

# THE ORGANIZED CHARITY INDUSTRY

THE Christmas season is here. It is the signal for a rush of sentimentality and a splurge of begging and giving. The charity organizations make their annual onslaught. They capitalize the holiday spirit into cold cash.

All over the country Christmas funds of one sort or another are being raised. The Hearst papers supply Christmas bundles. Newsboys are feted. The Salvation Army agents tinkle their heart-rending little bells on the corners of busy streets. The Volunteers of America dress up as Santa Claus at \$3.50 per day and guard paper chimneys on the remaining corners of town. The newspapers start collections of their own. Ladies bountiful begin to fill their baskets. The charity organizations, however, are the biggest benefactors of all.

New York City is a case in point. Christmas charity like every other business is carried on there on a large scale. Probably most attention has been given to the "New York Times" Annual Appeal for the One Hundred Neediest Cases. The fund was started in 1912 with only \$3,631. Since the outbreak of the war in Europe it has had the opportunity to absorb some of the surplus capital which has been accumulated in New York City and vicinity. In 1927 the fund amounted to \$285,834. More than 3,500 cases have been helped, involving 14,000 individuals. Since 1916 the One Hundred Neediest Cases have numbered 200 and last year 400 cases were assisted.

The "New York Times" does not send out its smart reporters to hunt up needy cases. Neither do other newspapers. They rely upon the professional hunters for this, the charity workers. The "Times" operates through seven charitable organizations: the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Charity Organization Society, the State Charities Aid Association, the New York Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, the Catholic Charities, the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities and the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities. The "Times" puts in a request for pathetic cases for the Christmas business. Each organization sends word down the line to its district representatives to select some tear-generating cases. The central office chooses the saddest and sends them on to the "Times." There the smart reporter picks out the most pitiful ones, powerful tear-gas bombs in disguise.

Where the contributors are fooled is in thinking that they are really making a donation to aid the four hundred One Hundred Neediest Cases. All the charitable organiza-

## Spasmodic Outpouring of Alms Points to Need Of System of Social Insurance

tions operate on budgets and the budget system is also applied to their cases, which they prefer to call their "clients." The societies cannot go out every autumn to round up some melodramatic cases for the Christmas rush. They use the goods they have in stock. The Hundred Neediest Cases are frequently several years old. They receive a regular allotment annually irrespective of the "Times" or any other appeal. The money that is collected at Christmas time goes into the general treasury. There is no deduction for office or administrative work, as the appeals generally state, for the very good reason that each client already has his or her budget. This is the amount needed, as stated in the description of each case. Administrative and office expenses are shared by all cases insofar as the separate budgets are limited by the general funds available after expenses are deducted.

The Christmas appeals are, therefore, no different from the regular beggings for charity. The funds collected make up a goodly portion of what the organizations receive throughout the year. Thus in 1926-27 the A. I. C. P. (the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor) received \$67,420 from the "Times" Hundred Neediest Cases and \$6,919 from the New York "Evening Post's" Appeal for Aged Couples. The entire budget of the Relief Bureau of the A. I. C. P. was \$499,596. The C. O. S. (Charity Organization Society) received \$57,610 from the "Times." The total income for general relief amounted to \$270,290.

The Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies turns over the money it receives from the "Times" and "Post" to one of its affiliated bodies the J. S. S. A. (the Jewish Social Service Association) which recently dropped its name of United Hebrew Charities, it is said, to a large extent in order to confound its clients, who were flocking to it in too great droves. The Jewish Social Service Association in 1926 received \$32,844 from the "Times" and \$6,348 from the "Post." Its expenditures for relief and all other purposes amounted to \$714,980 during the same period. The Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York received in 1926 \$36,429 from the "Times" and \$7,282 from the "Post." The Division of Families, which handles the cases in which the newspapers are interested expended a total of \$543,801.

Then, there is the Santa Claus Association, Inc., headed by John D. Gluck. Gluck claims he got the Santa Claus habit from his father and grand-father. He founded his association in 1906 and incorporated it eight years later. In 1926 he founded the National Committee for the Celebration of Christmas Amongst the Children of the Poor to co-ordinate the activities of all Santa Claus associations and their unrelated units in the United States and Canada. He has arrangements with the Post Office whereby all letters addressed to Santa Claus are turned over to him instead of being despatched to the Dead Letter Office. Gluck has built up a large organization sponsored by many notables. In his 1928 Souvenir Report he has photographs of Cal, Al and Jimmie Walker with greetings to the Santa Claus Association in their own handwriting. The letters sent to Santa Claus are supposed to be read by voluntary workers and the families of the poor children who have written to Santa Claus are then investigated by other volunteers. If the cases are found worthy the letters are placed with donors, who secure the thrill of getting in personal touch with the pauper-kiddies. However, if these well-to-do contributors do not want to play Santa Claus themselves, the Association will take care of the details. The Santa Claus Association shopped for \$9,898's worth in 1927. Half of this sum was expended at Chas. Weisbecker's market. About two thousand dollars went directly to the beneficiaries. The rest was handled by the Shopping Committee. It was claimed that donors contributed \$102,152. The overhead administration was estimated to cost \$11,807. Salaries and expenses amounted to \$4,265.

Last year suspicions were raised concerning the conduct of the Santa Claus Association. Some persons began to whisper about the shopping activities of the organization. Perhaps the regular charity societies did not like their independent rival. At any rate this year the United States Post Office has ruled that Santa Claus letters would not be turned over to Gluck's organization, suspecting the philanthropic motives of his association. Nevertheless, Gluck is undaunted. He still maintains all-year round offices in the Knickerbocker Building in New York City.

Why do people give to charity? The reasons are threefold: (1) they like to, (2) they have to, and (3) it pays.

Contributors get a thrill from doing such noble work. In a sense the donations are conscience money. Then, they feel the power they exercise over the lives of the poor. Look over the list of supporters of any of the charity organizations and you see the names of labor haters, of open shoppers occupying the honored positions. In the A. I. C. P. we find Cornelius N. Bliss, prominent New York banker, chairman of the Executive Committee and Dwight W. Morrow, lately of J. P. Morgan & Co., chairman of the Finance Committee. In the C. O. S. we find capitalists like Robert W. De Forest, George F. Baker, Jr., and J. P. Morgan. In the Federation there is Felix M. Warburg, chairman of the Board and Arthur Lehman, associate chairman. In the Catholic Charities we find Nicholas F. Brady, public utility magnate, a member of the Board of Trustees, headed by Cardinal Hayes. Thus, we may go down the lists. The story is the same. If the workers of these philanthropists were to receive decent wages even as capitalistic wages go—the charities which these employers support would be largely eliminated. It is spiritual compensation for these capitalists to throw a few pennies to those from whom they exploit millions of dollars.

Then let us not forget the income tax. The Federal Government permits a 15 per cent deduction from individual incomes for charitable contributions. In 1926 deductions on this account amounted to \$484,205,308. One might as well give to the poor as to the government.

Ill-informed people see nothing but "blessings" in the philanthropy of the rich. Huge surplus funds increase and a little trickles down to the "worthy poor." The larger the surplus the more for charity and the more keen is the scramble of charity societies for "clients." So this work has become an essential industry, essential because huge fortunes at one pole of society mean inevitable distress for millions at the other pole.

And of the upper classes who give one finds a solid array of opposition to government insurance against old age, unemployment, and other bitter fruits of this chance world of capitalism. To tax the exploiters of human kind and care for the human wrecks would socialize the functions of private charity. It would wipe out the humiliations that go with private "benevolence." Unfortunates would enjoy as a right what is now bestowed as a gift.

And this is the Socialist indictment of these annual parades of professional charity. Do justice and there will be little need of private alms.

## Whitney's Fortune

How \$16,000,000 Inherited From O. H. Payne Grew in Less Than a Generation to \$178,000,000

ANOTHER Standard Oil fortune comes to light with the appraisal of the estate left by Payne Whitney. Here again as in the case of the estate of Anna M. Harkness is ample refutation of the contention of Secretary of Treasury Mellon that great fortunes in America tend to break up, thus removing the menace of the enormous power which such hereditary wealth exercises. The wealth of America's owning class multiplies at such a rate that the separate parts of a divided estate soon eclipse in magnitude the wealth of the originator of the fortune.

Whitney's estate is appraised at \$178,893,655. This is the largest estate ever appraised in this country, the previous record being the Standard Oil fortune of Mrs. Harkness which was appraised at \$107,052,494. It compares with other large estates as follows: John Jacob Astor \$87,217,619; J. P. Morgan \$78,149,024; A. N. Brady \$77,042,443; Henry C. Frick \$74,826,226; William Rockefeller \$67,647,660; J. S. Kennedy \$67,137,735; Russell Sage \$64,153,890; Charles W. Harkness \$60,000,000; E. M. Harriman \$58,000,000 and W. K. Vanderbilt \$54,350,966.

The list of big fortunes previously appraised by the inheritance tax gatherers includes that of \$32,000,000 left by a certain Oliver H. Payne, one of the early directors of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Payne Whitney's \$178,893,655 fortune is almost entirely an expansion of the half interest which he inherited in the estate of O. H. Payne who was his uncle. Here we get a quick insight into the expansion of colossal wealth. As a result of the enormous gains poured into the laps of the idle rich by the oil and tobacco companies in less than a generation the half interest in a \$32,000,000 estate has multiplied more than 10 times over.

The fact that Whitney left the largest estate ever appraised does not mean that he was the richest man who has yet died. Probably it is accounted for by the fact that death caught him napping. Whitney had just passed his 50th year. A multimillionaire normally anticipates his death by a sufficient number of years to enable him to divide up his estate in time to avoid the scrutiny of the tax gatherers and the public.

The greater part of Whitney's wealth consisted of his half interest in the Northern Finance Corp., a holding company created by his uncle Payne to manage the large blocks of stock which he owned. This private corporation, capitalization of which is \$5,000,000 in stock and \$15,000,000 in bonds, holds securities worth \$268,536,458. A complete list of the blocks of stock held by this company shows how these great fortunes tie together the leading corporations under the control of a small owning class. Supposedly competing companies like American Cigar, British-American Tobacco, Cuban Tobacco, Liggett & Myers, Lorillard, Reynolds Tobacco and U. S. Tobacco are here shown to be owned by the same men of wealth.

Outstanding blocks of stock held by the Northern Finance Corp. together with their appraised values are:

Northern Finance Corp. Securities	No. of shares	Appraised value
Standard Oil of N. J.	933,334	\$34,533,358
British American Tobacco	958,463	23,961,575
Great Northern Paper	333,924	21,371,136
Standard Oil of Calif.	332,748	17,843,611
Standard Oil of Ind.	243,800	16,182,225
Standard Oil of N. Y.	457,375	13,958,037
Reynolds Tobacco	100,800	13,734,000
Liggett & Myers	114,521	15,708,278
American Tel. & Tel.	50,025	8,430,897
Imperial Tobacco	335,176	8,211,346
Bankers Trust Co.	8,712	7,015,160
Ohio Oil	97,020	5,515,530
First National Bank	1,700	5,397,500
Prarie Pipe Line	32,940	5,410,395
Chase National Bank	9,000	4,275,000
Prarie Oil & Gas	87,340	4,122,990

The appraisal of this estate also reveals the life of luxury, ease and sport which it is the privilege of these multimillionaires to enjoy. Homes in the mountains, by the sea, near noted race tracks, on 5th avenue, house boats, private railroad cars, more than a score of automobiles, racing horses, stallions, tapestries, paintings by famous masters, chaises, rugs and furniture valued at tens of thousands of dollars, all these jostle each other in this estate of a man described as a capitalist and sportsman.

## Spats Do Not A Commissioner Make, Nor Wise-cracks a Mayor

We Write Mr. Walker About Rothstein and Grover Whalen

HON. JAMES J. WALKER;  
City Hall, New York.

(Hold until called for)

Our Dear Mr. Mayor:

It hurts us more than it does you to have to write you at this time of "Peace on Earth; Goodwill to Men," (in spite of Paraguay and Bolivia and Nicaragua and Afghanistan and some other places that we won't bother you with mentioning, because then you might have to go and look them up.)

Because what we are writing about isn't exactly a peace and goodwill subject. We are referring once more to that subject with which you must be fed up by this time—the Rothstein shooting and the way the police department went about solving it.

"Now, now," you are saying, "must you carry on this go-picking over that corpse? Haven't I cleaned up everything by firing my old school-days friend Warren and appointing good, old Grover Whalen to the job of police commissioner?"

Well our answer to that, Jimmy, is, "yes and no."

If one looks hurriedly at the situation as about ninety-nine out of one hundred of the citizens of the largest and richest and so on city in the world do look, it might appear that something big had gone on when you displaced a pair of wisefool eyes with a high hat.

Now the old-line papers are talking about "shake-ups" and "housecleanings" at Headquarters and everybody seems to think that the cops are trembling in their capacious boots.

Everybody, that is, except those "in the know" down-town. Because they know, as you know that the firing of Warren and the appointment of Grover means absolutely nothing as far as the main issues arising out of that shooting of your boy friend Rothstein are concerned.

How long since have those earnestly setting to work to clean up a city department gone about it by firing its head, without any investigation whatsoever? Isn't it the usual procedure to suspend heads of departments who are under suspicion until their affairs are looked into by some responsible, outside bodies?

Of course, we understand that you are unusual, Jimmy Walker. You stand out of the common run of Mayors. You are a sort of play-boy of the lower West Side and we don't aim to treat the eccentricities of genius as we would common mortals.

And then this whole "schmier" is out of the usual. It isn't usual in a civilized community to let a known dope-peddler, smuggler, bail-bond fixer, gambler and pimp walk around unmolested by the police, mixing in with our best politicians.

That's what happened in the Rothstein case. He's plied his various rackets for the last fifteen years under the noses, if not with the active connivance, of the police and the politicians and he rolled up a neat little war and lived well and was taken into the confidence of the so-called "Big Shots" of this town.

It took a plain civilian, presumably from out of town to put an end to that career.

And now, you figure that the whole nasty business is over because you grab off a walking show-window from a big department store and give him charge over these self-same police. Well that sort of philosophy is a bit too unusual for us.

Understand that we have nothing against Grover, high-hat and morning clothes and but-tore and all.

Everytime some second-class ladies and misses, marked-down member of foreign nobility has hit our docks, Grover has been on hand and on time (someone has to be on time at these functions, does not someone, Jimmy?) to give her or him the glad mitt and ride around town and have torn-up telephone books thrown out the window at the pretty, shiny automobile.

As we have remarked, this was Grover's heavy job and he did it like the well-dressed man about town that he is.

But it seems to us in our ignorance of these matters, that the break-down of one of the most important departments in the city government requires something a bit more serious than high-hats and fawn spats.

CARRYING A JOKE TOO FAR

After all a man was murdered in the heart of town and that man had accumulated dirt of fifteen years on some of our most prominent citizens, to say nothing of some of our most prominent Communists.

And what we crave to know, as we have been craving in all these necessarily annoying letters, is what you are going to do about it all, really and truly and cross-your-heart, we mean.

In closing we wish you a Merry Christmas as this will be the last Christmas you will celebrate as our Mayor.

Remember, Jimmy, that we like you, even though we have to be a bit cross with you now and then. We think that as a singing scater in a night-club you have a great future and we hope to drop around some night after the next election and hear you do your stuff.

But as Mayor of New York City, well, Jimmy, you know that a joke can be pushed too far. And this particular joke has been pushed clear off the city map.

Yours respectfully,  
THE EDITORS OF THE NEW LEADER.

## 400% Profit

United Fruit Company, 100 of Whose Workers Died in Strike, Netted \$201,000,000 in 10 Years

THE rebellion of peon labor in Colombia against the exploitation of the United Fruit Co., which thus far has cost the lives of 100 strikers calls attention to the enormous profits of the giant trust which dominates the banana trade of the entire world. Preliminary figures for 1928 indicate that the corporation's net income will undoubtedly exceed by a fairly wide margin the total wages which it distributes annually throughout all its Latin American domains.

Colombia is only one of 7 Caribbean and South American countries in which United Fruit controls more than 2,000,000 acres of land, an area exceeding the combined states of Delaware and Rhode Island. According to the annual report of Pres. V. M. Cutler to the stockholders, United Fruit wages were distributed among these countries as follows: Colombia \$3,839,462; Costa Rica \$3,159,659; Guatemala \$2,483,096; Jamaica \$1,692,020; Panama \$1,975,725; Honduras \$5,172,361 and Cuba \$5,650,317. He boasted:

"One of the most important factors in stabilizing both currency and labor conditions is the large amount of money paid out annually by the United Fruit Company in wages. During 1927 the company paid out in the Caribbean countries in which it owns plantations \$23,972,639, of which over 75 per cent went to the nationals of those countries."

This means that the inhabitants of these Latin American nations are getting a little more than \$20,000,000 a year in wages from United Fruit. But in the same year 1927 the wealthy stockholders got a net income of \$22,864,609 from the exploitation of these same inhabitants, the peon workers on their huge estates.

United Fruit profits for the first 9 months of 1928 totaled about \$17,700,000. The latest forecast of the financial world figures its final profits for the year at around \$3.50, which will mean a net income of over \$24,400,000 before deduction of taxes, and over \$21,000,000 clear profit for the stockholders. If we take into account a 100 per cent stock dividend distributed by the company in 1921 and the issuance of 2 1/2% no par shares for each \$100 par share in 1928 it is apparent that the 1928 profit will mean a return of over 45 per cent on the original investment of the owners.

Over the last 10 years United Fruit profits have been extraordinary, enabling the company to accumulate a big surplus in addition to paying generous dividends. For these years the net income remaining for stockholders and the percentage return on investment has been:

United Fruit Profits	Amount	Per cent of Investment
1918	\$14,094,047	28.0%
1919	20,163,518	40.1
1920	29,008,307	57.8
1921	16,975,763	33.9
1922	18,851,319	37.7
1923	23,067,331	46.2
1924	17,294,308	34.6
1925	22,546,880	45.1
1926	19,511,472	39.0
1927	19,621,341	39.3
Total	\$201,164,186	401.7%

In 10 years United Fruit stockholders have received profits totaling more than \$200,000,000 after all deductions, representing a return of more than 400% on their investment or an average of 40% a year. The profits of its rivals, Cuyamel Fruit, Standard Fruit and Atlantic Fruit & Sugar Co. are infinitesimal in comparison.

United Fruit is in a position to welcome such an interruption of business as that afforded by the present strike provided troops keep the strikers from injuring the corporation property, for a reduction in the banana supply will mean better prices. Huge reserves of undivided profits assure the payment of dividends; in fact it has been rather a custom for the corporation to declare dividends in advance for the coming year out of the excess profits of previous years.

This year has seen a record banana crop the world over. This over-production has resulted in somewhat lower prices with the possibility of reduced profits. The present strike, with thousands of banana stems either destroyed or rotting before they could be shipped, will serve the purpose fulfilled in the past by tropical storms. It will cut down the supply not only of United Fruit but of its smaller competitors and so make possible more profitable prices.



# Fight Goes on To Recount Berger Vote

Election Official Who Announced False Figures Revealed as Betting Against Socialist

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Was Victor L. Berger, Socialist Congressman, counted out in the November election and would a recount show that he is entitled to the seat that has been awarded to William H. Stafford, Republican, by the official returns? These are questions that have agitated more than 40,000 voters who supported Berger.

The controversy grows out of the fact that Congressman Berger had consented to a recount but when the newspapers reported that Stafford had a plurality of 2,536 Berger ordered the recount discontinued. Following the newspaper report of the vote came a report of the official returns which gave Stafford a plurality of only 729. The discrepancy between the two reports aroused suspicion and attorney William F. Quick, counsel for Berger, filed a petition to reopen the count of the vote.

Mr. E. Euer, member of the election commission, began to look as a prominent figure in the controversy. Some years ago Euer was expelled from the Socialist Party because of some shady business transactions but while a member of the election commission. Under the law he is still the Socialist member of that body, although the party has repeatedly tried to have him recalled but without success. Euer has not been friendly to the Socialists since his expulsion from the party and his continuance on the commission as their representative is absurd.

Say He Made Bet.  
Now it develops that Euer had invested considerable money in the election. Although he denies that he made any wagers on the election in the 5th Congressional District, a number of citizens have made sworn affidavits that he did. The affidavits quote him as saying, "When I saw how heavy the vote was going in Whitefish Bay I went down right away and put up all I could get hold of on Stafford. I made a lot of money on Berger's defeat."

It is illegal under Wisconsin law for an election official to bet on elections. Any member who makes a wager on the election immediately acquires a financial interest in the result which makes it improper for him to count the ballots which may win him money or lose money for him. The conduct of Euer added to the conflicting reports of the vote in the 5th Congressional District and the fact that he retained his post long after he ceased to represent the Socialist Party makes the whole proceeding suspicious to say the least.

When asked to explain the difference between the two sets of figures regarding the vote, Euer declared that it was due to the fact that in one case, the vote in the first and second wards had been added twice.

As these facts became known in Washington, several of Berger's colleagues in the House, though differing with him in politics, offered to assist him in getting a fair count of the vote. Congressman Berger expressed his appreciation for their offers but declined to accept any contributions.

District Attorney Bans Recount.  
Meantime another question arose. Could another count of the vote be legally obtained? Euer and other members of the election commission voted to place the question of legality before the district attorney. In a few days the commission received a statement from the district attorney which declared that it would be illegal to continue the count. The decision is based on the ground that the election commission lost jurisdiction when it certified the "final" figures to the secretary of state.

Attorney Quick then declared that the next step would put the question of mandamus to order the commission to open the count, before the circuit court. Should the contest continue to the stage of being brought before Congress there would be little likelihood of a decision in favor of Congressman Berger as the tendency is for members to favor one of their own party.

The Milwaukee Leader concludes an editorial on the case by saying: "The bets are paid now. They say they're very sorry about it all—but perhaps it won't be legal now to go on with the recount. "But the recount should be continued in the interests of truth and official faithfulness."

# Tabulation of Votes Of Minor Parties Now Completed

Socialist Party Polled 266,160 in Nation; Workers (Communist) 44,454, and Socialist-Labor Party 21,187, Official Reports From States Indicate

THE NEW LEADER presents exclusively this week the first tabulation of the vote cast in the last election for the Socialist, Socialist-Labor and Workers (Communist) parties' candidates for president and vice-president. Neither the Communist nor Socialist-Labor press has been able to present the figures thus far. The votes in all cases are the official returns as reported to The New Leader by the Secretary of State in each of the 48 states of the country.

Since last week, The New Leader has received returns from California, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana and Washington, as follows: California, 19,595 votes; Georgia, 124; Kentucky, 837; Louisiana, 20, and Washington, 2,615.

## SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE—1928

State	Vote
Alabama	184
Arizona	0
Arkansas	0
California	429
Colorado	2,630
Connecticut	3,019
Delaware	329
Florida	4,036
Georgia	124
Idaho	1,293
Illinois	19,138
Indiana	3,871
Iowa	2,960
Kansas	6,205
Kentucky	837
Louisiana	20
Maine	1,068
Maryland	1,598
Massachusetts	6,262
Michigan	3,516
Minnesota	6,774
Mississippi	264
Missouri	7,739
Montana	1,638
Nebraska	3,434
Nevada	455
New Hampshire	4,866
New Jersey	107,332
New Mexico	107,332
New York	107,332
North Carolina	842
North Dakota	842
Ohio	8,633
Oklahoma	3,929
Oregon	2,720
Pennsylvania	18,947
Rhode Island	423
South Carolina	631
South Dakota	722
Tennessee	954
Texas	8
Vermont	250
Virginia	2,615
Washington	2,615
West Virginia	1,312
Wisconsin	18,213
Wyoming	788
Total	266,160

Washington, 2,615. The California vote is disappointing. While Thomas and Maurer received but 19,595 votes, Lena Morrow Lewis, for U. S. Senate, received 26,624. Neither the Communist nor Socialist-Labor parties appeared on the ballot in California. Anita Whitney, Communist candidate for the U. S. Senate, received 154 votes by having her name written on the ballot.

In the states where no vote is indicated, the names of the respective candidates did not appear on the ballots. A few votes, cast by the write-in method, may be reported, but the totals presented here will not be changed more than a few hundred votes at the most.

## Workers-Socialist-Communist Labor

State	Vote
Alabama	184
Arizona	0
Arkansas	0
California	429
Colorado	2,630
Connecticut	3,019
Delaware	329
Florida	4,036
Georgia	124
Idaho	1,293
Illinois	19,138
Indiana	3,871
Iowa	2,960
Kansas	6,205
Kentucky	837
Louisiana	20
Maine	1,068
Maryland	1,598
Massachusetts	6,262
Michigan	3,516
Minnesota	6,774
Mississippi	264
Missouri	7,739
Montana	1,638
Nebraska	3,434
Nevada	455
New Hampshire	4,866
New Jersey	107,332
New Mexico	107,332
New York	107,332
North Carolina	842
North Dakota	842
Ohio	8,633
Oklahoma	3,929
Oregon	2,720
Pennsylvania	18,947
Rhode Island	423
South Carolina	631
South Dakota	722
Tennessee	954
Texas	8
Vermont	250
Virginia	2,615
Washington	2,615
West Virginia	1,312
Wisconsin	18,213
Wyoming	788
Total	44,454

\* Foster also polled 2,687 as "Labor Party" candidate.

## Open Shop Publishers Name Labor Committee

Leading enemies of organized labor and retainers of industrial interests comprise the new open shop committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn., now carrying on a war against the printers recently locked out of four Albany, N. Y. newspapers. Charles A. Webb of the Asheville Citizen, in the low wage anti-union Piedmont district of the Carolinas, heads the committee.

Other members are Harry Chandler, Los Angeles Times; H. H. Conland, Hartford Conn. Courant; E. H. Harris, Richmond, Ind., Palladium; L. K. Nicholson, New Orleans Times-Picayune; J. S. Parks, Ft. Smith, Ark., Southwest American and Times-Record; Robert L. Smith, Charleston, W. Va. Gazette; Rowe Stewart, Philadelphia Record, and J. L. Sturtevant, Wausau, Wis. Record-Herald.

## Frank Manning Available For Lectures in New York

Frank J. Manning, one of the strike leaders in the big New Bedford strike, is available for lecture dates. There are many aspects of the New Bedford strike which are not generally known. These are interestingly revealed by Comrade Manning in one of his lectures: "Interesting side-lights of the New Bedford strike." He is now on the relief and publicity staff of the Paterson silk strikers.

## Fuchs Elected Manager, Feldheim Business Agent Neckwear Makers Union

Louis Fuchs, former business agent of the United Neckwear Makers Union, was chosen manager of the union, Louis Feldheim was elected business agent, and Edmond Gottesman was elected secretary-treasurer at the election of the union held Tuesday of this week in the Peoples House. Fuchs was unopposed for manager, receiving 1,118 votes for him and 113 ballots marked against him. Gottesman was re-elected secretary-treasurer without opposition, 1,152 votes being cast for him and 432 against him. The only office contested was that of business agent. Feldheim was given 798 votes, H. Fuchs 262, Ruben Rubenstein 144, and Morris Spindler 103.

## Continental Motors Full of Wage Tricks

Out of the Continental Motors plant at Muskegon, Mich. come stories of new refinements in wage slicing that put to shame previous efforts of efficiency experts in the auto industry. The men call the newest racket "painless extraction," but the pain comes after the extraction. The company makes the proposition to workers getting 55c an hour that they take 45c and a bonus that will make them pay run to 60-75c. "Pine," say the men, "it's joke with us." The first few paydays show 60c an hour or more, then in some mysterious manner the bonus disappears. The men get only 45c with no bonus at all. There is nothing for them to do about it but stay on the job or get mad and quit. They are unorganized. This scheme was worked in Dept. 31, where wages were cut from 55 to 42 1/2c.

## Pennsylvania Evades Test on Cossack Rule

PITTSBURGH — (FP) — Charges of rioting and inciting to riot, placed against Pat Toohy, Communist, and John Brophy, miners' leaders, blew up when District Attorney Gardner found himself face to face in court with Arthur Garfield Hays and Clarence Darrow. Admitting that he lacked evidence on which to obtain a conviction, Gardner asked for the dismissal of the case, which was readily granted. Hays turned the tables by arresting a police officer who had arrested Toohy.

"SACCO" AND "VANZETTI" SHIPS  
Leningrad — (FP) — Two big merchantmen, named the Sacco and the Vanzetti, have just been completed for the Soviet commercial fleet by the Leningrad-Baltic government shipbuilding yard. They are 5,000 ton lumber carriers.

# Berger May Move For 'P.R.' System

Socialist Considers Introducing Proportional Representation Proposal in Congress

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A radical change in the method of representation in the national legislature may be brought to the attention of congress when it takes up reapportionment in the near future. Congressman Victor L. Berger has under consideration a proposal for proportional representation. He is making a study of the other proportional representation systems in other parts of the world, and of the progress that is being made along the same lines in various municipalities.

It was pointed out that a constitutional amendment would be required to accomplish the change. Demands for a revised constitution, that would provide for a system of proportional representation, for the direct election of the president and vice-president by direct popular vote of the people, for reduction of the representation in congress of those states where large sections of the citizens are disfranchised by force or fraud, and for limitations upon the powers of the supreme court, were contained in the last national platform of the Socialist party.

Under the system advocated by the Socialists, and to be proposed by Congressman Berger, the following evils described as inevitable under the present single member district system, would be corrected.

The existence of a solid south, so far as the congressional elections are concerned, would be done away with. In the congressional elections of two years ago, the states comprising the solid south cast 74 per cent of its total vote for Democratic candidates, and 26 per cent for Republicans. Yet, the Democrats elected the whole 76 congressmen from that section, and the Republicans got no representative, although they had 26 per cent of the vote, and should have been entitled to at least 18 congressmen.

Of even greater benefit, it is pointed out, would be the representation it would give to minorities, which may have millions of adherents and yet be unrepresented under the present single member district system. The Socialists have polled in former years a vote which on the basis of proportional representation, would have entitled them to 30 members of congress. In those years they either had no representative, or only one.

An illustration of the inequalities of the present system is disclosed in the fact that while 47,003 Democratic voters in Georgia elected 12 members of congress, 41,000 cast in Congressman Berger's district failed to elect one Socialist, and a half million other votes cast for the Socialists in the nation failed to elect a single Socialist member.

## Would Discount Frauds

In addition to providing a system where every vote cast for a minority would help that minority everywhere in the nation get its representation in congress, many of the frauds now employed in the large cities will become of little use, since the stealing of a few votes, or the use of floaters would not count for as much in the general national tallying as it does where a single seat is at stake.

While the adoption of an amendment changing the system of representation is not likely in the near future, the movement in direction of the new system is making headway, particularly in municipalities, and the attention that would be given to it if proposed for congress would, it is believed, give impetus to the movement.

## "Workers International Relief" Is Communist

Inquiry has come to THE NEW LEADER as to the reliability of the "Workers' International Relief" which is soliciting funds for a variety of alleged forms of "relief," especially for workers in distress.

This organization, like the "International Labor Defense," is a disguised Communist affair and it is especially active at present in soliciting contributions. Jeannette Pearl, one of the founders of American Communism and still an active Communist, is in Chicago collecting funds for this "relief." The Federated Press reports that she has received contributions from Chicago local unions, including machinists, painters, lathers, coopers, maintenance of way men, theaters and wardrobe workers, railroad trainmen, barbers and forest preserve workers.

These unions might just as well make their contributions direct to the Communist movement for that is where the money will finally go. What is called a "National Miners' Relief" has merged with the other organization and this miners' affair was also a Communist enterprise.

Our readers should make a note of all these bogus enterprises by which Communists get their funds. They play upon the sympathies of working class organizations and enrich the treasury of the Workers' (Communist) Party.

## Shipstead Center of Senate Pact Fight

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Senator Shipstead, of Minnesota, Farmer-Labor, who has astonished his progressive backers by threatening to oppose the Kellogg war-renewal pact, was called to the White House Dec. 17 to talk with President Coolidge about it. The Senate foreign relations committee, of which he is a member, failed again on that day to agree to report the pact. Shipstead's wooing by the big navy social lobby may jeopardize the ratification of the treaty at this session of Congress.

# Green Refuses To Support Plan To Pension Aged Workers

A. F. of L. Head Can't See How Problem Can Be Dealt With "by Legislation"

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON — (FP) — William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, appearing before the Senate committee on education and labor, December 14, to testify on possible remedies for unemployment, was unwilling to discuss old age pensions for discarded workers, when that angle of the matter was brought up by Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts.

"There is a growing tendency among employers," said Walsh, "to dismiss an increasing number of workers each year at ages just past 50. It is becoming very serious. The mention of it in my campaign speeches brought a greater response from individual victims than did any other issue I brought forward."

"That problem is an old one," responded Green. "Connected with it is the policy of physical examination of workers, especially by managers in mass-production industries. Many dismiss men, or refuse to hire them, when they are past 45 or 50 years. When we have wage

agreements with employers we can protect our members against dismissal for age, but we can scarcely compel any employer to take on a man whom he considers too old.

"It is a matter to be dealt with by an aroused public opinion. How you can deal with it by legislation I cannot see."

Walsh suggested that legislation for relief of men deprived of the right to work, because they had been worn out by their employers, might be considered.

"That brings in the question of old age pensions," said Green anxiously. "And that raises the issue of states' rights and federal rights."

Walsh persisted. He thought Congress could recommend to the state the adoption of old age pension laws or other relief measures. He suggested that the principle of workmen's compensation laws in the states would admit of the granting of relief to men who were fully worn out, quite as well as those temporarily disabled.

Green responded that the real problem of old age pensions was for men who were willing to go on working; it was a problem of enabling them to continue earning their living.

Nothing was agreed upon in the direction of a remedy.

## Cleveland Socialists Urge Rights Restored To Espionage Victims

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND, — The following resolution has been passed by the Socialist Party of Cleveland:

"Whereas, some 1,500 men and women are deprived of their rights of citizenship due to their convictions under espionage act during the war solely for their utterances in speech or print, and

"Whereas, it is unjust that these men and women should continue indefinitely to be punished by loss of their rights to vote, hold office, and serve on juries for offenses during the emergency of war long since passed, and

"Whereas, every other country has long since restored citizenship to all such opponents of the war,

"Therefore, be it Resolved by the Socialist Party of Cleveland that the president of the United States be requested to issue a general proclamation restoring the rights of citizenship to all such persons.

EDNA HASTINGS, Secretary."

## Berger Proposes Citizenship for Espionage Act Victims

WASHINGTON — A resolution to restore the rights of citizenship to approximately 1,500 men and women who were convicted under the war-time espionage act for utterances disapproving the war has been introduced in the House by Representative Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin. The bill requests the president to proclaim a full pardon and amnesty, with restoration of all civil rights, to all persons who, during the late war, "were convicted of utterances in speech or writing deemed to be prejudicial to the conduct of the war, or of conspiracies to violate war laws in which no acts of violence were involved."

## Convict Labor Bill to Pass

WASHINGTON (FP) — Senator Hawes of Missouri has received pledges of enough votes to pass his convict labor bill through the Senate. It passed the House at the last session. This measure, promoted by the American Federation of Labor, authorizes any State to bar or regulate the sale of convict-made goods produced in another State, under the same terms it imposes on such goods made in its own prisons.

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# New Bedford Labor Party Bans Fusion

Alliances In The Future Will Be Made Only With Labor Groups, Is Decision

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—The Labor Party of New Bedford and vicinity which was formed as a result of the textile workers' strike at its first meeting after the municipal election two weeks ago voted to keep the organization intact and build it as a permanent institution.

As reported in The New Leader, the Labor Party joined with the "Expayers' League" in the recent city elections on a fusion ticket. The striking factor of the post-convention meeting of the party was a decision that in the future the party will make no election alliances with any groups except those definitely labor in character.

In the near future a membership campaign will be gotten under way. Despite the settlement of the strike, with a five per cent wage cut, dissatisfaction among the workers is still high. The mills are resorting to "speed-up" methods and other means of cutting wages further. The New Bedford Socialist local is taking an active part in the Labor Party movement.

## More Wage Cuts In New Bedford

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—(FP)—More wage cuts and more speed-up is the report of the National Textile Workers' union on New Bedford fine cotton goods mills. Members of the Cotton Mfrs. Assn. have not stopped at the 5% cut forced on 27,000 workers after six months of strike, but are putting over added reductions and burdening each operative with more work than ever before.

Spinnners work was doubled in the Beacon blanket mill. In the napping and card rooms, each worker must care for four machines instead of three. Spinnners have been told they may expect a 15 to 20% cut on January 1 and those in other departments will suffer slashes of 8 to 20%.

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## Fitzpatrick In Defense of Brookwood

Other Labor Leaders in Chicago Attack Stand of A.F. of L. Convention

CHICAGO — (FP) — Heavy artillery manned by the best gunners of the Chicago Federation of Labor on Dec. 16, 1928, bombarded the American Federation of Labor's position against Brookwood Labor College for almost an hour. Pres. Wm. Green and Vice Pres. Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L., the executive council and the New Orleans convention were the targets. Each hit drew applause from the local central body.

John Fitzpatrick, veteran chief of the Chicago federation and a director of Brookwood since the college was founded 8 years ago, was the leading artist. "I protest and denounce the methods by which the college, which was part of the A. F. of L.'s own workers education bureau, has been treated," Fitzpatrick declared from the chair. "To be thrown out by the executive council without a hearing, after we had repeatedly requested a hearing, when all of the directors are labor men and women who have given the best part of their lives to the labor movement was not decent treatment. It wasn't fair to Brookwood and it wasn't fair to us. Now can the A. F. of L. continue to say that the federation is an open forum when it shuts its doors and keeps out the people against whom it makes charges. I have felt obliged to resign my Brookwood directorship in conformity with convention action. But I have written Pres. Green and told him I was deeply pained to think he and the executive council could act so unfairly. Regardless of Brookwood itself, its labor directors were entitled to more decent treatment."

The Brookwood discussion was started when Arthur Olsen, the Chicago federation's delegate to New Orleans, made his report. In it he deplored the virtual lynching of the college by the convention and said he had voted against the action taken because he knew the Chicago federation would not approve. Olsen was followed by delegates Hill of the lathers and Madsen of the painters. Hill roundly denounced Green and the A. F. of L. officialdom, saying the British fraternal delegates were scandalized by the backwardness of the New Orleans sessions. He also defended Brookwood.

Madsen pointed out that Hill should have made his speech at New Orleans where it was needed more than in Chicago. He then described how the attack on Brookwood was organized behind the scenes of the convention and maneuvered to the floor by Woll. "And when Matthew Woll shakes his black mane," Madsen continued, "you know how it stirs up the convention. It is a cheap trick to label as Communist all the things you don't happen to like. I feel like Pres. Fitzpatrick. Those of us in the labor movement who were identified with Brookwood deserved better and fairer treatment from Pres. Green and the executive council than we got."

A motion demanding a reopening of the Brookwood case was ruled out of order, on the ground that the New Orleans convention had acted and the damage was done. Fitzpatrick stated that he expected to go into the affair in great detail upon Green's next visit to Chicago.

### Boston Delegates Fight for Brookwood

BOSTON — (FP) — Only after two hours of debate were administration forces in the Boston Central Labor Union able to push over an endorsement of the A. F. of L. convention's action in confirming the ban put on Brookwood Labor College. Graduates and friends of the school ridiculed charges of communism leveled against Brookwood by Matthew Woll.

### October 27, 1928

WANTED—Copies of The New Leader of October 27th, 1928. Readers who have this issue and can spare it will confer a favor on The New Leader by mailing to The New Leader at 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

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## Schlesinger Launches Drive To Rebuild Garment Workers Union

New President Presents Demands to Replace Agreement Which Ends in May

MARKED by a tremendous demonstration in Manhattan Opera House and a huge banquet at the Park Palace in honor of Benjamin Schlesinger, the new president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the New York cloakmakers and dressmakers have undertaken to rebuild their organization. Both gatherings were manifestations of the new spirit that has gripped the rank and file of the union.

President Schlesinger has taken the lead in eliminating the internal strife and strengthening the position of the union in the cloak and dress industry. To achieve internal harmony and present a united front to the employers, the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. has called on all the local unions to do the following:

1. To reinstate with full membership rights all former members who will obligate themselves to adhere to the Constitution of the Union and not to act in the Union under orders of outside organizations. No worker shall be barred on account of his political opinions or past dissensions.

2. To facilitate the readmission of all such former members, we directed the local unions to reinstate them up to February 1st, 1929, on payment of 9 months' dues—payment to be accepted in easy installments.

3. To give all members, including those reinstated, a free and equal opportunity to participate in the administration and affairs of the Union, the local and Joint Board elections have been postponed until the first week in February, 1929, and every precaution will be taken to make these elections absolutely fair and impartial.

4. The elections will be supervised by representatives of the respective local unions, the Joint Board, the General Executive Board, a Committee of Shop Chairmen and an impartial committee composed of persons in no way connected with the Union and who enjoy general public confidence.

5. As soon as our present negotiations with the employers are finished, the Gen-

## L. I. D. Sessions In N.Y. and Chicago Open Wednesday

Two of the most interesting conferences to take place during the Christmas holidays will be the East and Middle West Conferences of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held from December 26 to 28 in New York and Chicago. The general subject of these conferences will be "METHODS AND LIMITS OF SOCIAL CONTROL."

The Eastern conference will be held at Barnard College and among the speakers will be: Stacy May, Norman Thomas, Vladimir Karapetoff, H. S. Raushenbush, Walter Hedden, George Soule, Lawrence Cramer, John St. Louis Strachey, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Paul Blanshard, A. J. Muste and Dr. I. M. Rubinow. The opening session will be held on Wednesday, December 26 and the subject will be "THIS DECAYING INDIVIDUALISM." The speakers will be Stacy May and Norman Thomas. On Wednesday evening a buffet supper and informal reception will be given to the delegates at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas. On Thursday morning, December 27th, the conference will discuss how publicly owned industries and services should be run and administered. The speakers will be Professor Vladimir Karapetoff and H. S. Raushenbush. The afternoon session will discuss the problem of distribution in a society with production for use instead of for profit; illustrated by the general marketing situation, power question and the demand of farmers for relief. The speakers will be Walter Hedden and George Soule. This evening, the students will attend a special performance at the Provincetown Playhouse of the "Singing Jailbirds." The last day's session will discuss methods of arriving at social control. In the morning "NECESSARY CHANGES IN POLITICAL STRUCTURE" will be the topic. The speakers will be Lawrence Cramer, Columbia University; John St. Louis Strachey, the editor of the Socialist Review in England and Jessie Wallace Hughan. The last session Friday afternoon will discuss the instruments and approaches to social control. Paul Blanshard will speak on "Prospects for American Labor Party." A. J. Muste will speak on Trade Unions as a means of realizing social control and their function in nationalized industry. Dr. I. M. Rubinow will speak on Social Insurance, an approach to the new social order. The wind-up of the Conference will be a SKIT

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Students who expect to attend the conference are requested to send notice to the office of the L. I. D., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, as soon as possible. Please state reservations desired for dinner. The price of the dinner is two dollars. Students and members of social associations meeting in Chicago, can obtain reduced trip fares. For further information apply to Harry W. Laidler, Chairman of the Program Committee, L. I. D., or to Miss Libbie Jacobson, Secretary, Chicago L. I. D., 123 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Among the purchasers of "Boston" and a year's sub is Ida Sedletzky of Jersey City.

Joe Lams of New York accompanies his renewal with a gift of \$1 to THE NEW LEADER.

## Hillquit Sees Turn Toward Socialization

Nation "One-third Socialist," He Declares in Lecture at the Rand School

THE trend of government legislation and industry in the United States has been continuously in the direction of socialization, Morris Hillquit, leading American Socialist, declared in a lecture last Saturday at the Rand School on "The Future of Socialism in the United States." Today the United States is "approximately one-third socialist," Hillquit said. Government agencies, state, national and local, employ about 2,500,000 persons.

The pseudo-liberal Democratic party has broken down and the "progressive" forces have become disintegrated, Hillquit asserted. This makes the time and conditions auspicious for the development of a powerful Socialist party.

Hillquit said, in part: "One of the amusing incidents of the late campaign was the reciprocal charge of Socialism made by the two leading candidates for the presidency, and the ease with which each of them was able to substantiate the charge."

"The fact is that for many years past the trend of American government, legislation and industry has been towards increasing socialization under Republican as well as Democratic administration. Today the United States is approximately one third 'socialistic.'"

Public Domain Enormous "The enormous public domain of the federal government, the post office, army, navy and national highways; the streets, parks, and public buildings of all our cities, towns and villages and the public schools all over the country, represent many billions of dollars. They are all common and socialized property."

"The government agencies of the country, national, state and local, employ not less than 2,500,000 persons in the many and diversified branches of their service."

"The annual governmental expenditure of the whole country is not less than \$15,000,000,000. The average American family pays in direct and indirect taxes not less than \$600 a year, rather more than a third of its total income. For these payments to the government the citizen receives, at least theoretically, an equivalent return in public service and in the common enjoyment of public property and enterprise. This is a measure of the comparative extent of our social and individual lives."

