicted. Miss Whitney is an idealist with a long record of devotion to noble causes convicted solely for membership in the Communist Labor Party. If it is legal to condemn men and women merely for membership in political organizations, then our constitution of civil liberties is a mockery and a new weapon of terrorism is put in the hands of a brutal plutocracy.

Now let's turn to municipal issues. We Socialists, as I pointed out at the Academy of Music, are not running a mere municipal ownership campaign in this city. We have other plans and other interests. Tammany also claims some interest in municipal ownership and operation. We go far beyond Tammany in our demands and are far more sincere than Tammany. Moreover, we want a different type of municipal ownership, as we have frequently pointed out.

There is a concerted effort to discredit municipal ownership. On no point has there been such deliberate lying on behalf of private profit. I, myself, have seen letters from at least five of the cities and towns listed by the National Electric Light Association as having abandoned public ownership of utilities in which responsible officials state either that they never had public ownership or that it is still going strong.

Sometime ago a systematic effort was made to discredit the city street car lines of Detroit. The facts as certified by reliable accountants and investigators are exactly opposite. In three years the city has paid all bills, raised wages three times, made extensive improvements and amassed a surplus. I should be glad to give Mr. Waterman or Mr. Walker the figures, if they wish them. Seattle and Los Angeles are examples of large cities in the United States which

have made conspicuous successes of municipal light and power plants. The municipalities of Ontario in conjunction with the provincial government have developed one of the most magnificent and successful hydro-electric systems in the world. In these cases government succeeded on its own initiative where private capital was afraid. So far from giving us political administration, the government in these cases has given power to experts. Sir Adam Beck was untouched through changes of administration in Ontario. In southern California the most important executives in some ten cities and towns in control of city-operated public utilities were found to have an average length of service of about twenty years.

Every argument now advanced against public operation of transit was in its day advanced against public operation of the schools and public ownership of the water supply. I venture to say that Mr. Waterman, who would fear to ride on municipally-operated transit lines, occasionally drinks city water without fear. I suspect that Mr. Waterman would agree that in engineering, skill and efficiency and in service to the people the New York City Water Department, to put it mildly, compares favorably with the privately owned gas and electric companies. Mr. Waterman may also recognize that we owe altogether to public initiative and not to private profit, the Board of Health regulations which give us a reasonably safe milk supply and say this with full recognition of the shortcomings of the present administration in this regard.

Private ownership and management has been tested in New York. It did not solve the transit problem. It is not solving the housing problem. It is making of marketing of all sorts of products from cabbage to coal a scandal and a waste. It is time for the city to act.

The one way to get action is to vote the Socialist ticket. Even though we do not carry the election, the size of our vote will be your only effective club over the old parties. Tell this to your friends.

Norman Thomas

Debs Outfaces Legion

(Continued from Page 1)

county court over at Wilkes-Barre has appealed to the patriotic and law respecting citizenship of the entire anthracite district to "demonstrate to Debs, in no uncertain terms, that he and his cohorts are not wanted" hereabouts.

"If everybody who has been invited turns up, there is going to be some gathering. What else there may be remains to be seen. But though the mine workers in this neighborhood have demonstrated on notable occasions that they don't like 'radicals' if these belong to another lodge, there are as yet no indications that the police are skipping any heartbeats.

"The deep interest of the union officials is easily explained. Debs and Maurer represent to them an element which seeks to destroy their industrial union and to set up in its place 'The One Big Union' of all workers, in which their separate entity would be engulfed by a Communist political movement.

"It is what they call 'dual unionism' invading their reserved territory. The union leader and a large majority of their followers would go any length to stamp out any chance of such a gesture succeeding. So it is quite possible there may be a hot time in town tonight, if anybody lights an untimely match."

And here let us halt a minute to tell of the most disgusting aspect of the situation. There were two ex-radicals among the opponents of Debs. One is cashing in on an undeserved

reputation. His name is not worthy of mention.

The other, however, is none other than Rinaldo Cappellini, president of District One of the United Mine Workers, whose election three years ago was hailed by the Workers' (Communist) Party as a great triumph of Communism. Cappellini openly associated himself at that time on the platform and in conversation with Workers' Party leaders. His growth from a Communist to an associate of the American Legion would provide an interesting study. But this is not the place for it.

To go on with this story of law and order. Debs ignored the threats, as he has treated hundreds of others of similar character all his active life. He came to Scranton, unaccompanied by any guards his Socialist comrades had urged him to take. He went to his hotel.

The storm failed to come. A mild flaking of its possibility came to him within an hour, however. A committee elected by the Legion visited him. "We have decided not to interfere with your meeting, Mr. Debs," they said. "But we want to let you know we will have some questions to put to you."

"I will answer your questions," Debs replied. "And then have a few to put to you. Good day!"

The story has a happy ending. Debs spoke to a huge audience of miners who crowded Town Hall. The American Legion stayed away. No questions were asked. Debs inquired for them. They were not in the hall. A party of searching newspapermen finally located the brave warriors. They had gathered in a small meeting-

Coal Prices Mounting

(Continued from Page 1)

tape and delay. A city like New York even now could buy coal wholesale from the mines and distribute through retailers on the basis of a fixed charge for handling. The conservative Federal

Commission pointed to this remedy. But politicians who are only "friends of the people" during a campaign have neither brains nor desire to put through this remedy. Yet we go on voting for them and pay by our own shivering discomfort for our folly.

A WHITE TONGUE

When your child is looking somewhat "out of sorts," look at his tongue. If his tongue is not clear, it is a sign that his stomach is not in order and needs a thorough cleansing at once.

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will eliminate all accumulated undigested waste matter from your child's system. It will regulate his stomach and liver, will restore his appetite, and in a few hours he will again be well and happy.

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AIN'T IT GREAT TO BE A WORKER? ::

A Day in the Life of a Worker Told by McALISTER COLEMAN and Pictured by EDMUND DUFFY.

6 A. M.:

A watery sun is just peeping above the high roof-tops. It is cold and dark in three hundred thousand rooms without direct access to the open air in over seventy thousand unsanitary New York tenements. But the alarm clocks are ringing and the workers who live in those tenements must answer this summons, gulp down hasty breakfasts and run for the nearest transit line.