"Another manifestation of our growing social consciousness is the progressive encroachment of the government in spheres which have in past generations been generally considered as sacred private preserves. Practically the whole economic life of the country is increasingly subjected to government supervision and regulation for the benefit and protection of the community as a whole."

"All of this is, of course, not yet Socialism nor can the organized Socialist movement of America claim credit for all these accomplishments. But the facts prove the utter baseness of the assertion that the United States is built on unshakable foundations of eternal individualism and that there is no room for a Socialist movement in it."

"The Socialists' movement in the United States has performed an important service in the past in formulating and advocating many of the social principles which have since been adopted. It will have a still more important task to perform in the future."

"The breakdown of the pseudo-liberal Democratic party and the disintegration of the non-party 'progressive' forces in and out of Congress has cleared the field for the development of a Socialist party in the United States similar in influence and power to those wielded by the organized Socialist movement in all other advanced countries of the world."

### United Textile Workers May Strike in R. I.

PAWTUCKET, R. I. (FP) — The Rhode Island Textile Company, with representatives of 20 United Textile Workers' locals, met and adopted a resolution demanding a 48-hour week, with no reduction in wages, in all mills now operating 54 hours a week. In mills where a 48-hour week is now in force and where a recent wage reduction had been made, a restoration of the old wage scale is demanded.

A committee of five, appointed to confer with the manufacturers is empowered to set a date for a strike, unless the manufacturers agree to the demands. General Organizer Thomas J. Reagan, assigned to Pawtucket during the strike, is now in charge of the Rhode Island locals.

A wage cut of five per cent. by another mill, the Warren Mfg. Co., was announced.

"THE MORONS!" Arthur Garfield Hays: "The Blue Menace, and the D. A. R. Blacklist!"

Thursday, December 27, 7 p. m. Inquire: Winifred H. Cooley Walker 9812

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## Shanghai Labor Demand Pay For Strikers, Jail For Bosses

Government Subsidy for Trade Union Maintenance Is Also Demanded by Delegates of 200 Organizations

CANTON, China.—The Canton Gazette, an organ of the Koumintang, publishes a story of a conference of nine delegates of over 200 labor unions meeting in conference in Shanghai to consider problems of the Chinese workers.

The conference occurred in October and about the same time the Koumintang published a manifesto to the workers warning them against the intrigues of Communists whose conception of class struggle is called ridiculous. The views of the workers' delegates show a good comprehension of working class interests.

Referring to the recently promulgated rules governing arbitration of disputes between capital and labor, the delegates stated that the Shanghai workers hold that during the period of a strike, the workers' delegates should be entitled to regular pay, that disciplinary measures should not be applied to the strikers only but should also be applied to the employers in case the latter are found equally at fault, that instead of merely imposing cash penalties upon guilty employers, provisions should also be made for their imprisonment in serious cases, and finally, that representatives of the

Party should be included in the Arbitration Committee. Union Recognition. As regards the proposed Factory Law, the labor representatives emphasized the necessity of according the labor union of any factory proper recognition and stricter regulations governing the dismissal of factory workers. The early promulgation of regulations governing insurance of factory workers by employers was also urged upon the Party leaders.

On the general situation of labor, the delegation voiced the hope that there should be an increase of wages for those engaged in low manual labor, that workers should have the right to elect their own representatives and that labor unions should receive a subsidy towards their maintenance expenses.

Speaking on behalf of the Central authorities, Tai-Chi-tao told the delegation that the problem of livelihood is not a problem of one section only of the people but a problem of the whole people. The temporary advantages which they may and that laborers are never benefited by succeed in extorting for themselves because the general situation will be affected which will, in turn, affect the workers.

As regards the policy of the Central Executive Committee, said Mr. Tai, it has been clearly defined in the recent Manifesto to the workers, and it is to be hoped that the workers will appreciate the Party's views. "Progress in all human affairs is a slow process and what we aim at for the livelihood of the people is the greatest satisfaction to the greatest number of people," concluded Mr. Tai.

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## Colombia Strike Dead Put at 100

United Fruit Company Coins Immense Profits From \$1.25 a Day Laborers

WITH the sailing of three United Fruit Co. steamers on one day, bound for Colombia and other Latin American countries, announcements in press dispatches acknowledge that 100 strikers were killed and 238 wounded as government troops, ordered out by the great fruit company, fired into the ranks of banana workers. This slaughter of workers, averaging for \$1.25 a day, calls attention to the vast interests owned by the corporation, to be protected by cannon, a despatch to the New York Times says.

Employing over 68,000 workers, the fruit company has a monopoly of banana imports into the U. S. and England, handles half of the world's production, and is one of the 5 largest producers of sugar cane in Cuba. It operates 93 steamers in the Caribbean trade, for transportation of company products grown mainly on its own plantations.

In seven or more countries, all bordering on the Caribbean Sea, the United Fruit Co. owns plantations and other land, some of it not yet developed. It operates 2,200 miles of railways and tramways and also its own warehouses, wharves and docks in every principal port of the region. The corporation is now planning an international air mail and passenger route between the U. S., West Indies, Central and South America.

Profits of United Fruit Co. for the first 8 months of 1928, amounted to \$17,700,000 (before taxes) or "earnings" of \$7.08 per share. It is no wonder that the stock is rated in Moody's manual of Industrials as A in quality. Cash holdings of the company on Oct. 1, 1928, were \$35,000,000.

Anticipating that its underpaid workers would strike, the company prepared what is called "storm reserves," according to Dow Jones & Co., publishers of the Wall St. Journal. In view of these preparations, Wall St. reports "the strike is not expected to have any large effect on profits."

Secure in the power of extensive investments, directors of the United Fruit Co., almost all of Boston, are also directors of the large corporations, among them the International General Electric Co., International Telephone and Telegraph, New England Telephone and Telegraph, Puget Sound Power and Light Co., Pacific Mills, United Shoe Machinery Co. and Nash Motors Co. All of these are anti-union concerns.

Gillmore Heads Actors Union

John Emerson, president of Actors Equity union since 1920, forced to resign because of bad health which prevents him from staying in New York, has been elected honorary president, and Frank Gillmore named president. Gillmore has been the union's secretary since 1918. Emerson, with a distinguished record as an actor, playwright, producer and cinema director, placed his services at Equity's command during the 1919 strike. He became president next year.

If you want your newsdealer to have a large attractive placard advertising THE NEW LEADER, drop us a card or call at the office of the paper.

Says W. S. Vanderburgh of San Francisco: "The New Leader is a wonderful paper. If the sheep would follow the tips given by this paper we are so proud of, they would escape the wolves."

Lectures—Forums—Schools

LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. and Second Ave. Sunday, December 23d, 1928

8:00 p.m.—Dr. G. F. Beck on "Cupid and Psyche (Apuleius)." 7:15 p.m.—Special Christmas Program.

INGERSOLL FORUM 113 WEST 57TH STREET

December 23rd DR. WOLF ADLER "Man, Descendant of the Ape" An Illustrated Lecture Admission Fifty Cents

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union Eighth St. & Astor Pl. At 8 o'clock

Monday, December 23 MR. ERNEST BOYD "Guy de Maupassant From a Biographer's Point of View."

Tuesday, December 24 Christmas Day NO MEETING

Friday, December 25 NO MEETING

Open Forum Discussion ADMISSION FREE

At Muhlenberg Branch Library 209 West 23rd St. (near 7th Ave.) At 8:30 o'clock

Monday, December 24 NO MEETING



# THE NEW LINE-UP IN AMERICAN POLITICS

By Harry W. Laidler

In speaking about political parties and the possibility of a new political alignment in this country, we must not fail to realize that the present parties have not existed always, and will not necessarily continue to exist; that the only thing that we can be sure of in politics is that everything else is subject to change.

In the early part of this century, the chief political battle was that between the Federalists and the Jeffersonian democrats. The Federalist party of Alexander Hamilton represented the economic interests of the trader, the manufacturer, the creditor, the men and women who were afraid of the rule of the people and who believed that only those should vote who had a substantial amount of property.

The Jeffersonian Democracy represented, on the other hand, the farming interest, led, however, by the aristocracy of the slave-owning planters. At the same time Jefferson had little faith in the city worker and feared the influence of the so-called city mob on the government.

These two parties were opposed on certain economic issues. The Federalist party, for awhile at least, was for the suppression of free speech, and the Alien and Sedition law, which sought to prevent the radicals of that day from having their say, proved to be the downfall of this party. Jeffersonians contended for freedom to criticize the government as the people saw fit. The Federalists and, following them the Whigs, were for a centralized form of government, for concentration of power at Washington, rather than in the several states. The Jeffersonians favored state rights, although, when the economic interests of the farming and slave owning groups were advanced by a strong, central government, the Democrats were for that centralized government.

The Federalists and Whigs wanted a high tariff to protect the capitalists. The Democrats, representing the farmers, were for a low tariff. And so the fight between the parties was based on a real difference of principles, due to conflicting economic interests. Of course personalities were brought in. In the early days, Jefferson was denounced as an atheist and a lecher, while Adams, representing the Federalists, was condemned by his opponents as the monarchist.

## A Second Fundamental Clash

As the middle of the nineteenth century advanced, the real fight became one between the Northern capitalists and the Southern slave holders. The slave holders wanted constantly to expand the territory in the United States on which chattel slavery could exist. The Northern business men, on the other hand, wanted to increase the territory devoted to manufacturing and trade based on more efficient wage labor. There thus developed a fight to the death between the capitalist forces of the North and the slave holding forces of the South.

The Democrats were gradually transformed into a party dominated by the slave owning class and under the leadership of Stephen Douglas and others, favored the Kansas-Nebraska act which permitted these two western territories to come into the union with or without slavery. On the morning after this measure was presented to the House of Representatives, several members of the House held a conference, and decided that the expansion of the slave power should stop and that a new party was needed if the extension of slavery was to be successfully opposed. The Republican party was the result. Its history is known. Formed in 1854, it went into the elections of 1856 with Fremont as candidate and was defeated. It nominated Lincoln in 1860, went on record in favor of a homestead law with a view of interesting farmers and favored the protective tariff to secure the support of the eastern capitalists. Lincoln was elected against a divided Democratic party.

Just as the Jeffersonian party, starting out as the party of the small farmer, became increasingly the mouthpiece of the great, reactionary slave holding interests, who had little concept of the ideals of equality, liberty and democracy enunciated by Jefferson and others in the Declaration of Independence, so the Republican party, starting out as the party of Lincoln, the party in opposition to the extension of chattel slavery, with its success, soon became a tool of conservatism. Soon after the Civil War, as Professor Charles A. Beard declares, "the ranks of the Republican party were permeated with mercenaries of every type—spoilsmen hunting offices, railway promoters seeking land grants and financial aid from the government, manufacturers demanding discrimination in the tariff legislation, and the great army of hangers on who attached themselves to these leaders." These elements did not desert the party. With the growth of the great trusts and combines, the party gradually became the recognized party of the great interests of the Steel Trust, the Aluminum Trust, the Oil Trust and the Wall Street financial interests.

## Party Differences Disappear

The Democratic party has survived, but as a heterogeneous party, representing, on the one hand, the old, reactionary, Southern white political machine, and, on the other hand, the entrenched machine of some of the large cities.

Up until a few years ago it pretended to fight for a somewhat different set of principles than did the Republicans. For one thing it advocated a lower tariff. In fact as late as 1912, when Woodrow Wilson ran, the Democratic platform declared that the "High Republican tariff was the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth, the system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer," and that it led to the suffering of the farmer and the laborer.

However, with the industrialization of the Democratic South, the manufacturing and commercial forces dominating the Democratic machine in that section have come out increasingly for high tariffs, and these and the new industrial forces of the North that have entered the party, men of the type of John R. Rabin, have finally captured the party for a high tariff program, as the last campaign shows.

In fact, if you take issue after issue of fundamental importance in American life, it is patent to all that on all such issues the two parties are essentially one and that both parties reflect the interests of the great financiers and industrialists of the country. The only difference between the two, said one great political scientist a short time ago, is that the Republican party is the acknowledged spokesman of big business, and that the Democratic party is the aspiring spokesman of big business.

## The Need for a New Party

The great need of the hour is, therefore, a powerful third party which represents the interests of the nation's producers by hand and brain in the office, the factory, the farm, the mine and the home. Such a third party, separate and apart from the two old parties, should be controlled and financed by the common people and should stand squarely for the interests of the people as against the interests of the economic rulers of this country on all of the issues of the day.

It should, in the first place, have a program for the control of the great trusts and combines. Years ago Professor Ciddings of Columbia University, had this to say:

"The greatest question before the

American people is this: Shall the chief and controlling means of production in the United States, our natural resources, our means of transportation and communication and the great funds of loanable capital, be owned by a billionaire four hundred who, by virtue of such ownership, shall be able for all practical purposes to own a hundred or more millions of us ordinary human beings, or shall we organize ourselves, own the means of production ourselves, and proceed to work out the realities of a democratic republic?"

In our electric industry at the present time, six great corporations control over half of the electricity generated, and with their vast funds, are corrupting our politics, our press, our educational institutions. Two corporations control half of the steel produced. One great monopoly controls a majority of the aluminum. Two corporations own more than half of the iron ore. Four huge interests own half of the copper. General Motors and Ford control a majority of the automobiles produced each year, and in practically every great industry fewer and fewer corporations are reaching out for a monopoly grip over their respective fields. A third party that represents the

common man must stand four-square for the control of these industries in the interests of all. It should immediately urge the nationalization of one or more of the strategic industries, such as electricity or coal and a plan of administration under public ownership which would make for both efficiency and democracy.

## A Social Insurance Program

In the second place a third party of the people must demand that society and not the individual assume the risks incident to our rapid technical changes and our periods of depression. We have just heard of the installation of a device by the Gannett chain of newspapers which will set up type by telegraph and, when installed, throw thousands of compositors in our newspaper offices, skilled men who have devoted years of their life to one particular job, on the scrap heap.

And this is but one of thousands of devices that are each year producing a new type of unemployment called technological unemployment, for lack of a better name. Recent combinations of banks, of retail stores, of every sort of industrial establishments are also throwing other thousands out of jobs. A third party that means business must grapple with this question of unemployment. It

must go on record in favor of unemployment insurance, a form of insurance which has been already adopted by numerous countries of Europe. It must work out a plan for the building of public works during periods of unemployment, so as to absorb as many of the unemployed as possible. It must insist on increasing the income of the mass of the people, so as to increase their capacity to buy the goods that are produced. It must organize national wide public employment agencies, so that the worker will not longer be dependent on unscrupulous private agencies. It must urge a campaign for the shortening of hours and for the five-day week, and it must aim at an industrial reorganization that will ensure to the worker increasing control of his industrial life.

The workers are assuming other heavy risks of modern industry which should be shared by society. A third party should urge, as a means of relieving these risks, a system of old age pensions and accident and sickness insurance.

Such a party should stand for greatly increased taxes on the higher income levels so as to secure to society some of the unearned incomes now being taken by speculation, incomes beyond anything that any other society ever offered to its

victorious conquerors. It should strive in every legitimate way to reconstruct agriculture on a basis of a genuinely human and happy existence. It should make a frontal attack against the whole war system, and the economic causes of war, realizing that the next great international war may well mean the death of civilization. It should abolish the power of the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes. It should safeguard freedom of speech and the press. It should fight against race discriminations. It should work in every possible way toward a government of the people, for the people and by the people, politically and industrially.

The only party in the last campaign believing in democratic ideals, which frankly faced these issues and proposed adequate remedies for our social evils along these lines was the Socialist party. Under the intelligent and valiant leadership of Norman Thomas and others this party has done a magnificent educational work in behalf of a powerful third party movement and the ideals which such a movement should advance. The Socialist Party is the only party now on the horizon which gives promise along these lines and as such it should be supported by every man and woman who is tired of

following the will of the wisps in the old parties and who is bent on building a permanent political instrument in behalf of social justice. For whether the Socialist party alone becomes the great progressive party of the future, or cooperates with other groups to affect such a party, its strengthening now will be a great aid to the powerful political alignment that is bound to come.

## Bernard Shaw's Example

And in supporting this party, we certainly should do everything possible to bring progressive ideals to the attention of our friends through private discussions, community forums, through literature and in every other legitimate way. A great movement for human emancipation is not organized in a day. It requires years of education, years of agitation, years of organization. Bernard Shaw, the great British dramatist, joined the Fabian Society, a Socialist educational organization, way back in the eighties of the last century. At that time there was no Labor Party in England. There was little socialist or progressive sentiment. But Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Ramsay MacDonald, George Hardie and others were no daunted. They saw the light and they resolved to work until a powerful movement was effected. What Shaw had to say about his educational activities in the early days, activities which, he maintains, were but typical of that of others, is worth repeating:

"I made all my acquaintances think me madder than usual," declared Shaw, "by the pertinacity with which I attended debating societies and haunted all sorts of hole-and-corner debates and public meetings and made speeches at them. I was president of the local government Board at an amateur parliament where a Fabian ministry had to put its proposals into black and white in the shape of parliamentary bills. Every Sunday I lectured on some subject which I wanted to teach myself; and it was not until I had come to the point of being able to deliver separate lectures, without notes, liberalism, socialism, communism, anarchism, trade unions, cooperation, democracy and the adaptability of human nature to systems of just distribution, that I was able to handle social democracy as it must be handled before it can be preached in such a way as to present it to every sort of man from his own particular point of view. A man's socialistic acquisitiveness must be keen enough to make him actually prefer spending two or three nights a week in speaking and debating or in picking up social information even in the most dingy and scrappy way, to going to the theatre, or dancing or drinking, or even sweetheating if he is to become a really competent propagandist—unless, of course, his daily work is of such a nature as to be in itself a training of political life. . . . It is at such lecturing and debating work, and on squallid committees and ridiculous litte delegations to conferences of the three tailors of Tooley Street with perhaps a deputation to the major thrown in once in a blue moon or so, ordinary Fabian workman or clerk must qualify for his future seat on the town council, the school board or perhaps the cabinet."

It was that kind of educational work which laid the foundation for the strong labor party movement they have in England at the present time. We need here the same devotion if we are to bring about a political alignment in America based upon realities; a political alignment which will give some chance to the worker on the land and in the city to come to his own.

And while working for the future let us realize that even while our party is a minority, it is doing valiant work in forcing the pace of the two old parties. Professor Beard was right when he said, speaking in his American Party Battles of the social legislation that has thus far been achieved in America:

"As far as the great body of social legislation enacted during the last 30 years is concerned, it must be confessed that it sprang from movements of opinion quite outside the range of political orthodoxy, that is, from the agitation of minorities winning concessions from the major parties."

With that realization, let us engage in the great adventure of the age, that of adapting the social machinery of our civilization to the tremendously constantly building, so that freedom, not serfdom, happiness, not misery, fraternity, not warfare, will be the heritage of our children and our children's children.

# What Tolstoi's Life and Writings Have Meant To Me

By Vladimir Karapetoff

AS long as I remember myself (I was born in 1876), I have been under the influence, almost a domination, of Tolstoi's literary and apostolic power. As a child I read and re-read his fairy tales and peasant stories; as a high-school boy, I gorged myself on his War and Peace, Anna Karenina, and shorter novels. When a college student in Leningrad, in the nineties, I became acquainted with his ethical and political writings, partly through illegal "underground" editions. Later on, during my stay in Germany, I read some of his writings in French and in German. Since my arrival to the United States, in 1902, I have re-read practically all of his works in English. It seems almost a necessity for me to pick up this or that of his writings, not and then, and from them to get new strength to live, a new bright star to steer by.

Yet, withal, I am not a consistent or exclusive follower of Tolstoi in any sense. In fact, I am deeply indebted to many other great minds for their influence in my life, some of whom Tolstoi would have most vehemently denounced. Nevertheless, Tolstoi's influence in my life, some of whom Tolstoi would have most vehemently denounced. Nevertheless, Tolstoi's influence passes like a prominent white thread through my whole life, and I am going to enumerate below the principal features of this influence. The points on which I did not understand Tolstoi or could not follow him are not mentioned, for they would not very well fit within the title of this article.

It will be understood of course that I am describing only Tolstoi's influence in shaping my life ideals, and not my actual conduct. How far and how faithfully I have carried his teachings out in practice, is another story which is not for me to tell. I shall never know of this for if this question is ever touched upon in print, it will be only in my obituary notice.

## Search for Ultimate Aims of Life

The earnestness with which Tolstoi sought an interpretation of his own life and that of humanity impressed me when I was a young man and made out of me not only an eager student of philosophy, but one for whom metaphysical and ethical inquiry has been inseparably bound with everyday life. Of course, the value of such inquiry is mainly critical: one readily finds that wealth, fame, power, and the pleasures of the senses not only do not constitute ultimate satisfying aims, but obscure the latter, and that to see them even dimly one must rise above such lower and purely biological desires. The conclusion that life on earth is evil and futile and that death is better than life, was only temporary with Tolstoi, during a few years of his crisis. He meant that life such as he had led previous to his conversion was evil and futile, and he quoted Socrates, Buddha, Solomon and Schopenhauer in support of his contention. After all, Tolstoi was not a scientifically trained metaphysician, and the strength of his teachings lies not so much in their powerful logic as in that irresistible appeal to one's altruistic nature, first to purify one's heart, to renounce material possessions and pleasures, and then to serve the actual daily needs of one's neighbors. It is only in this way that one is granted to feel even a glimpse of ultimate eternal truths. I purposely say "feel" rather than "know," because Tolstoi meant an intuitive knowledge, almost a revelation. Tolstoi used to preach that there was no sense in standing idly by a well and inquiring how the hoist worked which raised the bucket. By actually turning the crank and helping others to raise water one could readily learn about the action of the hoist in a practical convincing way. So to him understanding or feeling the ultimate aims of life was inseparable from actually living a life of simplicity, service and sympathy for others. To him love was the highest expression and the most convincing manifestation of the supreme law; love was that by which men lived. Hence the title of one of his most beautiful parables—"What men live by."

## Importance of Intuitive Guidance

Having been a great artist and a wonderful searcher of human hearts, Tolstoi saw the essence of human relations intuitively and felt distinctly the presence of a higher power guiding the universe. For these reasons he took a rather negative and sarcastic attitude towards human learning, planning and intellectual wisdom. Even in his comparatively early writings, as for example in War and Peace, he brings out the idea in the end that there are unknown historic aims for which individual men act as unconscious

## A Code of Life According to the Teachings of the Great Russian Philosopher

conscious tools. Moreover, his best ideal characters act simply, act intuitively, yet always correctly, for they are in communion with a higher law and guidance. With this doctrine goes the injunction not to condemn others (vengeance is Mine, in Anna Karenina), for we are only tools of a mysterious destiny, and we only know the permeating flavor of the universe—love, but not the ways and the means. Nor do we have to worry about immortality or future life. In love, humanity is one, is immortal in the unity of its great problem; it is only the individual immortality that has to be earned. It is not earned by military fame or by scientific achievements, but only by service of love.

## Courage and Non-Resistance Against Evil

Jesus' doctrine, "resist ye not evil," appealed to Tolstoi to such an extent as to amount almost to an obsession. Even persons who know almost nothing about Tolstoi usually know at least that he taught passive resistance. In his negative attitude towards the absolutism of the state, supported by a strong army and by the vile obscuration of the church, he fearlessly preached an uncompromising passive resistance: Refuse an oath of allegiance, refuse to serve in the army, refuse to pay taxes, refuse to send your children to school and to church, but do all these things peacefully, in the spirit of love, and be prepared for ridicule, oppression, prison, and even death. It was not granted Tolstoi to apply his doctrine on a large scale, but Gandhi in India learned about it and to him passive resistance has become the guiding principle of all his political action, and the most powerful weapon ever used against the British rule. Gandhi calls it "non-cooperation with the British Government." The same method was used by many pacifists in some beligerent countries during the Great War. The so-called "general strike," when peaceful, is a similar weapon.

Non-resistance is the highest and the most powerful way of combating something that a person or a group of persons consider to be an imposition. One who has risen to the use of this weapon will never resort to violence. Of course, in cases in which the constitution and the law guarantee reasonable freedom, opposition by non-resistance does not look so important, and need not be applied except in the case of national crisis.

A practical mind seeks definite external ends; it says, "Even tho I do not believe in war, what good will be accomplished by refusing to serve in the army and being subjected to atrocious tortures in a prison?" (as some pacifists were in this country)? To a contemplative Russian or Hindu mind, manifesting an ideal in his life, it is a matter of itself, perhaps the highest aim in life. Therefore, courageously refusing to participate in an evil thing means a victory in itself, means a step towards God and means helping humanity, no matter even if such passive resistance is completely exterminated or banished from the country.

Tolstoi was extremely practical in applying his doctrine. He could not have his political and ethical essays published in Russia, so he allowed his followers to print them abroad, at a danger to himself; they came back by the ton and were eagerly read. He stood ready to go to prison for them, but the Government did not dare to touch him. He heard that a Russian sect, Dukhobors (Born of the Spirit), refused to serve in the army because of their religious scruples and were mercilessly persecuted. He chartered a steamer and sent hundreds of them to America. At least twice in his life he organized and personally conducted famine relief on a large scale, in the face of opposition on the part of the Government which tried to conceal the facts.

## Non-Possessiveness and Simplicity

I advisedly use the term non-possessiveness, rather than poverty, community of property, or any other expression that may characterize an external condition rather than a state of mind. Non-possessiveness is a superlative of non-acquisitiveness. There must be no regulations as to when and how much of your property you should give away, and to whom. Your intuition (the inner voice) and your experience in giving, in working with others, and in non-resistance will be an unerring guide, for you

will derive a much greater satisfaction in giving to those in need than in keeping anything of value for yourself. Ivan the Fool, the hero of the Tale of the Three Brothers, is probably the most forceful and artistic expression of this doctrine, and to me he is irresistible. If I could come anywhere near the level of this "fool in Christ," I should desire nothing further. In order to reach this state of mind you must lead an extremely simple life and work with others and for others.

Leo Tolstoi, in his early search for a satisfying mode of life and in his boundless desire to help others, found two great obstacles. First, as a landed proprietor and a member of nobility, his life was complex and detached from that of the peasants and workers whom he desired to help, full of subtle conventionalities and petty worries, and whatever he gave away assumed an aspect of hypocritical charity on his part and parasitism on the part of the recipients. Secondly, he did not feel at one with the lowly, he did not understand their psychology and their simple faith, and of course he knew that giving money or grain away was not realizing that great commonwealth of love for which his big compassionate soul was longing. So, in the face of his vehemently objecting wife, in the face of the ridicule of whole Russia, he adopted the simple peasant garb, plowed his fields and those of neighboring peasants, cobbled, taught peasant children, wrote beautiful stories which simple folks could understand, and showed by his whole attitude that he was at one with them.

The heroic greatness of this step, and the tragedy of his last years due to it, come to be understood only gradually. We begin to see that the step was unavoidable, as it was to St. Francis of Assisi, to Gandhi, and finally to Bill Simpson (\*) in our own days and land. However, even in Tolstoi's own days hundreds of educated and propertied men and women followed his example and went to darkest villages to serve peasants. Even a verb was coined, meaning "to become converted to simplicity," emphasizing the belief that no further spiritual progress is possible without extreme simplicity and non-possessiveness in one's own life, in one's relation to others, and in one's interpretation of the world at large.

To this was added the requirement of working with others rather than for others, and emphatically, working and not idly walking among laborers with empty words of cheer. May those generous young men who seek ministry as

his mind remained clear and active to his very death (at the age of 82). He needed preliminary work, have I thought of Tolstoi and of his study of Greek and Hebrew, and this gave me renewed courage and patience. I also have adopted his method of first writing out the individual thoughts for my articles on small slips of paper and re-writing and rearranging them until the whole sequence of ideas and the details satisfy me. After this, writing the article as a whole on regular sheets of paper is no task at all, for one already knows the end, and shapes everything to converge to that end.

Many a time when baffled by a problem, or dismayed by a large amount of How to Live According to Tolstoi It has been justly pointed out that had Tolstoi lived in Western Europe or in the United States during the later years of his life, some of his doctrines would have been clothed in more general terms, applicable to the industrial conditions as well as to somewhat primitive Russian motifs. As it was, he took some temporary undesirable conditions obtaining in factories and in large cities as something inherently bound up with industrial progress, and by contrast tried to glorify primitive village life with which he was familiar. Since this limitation in his doctrine is obvious, I shall disregard it and render the fundamentals of his views, as I understand them, in more general terms. For it is futile to call men back to the soil and it is unjust to consign industrial workers to perdition because they live in cities and work in factories and in offices. Strictly speaking, the doctrine ceases to be entirely Tolstoi's; it is like an orchestral arrangement of a piano piece, or a novel made into a moving picture. So long as this is understood, rabid Tolstoyan need not call me to account for libel.

1. Simplicity of personal habits and strict self-control are the first steps toward any satisfying solution of the life problem. This means a strictly vegetarian diet, simple clean clothing, a minimum of living quarters, and mastery over sexual desires. Moreover, one should control one's rise to anger and higher standards of simplicity and vigor for it is through them that one's thought and heart are purified and clarified. One's soul's are irresistibly drawn to the one who has overcome the temptations of carnal life, and labor is sanctified by being done mainly to help others. So simplified and purified, a person will see and feel the underlying truth, the science and art of life, and will know what to do on every occasion.

2. Everyone must work to supply not only his own needs, but also, as much as possible, those of others who are handicapped. At least part of time should be spent in hard manual labor, for the sake in shaping his views. No wonder that

(\*) For information on this remarkable man, see Unity (Chicago) March 14 and 21, 1927.

(Continued on Page 8)

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## A Column Here of Christmas Cheer With Chance to Shed a Casual Tear

LAST year it was our cat who sent a Christmas card to all of you, believing that the sentiment therein contained might ring as true as any deep philosophy achieved by mortals gay or blue.

But now our Isabel has left our home for one beyond the skies and oh, my friends, we are bereft and moan our loss with piercing cries.

But this is not the place or time to tear our shirts with a sombre rhyme, for Christmas comes but once a year.

(For which we all should give a cheer.)

So, boys and girls, or pink or red, here may be things that should be said to glorify this holiday and help us on our arduous way.

Now is the time to look about and ascertain where we are bound.

And if we're going anywhere. Save, in the end, beneath the ground.

(Right here, with your most kind permission, we'll take a lyric intermission, what time we change this limping meter to something swankier and sweeter.)

Let's sing a song of comrades then, across this Christmas land, the sort of fine, upstanding men who're glad to lend a hand.

To this poor singer

From Claessens unto Ameringer.

Let's jubilate and strike the harp and celebrate with screams to think the Calvin Coolidge map won't haunt us in our dreams.

Let's make the best of what we've got and shout "Hip, hip, hooray!" 'Cause we ain't a bloomin' sojourner in distant Paraguay.

Let's just be glad we are alive and not a dead marine.

(We're a poor, benighted Socialist and a Civil Libertine.)

(Once more we must apologize, this meter, like our gas's is plainly bringing us to what resemble sad impasses.)

The Christmas cards that now begin to make our postmen take to gin are full of wise men, angels, cows and peace on earth and no more wars.

Just now a huge utility, which seems to love me very hard, sends me a scrumptious Christmas card.

On this a lady, blonde and great, is raising up a lighted lamp for me to look at every time they go and raise the lighting rate.

A life-insurance company, which also is intrigued by me, sends me an awful calendar from which I learn how fleeting are the hours remaining here on earth.

(A thought which causes me no mirth.)

And then, oh Lord, what have we here? A postcard smelling strong of beer. My bootlegger, it would appear, has taken up this angel's stuff.

(His Scotch makes angels, sure enough.)

"Noel, Noel," they yell, yell, these Christmas greeting gents.

But they'd take you for a buggy ride for less than thirty cents.

However grim that thought may be, I'd hate to think because of me, you boys and girls should skeptics be.

No, no, no, no, my loving friends, whose job just now is making ends somehow appear to get together.

We've come thus far through various weather.

And if at times it seems to rain exclusively on us;

(And if we miss consistently the old Prosperity 'bus;

In reading the above out loud, when you hit, "Prosperity," it has to be contracted—as in fact it seems to be.)

Well, what do we care and why should we weep?

Women are fair, though the voters are sheep.

Skies still are blue.

(I don't mean what they sell.)

Good friends are true.

For the rest, what the hell?

We ain't go no money, we're poorer than sin,

And there are plenty of places we never get in.

But we have got our health and we know how to love

And to live and to laugh, and the Big Bugs above,

Have got nothing on us when it comes to a fight.

Merry Christmas, good radicals,

You're Left, but you're right.

McAllister Coleman.

## January

COLD rain above the naked trees looks down upon the barrenness of infertile ground. A single pigeon scorns the grating sound. Of crassest metal rumbling through the town. Yet the mist will curl around an aspen tree. The tighter for the warmth such bark will shed. And the strayed bird reel above the gaping head. Of a scorching funnel, or plunge into the sea.

But I will go bowed through cold and snow and rain. Steadily and draw the mist into. My breath, and this I will do ever again. Till the year is past, the dawn of a brighter hue. Then I will feel refreshed at the morning call. Of some distant bird perched on a city wall.

SOLOMON FORTNOW

## Scanning the New Books

### War and the Jobbers

**UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAR.** by Maurice Colbourne (Coward McCann \$3.00). Contains an attractive title, is stimulating to an unusual degree, is full of surprising if not startling statements, and is written in so simple and clear a style that his main thesis—there is wealth enough to go around and to give leisure to all—can be grasped by the average reader. It is only when the solution is presented that comprehension becomes difficult.

Mr. Colbourne stresses the fact that up to the time of the Industrial Revolution, scarcely was the scourge of man, which made a mockery of Christian ethics. Since the dawn of the machine age man can produce more wealth than is needed. Unfortunately man has not prospered despite the wealth-producing possibilities of the machine because he is so cursed by artificial scarcity due to the inability of the distributing system to function under the new regime of abundance. Hence we have technological unemployment, extreme poverty on one hand and extreme wealth on the other; hence imperialism and war on inflation and sabotage.

Mr. Colbourne then discusses the four factors in production; the worker who is only too anxious to produce wealth; the machine capable of producing more wealth than the world needs; the desires of man which are still unsatisfied and the credit system or finance without which production cannot be undertaken. The cause of the trouble, according to Mr. Colbourne, lies in the fact that the worker receives less in wages than he produces. Hence he cannot buy all he needs. This necessitates getting rid of the surplus and that leads to imperialism and war. Having followed the Marxian analysis thus far, does he draw the conclusion that the way out for the workers lies in the ownership of the machine? On the contrary, he opposes nationalism and suggests instead the adoption of the credit scheme of Major Douglas which had been rejected by the British Labor Party. In a word, he maintains that as long as the banks have a monopoly of credit and can control production and levy constant tribute upon it, the worker will suffer. Hence he advocates public control of credit to keep production going and to enable the worker to buy the wealth he creates and needs.

Mr. Colbourne then gives a detailed and admirable analysis of the productive system. He shows how the employer borrows from the bank to pay A (wages and dividends) and B (capital costs such as interest, raw materials and overhead). The employer must sell his articles for a price which will be equal to A plus B plus profit. As the worker has only A and that part of B which is spent as A, he cannot buy the wealth he has created. To get rid of the surplus, the employer must export or borrow more money from the bank to create a still larger surplus, thus intensifying the difficulties confronting the employer and his workers. Hence the struggle for markets, inflation, or sabotage, or war.

To eliminate the control of our economic life by those who control the credit of the world and levy tribute upon the masses and use the government as a tool to advance their selfish needs, he suggests that the government take over the control of credit and base it upon the productive possibilities of the nation. His method is to sell the goods at less than cost, the government to keep a national credit accounting system and to pay the producer the difference between cost and selling price as a national dividend on the basis of the following ratio: the price of the goods is to bear a ratio to cost as the national consumption bears to national production. This is the method, in brief, by which the worker is to become part owner and master of the machine. Intriguing, isn't it? Put this into practice, and, according to Mr. Colbourne, you wipe out the class struggle, you make the poor rich and the rich richer; you eliminate the "reds" and their national-

ization schemes! Messrs. Catchings and Foster have found company at last! The millennium is here.

Abraham Lefkowitz.

### Poetry of Today

There are many ways in which a poet must win the appellation of a poet of our times. Eccentricity of manner, such as the word bailing of Bodenheim, or the letter-juggling of lower-case Cummings, is a bit outmoded, already; but freedom of treatment of sex, in many startling (the writers hope) or cynical ways, or a generally impudent air, is still enough to win the epithet "modern." It is, however, becoming increasingly evident that the poet who sincerely and deeply is to catch the spirit of our time, must be equipped with more than sensitivity; he must be a scientist. Whether it be in the "exact" scientific in the still hazy fields of social "science," the poet must somewhere have sought an understanding of what the age is reaching toward.

Wade Oliver, whose "Sky-Rider" (Moth Press, \$1.50) has just appeared, is Professor Bacteriology at the Long Island College Hospital. He who comes close to nature, in any aspect, is likely to find kinship when he turns to other sides of her rich being; although the poems in this volume have (of course) no direct bearing on medicine, there may be some connection between their clean, their lean directness and the writer's work. The poet-laureate of England is a physician; Keats was a drug clerk; Shelley was so interested in science at college that (before he was expelled for his essay on atheism) the students used to call him "Stinker Shelley."

These are the minds that call to mine: Lean spirits seeking the divine, Lean minds that lighten through the mire, And fly at truth's heart like a dirk!

While the "dirk" image suggests a treatment of truth not intended by the minds that fly at it, there is a spirit behind the words that indicates the concern for life, beyond word-balancing and phrase-juggling, which specialization (with its implication of knowledge in at least one field) is like to give. In "You say, my friends," the poet indicates the possibility of carrying science to the point where it may destroy poetry. This, too, is a danger half-knowledge is more likely to arouse. When more of our poets are also scientists, we shall have better poetry.

Joseph T. Shipley.

### Printed Plays

Two of the better plays of the season are before me in their printed form: "The Front Page," that swift story of newspaper life by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur (dedicated to Madison and Clark Streets—Covet-Friede, \$2), and the dramatic cartoon Channing has made in "Mr. Moneybags" (Brentano's, \$2). The first of these dramas is a tempestuous surge of newspaper men, caught in the midst of a murder story; one of the reporters is trying to get married and go straight—the profession. The manner in which the murder case and the big man at the city desk hold him, drag him willy-nilly back into the work makes what would be a rapid farce if the murder and quest of the killer did not make it speedy melodrama. Every newspaper man feels toward his job (so runs the theory) as toward a wife, in the proverbial sense: he cannot live 'or with her or without'; and the final grasp that keeps the bridge reporter in the game is a typical newspaper trick: any newsmen when he's in the mood for romancing.

Mr. Pollock's play needs the stage, for it is a broad and inevitably obvious cartoon that he draws in "Mr. Moneybags," the god of our day, greed of gold incarnate. We may suspect the author's philosophy of a tendency toward the "slave-religion," preaching, in its implications at least, acceptance of things as they are



"The Fairy Shoemaker," drawn by Boris Artyushchik for his book of that name published by MacMillan.

without regard to material aggrandizement; but if we ignore the philosophy implied and consider the facts presented, we behold a strong indictment of a society in which greed dominates, and money is the goal, the standard, the need of most of us. The devices by which this familiar idea is made dramatic are such that performance gives deuced power to the theme; but even in the reading the manner of presentation catches enough hold on the imagination to make the book vivid and strong.

### A Vivid Life

Biography, these days, has taken many queer twists; although the old-fashioned, dry-as-dust, erudite tomes still appear (witness Goldberg's travesty of them, on Menckel), the idol-mashing, gossip sort are more likely to rise with the foam of the tide of popularity. The "reference" and "commentaries" listed by Romer Wilson before "The Life and Private History of Emily Jane Bronte" (A. & C. Boni, \$3) indicate a more original method of working—one, as a matter of fact, that suits the material, for Miss Wilson must build her heroine entirely out of literature. The poems and stories of Emily, and the no less fictional letters of Charlotte, are the basis of this reconstruction, which is made so effectively that, however true—and none can check how true—the portrait is to Emily, is constantly stimulating and always alive.

### Economics and Reason

If the new science series published by W. W. Norton & Co. have for their purpose the presentation to the ordinary reader the discoveries, conclusions and trends of science, then the book of Mr. Florence (Economics and Human Behavior by P. Sargent Florence. W. W. Norton & Co. \$1.00), fails to meet the requirements since it is too scholarly and above the grasp of the average reader. According to the author, orthodox economists attempt to explain production and exchange by a rigid application of the law of supply and demand, showing that behavior is the result of reasoned calculation; that is, balancing human wants against human effort. This position is attacked by the social psychologists, who object to the "a priori" assumption of an economic man who reasons before he purchases. Instead, the social psychologists posit a behavioristic man dominated by instinctive drives which determine his economic activity. Mr. Florence feels that both positions are untenable, especially the psychological assumptions.

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## THE CHATTER BOX

HERE I have been sitting for over an hour, and nothing coherent has formed itself out of a plethora of thought and theme. I should write a Christmas poem. Something about a sardonic Christ leaning over a cash register in a department store, something about a Christmas carol in which the clink of coins, the babel of bargain hunting, and the unctuous rant of the clergy intermingle with the bedlam of the Stock Exchange; something about the Prince of Peace, and the building of cruisers; something in which the wise Magi of the East follow a star only to find that it leads to a hovel in which a starving miner's brood is being increased by one more unwelcome starveling.

The poem does not shape itself into any sort of continuity. The emotion behind its concept allows for no rhyme or measure. A raucous snarl—a nasty cynicism sneers at any attempt to create it. I yield to chaotic prose.

And yet there is a spirit of gaiety and cheer about the season that is too universally observed for my own bitter mood to ignore. Millions of folks believe and buy and give and receive. There is just one bit of idealism, one touch of godliness for all of them concentrated in a week.

This hurrying hurry, this massed attack on merchandise, this fierce resolve to know a moment's thrill through giving, must be respected. And for all of our clairvoyance, for all the sheer knowledge we have about the sordid mechanics behind the organized orgy of spending, it were best to watch the uncontrollable nonsense go on in its ancient manner, and do nothing.

In other years, I have written with audacious ink against the stores for overworking their employees during the Christmas rush. This year I shall have less to say. Acrimonious phrases still stir to my lips. The inhumanity of profit-making still stings before my sight, and the stupidity of the stampede thunders through my senses. But I will restrain any utterances. I have learned by now how ineffectual and ridiculous are one man's exhortations, against the tumult of a multitudinous madness.

I suppose you will find me doing my Christmas shopping late. I too, will add an ounce of additional weight upon the burdens of the workers who suffer this holiday outrage at the expense of body and soul. Perhaps a sadistic fury will impel me through the thronged aisles and by the heaped counters. My eyes will be full of knotted whips. I will lash out on all sides, stripping their souls until they bleed with greater pain and weariness. All the time, I will be shouting to their unheeding spirits . . . "Fools, slaves, willing, hunger driven imbeciles . . . sell me, sell us all . . . knickknacks, toys, silks, cottons, furs, baubles . . . sell us anything, everything . . . wrap and pack, tie them up in paper, painted paper, with holly and ribbons and wreaths . . . for Christ's sweet sake, sell, sell, sell . . . there will be overtime money . . . the season is short, and there must be no stock left!"

And you will note that I am not saying one word about their employers. This year, for some still unexplained reason I feel no enmity towards them. This will only last through the week. In fact, it is quite certain, that when all the insanity is done with, I will arrive at my old patience and love for the men and women who must go through all these indignities of struggle in order to live.

Sometimes when I take the subway during the rush hours, this same Simon Legree emotion overwhelms me, and I hear the jam and outrage of riding the cattle cars with gloating glee. "Good, good for you," my inward tongue snaps out at them. "Even this is better than you deserve; you ought to be knocked down flat and piled to the ventilators, like so many boards, like so much fodder in a freight train . . ."

Christ, I have seen carloads of steers, and calves and sheep on their way to the slaughter pens. But even these low things, these hopeless creatures have a way of moaning or bleating in their dumb misery. They even butt their heads against the boarded railing in attempts to escape.

But down there in the underground hell on wheels, men and women, and boys and girls rush through turnstiles after paying admission, and willingly fling themselves into a packed chaos of personal degradation. And never a moan, or a bleat. Never an attempt at protest.

To bring all this in at Christmas, is not at all Christian or humane. The proper thing to do right now is to forgive all enemies, pray for good will on earth, and buy presents for friends. And, I suppose, after I have had this embittered fling, the proper thing will be done—by me.

It is just this form of inconsistent conduct, that makes us mortal rebels so romantically useless. In reality, the failure to impress our dreams upon mankind with any lasting effect, traces itself back to the fact of inconsistency. We have long ago learned that mere logic is a delicacy enjoyed only by the academicians. Emotion is the sole lever with which the mass is ever lifted out into some sort of energy. And emotion is the very breath and nerve of inconsistency.