CAME THE DAWN

8 A. M.:

Punch the factory time clock. If you are late you are out of luck and no excuses about subway delays, held-up elevated trains and the like will go with the Brass Hat and Stuffed Shirts of Bossdom.

8 A. M. to 12 M.:

On the factory job, the same old job day in, day out, doing the same old thing in the same old way with no voice in the management, no chance for pride in the production, no just share in the profits that come from their own labor. And then,—



GOOD MORNING, KIND SIR!

5:30 P. M.:

Now you can go home—if you can get aboard a train, and—



BACK HOME

7 A. M.:

"Watch your step!" "Move up to the front of the car!" "Step lively!" "Blah-blah street next stop!" And they are off on the age-long journey, hanging to straps if they are lucky, swaying on their neighbor's chest, vest and breath, all under blinking lights that dimly illuminate the pretty girl pictures in the tabloid papers. For hundreds and thousands of New Yorkers this is the introduction to the day's work.



TRANSIT RELIEF

12 M. to 12:45 P. M.:

Run out to lunch to the nearest sloppy one-arm joint or sit down by the machine and get what nourishment you can from the cold lunch in the far from full dinner-pail.

12:45 P. M. to 5:30 P. M.:

Back on the job again. Produce—produce—produce! Keep away from "them Union agitators." Don't try to organize your fellow workers for a better life for yourself and yours. That's Socialism—and Walker and Waterman and Wall Street have got no use for Socialists.



OUT TO LUNCH

8 P. M.:

If you can spare the change, you can go to a nice movie and see pictures of President Coolidge telling the Boy Scouts what great opportunities they have to grow up and be President and you can watch our American aviators dropping bombs on African natives or you can sit at home and listen over the radio (with six installments still due) while Andrew Mellon tells you how they ought to take the taxes off the rich and stick some more on the poor.



THE END OF A PERFECT DAY

OUR HISTORIANS COME TO CONFESSION ::

By James Oneal

IT is interesting to observe the admissions made by historians regarding their trade. Most of them now admit that the historians once ignored the life of the people and believed that they told all that was worth knowing when they wrote of the life and deeds of military commanders, politicians and statesmen. They now admit that one may be acquainted with this sort of history and yet be ignorant of history.

But while the point of view on this matter has changed the historians are by no means yet agreed on what constitutes history and what should be included in its interpretations. One historian showed his prejudice against economic interpretation by saying that the economic determinists had put "the hiss into history." This is to assume that we humans are all angelic creatures and that economic motives never enter the minds of workers, peasants, capitalists, bankers, debtors, creditors, politicians and statesmen.

Bancroft, the American historian, once admitted to James Davis Butler that in writing of convicts among the early settlers in America, "he had been very economical in dispensing the truths he had discovered." In other words, Bancroft was afraid to put certain truths into history. Perhaps these truths would "hiss" at some of the fictions that have been purveyed in the name of history.

In his William Levi Bull lectures the

late Carroll D. Wright said that the historians of antiquity believed "that the workers in society had no souls, did not consider it worth while, or at least dignified, to pay any more attention to them in their records than they would to beasts of burden, animal creations also without souls." Prof. Sumner in his great work on Folkways, said that "The patriotism of the historian rules his judgment, especially as to excuses and apologies for things done in the past, and most of all as to the edifying admissions—

a very important part of the task of the historian. . . . It follows that a complete and unbiased history hardly exists."

James Harvey Robinson is perhaps the most learned of American historians and he wrote in his The New History, that "When we consider the vast range of human interests, our histories furnish us with a sadly inadequate and misleading review of the past, and it might seem as if historians had joined in a conspiracy to foster a narrow and relatively un-

edifying conception of the true scope and intent of historical study." A few years ago Prof. William F. Ogburn said before the American Economic Association that history too often becomes distorted "because we choose to omit, that is, to forget as a social group, certain unpleasant events of history. The events we choose to remember are those in accord with the particular mores we encourage, and we tend to forget those opposed."

Other eminent scientists and historians could be quoted to show that

some subtle influence has always been at work to distort history for certain purposes. When a growing minority of the profession protests against the fear and servility of the profession it is a warning that because you see a certain opinion in a text book that opinion is not necessarily justified by the facts. It may be in conflict with the real facts.

Prof. J. T. Shotwell, in an article in The American Historical Review, showed why this timidity prevails in writing history. He observed that

"the tendency to believe and accept is so strongly impressed upon us from immemorial social pressures that few have risen to the height of the independent judgment which was the Greek ideal." He added that "the whole force of society is on the side of myth. The unbeliever is ostracized or put to death. . . . Only long scientific training can keep an individual alert with doubt, or, in other words, keep him from merging his own beliefs in those of his fellows. . . . Science was born but yesterday. Myths are millenniums old. And they are as young today as in the glacial periods."

There is another restraining influence upon the historian. Our college and universities are often subsidized by the bourgeois class and they often hold shares in great industrial enterprises. This means capitalist coercion and restraint in education and historical writing. The whole truth is impossible in such an atmosphere. Add to its customs, traditions, prejudices, archaic opinions and reactionary influence and we can understand why we get doctored history that serves the upper classes and that forges intellectual chains to bind the masses to the present order.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL BAG ::

The Hospitals

Editor, The New Leader:

It is very kind of you, indeed, to treat your readers with "A Dissertation on Hospitals." Is it proper to name such human abattoirs such? They remind me very much of the different barber colleges along the Bowery, where all kinds of facial diseases may be contracted for the small sum of five cents. Of course, it is only the very poor who patronize joint where they can leave behind slices of their chins. The rich can afford to get shaved where the most sanitary tools, utensils and towels are used.

The hospitals are about in the same category. They are nominally erected for the purpose of curing the sick—the poor sick—but are actually dispensing stations operated in the main in the interest of the large drug manufacturing concerns, in addition to being incubators for sick men and women to become doctors in. The victims, mainly poverty stricken, are considered only cadavers to be experimented with and upon by the concealed element that is to be the future doctors, who dream to, at some later date, look after the wealthy, who need the best advice that money can secure.

If one wants to witness snobby and downright rascality practiced by our noble, patriotic and unselfish American (?) doctors one has only to secure a position of any kind in any of the city hospitals where the actual tollers who do the filthy and laborious work that is always to be done are underpaid, underfed and abused to such extent that, generally, they have become known as "short-stake" men, who quit

after one or two weeks. In fact, things are so abominable that the officialdom in charge are bold in saying that they do not expect men and women to stay any longer than one payday.