Strange indeed, that in our eternal efforts to liberate mankind from one form of bondage or another, we have never been able to follow the route and rule of our theory long enough to succeed. Even the most inescapable, the Russian revolutionaries, tottered and stopped grievously before a reversion to emotional paradoxes. I suppose that is the only way in which to explain why every radical movement predicated upon a preamble of philosophic consistency, breaks, self up into ineffectual sections of fatal antagonism.

I started in by noting how distorted all my thoughts were before the typewriter to-night. And if I have wandered in this writing, it has been because there is so much to say, and so little space or time to say it with any regard for the syntax of unity. Especially with the holiday season making so much disturbance outdoors. And with so much explicable foolishness and lunacy dangling on the tree of life in decorative profusion.

And lest I wander any further into an inextricable jungle of harangue, let me just pause here long enough to conventionally wish you all a Merry, Merry Christmas. I say this in all sincerity if my wishing will make you the happier for it. Although deep, deep in my heart there keeps calling out to all the slaves of toll the voice of reproach, the song of revolt.

Peace on Earth, good will unto men . . . phrases, sleek, meaningless phrases as long as so many millions have no peace of mind against to-morrow, and good-will is a commercial name that lists itself only among the money-measured matters that are called Assets in a world where Business is King, Saviour and Lord of Hosts.

But again comes the inconsistency of an emotion to wish you all, A Merry Xmas . . .

S. A. de Wit.



# THE NEW LINE-UP IN AMERICAN POLITICS

## The Democratic Party Ends Its Role of Opposition; City and Farm Masses Politically Homeless

**By Harry W. Laidler**

IN speaking about political parties and the possibility of a new political alignment in this country, we must not fail to realize that the present parties have not existed always, and will not necessarily continue to exist; that the only thing that we can be sure of in politics is in everything else is that things cannot stay as they are, that everything is subject to the law of change.

In the early part of this country, the chief political battle was between the Federalists and the Jeffersonian democrats. The Federalist party of Alexander Hamilton represented the economic interests of the trader, the manufacturer, the creditor, the men and women who were afraid of the rule of the people and who believed that only those should vote who had a substantial amount of property.

The Jeffersonian Democracy represented, on the other hand, the farming interest, led, however, by the aristocracy of the slave-owning planters. At the same time Jefferson had little faith in the city worker and feared the influence of the so-called city mob on the government.

These two parties were opposed on certain economic issues. The Federalist party, for awhile at least was for the suppression of free speech, and the Alien and Sedition law, which sought to prevent the radicals of that day from having their say, proved to be the downfall of this party. Jeffersonians contended for freedom to criticize the government as the people saw fit. The Federalists, and following them the Whigs, were for a centralized form of government, for concentration of power at Washington, rather than in the several states. The Jeffersonians favored state rights, although, when the economic interests of the farming and slave owning groups were advanced by a strong central government, the Democrats were for that centralized government.

The Federalists and Whigs wanted a high tariff to protect the capitalists. The Democrats, representing the farmers, were for a low tariff. And so the fight between the parties was based on a real difference of principles, due to conflicting economic interests. Of course personalities were brought in. In the early days, Jefferson was denounced as an atheist and a leveller, while Adams, representing the Federalists, was condemned by his opponents as the monarchist.

**A Second Fundamental Clash**

As the middle of the nineteenth century advanced, the real fight became one between the Northern capitalists and the Southern slave holders. The slave holders wanted constantly to expand the territory in the United States on which chattel slavery could exist. The Northern business men, on the other hand, wanted to increase the territory devoted to manufacturing and trade based on more efficient wage labor. There thus developed a fight to the death between the capitalist forces of the North and the slave holding forces of the South.

The Democrats were gradually transformed into a party dominated by the slave owning class and under the leadership of Stephen Douglas and others, favored the Kansas-Nebraska act which permitted these two western territories to come into the union with or without slavery. On the morning after this measure was presented to the House of Representatives, several members of the House held a conference, and decided that the expansion of the slave power should stop and that a new party was needed if the extension of slavery was to be successfully opposed. The Republican party was the result. Its history is known. Formed in 1854, it went into the elections of 1856 with Fremont as candidate and was defeated. It nominated Lincoln in 1860, went on record in favor of a homestead law with a view of interesting farmers and favored the protective tariff to secure the support of the eastern capitalists. Lincoln was elected against a divided Democratic party.

Just as the Jeffersonian party, starting out as the party of the small farmer, became increasingly the mouthpiece of the great, reactionary slave holding interests, who had little concept of the ideals of equality, liberty and democracy enunciated by Jefferson and others in the Declaration of Independence, so the Republican party, starting out as the party of Lincoln, the party in opposition to the extension of chattel slavery, with its success, soon became a tool of conservatism. Soon after the Civil War, as Professor Charles A. Beard declares, "the ranks of the Republican party were permeated with mercenaries of every type—spoilsmen hunting offices, railway promoters seeking land grants and financial aid from the government, manufacturers demanding discrimination in the tariff legislation, and the great army of hangers on who attached themselves to these leaders." These elements did not desert the party. With the growth of the great trusts and combines, the party gradually became the recognized party of the great interests, of the Steel Trust, the Aluminum Trust, the Oil Trust and the Wall Street financial interests.

**Party Differences Disappear**

The Democratic party has survived, but as a heterogeneous party, representing, on the one hand, the old, reactionary, Southern white political machine, and, on the other hand, the entrenched machine of some of the large cities.

Up until a few years ago it pretended to fight for a somewhat different set of principles than did the Republicans. For one thing it advocated a lower tariff. In fact as late as 1912, when Woodrow Wilson ran, the Democratic platform declared that the "high Republican tariff was the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth, the system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer," and that it led to the suffering of the farmer and the laborer.

However, with the industrialization of the Democratic South, the manufacturing and commercial forces dominating the Democratic machine in that section have come out increasingly for high tariffs, and these and the new industrial forces of the North that have entered the party, men of the type of John R. Johnson, have finally captured the party for a high tariff program, as the last cam-

aign shows. In fact, if you take issue after issue of fundamental importance in American life, it is patent to all that on all such issues the two parties are essentially one and that both parties reflect the interests of the great financiers and industrialists of the country. The only difference between the two, said one great political scientist a short time ago, is that the Republican party is the acknowledged spokesman of big business, and that the Democratic party is the aspiring spokesman of big business.

**The Need for a New Party**

The great need of the hour is, therefore, a powerful third party which represents the interests of the nation's producers by hand and brain in the office, the factory, the farm, the mine and the home. Such a third party, separate and apart from the two old parties, should be controlled and financed by the common people and should stand squarely for the interests of the people as against the interests of the economic rulers of the country on all the issues of the day.

It should, in the first place, have a program for the control of the great trusts and combines. Years ago Professor Giddings of Columbia University, had this to say:

"The greatest question before the American people is this: Shall the chief and controlling means of production in the United States, our natural resources, our means of transportation, our means of communication and the great funds of loanable capital, be owned by a billionaire four hundred who, by virtue of such ownership, shall be able for all practical purposes to own a hundred or more millions of us ordinary human beings, or shall we ordinary human beings, in our collective capacity, own the means of production ourselves, and proceed to work out the realities of a democratic republic?"

In our electric industry at the present time, six great corporations control over half of the electricity generated, and, with their vast funds, are corrupting our politics, our press, our educational institutions. Two corporations control half of the steel produced. One great monopoly controls a majority of the aluminum. Two corporations own more than half of the iron ore. Four huge interests own the power, the General Motors and Ford control a majority of the automobiles produced each year, and in practically every great industry fewer and fewer corporations are reaching out for a monopoly grip over their respective fields. A third party that represents the common man must stand four-square for the control of these industries in the interests of all. It should immediately urge the nationalization of one or more of the strategic industries, such as electricity or coal and a plan of administration under public ownership which would make for both efficiency and democracy.

**A Social Insurance Program**

In the second place a third party of the people must demand that society and not the individual assume the risks incident to our rapid technical changes and our periods of depression. We have just heard of the installation of a device by the Gannett chain of newspapers which will set up type by telegraph and, when installed, throw thousands of compositors in our newspaper offices, skilled men who have devoted years of their life to one particular job, on the scrap heap. And this is but one of thousands of devices that are each year making for the new type of unemployment called technological unemployment, for lack of a better name. Recent combinations of banks, of retail stores, of every sort of industrial establishments are also throwing other thousands out of jobs. A third party that means business must grapple with this question of unemployment. It must go on record in favor of unemployment insurance, a form of insurance which has been already adopted by numerous countries of Europe. It must work out a plan for the building of public works during periods of unemployment, so as to absorb as many of the unemployed as possible. It must insist on increasing the income of the mass of the people, so as to increase their capacity to buy the goods that are produced. It must organize national wide public employment agencies, so that the worker will not longer be dependent on unscrupulous private agencies. It must urge a campaign for the shortening of hours and for the five-day week, and it must aim at an industrial reorganization that will ensure to the worker increasing control of his industrial life.

The workers are assuming other heavy risks of modern industry which should be shared by society. A third party should urge, as a means of relieving these risks, a system of old age pensions and accident and sickness insurance, for lack of a better name. Recent combinations of banks, of retail stores, of every sort of industrial establishments are also throwing other thousands out of jobs. A third party that means business must grapple with this question of unemployment. It

## What Tolstoi's Life and Writings Have Meant To Me

### A Code of Life According to the Teachings of the Great Russian Philosopher

**By Vladimir Karapetoff**

AS long as I remember myself (I was born in 1876), I have been under the influence, almost a domination, of Tolstoi's literary and apostolic power. As a child I read and re-read his fairy tales and peasant stories; as a high-school boy, I gorged myself on his War and Peace, Anna Karenina, and shorter novels. When a college student in Leningrad, in the nineties, I became acquainted with his ethical and political writings, partly through illegal "underground" editions. Later on, during my stay in Germany, I read some of his writings in French and in German. Since my arrival to the United States, in 1902, I have re-read practically all of his works in English. It seems almost a necessity for me to pick up this or that of his writings, now and then, and from them to get new strength to live, a new bright star to steer by.

Yet, without, I am not a consistent or exclusive follower of Tolstoi in any sense. In fact, I am deeply indebted to many other great minds for their influence in my life, some of whom Tolstoi would have most vehemently denounced. Nevertheless, Tolstoi's influence passes like a prominent white thread through my whole life, and I am going to enumerate below the principal features of this influence. The points on which I did not understand Tolstoi or could not follow him are not mentioned, for they would not very well fit within the title of this article.

It will be understood of course that I am describing only Tolstoi's influence in shaping my life ideals, and not my actual conduct. How far and how faithfully I have carried his teachings out in practice, is another story which is not for me to tell. I shall never know of this for if this question is ever touched upon in print, it will be only in my obituary notice.

**Search for Ultimate Aims of Life**

The earnestness with which Tolstoi sought an interpretation of his own life and that of humanity impressed me when, as a young man and made out of me not only an eager student of philosophy, but one for whom metaphysical and ethical inquiry has been inseparably bound with everyday life. Of course, the value of such inquiry is mainly critical: one readily finds that wealth, fame, power, and the pleasures of the senses not only do not constitute ultimate satisfying aims, but obscure the latter, and that to see them even dimly one must rise above such lower and purely biological desires.

The conclusion that life on earth is evil and futile and that death is better than life, was only temporary with Tolstoi, during a few years of his crisis. He meant that life such as he had led previously to his conversion was evil and futile, and he quoted Socrates, Buddha, Solomon and Schopenhauer in support of his contention. After all, Tolstoi was not a scientifically trained metaphysician, and the strength of his teachings lies not so much in their powerful logic as in their irresistible appeal to one's altruistic nature, first to purify one's heart, to renounce material possessions and pleasures, and then to serve the actual daily needs of one's neighbors. It is only in this way that one is granted to feel even a glimpse of ultimate eternal truths. I purposely say "feel" rather than "know," because Tolstoi meant an intuitive knowledge, almost a revelation.

Tolstoi used to preach that there was no sense in standing idly by a well and inquiring how the hoist worked which raised the bucket. By actually turning the crank and helping others to raise water one could readily learn about the action of the hoist in a practical convincing way. So to him understanding or feeling the ultimate aims of life was inseparable from actually living a life of simplicity, service and sympathy for others. To him love was the highest expression and the most convincing manifestation of the supreme law; love was that by which men lived. Hence the title of one of his most beautiful parables—"What men live by."

**Importance of Intuition Guidance**

Having been a great artist and a wonderful searcher of human hearts, Tolstoi saw the essence of human relations intuitively and felt distinctly the presence of a higher power guiding the universe. For these reasons he took a rather negative and sarcastic attitude towards human learning, planning and intellectual wisdom. Even in his comparatively early writings, as for example in War and Peace, he brings out the idea in the end that there are unknown historic acts for which individual men act as uncon-

dious tools. Moreover, his best ideal characters act simply, act intuitively, yet always correctly, for they are in communion with a higher law and guidance.

With this doctrine goes the injunction not to condemn others (vengeance is Mine, in Anna Karenina), for we are only tools of a mysterious destiny, and we only know the permeating flavor of the universe—love, but not the ways and the means. Nor do we have to worry about immortality or future life. In love, humanity is one, is immortal in the unity of its great problem; it is only the individual immortality that has to be earned. It is not earned by military fame or by scientific achievements, but only by service of love.

**Courage and Non-Resistance Against Evil**

Jesu's doctrine, "resist ye not evil," appealed to Tolstoi to such an extent as to amount almost to an obsession. Even persons who know almost nothing about Tolstoi usually know at least that he taught passive resistance. In his negative attitude towards the absolutism of the state, supported by a strong army and by the vile obscenity of the church, he fearlessly preached an uncompromising passive resistance. Refuse to take an oath of allegiance, refuse to serve in the army, refuse to pay taxes, refuse to send your children to school and to church, but do all these things peacefully, in the spirit of love, and be prepared for ridicule, oppression, prison, and even death. It was not granted Tolstoi to apply his doctrine on a large scale, but Gandhi in India learned about it and his passive resistance has become the guiding principle of all his political action, and the most powerful weapon ever used against the British rule. Gandhi calls it "non-cooperation with the British Government." The same method was used by many pacifists in some beligerent countries during the Great War. The so-called "general strike," when peaceful, is a similar weapon.

Non-resistance is the highest and the most powerful way of combating something that a person or a group of persons consider to be an imposition. One who has risen to the use of this weapon will never resort to violence. Of course, in countries in which the constitution and the laws guarantee reasonable freedom, opposition by non-resistance does not look so important, and need not be applied except in the case of national crisis.

A practical mind seeks definite external ends; it says, "Even tho I do not believe in war, what good will be accomplished by refusing to serve in the army and being subjected to atrocious tortures in a prison?" (as some pacifists were in this country?) To a contemplative Russian or Hindu mind, manifesting an ideal in his life, is an ultimate end in itself, perhaps the highest aim in life. Therefore, courageously refusing to participate in evil, which means a victory in itself, means a step towards God and means helping humanity, no matter even if such passive resistors be completely exterminated or banished from the country.

Tolstoi was extremely practical in applying his doctrine. He could not have his political and ethical essays published in Russia, so he allowed his followers to print them abroad, at a danger to himself; they came back by the ton and were eagerly read. He stood ready to go to prison for them, but the Government did not dare to touch him. He heard that a Russian sect, Dukhobors (Born of the Spirit), refused to serve in the army because of their religious scruples and were mercilessly persecuted. He chartered a steamer and sent hundreds of them to America. At least twice in his life he organized and personally conducted famine relief on a large scale, in the face of opposition on the part of the Government which tried to conceal the facts.

**Non-Possessiveness and Simplicity**

I adversely use the term non-possessiveness, rather than poverty, community of property, or any other expression that may characterize an external condition rather than a state of mind. Non-possessiveness is a superlative of non-acquisitiveness. There must be no regulations as to when and how much of your property you should give away, and to whom. Your intuition (the inner voice) and your experience in giving, in working with others, and in non-resistance will be an unerring guide, for you

will derive a much greater satisfaction in giving to those in need than in keeping anything of value for yourself. Ivan the Fool, the hero of the Tale of the Three Brothers, is probably the most forcible and artistic expression of this doctrine, and to me he is irresistible. If I could come anywhere near the level of this "fool in Christ," I should desire nothing higher. In order to reach this state of mind you must lead an extremely simple life and work with others and for others.

Leo Tolstoi, in his early search for a satisfying mode of life and in his boundless desire to help others, found two great obstacles. First, as a landed proprietor and a member of nobility, his life was complex and detached from that of the peasants and workers whom he desired to help, full of subtle conventionalities and petty worries, and whatever he gave away assumed an aspect of hypocritical charity on his part and parasitism on the part of the recipients. Secondly, he did not feel at one with the lowly, he did not understand their psychology and their simple faith, and of course he knew that giving money or grain away was not realizing that great commonwealth of love for which his big compassionate soul was longing. So, in the face of his vehemently rejecting wife, in the face of ridicule of who Russia, he adopted the simple peasant garb, plowed his fields, and those of neighboring peasants, cobbled, taught peasant children, wrote beautiful stories which simple folks could understand, and showed by his whole attitude that he was at one with them.

The heroic greatness of this step, and the tragedy of his last years due to it, come to be understood only gradually. We begin to see that the step was unavoidable, as it was to St. Francis of Assisi, to Gandhi, and finally to Bill Simpson ("I in our own days and land. However, even in Tolstoi's own days hundreds of educated and propertied men and women followed his example and went to darkest villages to serve peasants. Even a verb was coined, meaning "to become converted to simplicity," emphasizing the belief that no further spiritual progress is possible without extreme simplicity and non-possessiveness in one's own life, in one's relation to others, and in one's interpretation of the world at large. To this was added the requirement of working with others rather than for others, and emphatically, working and not idly walking among laboring and empty words of cheer. May those generous young men who seek ministry as

an outlet for their altruistic nature learn this lesson and become masons, carpenters and mechanics instead. This will enable them to influence them by example during working hours, rather than preaching on Sunday, and eating dinners with their families.

As a man of eighty, Tolstoi suffered keenly because he lived in comparative comfort with his family, and because he felt that this disparity between his writings and his personal life was a great stumbling block to his followers and a big trump in the hands of his enemies. May his generous sensitive soul rest in peace, for he was a pioneer, and his seeming shortcoming in this respect will not be misunderstood by the generations to come. On the contrary, they will see in it warning that a reformer must begin early in his life when he is unencumbered by a family, or else, his wife must be wholeheartedly in sympathy with his doctrine and mode of life.

**Simplicity of life and non-possessiveness**

do away with innumerable worldly cares, personal adjustments, and worries, allow one to concentrate on spiritual ideas, obviate the fear of beggars and thieves, create a broad road for sympathy, and above all unite all men into one big family, which to Tolstoi was the ultimate end on earth.

**Diligent and Sincere Search**

We remember with reverence those explorers, scientists, and philosophers who diligently and fearlessly searched for truth, even though for our purposes the results of their labors have been long superseded by later and more accurate information. So Tolstoi will forever remain a shining example of a thinker and man of action who was absolutely sincere with himself, who sought no comforting doctrine to excuse his acquiescence in the existing conditions, and who spared no labors in order to get at the truth and to live in accordance with it.

As a university student, he was an indifferent scholar, but after the crisis in his life, when he was over fifty, he took up the study of the Greek language in order to be able to read the Gospels in the original and not be influenced by wrong and biased translations and interpolations of many generations of monks. Not satisfied with this stupendous effort, he undertook a study of Hebrew when he was over seventy, and again brought his knowledge to a point where, with the assistance of a rabbi and a dictionary, he could judge for himself the meaning of those places in the Old Testament and in the Talmud which he considered essential in shaping his views. No wonder that

his mind remained clear and active to his very death (at the age of 82). He needed preliminary work, have I thought of Tolstoi and of his study of Greek and Hebrew, and this gave me renewed courage and patience. I also have adopted his method of first writing out the individual thoughts for my articles on small slips of paper and re-writing and rearranging them until the whole sequence of ideas and the details satisfy me. After this, writing the article as a whole on regular sheets of paper is no task at all, for one already knows the end, and shapes everything to converge to that end.

Many a time when baffled by a problem, or dismayed by a large amount of

**How to Live According to Tolstoi**

It has been justly pointed out that had Tolstoi lived in Western Europe or in the United States during the later years of his life, some of his doctrines would have been clothed in more general terms, applicable to the industrial conditions as well as to somewhat primitive Russian moujiks. As it was, he took some temporary undesirable conditions obtaining in factories and in large cities as something inherently bound up with industrial progress, and by contrast tried to glorify primitive village life with which he was familiar. Since this limitation in his doctrine is obvious, I shall disregard it and render the fundamentals of his views, as I understand them, in more general terms. For it is futile to call men back to the soil and it is unjust to consign industrial workers to perdition because they live in cities and work in factories and in offices. Strictly speaking, the doctrine ceases to be entirely Tolstoi's; it is like an orchestral arrangement of a piano piece, or a novel made into a moving picture. So long as this is understood, rabbi Tolstoyan need not call me to account for libel.

1. Simplicity of personal habits and strict self-control are the first steps toward any satisfying solution of the life problem. This means a strictly vegetarian diet, simple clean clothing, a minimum of living quarters, and mastery over sexual desires. Moreover, one should consciously strive to rise to higher standards of simplicity and vigor for it is through them that one's thought and heart are purified and clarified. Other soul's are irresistibly drawn to the one who has overcome the temptations of carnal life, and labor is sanctified by being done mainly to help others. So simplified and purified, a person will see and feel the underlying truth, the science and art of life, and will know what to do on every occasion.

2. Everyone must work to supply not only his own needs, but also, as much as possible, those of others who are handicapped. At least part of time should be spent in hard manual labor, for the sake

of following the will of the wisps in the old parties and who is bent on building a permanent political instrument in behalf of social justice. For whether the Socialist party alone becomes the great progressive party of the future, or co-operates with other groups to affect such a party, its strengthening now will be a great aid to the powerful political alignment that is bound to come.

**Bernard Shaw's Example**

And in supporting this party, we certainly should do everything possible to bring progressive ideals to the attention of our friends, through private discussions, community forums, through literature and in every other legitimate way. A great movement for human emancipation is not organized in a day. It requires years of education, years of agitation, years of organization. Bernard Shaw, the great British dramatist, joined the Fabian Society, a Socialist educational organization, way back in the eighties of the last century. At that time there was no Labor Party in England. There was little socialist or progressive sentiment. But Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Ramsay MacDonald, Keir Hardie and others were not daunted. They saw the light and they resolved to work until a powerful movement was effected. What Shaw had to say about his educational activities in the early days, activities which, he maintains, were but typical of that of others, is worth repeating:

"I made all my acquaintances think me madder than usual," declared Shaw, "by the pertinacity with which I attended debating societies and haunted all sorts of hole-and-corner debates and public meetings and made speeches at them. I was president of the local government Board at an amateur parliament where a Fabian ministry had to put its proposals into black and white in the shape of parliamentary bills. Every Sunday I lectured on some subject which I wanted to teach myself; and it was not until I had come to the point of being able to deliver separate lectures, without notes, liberalism, socialism, communism, anarchism, trade unions, cooperation, democracy and the adaptability of human nature to systems of just distribution, that I was able to handle social democracy as it must be handled before it can be preached in such a way as to present it to every sort of man from his own particular point of view. A man's socialistic acquisitiveness must be keen enough to make him actually prefer spending two or three nights a week in speaking and debating or in picking up social information even in the most dingy and scrappy way, to going to the theatre, or dancing or drinking, or even sweethearting if he is to become a really competent propagandist—unless, of course, his daily work is of such a nature as to be in itself a training of political life. It is at such lecturing and debating work, and on squallid committees and ridiculous little delegations to conferences of the three tailors of Tooley Street with perhaps a deputation to the major thrown in once in a blue moon or so, ordinary Fabian workman or clerk must qualify for his future seat on the town council, the school board or perhaps the cabinet."

It was that kind of educational work which laid the foundation for the strong labor party movement they have in England at the present time. We need here the same devotion if we are to bring about a political alignment in America based upon realities: a political alignment which will give some chance to the worker on the and in the city to come to his own.

And while working for the future let us realize that even while our party is a minority, it is doing valiant work in forcing the pace of the two old parties. Professor Beard was right when he said, speaking in his American Party Battles of the social legislation that has thus far been achieved in America:

"As far as the great body of social legislation enacted during the last 30 years is concerned, it must be confessed that it sprang from movements of opinion quite outside the range of political orthodoxy, that is, from the agitation of minorities winning concessions from the major parties."

With that realization, let us engage in the great adventure of the age, that of adapting the social machinery of our civilization to the tremendously constantly building, so that freedom, not serfdom, happiness, not misery, fraternity, not warfare, will be the heritage of our children and our children's children.

(Continued on Page 8)

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## A Column Here of Christmas Cheer With Chance to Shed a Casual Tear

LAST year it was our cat who sent a Christmas card to all of you, believing that the sentiment therein contained might ring as true as any deep philosophy achieved by mortals gay or blue.

But now our Isabel has left our home for one beyond the skies and oh, my friends, we are bereft and moan our loss with piercing cries.

But this is not the place or time to tear our shirts with sombre rhyme, for Christmas comes but once a year.

(For which we all should give a cheer.)

So, boys and girls, or pink or red, here may be things that should be said to glorify this holiday and help us on our arduous way.

Now is the time to look about and ascertain where we are bound.

And if we're going anywhere. Save, in the end, beneath the ground.

(Right here, with your most kind permission, we'll take a lyric intermission, what time we change this limping meter to something swankier and sweeter.)

Let's sing a song of comrades then, across this Christmas land, the sort of fine, upstanding men who're glad to lend a hand.

To this poor singer

From Claessens unto Ameringer,

Let's jubilate and strike the harp and celebrate with screams to think the Calvin Coolidge map won't haunt us in our dreams.

Let's make the best of what we've got and shout "Hip, hip, hooray!" 'Cause we ain't a bloomin' sojor boy in distant Paraguay.

Let's just be glad we are alive and not a dead marine.

(We're a poor, benighted Socialist and a Civil Libertarian.)

(Once more we must apologize, this meter, like our gas's is plainly bringing us to what resemble sad im-passees.)

The Christmas cards that now begin to make our postmen take to gin are full of wise men, angels, cows and peace on earth and no more rows.

Just now a huge utility, which seems to love me very hard, sends me a scrumptious Christmas card.

On this a lady, blonde and great, is raising up a lighted lamp for me to look at every time they go and raise the lighting rate.

A life-insurance company, which also is intrigued by me, sends me an awful calendar from which I learn how feeble are the hours remaining here on earth.

(A thought which causes me no mirth.)

And then, oh Lord, what have we here? A postcard smelling strong of beer. My bootlegger, it would appear, has taken up this angel's stuff.

(His Scotch makes angels, sure enough.)

"Noel, Noel," they yell, yell, yell, these Christmas greeting gents.

But they'd take you for a buggy ride for less than thirty cents.

However grim that thought may be, I'd hate to think because of me, you boys and girls should sleep-tics be.

No, no, no, my loving friends, whose job just now is making ends somehow appear to get together.

We've come thus far through various weather.

And if at times it seems to rain exclusively on us;

And if we miss consistently the old Prosperity bus;

(In reading the above out loud, when you hit, "Prosperity," it has to be contracted—as in fact it seems to be.)

Well, what do we care and why should we weep?

Women are fair, though the voters are sheep.

Skies still are blue.

(I don't mean what they sell.)

Good friends are true.

For the rest, what the hell?

We ain't got no money, we're poorer than sin,

And there are plenty of places we never get in.

But we have got our health and we know how to love

And to live and to laugh, and the Big Bugs above,

Have got nothing on us when it comes to a fight.

Merry Christmas, good radicals,

You're Left, but you're right.

McAllister Coleman.

## January

COLD rain above the naked trees looks down upon the barrenness of infertile ground. A single pigeon scorns the grating sound of crassest metal rumbling through the town. Yet the mist will curl around an ash tree. The lighter for the warmth such bark will shed. And the strayed bird rest above the gaping head of a scorching funnel, or plunge into the sea.

But I will go bowed through cold and snow and rain. Steadily and draw the mist late. My breath, and this I will do ever again. Till the year is past, the dawn of a brighter hue. Then I will feel refreshed at the morning call. Of some distant bird perched on a city wall.

SOLOMON FORTNOW

## Scanning the New Books

### War and the Jobbers

"UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAR," by Maurice Colbourne (Coward-McCann \$3.00), contains an attractive title, is stimulating to an unusual degree, is full of surprising if not startling statements, and is written in so simple and clear a style that his main thesis—there is wealth enough to go around and to give leisure to all—can be grasped by the average reader. It is only when the solution is presented that comprehension becomes difficult.

Mr. Colbourne stresses the fact that up to the time of the Industrial Revolution, scarcity was the scourge of man, which made a mockery of Christian ethics. Since the dawn of the machine age man can produce more wealth than is needed. Unfortunately man has not prospered despite the wealth-producing possibilities of the machine because he is so cursed by artificial scarcity due to the inability of the distributing system to function under the new regime of abundance. Hence we have technological unemployment, extreme poverty on one hand and extreme wealth on the other; hence imperialism and war on inflation and sabotage.

Mr. Colbourne then discusses the four factors in production; the worker who is only too anxious to produce wealth; the machine capable of producing more wealth than the world needs; the desires of man which are still unsatisfied and the credit system or finance without which production cannot be undertaken. The cause of the trouble, according to Mr. Colbourne, lies in the fact that the worker receives less in wages than he produces. Hence he cannot buy all he needs. This necessitates getting rid of the surplus and that leads to imperialism and war. Having followed the Marxian analysis thus far, does he draw the conclusion that the way out for the workers lies in the ownership of the machine? On the contrary, he opposes nationalization and suggests instead the adoption of the credit scheme of Major Douglas which has been rejected by the British Labor Party. In a word, he maintains that as long as the banks have a monopoly of credit and can control production and levy constant tribute upon it, the worker will suffer. Hence he advocates public control of credit to keep production going and to enable the worker to buy the wealth he creates and needs.

Mr. Colbourne then gives a detailed and admirable analysis of the productive system. He shows how the employer borrows from the bank to pay A (wages and dividends) and B (capital costs such as interest, raw materials and overhead). The employer must sell his articles for a price which will be equal to A plus B plus profit. As the worker has only A, and that part of B which is spent as A, he cannot buy the wealth he has created. To get rid of the surplus, the employer must export or borrow more money from the bank to create a still larger surplus, thus intensifying the difficulties confronting the employer and his workers. Hence the struggle for markets, inflation, or sabotage, or war.

To eliminate the control of our economic life by those who control the credit of the world and levy tribute upon the masses and use the government as a tool to advance their selfish needs, he suggests that the government take over the control of credit and base it upon the productive possibilities of the nation. His method is to sell the goods at less than cost, the government to keep a national credit accounting system and to pay the producer the difference between cost and selling price as a national dividend on the basis of the following ratio: the price of the goods is to bear a ratio to cost as the national consumption bears to national production. This is the method, in brief, by which the worker is to become part owner and master of the machine. Intriguing, isn't it? Put this into practice, and, according to Mr. Colbourne, you wipe out the class struggle, you make the poor rich and the rich richer; you eliminate the "reds" and their national-

ization schemes! Messrs. Catchings and Foster have found company at last! The millennium is here.

Abraham Lefkowitz.

### Poetry of Today

There are many ways in which a poet may win the appellation of a poet of our times. Eccentricity of manner, such as the word bailing of Bodenheims, or the letter-juggling of lower-case Cummings, is a bit outmoded, already; but freedom of treatment of sex, in many startling (the writers hope) or cynical ways, or a generally impudent air, is still enough to win the epithet "modern." It is, however, becoming increasingly evident that the poet who sincerely and deeply is to catch the spirit of our time, must be equipped with more than sensitivity; he must be a scientist. Whether it be the "exact" sciences, or in the still hazier fields of social "science," the poet must somewhere have sought an understanding of what the age is reaching toward.

Wade Oliver, whose "Sky-Rider" (Moose Press, \$1.50) has just appeared, is Professor Bacteriology at the Long Island College Hospital. He who comes close to nature, in any aspect, is likely to find kinship when he turns to other sides of her rich being; although the poems in this volume have (of course) no direct bearing on medicine, there may be some connection between their clean, their lean directness and the writer's work. The poet-laureate of England is a physician; Keats was a drug clerk; Shelley was so interested in science at college that (before he was expelled for his essay on atheism) the students used to call him "Stinker Shelley."

These are the minds that call to mine: Lean spirits seeking the divine, Lean minds that lighten through the mirk, And fly at truth's heart like a dirk!

While the "dirk" image suggests a treatment of truth not intended by the minds that fly at it, there is a spirit behind the words that indicates the concern for life, beyond word-balancing and phrase-juggling, which specialisation (with its implication of knowledge in at least one field) is like to give. In "You say, my friends," the poet indicates the possibility of carrying science to the point where it may destroy poetry. This, too, is a danger half-knowledge is more likely to arouse. When more of our poets are also scientists, we shall have better poetry.

Joseph T. Shipley.

### Printed Plays

Two of the better plays of the season are before me in their printed form: "The Front Page," that swift story of newspaper life by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur (dedicated to Madison and Clark Streets, Corvick-Friede, \$2), and the dramatic cartoon Channing has made in "Mr. Moneybags" (Brentano's, \$2). The first of these dramas is a tempestuous surge of newspaper men, caught in the midst of a murder story; one of the reporters is trying to get married and go straight—quit the profession. The manner in which the murder case and the big man at the city desk hold him, drag him willy-nilly back into the work, makes what would be a rapid farce if the murder and quest of the killer did not make it speedily melodrama. Every newspaper man feels toward his job (so runs the theory) as toward a wife, in the proverbial sense: he cannot live "or with her or without"; and the final grasp that keeps the bridegroom reporter in the game is a typical newspaper trick—ask any newsmen when he's in the mood for romancing.

Mr. Pollock's play needs the stage, for it is a broad and inevitably obvious cartoon that he draws in "Mr. Moneybags," the god of our day, greed of gold incarnate. We may suspect the author's philosophy of a tendency toward the "slave-religion," preaching, in its implications at least, acceptance of things as they are.

### The Teachings of Tolstoi

Continued From Page Four

of unity with those who are forced to do manual labor all the time, and partly for the sake of humility and training of character.\* Working with others and for others, reveals infinitely more truth than pondering in solitude. By actually doing work on a machine, one learns its purpose and mode of action better than by idly watching it. So working with others one can understand them and be useful to them much more than pitying them or preaching to them.

3. Strive towards perfect non-resistance. Give your time, money, sympathy, knowledge, skill, or any other thing that you may possess, to the needy who ask for it, to the limit of your endurance. If something unjust is asked of you, refuse firmly, but do not resist by force. Voice the truth, remonstrate with the offender, appeal to his better nature, and show him that he will be better off in the end by not forcing you against your will.

4. Take an uncompromising attitude against nationalism, patriotism, imperialism, war, and preparation for war. Recognize your nationality only to indicate the place of your residence and the language which you speak. Refuse to go to war or to contribute to it in any manner whatsoever. In times of peace martyrdom may seem fanatical, but once war has been declared, urge others to desert, and go to prison rather than to participate in killing others, directly or indirectly.

(\*) With that unerring artistic sense for strong effects, Tolstoi makes one of his most beautiful and powerful appeals in "The Power of Darkness," a caustic cleaner, guided by the same true sense of duty and service, the great Hindu leader, Gandhi, voluntarily spent his time during an All-India Congress cleaning latrines.

5. Live in accordance with the truth as you see it today. Voice and practice it fearlessly, be absolutely sincere with yourself and with others, and search diligently. Then you shall see more truth and higher truth, and you will emerge gently to a higher level. Cultivate intuition and listen to the still inner voice, for import: universal truths are not discovered by intellectual study; this would be untrue to the simple and the lowly. Abstain rigorously from liquor, tobacco, narcotics, and other soothing or exciting influences, for no matter what men claim as a reason for their use, the real reason is a desire to still the voice of their conscience. In other words, instead of seeking soothing or exciting experiences, walk through life with your conscience constantly "tuned," constantly on the alert to receive a message, be it from the source of all life making an idea clear to you or from a brother seeking succor.

6. There is a great probability of some ultimate mysterious ends in the life of humanity, ends which cannot be expressed now in human terms, but in accordance with which anyone may live by being simple and pure of heart. This is individual immortality. Collective immortality of humanity is taken care of in the succession of generations and their problems. For this reason, do not condemn your neighbor, for he is a mysterious tool of destiny just as you are. Do not be satisfied to love your enemies; rise to a level where you can have no enemies. Walk in a wide road, with plenty of room for others to walk in their own way and at their chosen speed. Have sympathy with all, and rejoice in the variety of human types, temperaments, aims and experiences.



"The Fairy Shoemaker," drawn by Boris Artzybasheff for his book of that name published by MacMillan.

without regard to material aggrandizement; but if we ignore the philosophy implied and consider the facts presented, we behold a strong indictment of a society in which greed dominates, and money is the goal, the standard, the need of most of us. The devices by which this familiar idea is made dramatic are such that performance gives decupled power to the theme; but even in the reading the manner of presentation catches enough hold on the imagination to make the book vivid and strong.

### A Vivid Life

Biography, these days, has taken many queer twists; although the old-fashioned, dry-as-dust, erudite tomes still appear (witness Goldberg's travesty of them, on Menckel), the idol-smashing, gossip sort are more likely to rise with the foam of the tide of popularity. The "reference" and "commentaries" listed by Homer Wilson before "The Life and Private History of Emily Jane Brontë" (A. & C. Boni, \$3) indicate a more original method of working—one, as a matter of fact, that suits the material, for Miss Wilson must build her heroine entirely out of literature. The poems and stories of Emily, and the no less fictional letters of Charlotte, are the basis of this reconstruction, which is made so effectively that, however true—and none can check how true—the portrait is to Emily, is constantly stimulating and always alive.

### Economics and Reason

If the new science series published by W. W. Norton & Co., have for their purpose the presentation to the ordinary reader the discoveries, conclusions and trends of science, then the book of Mr. Florence (Economics and Human Behavior by P. Sargent Florence, W. W. Norton & Co. \$1.00), fails to meet the requirements since it is too scholarly and above the grasp of the average reader. According to the author, orthodox economists attempt to explain production and exchange by a rigid application of the law of supply and demand, showing that behavior is the result of reasoned calculation; that is, balancing human wants against human effort. This position is attacked by the social psychologists, who object to the "a priori" assumption of an economic man who reasons before he purchases. Instead, the social psychologists posit a behaviorism man dominated by instincts which determine his economic activity. Mr. Florence feels that both positions are untenable, especially the psychological assumptions.

### SOCIAL PROGRESS

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## THE CHATTER BOX

HERE I have been sitting for over an hour, and nothing coherent has formed itself out of a plethora of thought and theme. I should write a Christmas poem. Something about a sardonic Christ leaning over a cash register in a department store, something about a Christmas carol in which the clink of coins, the babel of bargain hunting, and the unctuous rant of the clergy intermingle with the bedlam of the Stock Exchange; something about the Prince of Peace, and the building of cruisers; something in which the wise Magi of the East follow a star only to find that it leads to a hovel in which a starving miner's brood is being increased by one more unwelcome starveling.

The poem does not shape itself into any sort of continuity. The emotion behind its concept allows for no rhyme or measure. A raucous snarl—a nasty cynicism sneers at any attempt to create it. I yield to chaotic prose.

And yet there is a spirit of gaiety and cheer about the season that is too universally observed for my own bitter mood to ignore. Millions of folks believe and buy and give and receive. There is just one bit of idealism, one touch of godliness for all of them concentrated in a week.

This hurrying hurry, this massed attack on merchandise, this fierce resolve to know a moment's thrill through giving, must be respected. And for all of our clairvoyance, for all the sheer knowledge we have about the sordid mechanics behind the organized orgy of spending, it were best to watch the uncontrollable nonsense go on in its ancient manner, and do nothing.

In other years, I have written with audacious ink against the stores for overworking their employees during the Christmas rush. This year I shall have less to say. Acrimonious phrases still stir to my lips. The inhumanity of profit-making still aches before my sight, and the stupidity of the stampeeded thunders through my senses. But I will restrain any utterances. I have learned by now how ineffectual and ridiculous are one man's exhortations, against the tumult of a multitudinous madness.

I suppose you will find me doing my Christmas shopping late. I, too, will add an ounce of additional weight upon the burdens of the workers who suffer this holiday outrage at the expense of body and soul. Perhaps a sadistic fury will impel me through the thronged aisles and by the heaped counters. My eyes will be full of knotted whips. I will lash out on all sides, stripping their souls until they bleed with greater pain and weariness. All the time, I will be shouting to their unheeding spirits. . . . "Fools, slaves, willing, hunger-driven imbeciles. . . . sell me, sell us all. . . . knick-knacks, toys, silks, cottons, furs, baubles. . . . sell us anything, everything. . . . wrap and pack, tie them up in paper, painted paper, with holly and ribbons and wreaths. . . . for Christ's sweet sake, sell, sell, sell. . . . there will be overtime money. . . . the season is short, and there must be no stock left!"

And you will note that I am not saying one word about their employers. This year, for some still unexplained reason I feel no enmity towards them. This will only last through the week. In fact, it is quite certain, that when all the insanity is done with, I will arrive at my old patience and love for the men and women who must go through all these indignities of struggle in order to live.

Sometimes when I take the subway during the rush hours, this same Simon Legree emotion overwhelms me, and I hear the jam and outrage of riding the cattle cars with gloating glee. "Good, good for you," my inward tongue snaps out at them. "Even this is better than you deserve; you ought to be knocked down flat and piled to the ventilators, like so many boards, like so much fodder in a freight train. . . ."

Christ, I have seen carloads of steers, and calves and sheep on their way to the slaughter pens. But even these low things, these hopeless creatures have a way of moaning or bleating in their dumb misery. They even butt their heads against the boarded railing in attempts to escape.

But down there in the underground hell on wheels, men and women, and boys and girls rush through turnstiles after paying admission, and willingly find themselves into a packed chaos of personal degradation. And never a moan, or a bleat. Never an attempt at protest.

To bring all this in at Christmas, is not at all Christian or humane. The proper thing to do right now is to forgive all enemies, pray for good will on earth, and buy presents for friends. And I suppose, after I have had this embittered fling, the proper thing will be done—by me.

It is just this form of inconsistent conduct, that makes us mortal rebels so romantically useless. In reality, the failure to impress our dreams upon mankind with any lasting effect, traces itself back to the fact of inconsistency. We have long ago learned that mere logic is a delirious enjoyed only by the academicians. Emotion is the sole lever with which the mass is ever lifted out into some sort of energy. And emotion is the very breath and nerve of inconsistency.

Strange indeed, that in our eternal efforts to liberate mankind from one form of bondage or another, we have never been able to follow the route and rule of our theory long enough to succeed. Even the most inexorable, the Russian revolutionaries, tottered and flopped grievously before a reversion to emotional paradoxes. I suppose that is the only way in which to explain why every radical movement predicated upon a preamble of philosophic consistency, breaks itself up into ineffectual sections of fatal antagonism.

I started in by noting how distorted all my thoughts were before the typewriter to-night. And if I have wandered in this writing, it has been because there is so much to say, and so little space or time to say it with any regard for the syntax of unity. Especially with the holiday season making so much disturbance outdoors. And with so much explainable foolishness and lunacy dangling on the tree of life in decorative profusion.

And lest I wander any further into an inextricable jungle of harangue, let me just pause here long enough to conventionally wish you all a Merry, Merry Christmas. I say this in all sincerity if my wishing will make you the happier for it. Although deep, deep in my heart there keeps calling out to all the slaves of toil the voice of reproach, the song of revolt.

Peace on Earth, good will unto men. . . phrases, sleek, meaningless phrases as long as so many millions have no peace of mind against to-morrow, and good-will is a commercial name that lists itself only among the money-measured matters that are called Assets in a world where Business is King, Saviour and Lord of Hosts.

But again comes the inconsistency of an emotion to wish you all, A Merry Xmas. . .

S. A. de Wit.



# Artist and Scientist

*Author of "Wings Over Europe" Places Faith In Intellectual Leaders of Labor Party*

By McAlister Coleman

THE combination of artist and lover of science, of course, is a rare one. Add to this an eager interest in the progress of the labor movement here and abroad and you have a genius almost too good to be true.

But Mr. Robert Nichols, the co-author of the amazing Theatre Guild play, "Wings Over Europe," who embodies in a long, slender frame this ideal combination, is true. These eyes have seen him. These ears have heard him speak, "large, divine and comfortable words."

You come away from an interview with this astonishing young Englishman, your mind reeling a bit under the machine-gun fire of his wide-ranging ideas. You look at your notes and find that you have talked about Chekov and Clerk Maxwell, of Ramsay MacDonald and Don Juan, of Aldous Huxley and John Jay Chapman—of James Joyce and Calvin Coolidge, of Anglo-American relations and the breaking up of the atom. And of so many other exciting matters that you haven't the half of them down.

In other words you have met up with the unique experience of interviewing a live man. For, of course, it is the pontificating dead who give us ninety-nine out of our one hundred interviews.