All told the hospitals outside of the Jewish hospitals in New York city are nothing more than magnificent travesties upon what we visualize a civilization. Emporiums of snobbery, incubators of graft, infernos physiologically and psychologically, and up-to-date indictments of politicians as well as doctors and druggists, who wax fat owing to the ignorance and gullibility of a sadly neglected portion of the human race—the tollers and their wives and babies, if they are fortunate, or unfortunate, enough to be married and are prolific under our glorious Christian monstrosity, the ill-named thing called civilization.

Let us have light along this line; it might take the place of "The Doctors' Dilemma," so ably written by no other than Shaw himself.

A HOSPITAL ATTENDANT.
New York City.

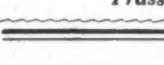
Purcell's Speech

Editor, The New Leader:

At the big demonstration in Carnegie Hall last Sunday Comrade Purcell made a powerful speech. The high points of the speech were that there should be world-wide unity of the working class to abolish capitalism, that the workers should oppose war, and that the Russian trade unions should be gotten to join the International Federation of Trade Unions (the so-called Amsterdam International).

When the meeting was over I found some of our own Socialist Party members selling "A Reply to Purcell." I naturally protested, for Purcell had made a first class Socialist speech.

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ONCE AGAIN

THE ostrich (Kellogitis-State-Secretaris) has again poked its tiny head into a pigeon hole. This time our rara avis refuses to gaze upon Countess Karolyi, who is knocking at the door of our nation—lightly tapping as becomes a late visitor on our chamber door—while the ungainly bird of yore quotes, "Nevermore!"

This succession of official stupidities is so ludicrous that we can hardly become righteously indignant over the outrage committed on our national tradition of liberty and political haven for the oppressed of all nations. A more serious aspect than merely the unpardonable insult—the barring of a noble woman (whatever her political beliefs) from our shores is the intellectual dishonesty that is endemic among our ruling class officialdom. This last act should not go the way of feeble protest. Every lover of freedom—every lover of what America really means—should rally at once to a protest—that will penetrate even the dull reason now ensconced in Washington.

Alfred Baker Lewis.

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UNDERNEATH THE WHITEWASH :- :- HUMPTY-DUMPTY :- :-

By W. M. Feigenbaum

THE British Trade Union Delegation that visited Russia last December brought back a report that is in effect a complete whitewash of the Communist regime, but that at the same time contains within itself, damning evidence of the true nature of Sovietism if one but cares to look for it. Hailed by the Communists as a glorious vindication of their much-battered regime in Russia it has been sold in Communist bookstores and reprinted in Communist papers, the master minds back of the Communist movement presumably expecting that nobody is going to read the document, but rather take their word for it that everything is jake.

The Socialists have read the report, however, and nothing has gotten by them. They have realized the shocking implications of its bland and cynical disregard for political democracy, for self government, for human rights. Fritz Adler, one of the noblest souls in the Socialist movement, a man who has given his whole life to the cause of Socialism and human liberty, has made a study of that report and has given us in brief what it contains.

"From the outset," says Adler, "the writer cannot refrain from confessing openly that not since the excesses of German Socialist Imperialism during the war has he read any book that by its baseness and shameful revelations has shocked him so much as this 'Report.' And just as during the grim period of the war there could be no regard for personal friendship, no forbearance and no palliation, so there can be none now with regard to this publication. For now, as then, the greatest thing at stake is the honor of the Labor movement."

That honor, says Adler, is now betrayed by Communist Imperialism. He charges that the Trade Union delegation were tricked and trapped, and that that betrayal must be exposed.

The New Leader has already commented upon that Report, certain shocking portions having been reprinted in these columns. For example, we learn that in Russia the inner gang of the Communist dictatorship censors every line that is printed in every paper and every book in all Russia; that political opponents are jailed and shot; that there is a tyranny that not even the Czar dared exercise. (Full details on pp. 117, 118, 120 and 121. You can buy the Report at any Communist meeting or bookshop. Possibly the Communist officials imagine that no one will read the book but will take their word for it that it's all right.) For example, also, we learn that there is no freedom of the right of suffrage, that opposition political parties are suppressed and their leaders jailed. And we read that the majority of the people of Georgia oppose the Soviet rule forced upon them. All this is recounted and justified. That is what shocks Comrade Adler, as it has shocked millions of others.

The authors of the Report (p. XV, preface) describe a cavalry review given in their honor by General Budenny. "The honorary colonel of this regiment is the Praesidium of the All-Russian Trades Council. . . . We were here witnessing the operations of the first disciplined, armed and trained force created and utilized for the defense of working class institutions. Thus by empty phrases Soviet militarism is justified. In other places the authors of the Report blandly say that political freedom, self-government, freedom of the press, universal suffrage do not exist in Russia, but the

"The Anglo-Russian Report: A Criticism of the Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia From the Point of View of International Socialism. By Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, American Publishers, Jewish Socialist Verlag, 173 East Broadway, N. Y. C., 50 cents.

FREDERICK ADLER EXAMINES THE BRITISH TRADE UNION REPORT ON SOVIET RUSSIA

people neither want nor do they need those things, for they have something better! That is, the feeling that they live in a proletarian State.

And that is where Comrade Adler takes his cue. Who wrote that report? Not the seven trades unionists, because not one of them knows a word of Russian and so not one was capable of securing information in Russian. Three "advisory delegates" went along. Harold G. Grenfell, A. R. McDonnell and George Young, and they wrote the Report. That is stated in the preface. All three of them, says Adler, are graduates of British diplomacy and the British foreign office in particular.

Now, the entire Socialist world has been demanding light on the Bolshevik conquest of Georgia, and one of the objects of the visit to Russia by this delegation was to get first-hand information on that point. Adler points out that the Report—written, remember by the Advisory Delegates, all of whom had been born British diplomats—admits that the Georgian people opposed the Bolshevik conquest but that they have gained so much that this conquest is good for them! Just the argument every imperialism makes to justify its oppressions, says Adler. (Pp. 24 et seq. in Adler's book and pp. 207, 208, 211, 216, 217, in Report. I had both Adler's book and the Report before me as I wrote and I checked up every citation and found them correct—and the case understated.) "The authors have not spent so many years in the school of the British foreign office in vain!" writes Adler.

As to industrial conditions in Russia, Adler points out that the report was made up from reports furnished by the Soviet Government.

There is no political liberty, "but something better," which maddening assertion provokes Adler into writing one of the most eloquent chapters (P. 29) I have ever read on the struggle of the British workers for political freedom, what it meant to the pioneers to secure the right of suffrage and the freedom of the press, what political freedom has meant in the history of the proletarian movement and how impudent is the suggestion that workers, anywhere, should support a regime where freedom is ignored, as if it didn't matter. As if slaves in the South were all right, even if they weren't free. As if Czarism was all right even if there was no freedom. As if Tammany Hall is all right if it gives free dinners to bums.

What is the purpose of this attempt to "sell" Soviet Imperialism to the world? Why try to get the British workers to believe that Russia is a workers' paradise—even if there is no freedom for Russians? Adler answers in a final chapter, "The United Front, True and False," in which he gives a history of Zinoviev's attempt to destroy the Labor movement by a frontal attack and failing in that, to use the "slogan" of the "united front" to get into the labor movement and destroy it. Everything that Adler writes is quoted from documents, and he grimly says that apparently Zinoviev thinks he is dealing with illiterates who do not read what he says as to the object of what he is trying to do. Part of this "united front" tactic is to get people sympathetic with Russian hunger, Russian sufferings, Russian babies and use that sympathy to breach the labor movement. The workers' International Relief is one of these Communist camouflages. Socialists, trade unionists, and liberals are trapped into joining them, giving time and money, in return for which Zinoviev calls them "Innocents' Clubs" (P. 46), spoils them

and laughs at their "bourgeois ideology" in expecting common honesty.

The trade union delegation was tricked. They were an "Innocents' club" and they were feted and honored and made honorary colonels of Cossack regiments, and in return they put their names to the report that whitewashed a regime that in imperialism, unprovoked conquest, denial of political rights, oppression and suffering—in the name of the Revolution—exceeds anything that the Czar ever ruled over. They signed a report that says again and again that freedom doesn't matter and that people have no right to govern themselves.

The "united front" scheme has been seen through sooner or later everywhere else, and the day will come when it will also be seen through in England," says Adler, in concluding this striking monograph. Let us hope the book has a circulation of millions.

DAVIES, JONES, HILLQUIT SPEAK IN PHILADELPHIA WEDNESDAY, OCT. 28

The largest meeting in Philadelphia during the entire campaign will be held Wednesday, October 28, at the Hebrew Association Auditorium, Broad and Pine Streets. Morgan Jones, M.P., Rhys J. Davies, M.P., Morris Hillquit and B. Charney Viadegk will be the speakers.

Readers of The New Leader are familiar with the successes these two young Englishmen have been having in America, and those who live in Philadelphia and vicinity should make every effort to attend this meeting. Those interested in international affairs are anxiously waiting to hear a report on the international from Comrade Hillquit.

Tickets are 50 cents and may be obtained at the following offices: Jewish Daily Forward, Fifth and Pine Streets; Philadelphia Tageblatt, 107 North Sixth Street; Waist Makers Union, 1036 Cherry Street; Socialist Party, Room 5, 1325 Arch Street.

Louis Waldman at Bronx Free Fellowship

Ex-Assemblyman Louis Waldman will address the Open Forum of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road (near 169th Street), Sunday, October 25, at 8:30 p. m. His subject will be "The Transit Situation in New York City, and the Way Out." Rev. Leon Rosser Land will speak at 8 o'clock on "The Moral Issues of the Campaign." Solos will be rendered by Genevieve Kaufman. Admission is free.

At the Open Forum on November 1 (8:30 p. m.), the Fellowship will conduct a symposium on the issues of the campaign. The speakers will be Norman Thomas, Judge Joseph V. McKee, candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen on the Democratic ticket, and a leading Republican candidate.

By S. A. De Witt

WHEN Von Hindenburg was elected to the Presidency of the German Republic a tiny tremor of excitement seized us here. It might mean the beginning of democracy's end in Central Europe the Kaiser might come back; the dear old war might be renewed. Conjectures of varied sort and interest flew about the tables and temples of thought.

But after the old gent of rich military tradition and horrible grammar had saluted the Republic's banner and pledged allegiance to it in perfect Public School No. 34 fashion, we all took the subway downtown to work and recommenced the daily indulgence in our own trivial tribulations.

Which was all as it should be, for all of the Graustarkian intrigue, double-cross and exalted plotting that our ubiquitous and de Gothaed friend X7 regales us with in his narrative. Perhaps because it is all so frankly told, without any attempt at propaganda, and just because there is neither tear nor song for the erstwhile illustrious names and personages that litter 270 pages of conversation—it leaves us cold.

The Value of an ex-King

Perhaps, again, it is because we have never had any sympathy for emperors, empresses, princes or courtiers, and certainly less for diplomats. Perhaps it is because we are just obdurately certain that kings are as marketable in their lost domains as steam-heated flats in Sahara.

It is quite plausible that the deplorable royal loafers who lost their sinecures might whimper and squirm a bit, and plot and plan for a return to former estate and glory. It is also credible that Central Europe is peppered with the musical comedy stuff of political schemers and spies, each with a little queen or king to place back upon a throne.

And it is more than certain that the bugaboo of Bolshevism makes the faint hearts of the bourgeoisie tremble, and, as X7 tells us, is being worked to death by the royalists, yes, even secretly supported by them into unnatural importance through propaganda so as to gain middle class connivance at a monarchical coup d'etat. X7 gives a great deal of space to this phase of Central European intrigue. He even gives us a most readable interpretation of the now infamous Zinoviev letter. According to him, the story runs thuswise: The letter was composed by an anti-Bolshevik group in Moscow and cleverly placed in the hands of a true Bolshevik agent in Riga by a member of the German Secret Service (which organization, according to Herr von X7, is still thoroughly monarchistic), who, in turn,

The Return of the Kings, by X7. Dodd, Mead & Co., \$2.50.

ROYAL RELICS THE WORLD OVER STILL HOPE FOR LOST POWER

saw to it that the Bolshevik correspondent mailed it to his London tovarish. There it was seized on schedule time by the English P. O. authorities, who opened it, photographed it, and then sent it on to its destination. The effect that letter had on the English elections is now sickly news to most of us.