## An All-Man Drama

In one moving play, Mr. Nichols has done two notable things. In "Wings Over Europe" he has given us drama without a woman in it. And he has gone ahead and trotted out on a New York stage a problem in physics which is causing uneasy nights for our most progressive scientists.

This is not a theatrical review. (May I urge you just in passing to hurry out and see Mr. Nichols' play?) It is an attempt to put down in cold black and white something of the vibrant color of a man who, I believe, will very shortly loom large on the horizon of such civilization as we have.

There is another and a rather top-loyal Englishman now in our tolerant midst, who is forever telling us that he is a European and hence "civilized." He hardly will be missed once the theatrical season is over. But if anything should happen to the quick artist of Robert Nichols, the world would be the poorer.

The other biographical facts about Mr. Nichols are not half-rising. He is hair-raising. He is thirty-six years old and married. He served with the gunners during the war and came back heart-sick over the destruction of young genius that he had seen in France. "A whole generation uselessly wiped out," says he. He fell into the sympathetic hands of Sir Henry Head, whom he regards as one of the greatest present-day neurologists. It was Sir Henry who introduced him to Maxwell and the works of Pascal and the other eminent scientists and got him to reading Goethe—"the last world poet to have command of science," remarks Nichols.

## A Lapse in Hollywood

"Arduous and Endeavors" and "Aurelia," his first books of poems made the critics sit up. And then he wrote a book of prose fantasies, "Fantasies" and here and there in England and America folks began saying that something new and fine was coming from the pen of a young English chap named Nichols.

The University of Toledo had him over to Japan to lecture on English literature and on his way home recently he stopped off at (God save the mark) Hollywood and wrote a scenario. But we won't go into that.

In the official biography of Nichols which appears in the program of the Theatre Guild, it is written: "He admits to sleeping as his greatest recreation." Thinking this a singularly fatuous admission for so wide-awake a person I asked him about it and he said:

"Oh, yes. You see when I am asleep the characters in the play or poem which I am writing come and talk to me. Right

now I'm working on a Don Juan drama and not so long ago the old Don himself came and talked with me, in couplets, too, by the way." And to prove it, he strode up and down the room reciting some of the Don couplets. And they were damned good couplets, too. Never before had I appreciated what sleep can do for a creative artist.

Robert Nichols is on what Wells once called, "The Research Magnificent." Like a whole generation of young folk he is seeking to find his soul. And having found it neither he nor they will "easily contented" (to quote him again) "with gin and jazz and physical pleasures."

In the course of this research he collects heroes.

**America Needs Doubt**

"We all owe humanity a life. You go down a street. A dead man has made that possible. You go to a symphony written by a dead man. You belong to a labor union made possible by some dead pioneer. We must cultivate heroes—the memory of great men who have been. It is a moral imperative. And once you have felt their greatness feeding you, you in turn must find your way of contributing your life to humanity. Take the matter of war that is so menacing today. What is its moral equivalent? It may

be the full expression of your own spirit or the elimination of the nearest slum. The times are black, but something there is that hopes. Europe must have more faith. America more doubt. In both countries the sense of values is despicable. The really great are not politicians. Politicians can in the nature of things only run up a building the foundations of which have been laid in the brain of a solitary man. Our youngsters don't flock to church these days, because there lived an almost hysterical, nervous, old man named Darwin. The whole world is changed overnight because an obscure technician invented the internal combustion engine.

Of course, it's the coming generation of labor. It's the coming generation of the rank and file. But it isn't just chance that almost every intellectual in Great Britain is in the British Labor Party.

So a modern man looks at his world. Disillusioned perhaps about many things. But aware of what is going on in fields other than his own and still daring to hope for the further freeing of his spirit.

**THE NEW LEADER** boosters keep on the lookout for renewals.

Minnie McFarland of Oregon, is one of those who find that watching world gets results. She sends in 3 yearlies and says, "more later on."

James O'Neal laid down his editorial pen long enough to round up 7 sub.

## Young Circle News

(The Young Circle clubs have been formed by the Workmen's Circle to provide children of its members an opportunity for social and intellectual contacts in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement.)

### OUR FAMILY IS GROWING!

Mr. Eisner, chairman of W. C. Branch 130, is very proud of the new Intermediate Circle organized Dec. 12, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. A meeting of members and their children, Mr. Afros, director of the League, explained its aims. Two evenings later the Circle elected its officers. Bella Lifshitz was chosen Chairman; Juliet Cross, secretary; Ben Grossman, treasurer; Henry Lifshitz and Ben Grossman were elected delegates to the Central Committee. The program consisted of a talk by Ben Grossman on the Bolivia-Paraguay situation. Discussion followed. The next meeting will be held Friday, Dec. 21, at the Labor Lyceum.

Circles are also being organized in Bensonhurst and in Rockaway.

### MUTUAL AID

A member of one of the Senior Circles, a young man of 19, who is seriously ill with consumption was in danger of becoming a charge of charity, owing to the poverty of his parents. The members promptly rallied to his aid. They have arranged a program. The proceeds will be used to save the life of their destitute comrade! Committees are visiting various organizations. Help them help one another!

### GYMNASIUM

A few score members of Greater New York reported for gym practice Saturday afternoon, at the Washington Irving High School. Hy Kaplan, in charge, announced that the gym can accommodate many more. Registration is still open from 2-4 for girls and 4-6 for boys. There will be no gym Dec. 29.

### GLEE CLUB

The Glee Club, under the direction of Mr. Posner, began work last Sunday at 1:30 at the Rand School. The club elected Louis Molloy, chairman and Nettie Jacobson, sec-treas., and decided to charge a 25 cents membership fee for the season. The next meeting will be held Sunday, Dec. 23, at 1:30 sharp.

### AT THE BRONX CENTER,

1103 Boston Road

Last Sunday evening the clubs of the Bronx Center heard a debate between two New York University teams on the abolition of the jury system. At the end

of the debate the audience, by secret ballot, chose the affirmative as the winners. The chairman, Jack Zuckerman, expressed the appreciation of the audience to the two teams and to their professor of public speaking, who was present.

Prof. Tartak will lecture on "Tolstoy, writer and social thinker," Sunday, Dec. 23, at 4 p.m.

A Masquerade Party and Dance will be held at the Center on Saturday evening, Dec. 29. Prizes will be awarded to the most original costumes. Members from other circles are invited.

### IN THE JUNIOR CIRCLES

The Junior Circles are busy preparing for their Christmas Eve party at the Rand School. Each circle will provide a part of the program. A few circles are preparing original skits. Dancing and refreshments are also on the program. Mr. Afros will award the banner which was won in last year's oratorical contest to the Alces (Chum) Circle.

The East Flatbush Circle is busy preparing its magazine. Cohen, the editor, says it will be the envy of the League.

The first debate in the Junior Tournament was held Sunday, Dec. 16, at 11 a.m. at the home of Alces, 190 McKibbin st., Brooklyn. "Resolved, that the U. S. recognize Soviet Russia" was the subject. The affirmative was taken by Sarah Dubin, Anna Melcher and Abe Aganovitch of the Alces. The negative was taken by Abe Yornack and Sidney Paley of East New York. J. L. Afros and Hy Kaplan were the judges. The decision was in favor of the East New York Circle.

The New Jersey Juniors, meeting at 351 York Ave., Jersey City on Fridays, has a new leader—Mr. Rosenthal.

The annual dramatic contest will take place Saturday, Jan. 5, at 7 o'clock, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St. New York. All clubs must send the name of the play, characters and director to S. J. Slotkin, 305 Stuyvesant Ave., Brooklyn.

### COMING EVENTS

The Youth Committee will meet Wednesday, Dec. 26, Circle 5 Seniors of West New York will see "The Cherry Orchard" at the Civic Repertory on Thursday, Dec. 27. The next Junior Circle will be held Sunday, Jan. 6, 10:30 at the Forward Building, 175 E. Broadway. Reserve Jan. 27 for a big League Event! SPECIAL NOTE—All news to be included in this column must be in not later than Monday at 5 p.m.

Send all communications to director Young Circle League, 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C.

A department of news and views of particular interest to the women of the Socialist Movement.

## THE WOMAN SOCIALIST

### Women Socialists Abroad

WHAT follows will, I am sure, interest the readers of the New Leader, especially the women. It shows the various activities of the Socialist women in different parts of the world. Some of the things they are doing, and trying to accomplish for the benefit of the ordinary worker. We can well afford to learn a lesson or two from our comrades abroad. It is not impossible.

### EIGHTH SOCIALIST WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN POLAND

Sept. 23rd and 24th the women of the Polish Socialist Party held their annual Conference in Warsaw. According to "Glos Kobiet" (Women's Voice), the monthly magazine of the women Socialists, 60 delegates from 19 towns took part in the Conference. The Chair was occupied in turn by Comrades Kluzyńska, Markowska and Wozniakowska. Comrade Kluzyńska submitted a report on the political situation. After a thorough discussion, the following resolution was adopted:

"I. The VIIIth Women's Conference of the Polish Socialist Party declares its agreement with the decisions of the National Council of the Party concerning the maintenance of opposition to the present system of Government which is based not on the will of the people but on the authority of Marshal Pilsudski.

2. The Conference emphatically protests against the attempts of the Government to curtail the rights guaranteed to the people by the Constitution.

3. The Conference demands uniform self-government for the whole of Poland.

4. The Conference draws attention to the danger of a split in the labor movement.

After hearing a report by Comrade Pienus on Poland's economic situation, the Conference decided to draw attention to the increasing exploitation of the working class and particularly of women and children.

The wages of the women workers amount to only 50 per cent and those of a juvenile worker to from 15th to 1-3rd of the wages of an unskilled adult male worker. Abuse in connection with apprenticeship is on the increase. The Conference therefore calls for a campaign in favor of the control of production by the working class, for increased wages, for equal pay for both sexes (equal pay for equal work), for the establishment of minimum wages, for old-age insurance for the establishment of creches, for the construction of cheap dwellings, for the abolition of the housing tax on small dwellings, and the raising

of the income tax limit.

On the question of family reform the Conference adopted the following resolution: "A Social-Democratic Bill must be submitted to the Sejm for the protection of children born out of wedlock (providing for the right to establish paternity and to claim maintenance from the father), for the punishment of fathers who desert their families, for civil marriage and divorce throughout Poland, for the protection of children against brutal or immoral parents, and for the assistance of poor families."

The Conference also considered the problem of the care of juvenile criminals and the drink question. The Conference concluded by adopting a resolution in especially emphatic terms, drawing attention to the necessity for raising the moral level of party members, this being the only means of preserving the unity of the movement and the purity of its ideas. The Conference noted the bad effects of clerical influence on working men and the necessity of bringing women workers into the trade union organizations.

### WOMEN'S DISARMAMENT IN HOLLAND

The women Social Democrats of Holland since their return from the Brussels International Conference of Women, have begun an extensive campaign in their country on behalf of the disarmament. The campaign opened with an eloquent and inspiring article in "The Women's Disarmament Month" by Comrade Wibaut, published in "Het Volk," the Dutch Social-Democratic paper. Demonstrations, large and small, have been held in 78 places throughout the country. In Amsterdam and The Hague processions of women were organized, while public meetings were held in a number of places. At the same time the Disarmament Month was devoted to canvassing for Socialism and was everywhere a great success.

### A SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT WOMEN'S PAPER IN GREECE

Comrades of all countries will rejoice at the progress announced by the women parties of Greece. Since October they have had their own paper, published in Athens under the title "Socialist Life" and edited by comrades Athina Gae-lan-Vanalis and Marie Botai, both known in the international movement. The first number included an introduction, articles on "Our Aims and Objectives" and by Dr. Marfion Phillips (England) on maternity, on "The History of Our Movement," on Be-

"The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism" (by Edith Kem-nis), and on our "Programme."

### PROGRESS AMONG SLOVENE WOMEN WORKERS

On October 14th, the Second Congress of the Federation of Working Women and Girls was held in Ljubljana, nine local groups being represented by 11 delegates. The Congress was also attended by a representative of the Provincial organization of the Yugoslav Socialist Party.

The organization has in recent years organized a number of meetings, conferences and lectures for women. The women Socialists publish their own paper "Zenski list" ("The Women's Paper"). Comrade Rakovecova submitted a report on the political situation. Comrade Rakovecova one on birth control. Comrade Adjskova on the legal protection of women and the cooperative movement. Surely, no one can read the above without a feeling of envy! Everywhere the Socialist women seem to know what they are about. The life there is interesting. The women Socialists in Poland, in Greece, in Yugoslavia! Meeting, conferring, proclaiming, writing everything that makes for a lively movement is contained therein. Some day we Socialist women in America will have a chance to be heard on matters concerning women and children, and as in years gone by have even a paper of our own!

At the general New York City party meeting last week Eleanor Levinson reported for the New York Women's Section of the Socialist Party. Judging by the enthusiastic reception given her remarks, the men comrades are glad that women are stirring. Last week I spoke of the plans which were accepted by the women's meeting. I spoke of the importance of enlisting the interest of women in our organization. How to carry these plans out are now discussed by the Executive Board of the Section. To begin with, letters are to be sent to wives of the prominent Socialist men. They, also are not yet members of the party, they will be invited to join, and in this task we ask the full co-operation of the husbands in question. Let propaganda, if it is necessary, begin at home before we mount the soap box! It is disappointing to say the least, to hear so many of the men comrades urge others to join the party, but are quite content to let their own wives enjoy the glory they themselves are enjoying.

F. M. N.

# AMUSEMENTS

## The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### Civilization Falls.

IN "Wings Over Europe," the new Theatre Guild play at the Martin Beck, Robert Nichols and Maurice Brown apply a unique test

to civilization, and find it wanting. A poet, and a dreamer who has worked to make his visions actual, the two infuse into their most novel theme an intensity that force it along at white heat, and with the excellent all-male cast and the moving direction the Guild supplies, make poetic symbol, at once, and stirring drama.

Joseph T. Shipley

Francis Lightfoot, most distinguished scientist of Great Britain, in the tomorrow that is the drama's setting, discovers the secret of the atom—how to transmute its electrons, how to harness its force. This, of course, means a complete revolution of mankind's living, much more so than the British Cabinet to whom he reveals his secret can at first recognize. When the world-shaking nature of his control breaks upon them, the first impulse is to harness it to conquer the world for England. When Francis, the modern counterpart of "Stinker" Shelley, poet and lover of beauty and truth, insists on a program that will permit all mankind to benefit by his discovery, they pass a resolution urging him to destroy his formula and apparatus. Overwhelmed by the greed and cowardice thus revealed by this, the most representative body of mankind's elect, this new savior of men decides to destroy his power—and all the spoiled human race—nature's failed experiment—along with it.

Brute force conquers the scientist, alert as he is in time to stave off the disaster, but the movements of time are beyond human control; as with most great inventions or scientific discoveries, the same secret has been found independently, elsewhere, and the curtain falls with the Cabinet Committee, proven cowards, forced to face the issue they have just murdered to avoid. Mankind's answer, it is hard to foresee; but the answers of Prime Ministers have too often been given for us to doubt but that Lightfoot was wise.

Most delicately is the analogy between the council table and the table of the last supper of an earlier savior left to the imagination; with doubting Thomas, and Judas, limned for our taking. Alexander Kirkland plays the young scientist in the Marchbanks mode, a star-clear, star-hot temperament made to glow before us; of the many more, Ernie Lawford and Frank Conroy stand out by virtue of their parts than by their work, for the entire company gloves its roles. "Wings Over Europe" is one of the most valid fresh offerings of the Theatre Guild.

### Changing Spots.

The frequent plays of Edgar Wallace, in London, are at last represented here by "Sign of the Leopard," which he and Lee Shubert have brought to the National Theatre. It is a leisurely mystery play, for it unfolds through the casual character of Colly, a reporter for the "E. & S. Courier," who with most innocently accidental air manages always to be on hand at the crucial moment. Campbell Gullan, who staged the play, takes the role of this Scotch newspaperman with delightful ease, and drifts pleasantly through its well-complicated mazes.

The throw-back technique, which started the theatrical world in "On Trial," is cleverly employed to carry the story across, as the reporter is dictating it for a late edition. What the mystery is, 't would be unfair to reveal. Suffice it to say that the murderer is not, naturally, not the man who must marry the girl, and even his criminal record is safely erased before the final curtain... that, incidentally varies from the American style close by failing to show the hero wrapped in the hero's arms as it fails to fail. But all the elements of stir and stimulation are present, as well mixed as once was your favorite cocktail. Or, if you prefer your excitement less liquid, as clear as a leopard's spots.

### "Shouting Jailbirds"

The following is a letter sent to the dramatic editor by the New Playwrights: "I wish to bring to your attention a number of excerpts from the reviews of SINGING JAILBIRDS."

"Robert Garland of the Telegram referred to the 'intelligent direction of Em Jo Bashe.' Bruce Gould of the Wall Street News thought the play 'strikingly and effectively produced.' Allison Smith of the World said 'they have grouped the figures and symbols of Sinclair's play with a skill which is amazing.' The Times said it was an example of 'skillful organization and direction.' And Richard Lockridge of the Sun said that 'Em Jo Bashe, Manuel Esman, Nancy Root and the rest who are responsible for direction and scenery and costumes and the like have done the job surpassingly.'"

"Practically every New York critic praised without reservation the direction of SINGING JAILBIRDS while damning the social implications of the drama. You, on the contrary, said almost nothing about the play itself and damned the direction."

"The situation is extremely interesting. The aesthetes on the metropolitan papers hate our politics and like our methods. The reviewer for what is supposed to be a labor paper pays no attention to our politics and gets transcendental about our technique. You, as a Socialist, called

in your duty. It was your business to defend us against the attacks of the bourgeois critics. Instead you went them one further, and found nothing good to say about the only radical theatre in America."

"Why does the dramatic critic for a labor paper say nothing about the labor implications of SINGING JAILBIRDS? Why does the dramatic critic for a labor newspaper say that SINGING JAILBIRDS will appeal only to those who are initially sympathetic? Is it the business of a critic for a labor newspaper to worry about a non-labor audience?"

"An explanation is certainly due from you. I shall look for it in the columns of the New Leader."

The New Playwrights are impatient. I showed the Times review of "Singing Jailbirds" to the editor, and expected an editorial on the attitude of the bourgeois press; when lack of space forced its omission, I had more to say the following week.

The New Playwrights are modest. Their letter fails to mention that the Times called their staging of the play superior to that of the Theatre Guild's production of "Masse Mench." Upon Sinclair is perhaps too prominent at the moment to be wholly damned; and the condemnation of one aspect of his work (the social) seems more impartial when another phase (the technical, which is, conventionally, harmless) is given gracious word of praise.

The New Playwrights (and the "esthete" reviewers, who have much to learn of the radical theatre) are incorrect. The present production is much below Bashe's best, and can be improved in several particulars. I have already mentioned that the final vision of Red Adams would seem more real and poignant if placed in a jungle, and more complete if the radical minister were there. The various scenes of Red's dreaming—the Chinese lunch stand, for instance—would rise more effectively if they flashed suddenly out of dark, as they do in the hero's mind, instead of being rolled clumsily onto the stage while the audience watches.

In the solitary confinement scenes, when iron bars do not make a cage because Red Adams has freedom in his love of the cause and in his soul is free, a few bars bend in the middle and are slightly raised by wires; the whole cage should be lifted and by manipulation of lights seem almost to vanish in thin air. This would be better symbol, and at the same time would leave the stage clearer for the action; the cell-circle on the floor would keep in our minds the fact that all is a vision;—and the bars themselves could then be of firmer stuff, so that, when Red is in jail once more, and leans against them, they would not sag and tremble... I am deliberately refraining, in these comments, from adding my individual suggestions; every idea in this paragraph, for improving the production, was offered in conversation by one or more other radicals who have seen the play.

The New Playwrights are shortsighted. "Worry about those who are not initially sympathetic? Of course. Do not the New Playwrights believe in propaganda? Will they argue only with those who already agree? It has—until 'Oil' and 'Boston' broke through—been my constant complaint against the Socialist work of Sinclair, that the very ardor of his feelings limited his appeal, by making him seem prejudiced to all who are not ready to take his conclusions for granted. There is value, to a radical audience, in a play that works with the underlying assumption that radical theories are correct; there is greater value in a play that will make any thoughtful person admit something is radically wrong with our social system. The best propaganda is the whole truth."

The New Playwrights are, I trust, sadder than this expression that comes from their letter-head, though signed with a name not on their Board. In my review, I spoke of "The New Playwrights (keen of social vision) at the Provincetown Playhouse (bold in experimentation)." Sinclair's "Singing Jailbirds" is a play I am urging everyone I know to see. It is decidedly worth while, pre-emptive, still (and for many years, I fear) timely. But what sort of intellectual honesty declares that I "found nothing good to say about the only radical theatre in America," because the mere thought that it is radical did not hush me into reverent 100% hymn of praise, or roared me into a stalwart champion? Singing Jailbirds are dangerous fools, in any movement. The wise man tries, at least, to learn his limitations... Now go and see "Singing Jailbirds!"

### FLOWER-GIRL

"The Lady of the Orchids," from the French by E. Ray Goetz, now playing at Henry Miller's, avoids the usual flow of the bedroom farce by placing the bedroom scene as Act I. From this the play moves to the drawing-room. Peggy Hopkins Joyce, the picture of luxurious self-indulgence-of-naught, is faced at last with a problem that seems insoluble without sacrifice. She must give up either respect or love, for her little law student cannot support her, and for her to support him with money another man is giving her would be base indeed.

What is the way out? Oh, so simple! The "other man," instead of doing out his money, gives the lady enough in one lump to make her independent; then, with "her own money," she may honorably make off with her lover. It is all very distinctive, very frillidilly, and all that. The special moment of height, the climax of dramatic irony, is attained when the ardent lover asks the expensive doll, the tout-a-fait pretty parasite: "Have you ever loved in a garret? Contrast can go no farther."

## CIVIC REPERTORY

THEATRE, 14th St. at 6th Ave.

50c, \$1, \$1.50. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director

WEEK OF DECEMBER 24, 1935

Mon. Eve.—"Peter Pan."

Tues. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."

Wed. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."

Thurs. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."

Fri. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."

Sat. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."

Sun. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."

Mon. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."

Tues. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."

Wed. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."

Thurs. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."

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Sat. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."

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# NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

Editor: James O'Neal  
Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1928

## The Basis of Suppression

AN INTERESTING characteristic of certain excellent books which portray the tendency to stifle all independent thought in this country in science, politics, the drama and literature, and the brutal striking down of civil rights in industrial disputes, is the inability of the authors to relate this tendency to economic and social evolution. They appear to think that it is the result of pure cussedness on the part of officials rather than the expression of powerful forces at work changing the old American order. They seem to think that attention should be concentrated on the election of decent men and we will have no more of this autocracy.