The Republic Is Saved!

How this trick on the part of the German Secret Service could aid the cause of monarchy in Europe is difficult to understand, since it paled the bloody tint of the Bolshevik spectre that they had been waving before the business man and industrialist of Europe. The conservatives of England used the letter as a bludgeon over the electorate—labor fell from power. The middle class gathered courage at the result and promptly forgot the boogiemon. The desire for a return of kings well-nigh died altogether—in direct consequence.

Quite stupidly, the monarchists of the German Secret Service had given the bourgeoisie a means of political strategy in case of any threatening victory of labor at the polls, without resorting to a return of the kings. Simple, night wahr, just to write a note from Stalin or Trotsky, addressed to their proletariat, full of the now familiar communistic bombast of phrase and exhortation, make it as red-hot mama as possible, have it sealed, photographed, etc., and let the republic be saved. . . .

X7's book is indeed worth the

reading, and even preserving against the time when future events will so sacrilegiously outrage the tender hopes and noble dreams of the disinherited parasites. His task has been an arduous one, for it is no mean accomplishment to collect the opinions of inept, shallow and intellectless mankind, such as Europe's rulers had always been in modern memory, and make them readable. His effort at exciting us into a belief that the kings might return through their stupid scheming is not fortunate, however.

"A Hollywood Host of Dukes"

The Kaiser, Prince Rupprecht, Empress Zita and a Hollywood host of dukes, archdukes and the like are silver-screened before us, each with a piece to say, each with a scroll of pretensions in hand; and all they have to say, and all they show to us, strengthens our prejudices against their ilk and purpose to the adamant conviction—that of all utter uselessness and affliction to the body politic and social, the royal families of Europe take the speckled bananas.

From what we can gather out of their opinions and conversations, their general intelligence would not recommend them to us for hire as distributors of chewing-gum samples on a busy street corner.

The Return of the Kings—gosh, Joe, how often must you be told to use lots of sawdust in packing emery wheels?

No fact about human nature seems so certain as that our honest convictions of right and wrong are apt to be largely shaped by our interests. Slave-owners fervently believed slavery to be right, but not because they first reasoned it out on abstract grounds, and then became slave-owners.—M. R. Cohen.

A Railroad Junker

By Leland Olds

ELEVATION of W. W. Atterbury to the presidency of the Pennsylvania railroad to succeed Samuel Rea puts the money trust's stamp of approval on the bitter anti-union policy of this leading railroad junker. From prewar times Atterbury has been an outstanding figure in the Pennsylvania effort to maintain industrial feudalism in the railroad industry. He is an outspoken apostle of Garryism.

Unions, in Atterbury's mind, represent incipient Bolshevism—an unwarranted challenge to the absolute right of private capital to rule employees as it sees fit. Addressing the critical meeting of the Association of Railway Executives on Sept. 30, 1920, he said: "Make no contracts whatever with the labor organizations."

With the help of New York finance he forced this postwar policy on other more enlightened executives and led the way to the sabotaging of collective bargaining which produced the shopman's strike of 1922.

Atterbury first came to the attention of the country as a union-buster under cross examination before Wilson's industrial relations commission. There he admitted that the Pennsylvania maintained a complete arsenal and employed all the usual methods of the industrial autocrats who stamp on the civil rights of workmen in the steel towns of Pennsylvania and the coal fields of West Virginia. Evidence before the commission showed that prior to 1917 union men attempting to organize the employees of the Pennsylvania railroad were beaten up, shot at, and terrorized in approved steel trust fashion.

A return to these prewar conditions in which railroad executives "dealt directly with their own employees" was Atterbury's open demand when he returned from his behind-the-lines war job in France to find the Pennsylvania employees solidly unionized. To accomplish this he was forced to break the provisions of the transportation act, threaten the U. S. rail labor board, defy its decisions and intimidate his employees with wholesale unemployment. He was ready to do all these things to accomplish a return to "normalcy." And the presidency of the country's largest railroad system is the reward handed him by the Morgan-Standard Oil financial ring.

National boards of adjustment and national agreements, as guarantees to the right of workers to form their own unions, were the particular objects of his attack. As a member of the labor committee of the Association of Railway Executives he found himself a minority of one. The rest, under the chairmanship of Carl Gray, now president of the Union Pacific, recommended that the association join the unions in establishing joint boards for regularizing industrial relations in the industry. But Atterbury sent a bitter anti-union minority report to T. DeWitt Cuyler, president of the association and director of numerous Morgan banks, who backed him up by reorganizing the committee. Atterbury became chairman in place of Gray.

Scout Rail Labor Board

Chairman Atterbury of the labor committee then put over his anti-labor policy on the association with the help of 6 votes controlled by the Pennsylvania and 10 votes by the New York Central. Those votes swung the balance in a 60-41 ballot. The negotiations under the transportation act became wholly perfunctory, leading to labor board decisions which the employees were forced to accept but which the railroads accepted or not as suited their policy.

Atterbury has consistently refused to deal with representatives of the shop unions, the telegraphers and the maintenance of way employees. Committees chosen by overwhelming majorities in ballots conducted according to the rules of the labor board have failed to gain admittance to his office. He proceeds under the fiction that his pet company union, the anemic Mutual Benefit Association, is the real representative of the employees of the Pennsylvania. He is the ideal taskmaster for the industrial overlords.

:- Sparks and Flashes :-

A QUESTION was fired at us the other evening that opened up an interesting vein for discussion. It happens that this question is an old economic chestnut and it has been cracked a million times at least, in and around labor and radical circles. And yet, every now and then some gatherer of ancient and exploded myths excavates it and thinks he has found something new. It usually sounds something like this: Suppose the municipal program of the Socialist Party is enacted and the cost of living reduced, then what will it benefit the worker? Is it not true that lower living costs will eventually be followed by a fall in wages?

Predictions Unsafe

This conclusion, like the weather, can not always be predicted safely. It may happen and then again it may not. Years ago certain economists stated this dire prophecy quite dogmatically, but they overlooked the dog. We mean the live, active, ever changeable and uncertain element in the case. It was said that wages are controlled by an iron law. Said the aforementioned savants—wages are determined, bound by and hog-tied by the cost of existence and if its cost rises wages must also rise and if the price of grub, etc., falls, wages will also tumble. Therefore, what's the use of fussing about the cost of living. All you have to do is to read a chapter out of Marx (and fail to understand it), cross your fingers and wait for the collapse of capitalism.

Now then, it just so happens that the famous law of wages isn't iron at all. The damn thing is rubber! Its elasticity is apparent to all but the quaint-eyed.

To get this matter straight, let's begin with the ABC's of information on the subject. Ask nine ordinary folk out of ten how wages are determined and they will reply with gold-plated law. They have seen in the great snooty-papers and have heard it stated, repeatedly, by their betters. The tune is as follows: A man's wages are determined by his ability, his pep and skill, his application to his job and his faithfulness and loyalty to his boss. Certainly, all this would be perfectly true if it were not a lie. All right, sometimes it isn't a lie. Yes, sometimes it snows in May.

Three Wage Factors

Wages are determined by at least three important factors. First, there is the influence of the cost of existence in any given country. Most assuredly, wages do tend to fluctuate or flirt in and around, above or below what it actually costs a worker and his kin to keep alive. Second, there is the effect of supply and demand. The operation of this law plays some jolly and also some tragic tricks with the scale of wages. Ordinarily, the balance between jobs and men is the regulator that keeps wages hovering around the cost of existence, especially so, when there are more men than jobs. And that is the case most of the time. Third, there is that other factor, a highly eccentric rascal, known as the standard of living. That's the pup the dogmatists usually overlook.

Sometimes the cost of living goes ballooning and wages fail to follow. When that occurs either one of the following events happen. If wages drop to an absolute starvation level—why, then, the people starve. Luckily, that seldom happens. It would be bum business and poor politics to let that happen—any business man or statesman can assure you about that. They realize quite well that if they allow the main animal to die the fleas would be in one devil of a fix!

If wages are too low and living conditions get too mean, what usually happens is that the workers pack their few belongings, round up their families and beat it for another climate. That's been going on ever since Eve's cat got lost. That is a large element in emigration and also in the constant shifting and changing human currents in this country.

And then again, if the workers, for some reason or other, can not migrate or shift their base of operations and wages continue on the downward path—and that happens frequently—then only one other adjustment is open. That is a reduction in the standard of living.

When conditions compel some of us to accept a lower wage and with it a lower standard of existence, usually, there is hell to pay. You don't easily make a rebel out of the guy who is born, raised and eventually dies in the sub-cellar of society. But it's much easier to succeed with the chap who suddenly "drops" from the first floor to the top floor. He's our meat! Feed him gently with a leaflet or two and fetch him around to a meeting. That bird is looking for us and we for him.

The standard of living—that is the joker in this economic deck—is a highly volatile, very human and quite modern element in wage disputes. If we were one of those "scientific" phrase slingers we would call it the variable or psychological element. But we will not even mention these words. It is not a rigid standard. It is elastic and capable of revolutionary doings. No student of modern class struggles can ignore it.

Now then, a worker's existence or subsistence is not the same the world over. It's bunk to assume that Chinese, Turkish, Italian, British and

American workmen are all paid the same existence wage. Of course, they all must get existence wages or else they cease to exist. But there is a heaven of difference between a Chinaman's, a Turk's, an Italian's, a Britisher's and an American workman's idea of what is an existence. Get me? And that darn thing varies right here in this country, too. Standards of living vary north and south—east and west—rural and urban—Grand Concourse and Hester Street.

Let's back up to the original question that started this argument. A reduction in the cost of living need not always be followed by a reduction in wages. Nor is a rise in prices always accompanied by a lift in the pay envelope. What actually happens depends upon the kind of people affected. It depends upon their possession or lack of possession of intelligence, conceptions of human decency, fighting spirit, morale and well knitted organizations of Labor.

Please don't worry about the possible effects of a Socialist municipal program put into action. (Of course, no one but an idiot expects that Socialism can be put into full operation by a city, state or even a nation.) Nevertheless, better housing and transportation, more sunlight and health, more efficient schools and decent playgrounds, better markets and lower living costs—with a larger margin for so-called luxuries—will not necessarily result in lower wages. Not if the workers begin to realize their power and sense their possibilities.

Just give the average mortal a grab at something better—a sniff of gasoline—a seat at the wheel of a tin can—a chance to tune in on a crystal set—let his hoofs sink in a rug that's not bald—etc., etc., etc.—and you watch that guy, will you? He will snore for more, more, still more and better. That baby will better understand your social revolution. Now, do you get me?

Having gotten this off our chest, we sign off by making the proud confession that our column is actually being read. Got a letter addressed—Editor, Sparks and Flashes. Got to get a new hat—old one no longer fits! Yes, it was a contributer from a contributor. May his tribe multiply and increase and our faithful lead pencil grow less short.

August Claessens.

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THE "UNITED FRONTERS" IN THE FUR UNION

(The following is a statement of what has occurred and is occurring in one of the trade unions of New York. The New Leader has taken an uncompromising position regarding a code subscribed to by one group in the unions. At the same time there may be independent views not associated with this demoralizing faction and if The New Leader can be of any aid in bringing order, solidarity and stability to the unions in the needle trades its columns are open for such discussion. Should any members have anything to contribute to this end, we shall be glad to consider it. However, no contribution will be accepted that indulges in personalities or that includes intemperate language. An intelligent and instructive discussion is welcome and no other.—Editor.)

AT the direction of the sub-committee of the General Executive Board, we are imparting information to you about the general strike of the Montreal fur workers and the sabotaging tactics against that strike by the communist Joint Board Furriers Union of New York, and the strike-breaking methods of their leaders for which the joint board cannot disclaim responsibility.

On May 27, 1925, the fur workers of Montreal, Canada, were compelled to declare a general strike as a last resort to force their employers to grant them improved working conditions. For about four months prior to the calling of the general strike, our locals in Montreal, with the assistance of the International, carried on a campaign against the aggressive tactics of the fur manufacturers who refused the demands of the union and discriminated against the active members of our organization.

Almost every local of our International Union, outside of the City of New York proper, responded in a very commendable way to the call for support issued by the International in behalf of the striking fur workers of Montreal.

How the N. Y. Board Responded

How did the Joint Board Furriers Union of New York, a body representing about eight thousand fur workers, respond to the urgent call of their struggling brothers and sisters of Montreal? From the very beginning of the strike they played politics, sabotaged the strike, and hindered its progress, and of late the heads of that organization have, in public statements and articles, attempted to discredit the strike, divide the ranks of the strikers, and through this they undertook to serve the cause of the employers and break the strike.

Here are some of the facts: Before the general strike was called, a committee of the Joint Board visited Montreal. The committee promised the Montreal locals the fullest financial support, not less than \$1,000 a week from the Joint Board. The committee, when in Montreal early in May, was so generous that they stated that in their opinion the Joint Board ought to levy an assessment of \$2 on all the 3,000 members of the New York locals. But when a committee of the International, including a representative of the Montreal locals, met with the Joint Board shortly before the strike was called, the Joint Board was only willing to pledge a \$2,000 contribution for the Montreal strike. It must be remembered that the assets of the Joint Board at that time amounted to approximately \$180,000. The Joint Board was "generous" to offer a loan of \$10,000 to the International for the Montreal strike when they will be convinced that the International funds are exhausted.

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Sometime in July the Joint Board sent another committee to Montreal.

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The Tactics of the Apostles of Unity In the Fur Workers' International

tribute to this end, we shall be glad to consider it. However, no contribution will be accepted that indulges in personalities or that includes intemperate language. An intelligent and instructive discussion is welcome and no other.—Editor.)

ship. To offset the harmful effect of the false report, the strike committee of Montreal was obliged to send, during the latter part of July, an emphatic protest to the Joint Board against the action of their committee. In that protest the strike committee stated that the visits and behavior of the Joint Board committee are doing harm to the strike, and therefore the committees are not wanted in Montreal.

Another Trip To Montreal

Sometime in August another committee of the Joint Board, consisting of its vice chairman, manager and assistant manager, arrived in Montreal. This committee offered \$1,000 a week to the strike committee on the condition that the strike committee should immediately raise the benefits of the strike \$5 each week and that an announcement to this effect should immediately be made to the strikers.

The strike committee tried to reason with the Joint Board committee, explaining and assuring them that the money will be used to the best advantage of the strike by increasing the strike activity and taking care of those that are arrested on the picket line, and also by giving more relief to those who are in dire need. The reasoning of the strike committee was of no avail. The Joint Board committee refused to give the money to be used at the discretion of the strike committee, and went back to New York with the money.

During their recent visit to Montreal the Joint Board committee caucused with certain individual strikers and tried through them to create mistrust amongst the strikers against the strike committee and to stir up dissatisfaction among the strikers with the amount of benefit that they were receiving.

Strikebreaking Is Charged

During the same period other malicious propaganda was used by the Joint Board committee against the International. A circular sealed in an envelope of the hotel where the committee was stopping was addressed to a striker care of the strike headquarters and sent in by a messenger. The circular contained slanderous attacks upon the International Union and was issued in New York a few weeks ago by the Joint Board. The same circular was used by the Montreal Manufacturers Association as an excuse to charge the leaders of the strike with gangsterism.

In an article in the "Freiheit," a Communist sheet, printed on August 31, the manager of the Joint Board made a wanton attack upon the leadership of the strike. He tried to discredit the strike, discouraging the strikers and encouraging the manufacturers in their fight against the Union. The article is full of deliberate falsehoods against the strike and could only serve one purpose, and that is to break the strike.

Here are a few extracts from the article:

"The Montreal bosses know that President Kaufman, who is the leader of the strike, is not able to handle the organizing work of a strike."

"Kaufman, who is the leader of the strike, does not supervise the strike; he does not direct it; he does not advise the committee; and does not make any effort to prevent scabbing. Instead of attending to the leadership of the strike he prefers to carry on in Montreal a campaign against the Joint Board and the dirty communist. This is the name that our president calls the New York Joint Board at the

strikers meetings in Montreal.

"Kaufman does everything to incite and antagonize the Montreal strikers against the New York fur workers. Kaufman's adjutant (meaning Organizer Stetsky, who has during the last six months given all his attention and energy to the Montreal strike) is in Montreal for a vacation. No meetings with the strikers were held."

"The International would use the thousands of dollars that the Joint Board would give them for the Montreal strike for the purpose of hindering the organization work in New York. Kaufman does not care about the strike; he does not want to help the strikers. All Kaufman wants is to get more and more money to carry on the fight against the Joint Board. The New York furriers know from their own experience that the less Kaufman interferes in strike matters the better it is for the strike."

"Scab work is being done in Quebec and in Toronto. The scabs come and go freely to the shops in Montreal, and Kaufman does not do the least to stop it. He plays politics and is sacrificing the interests of the strikers."

Alleges Slander On Leaders

We could go on to give several more extracts from this pernicious article. But the quoted parts are sufficient to prove the intentions of that reckless manager of the Joint Board for which the Joint Board can't disclaim responsibility.

The writer of that scab article knows that President Kaufman has, since he recuperated from his operation early in June, been devoting most of his time to the Montreal strike, and has been giving personal attention to the conduct of the strike, and that ever since the campaign for the general strike began in the month of February, Organ-

izer Stetsky has been directing the campaign in person, yet that reckless manager of the Joint Board dares to tell such lies about the strike and its leadership.

Needless to say that the leaders of the strike, including the general officers, have never in their addresses to the strikers tried to inject anything against the New York fur workers. The Joint Board manager knows that. It does not, however, stop him from making such slanderous attacks upon the leadership of the strike.

The leaders of the Joint Board, together with their communist supporters in the Joint Board, are withholding the support of the New York fur workers from the Montreal strike. They circulate false rumors about the strike; they issue false statements about the strike, and that is being done with one purpose and intention, to defeat the strike so that they would be able to attack the International Union.

Another Instance Of "Strikebreaking"

Let us mention another incident which proves the strike breaking tactics of the Joint Board in the existing Montreal strike.

On September 2 a committee of the Joint Board appeared before a meeting of our Local 3, of Brooklyn, to stir up distrust amongst the members of that local towards the leadership of the Montreal strike. The manager of the Joint Board, being one of the committee, tried to discredit the leadership of the Montreal strike, telling deliberate lies about the strike, and offered a free trip to a committee of the local on his expense, to go to Montreal and convince themselves that the strike is in a bad condition and that money is not properly spent there.

The Joint Board, an organization of fully eight thousand members with a treasury of approximately two hundred thousand dollars, gave the insignificant sum of four thousand dollars to the Montreal strike, but for union breaking activities of the Joint Action Committee against the International Ladies Garment Workers Union they gave \$10,000.

Let our membership and the labor movement at large know that the communist Joint Board of New York is instrumental as a strike breaking agency against the strike of the Montreal fur workers.

No matter what they say, their action against the strike during the last couple of months is an outstanding indictment against them as such they are guilty of treason to the men and women of our Montreal organization who have been carrying on such a brave fight for the last six months for their rights to be organized and for a better living.

Fraternally yours,

MORRIS KAUFMAN
General President.
ANDREW WENNEIS
General Secretary-Treasurer

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THE INTERNATIONAL

Zurich Gets Secretariat

As was decided by the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International, at a meeting held in Marseilles immediately preceding the Second Congress of the S. L. I., the headquarters of the International is to be moved from London to Switzerland in order to make it possible for Frederick Adler to continue his work as secretary. Now it is announced by the London Secretariat that it will be moved to Zurich on Dec. 1. This will enable Comrade Adler to keep in touch with Vienna, without handicapping his work as secretary.

GERMANY

Party Adopts New Program

As the result of action taken at the national convention, held in Heidelberg from Sept. 13 to 18, the hosts of the German Social Democratic Party are waging their campaigns for the capture of a majority in the election for the Berlin Board of Aldermen, due Oct. 25, and in the Diet of Baden and a number of Prussian Provincial Diets upon a brand new platform, with a string of immediate demands covering almost every branch of human activity, except agriculture, for which a special section is to be worked out in the near future. Although the "Left Wing" elements in the party, and some of the Socialist commentators in the foreign press insist that the new program is too tame and near-bourgeois and practically amounts to an abandonment of the principle of the class struggle and the belief that only the working class can free itself, the following excerpts from the declaration of principles making up the first part of the program show that such is hardly the case:

"But under the pressure and the dangers of supreme capitalism there is a steady increase in the resistance of the constantly growing working class, which, through the mechanism of capitalist production itself, as well as through the constant work of the trade unions and the Social Democratic Party, is being trained and united. Constantly greater becomes the number of the proletarians, constantly sharper the contrast between exploiters and exploited, constantly bitter the class struggle between the capitalist rulers of industry and those who are ruled. While the working class is fighting for its own liberation it represents the combined interest of a mightily strengthened labor movement, grown great through the self-sacrificing work of generations, stands before capitalism as a worthy opponent. Mightier than ever rises the will to overcome the capitalist system and to guard humanity against destruction through war by the international union of the proletariat, by the creation of a system of international law and of a real league of equal peoples."

"The aim of the working class can only be attained through the transformation of the capitalist private property in the means of production into social property. The struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation is not only an industrial battle, but necessarily also a political battle. The working class cannot carry on its economic struggle and fully develop its economic organization without political rights. In the democratic republic it possesses the form of government which is ab-

solutely necessary to maintain and develop for its struggle for freedom. It cannot effect the socialization of the means of production without having attained control of the political power."

The minority delegates (the program was adopted by an overwhelming majority) and the outside critics contended that the program, especially in its immediate demands, lays too much stress upon the value of the republican form of government, and that during the debates the bulk of the party leaders seemed to work too much about the republic and not enough about the necessity of waging the class war all along the line. This was answered to the effect that waging the class war did not consist principally of making violent speeches and constantly painting the possibility of a speedy revolution, but in real work in the interests of the workers, something which sometimes could be done inside a bourgeois Government as well as from the outside. A proposal, by the minority that the convention order the Parliamentary group to fight for the working class in the future without any regard for the bourgeois parties was rejected by a vote of 235 to 81. This proposal defended by Paul Levi, Mathilde Wurm and A. Seydewitz and opposed by Rudolf Breitscheid and A. Kell, was aimed at the presence of Socialists in the Prussian State Government and the combination effected with the Centrists and Democrats in the final voting for President of the Republic last April. While there is no doubt much dissatisfaction in the ranks of the party over the rather over-moderate attitude of many of its leaders, the majority of the delegates seemed to think that the present policy of adjusting tactics to conditions as they arose was working out all right and should not be changed by an ukase of a convention which hardly could tell what was going to develop in the near future. Incidentally, the party's determination to continue in the Opposition, at least for some time, was evidenced during a debate on the advisability of the Socialist Deputies voting against any appropriations for the Regular Army when Comrade Kell pointed out that such action would be impossible, as the Budget was voted upon as a whole, adding that, of course, the Socialist Deputies intended to vote against the whole budget of the Luther Government.

RENNIE SMITH TO SPEAK IN BRONX AND B'KLYN

Rennie Smith, Socialist member of the British Parliament, and one of the most brilliant of the younger leaders of the British Labor Party, will speak in the Bronx and Brownsville this Sunday, October 25.

At 10 a. m. Smith will speak in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 239 Sackman street, Brooklyn. The other speakers will be B. C. Vladeck, A. I. Shipiloff, August Claessens, Dr. Louis Sadoff and Mrs. Sadie H. Rivkin.

At 8:30 p. m. the same day, Smith will speak at 1187 Boston Road, the Bronx. Last Sunday Morgan Jones and Rhys Davies, both members of parliament, spoke in the Bronx, and when they had finished, the audience was so greatly impressed that they voted to hear another of the British Comrades now here.

Hillquit Denies Connection With Burns Brothers Coal Co.

In response to a number of inquiries which have come to him personally and as a result of comment in the press on his alleged connections with the Burns Brothers Coal Company, Morris Hillquit, Socialist leader, this week made the following statement which was printed in the New York Times:

To the Editor of the New York Times: It has come to my notice that my alleged association with the firm of Burns Brothers has been repeatedly commented on, privately and publicly, in connection with the pending strike in the anthracite coal fields. Will you be kind enough to grant me some of your valuable space for a categorical denial of this alleged association? I have not been counsel for Burns Brothers since 1917. I do not own a single share of stock in the corporation and have no connection with it, personal, financial or professional.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.
New York, Oct. 19, 1925.

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