But autocracy in the intellectual life of a people is the logical culmination of economic concentration of power. In the last twenty years of the old slave system there was an enormous concentration of economic power in the hands of a small fraction of the southern people. That ruling class could not permit criticism of its power. Its censorship extended to all phases of southern life. The members of this class were not "bad" men. They were normal human beings conscious of their power and interests. They ruled the social order. They were so few in numbers that they could not permit unrestricted freedom of writing, speaking and action. When in 1856 the author of one southern book urged the poor whites to organize for themselves he had to flee to save his life.

We are reaching that stage in social evolution in this country. The owners of finance and capital are supreme. They fear discussion. They will pay lip service to civil rights and always add "but"—Economic autocracy is certain to produce political autocracy with its features of intimidation, suppression, censorship and general abuse and misuse of public power. Its agents are not "bad" men. They are serving our ruling classes and doing what these classes want done. Class rule requires mass submission. Why be surprised when it appears?

Let's have more books revealing what is going on, but let us also have an intelligent interpretation of it in terms of economic and social change. What is more important, let us organize to wrest power from the upper classes before they have accomplished all their aims.

## Successful "Boring Within"

THE old phrase "boring within" in relation to the trade unions has special interest today. It has reference to outside organizations attempting to obtain union control but occasionally it has applied to union members themselves when they have engaged in honest efforts to make the unions more powerful and progressive.

If any organizations are alien to the trade unions it is those maintained by the employing classes. For 27 years employer organizations have been the chief organizations in the National Civic Federation. Professor Bonnett in his history of employers' organizations lists the Civic Federation as belonging to this type despite the fact that it includes some trade union leaders.

Now in all the discussion of "boring within" we do not recall any mention of "boring" in the trade unions by the employers' organizations, yet that "boring" is now nearly thirty years old. What is still more striking is the admission by the Civic Federation that the interests of capitalists and workers are in conflict. Professor Bonnett quotes its authoritative statement that "The interests of the two are not identical, because capital strives to obtain the largest return in labor for the least pay; while labor just as naturally strives to obtain the greatest possible pay for a given amount of labor."

Mr. Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the A. F. of L., is also acting president of the Civic Federation. Some months ago he fathered a report of the latter organization which condemned old age pensions. This is only one example of "boring within" the trade unions by employers' organizations. In recent years the spiritual decline of the unions and their general conservative outlook on many questions correlate with the views of the Civic Federation. "Boring within" by an alien organization, an organization dominated by employers' organizations, has been successful in the trade unions and the striking thing about it is that those among union leaders who are loudest in denouncing "boring within" have not raised their voices against this successful example of it.

Organized labor has reached a fearful stage when the employing classes can thus reach into the movement and influence its policies. Is it not natural,

then, that Ralph M. Easley of the Civic Federation should raise the cry of "Bolshevism" at the slightest tendency in a union to raise any question that offends his supporting employers and bankers? They have come to regard union practices and policies as their sacred property and this psychology is due to their success in "boring within."

## Our Expanding Utilities

HERBERT HOOVER'S visit to Central and South America is regarded by the public utilities crowd as an aid to their interests in that part of the world. Hoover has been an interpreter of the philosophy of this crowd and some of his speeches have been distributed by utility corporations. They regard him as a scout who is looking over the field to see what he can do for their "rugged individualism" when he takes the oath of office next March.

The chief American corporation with Latin-American properties is the American and Foreign Power Company, Inc., a subsidiary of the Electric Bond and Share Company. The countries included in the public utilities empire are Panama, Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela while certain properties in Chile and Mexico will come into their hands this year.

Here is a great and expanding interest extending over vast areas of territory and affecting millions of human beings. Considered in relation to other American investments in this field one gets some idea of the economic conquest of these peoples. One news story declares that in many of these nations "legislation will be required" to assist the programs of the utilities expansionists.

That item rounds out the story. Economic conquest brings with it the desire for legislation and this in turn leads to increasing interest in politics and control of the governments of these nations. Political supremacy follows economic power while the army and navy follow both when the interests of the American expansionists require it. Thus we reach imperialism for the masters and mobilize workers for a march into these nations when "duty calls."

## The Happy Overlords

FROM the haunts of Wall Street comes a mighty chorus of cheers as investors are about to cut some of the biggest "melons" ever raised by these "unremitting toilers," as President Coolidge would say. The financial page of the New York Times declares that the estimates made by these gentlemen are "that close to \$1,500,000,000 will be distributed in dividends and interest by corporations in January" and that the total will "far exceed any figures of the past." It is called a "record-breaking" distribution of interest and dividends to these "toilers."

Mr. Coolidge will please take note of this new evidence of "prosperity" which increases the "national income." The rest of us can join with Lord Calvin in rejoicing over what he calls "the charmed circle of diminishing expenditures, diminishing tax rates, and increasing profits." That is, we can rejoice if we think with him that enriching stock gamblers means more and better homes, shorter hours and higher wages, and lifting of mortgages from the acres of distressed farmers.

Here, indeed, is what is back of all the ballyhooing about American "prosperity." Our gamblers and speculators and absentee owners of industry, were never more prosperous in the history of the Republic. The great industries and the millions of workers constitute a gold mine to be plundered by a handful of the total population. No laboring class in all history ever yielded up more values to its overlords. The masters of Roman estates, the barons of the crags and the white exploiters of black bondmen in the South were mere pikers compared with our upper classes.

## Prosperity Notes

CHICAGO, Dec. 17.—Job gone, mortgage foreclosed, weighted with financial worry, James McCullough, 39, sought a tragic way out of his troubles yesterday by slaying his wife and one of his two small sons.—Brooklyn Daily Eagle.

William King, forty-three, was arrested Saturday night for snatching the purse of Mrs. Mamie Bleaderman of No. 791 Carroll Street. Police say he had a toy pistol in his hand. While he was being fingerprinted in the Bergen Street Station he collapsed from hunger. King was arraigned before Magistrate Steers in Flatbush Avenue Court yesterday morning and held without bail for a hearing to-morrow. The charge was grand larceny. The purse contained \$3.75.—The New York World.

TO THESE tragedies we might add similar ones reported from St. Louis, a mining town in Pennsylvania, and a number of other states. They point an accusing finger at the barkers for Coolidge "prosperity."

And note the New York case. A famished man with a toy pistol in his hand, evidence that he is not a criminal and that his hunger drove him to desperation. He falls in a faint while being fingerprinted and is sent to jail. Aye, the "majesty of the law" in all its rigor is applied to the famished man with a hungry wife and two children.

Doheny, Fall, Sinclair, Daugherty and Elder Hays, please stand up. Your prize was not a purse of \$3.75 and your fingerprints were not taken and you did not spend a single night in jail. Let's hear from you. And you, Mr. Coolidge. Yodel your symphony of "unprecedented prosperity." Mocking the homeless and the unemployed is your trade.

Our injunction to the labor lobbyists who want injunction legislation is that they should have thought of it before election day. It is always better to take than to beg and that is the difference between an old party vote and a Socialist vote.

Our readers who are enjoying the prosperity that has given Lord Coolidge such a thrill should lay their check books aside. The rumor that the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel is for sale is unfounded.

We are sure that the Republican politician in South Carolina who paid \$500 for a postmaster'ship and then made the receiver return the money at the point of a gun will agree that Socialism would "promote corruption."

The nonpartisan political policy of the A. F. of L. means that there is so little difference between the capitalist parties and their candidates that it is impossible to make a partisan choice between them. Is that correct?

THE NEW LEADER

## From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

### FOR A LIBERAL CHURCH

Editor, The New Leader:

This letter is written on my sole responsibility. It is not an appeal to the Socialist Party, but it is simply an appeal to individual Socialists who may be interested in a real bit of missionary work being done under the leadership of a comrade.

I am the founder and the pastor of Harlem's only liberal church. The American Unitarian Association on the official record of which I appear as an accredited minister is not enthusiastic over the venture. The responsible officials impress me as men who are not anxious to have Negroes lined up with radical movements, and the very uniqueness of the venture makes no appeal whatever to their matter-of-fact minds. I am the only colored Unitarian minister in America, and the little church of which I am the pastor is the only one of its kind in the country. But this unique nature of the experiment is not sufficient to open the exchequer of the Association. The officers will recommend the movement when it has grown! Therefore an appeal to outsiders is justified by its necessity. Maybe once again the Agnostics and the Atheists and other non-Christians will lead the way and in a practical manner demonstrate to the Christians that there is such a thing as the Brotherhood of Man.

My immediate need is that I should be able to devote all my time to the rebuilding of this movement which is not only a church but an educational center. If my color did not make it impossible for me to get employment compatible with the work of leading a liberal religious movement this appeal would be unnecessary; but as it is, the opportunities are limited to mental work, which in spite of all the talk about "no work degrades" hinders the dignified leadership which is demanded.

For six months I speak for the Socialist Party as a salaried speaker. This appeal is for a \$600 fund for the other six months. If I could be left free—not only free from mental work, but from financial worries—for five years, and thus be enabled to put in vigorous uninterrupted effective work, I believe that at the end of that time I should, with the assistance of the "higher-ups" of Harlem, whom at present I do not attract to my side for obvious reasons, have established a strong influential serviceable movement.

Then left thus free I could also in the winter months be used by the Party to speak before branches and forums who are not able to pay lecturers.

In spite of the need of money for distinctive Socialist work there may be 120 comrades scattered here and there who could spare an extra five dollars a year to help a unique experiment among a race who needs its emancipating influence beyond a doubt. And in helping such a work, in thus helping to neutralize the evil of superstition and religious fanaticism we would be ploughing a field in which the seed of Socialism would more easily and effectively be sown.

Will all comrades who are willing and able to contribute in aid of this work, please let me hear from them at once?

ETHELRED BROWN,  
428 St. Nicholas Ave.  
New York City.

Dec. 4, 1928.

### SMITH, "NEVER AGAIN"

Editor, The New Leader:

The election is over and The New Leader of November 24 is before me and I am much impressed with it. The Coolidge "Big Navy Address Reveals New Armaments Race" is very impressive. Also, that "New Political Party" and Norman Thomas Topics. In particular, the "Socialist Label" wherein Mr. Villard, of the Nation, wants to change the name Socialist. What other name could so well apply to the name Socialist? I have given much thought to the same thing, and as I think I find people who study dentistry become dentists, and people who study carpentry become carpenters and people who study printing become printers; and likewise, people who study the science of a better way to live—social science—naturally, become Socialists. I see no other name under heaven which may be used which would portray a more noble attitude toward society than the word Socialist.

I have met many Socialists who voted for Al Smith "just this time" "for expediency" and they all say "never again." From now on they are going to stick solid for Socialism. The man who smiles is the man who voted the Socialist ticket straight.

He says "what did I tell you!" And adds "I would rather vote all my life for what I want and not get it, than vote once for what I do not want and get it."

GEO. W. MOYLE.

Long Beach, Calif.

### A FARMER'S "PROSPERITY"

Editor, The New Leader:

I am getting the New Leader and enjoy it very much. I know I am in arrears on my subscription but will clear the debt soon as I have my crop of wheat to sell. It is very cheap. Only 50 cents per bushel, but will have to let it go before Hoover makes it less. So you see, we farmers are up against a hard proposition. If we have a good crop the price is down, and if we have a poor one, the farmer is down and out. However, will remit soon.

A. N. PIKE.

Ronohill, Wyo.

Tim Murphy is still going over the trails, blazed and otherwise, in Pennsylvania. When Tim arrives in town, subs are sure to follow.

SEND FOR ONE OF THE ATTRACTIVE PLACARDS FOR YOUR UNION. CLUB ROOM OR FAVORITE NEWSSTAND. THE PLACARDS ARE FREE. POSTAGE PREPAID.

## TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

### What Price A New Party

AT LAST election returns make it certain that the number of us who did not throw away our vote by voting Republican or Democratic when we thought progressive is less than toward the end of the campaign we had hoped. That the Socialist vote fell considerably short of the half million for which we had hoped in the early days of November is disappointing rather than surprising. The two outstanding reasons were, of course, lack of countrywide organization and propaganda prior to the campaign by the Socialist Party and the immense, largely emotional surge of sentiment for and against Smith which carried "I progressives" and even near-Socialists along with it. If anyone but Smith had been the Democratic candidate the situation would have been decidedly different. And I think some two or three million people might have voted Socialist. What that would have meant for building a new party is another matter. Such a vote would have carried a prestige both among our friends and our enemies which a small vote lacked. But at the same time it must frankly be said that Socialism or progressivism which can be turned into the old party camps on irrelevant issues by such a cheap price as Smith or Hoover offered is not deeply rooted.

From all sorts of sources we are getting advice, encouraging and discouraging, wise and otherwise, about the future of the Socialist Party and a new party movement. The Socialist name, we are told, is an impossible handicap. People are suspicious of a movement or a party which has not more rapidly attained success, etc. Large and somewhat contradictory generalizations are made concerning what the American people do or do not think, and do and do not want—generalizations which could only be tested by an inquiry as extensive and far more difficult to frame than the Literary Digest's famous straw vote. I repeat that I for one am not fighting for a name or even for a party, but for a cause. I am decidedly open to light on names. But there is more agreement among our critics that the name Socialist is a handicap than on any substitute for it. We have not only psychological but legal difficulties in the way of choice of a satisfactory new name. Anyway, a new name alone won't save us, as the history of many a radical political movement, not labelled Socialist, abundantly shows.

Important as some of these questions are, we cannot afford to do nothing until we thrash them out. The situation requires work. To guide our work I have tried to set down certain things that seem to me reasonably sure.

1. The external situation is propitious for the appearance of a strong and genuinely progressive political party. There is no leader or principle in sight to rejuvenate the Democratic Party, which, if it is to live at all in a national sense, will probably continue to live as the useful second car or maybe as a bridgehead said a mere "spare tire" for big business. More people than ever before realize this fact and the diffused interest in some sort of new party, especially since election, is amazingly great.

2. A repetition of the strategy that led to the LaFollette coalition in 1924 is not likely. While there is a real rank and file labor interest in independent political action, there is no sign that any considerable number of unions officially are ready to take up the work of organizing within the immediate future a new labor party.

3. The organized groups committed to independent political action are the Socialists with some sort of national organization and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party which is the second party in Minnesota and has a real desire to reach out and try to make a form of organization which has worked well in Minnesota work well in the national field. (The Communists do not want a political party except for what they call educational purposes and their present tactics make coalition with them impossible). There are other progressive groups, especially in the Mid-West, which are accustomed to acting together and might be drawn into an independent movement. These movements should get together if possible.

4. No progressive independent movement can be built on protest or mere discontent. It must have a constructive philosophy or, at least, a way of looking at our social life, and certainly it must have a program. Our progressive friends who are critical of Socialism or skeptical concerning its practicability would do a

real service by presenting their basis for common action and a positive program.

5. So far as the Socialist Party is concerned, it should, I think, be open-minded on the question of name and eager for constructive cooperation. Socialism in the broad sense is true in the world it should not be abandoned in America because certain conditions make its progress slow. Socialism must not be narrowly dogmatic and it must talk the American language. But it has a point of view on our common life and a sense of internationalism without which no progressive movement will get very far or deserve to get very far. It is my sober judgment that the Socialist Party has contacts in a great many parts of the United States and has done in the last campaign an educational work which will bring forth excellent fruit. The trouble in the campaign was that while we could persuade many people to believe that we were talking sound sense and expressing their own hope, after we had gone we had not the men nor the money to push organization, and what we had said was lost like some beautiful dream in the well organized and financed ballyhoo of the old parties. Where we had even rudimentary organizations working not for individuals but for the cause as in New York State and in Reading, Pa., we made a fair showing. If it is possible to send the right men or women into some score of cities a real work of organization, I am convinced, can rapidly be done. It is the business of the Socialist Party to do this, whatever other movements may develop or whatever later coalition may be possible. What Socialists did last year in Reading, Pa., they can now do in other towns and cities. In New York State alone municipal campaigns in Buffalo, Syracuse and New York should give us a chance for real service in 1929.

Of course, there is no device by which Socialists or Progressives of any stripe can easily and cheaply get a new party. The present situation is too delightful to the great property interests of the country for them to permit the rise of any strong opposition party without using all their powers of cajolery and, if necessary, coercion, against it. Yet the need of the American people and their attitude makes the situation by no means hopeless. Surely it is far more hopeful to think that we can build our own party than to think that we can indirectly influence the old parties or wrest one of them from their present owners to serve as an agency in establishing political and industrial democracy.

### AN IMPROPER APPOINTMENT

For thirty years Mr. Roy West has been connected with Insull companies as lawyer and stockholder. His wife and sister are still stockholders in these companies. Already as Secretary of the Interior (though his appointment has not yet been ratified by the Senate), he has had to consider the application of the Insull group for Cumberland Falls, Ky. Powerful arguments were advanced that the Falls are more valuable scenically than for power. Assuming that Mr. West is an honest man, what a plight he is in! If he decides for the Insull company everybody will believe that his decision was influenced, consciously or subconsciously, by his former connection with them. To decide against them he might reasonably feel that he was having to lean way over backwards. What an intolerable position for an honorable man! And what a commentary on Calvin Coolidge that he should have chosen this man for this post! Granting that his term is short, for the sake of the precedent as well as to prevent possible harm between now and March 4th we hope that the Senate will refuse to ratify this Cabinet appointment.

### HERBERT AND HUBERT

It may be true, as Dr. Hubert Work assured the Senate Investigating Committee that he did what he thought he was legally compelled to do when, as Secretary of the Interior, he renewed Sinclair's lease on the Salt Creek oil lands. Yet the ugly fact remains that Hoover's friend, formerly Secretary of the Interior, now chairman of the Republican National Committee, signed a lease which later on his colleague, the Attorney-General, said was invalid, a lease which cost the government a thousand dollars difference between what Sinclair paid and a higher bidder offered. On the very best interpretation of the facts, Dr. Work exercised little energy or ingenuity in the service of his country. If the efficient Herbert goes on using Hubert he'll have a lot of explaining to do.

## Sinclair Shows How

UPTON SINCLAIR sends in his renewal.

Carpenters' Union, 226, Portland, Ore., renews. "Just too good to be without," says Chas. Kolb, Secy.

"I find your paper a necessity," writes Irving Landor Bobrick, New York.

Meyer Paphal of Kings Highway Branch, Brooklyn, N. Y., marched in with 3 subs.

A renewal and a sub as a Christmas gift by Comrade Afros of Brooklyn.

One of the dependable is Edward E. Thompson of New Jersey. This week brings a check for \$5 for subs and the encouraging news that several new subscribers will soon be counted among the ranks of the boosters. Often it works out that way.

Not a day passes but what we receive several orders for Upton Sinclair's "Boston." The offer of a year's subscription to THE NEW LEADER and the powerful novel "Boston," (2 vols.), for \$5, is too good an offer to be overlooked. If you are a subscriber, make yourself a gift of this great novel and send the paper to a friend.

"I can think of no better gift than 'Boston,'" writes Abe Kleiman of Syracuse, N. Y. He adds that nothing could induce him to miss THE NEW LEADER and that he always looks forward to its coming.

C. T. Renshaw of Dallas, orders "Boston." THE NEW LEADER he orders sent to a local barber shop.

"Enclosed you will find \$2 for renewal to your valuable paper. The message of THE NEW LEADER was never more needed than at the present time." Rev. James Kelly, Indiana.

HEY, YOU YOUNGSTERS! Jacob Winnen, well known to the old timers in the labor movement, is getting along in years; he will be 84 in February, but he still has the pep of a true agitator. He has just been scouting for renewals in Chicago and sends in \$10 as a result of his efforts. He makes the good suggestion that in each locality there should be someone to go after the renewals.

"Enclosing \$2 for the best newspaper published in the U. S. Keep up the good work. It will bear fruit some day." A. Studer, Mass.

"Renew my sub," says T. J. Williams of California. He says that he has been working for Socialism for 30 years and wants the young people to get into the harness.

Dr. Julius Cornell of Brooklyn renews and orders THE NEW LEADER sent to a fellow physician.

Mrs. J. W. Gotschalk of New Jersey, takes advantage of the subscription "Boston" offer. Mrs. H. M. Hignet of Pennsylvania, does likewise.

Dr. H. T. Morehead, Kansas, orders "Boston" for himself and the paper for a friend. The list of those who have done likewise, is too long to print.

J. C. Williams of California, has the habit of sending a sub with his renewal.

N. Y. C. NEWS STANDS WHERE THE NEW LEADER CAN BE HAD AFTER DECEMBER 22nd  
URGE YOUR SUBSCRIBER TO GET HIS COPY FROM THE STAND MOST CONVENIENT

Martine News Stand  
N. W. Corner Barrow & Bleeker Sts.  
Steeple  
1218 Lexington Ave.  
L. T. Labien  
Grand Central Station, 42nd St.  
Wolfson  
N. W. Corner 42nd St. & 6th Ave.  
Newsdealer  
N. W. Corner 38th St. & 6th Ave.  
A. Zam  
N. W. Corner Houston & Varick Sts.  
News Stand  
N. E. Corner 23rd St. & Broadway  
Gotho News Stand  
Front of Library Park across from  
Stern Bros.  
Berners News Stand  
Sheridan Square

## To Jesus

I  
Teach me, Jesus, I would be  
One with your simplicity.  
For our woes beyond denial,  
For the travail and the trial  
That we know no healing of,  
You have always one word: Love.  
In our discord and dismay,  
In the doubt that darks our day,  
Changeless, one soft word you give:  
By love only shall ye live.  
Teach me, Jesus, I would be  
One with your simplicity.

II  
A gift for Jesus  
On his natal day!  
What will it please us  
To give unto Jesus?  
What bright gift does he crave?  
A human breast. And tumble in  
All man's woes, as in a grave  
To quiet and grow humble in  
And flower as his all-love sees us.  
A gift from Jesus  
On the fatal day  
He died mankind to save.

III  
Give me your hand, Jesus, rebel,  
Brother,  
So concerned  
You left no pebble  
Unturned, to free roots whence joy might grow.

## On His Birthday

Brave lad, who always turned the other  
Cheek for the blow,  
Speak, that I may know.  
What when both body and soul are beaten blue  
By engine-strokes  
We cannot budge through  
To find the folk  
That ought to love us, as we should love them?  
When flowers they wear of gold,  
Have steel-thorned stem  
We hold?  
What when our wives  
Grow heavy, and the lives  
Of little laughing ones, whose bery  
Should blossom through long laughter  
Shriveled because gold flowers drink the sun?  
Fall, one after one?  
Against this evil is love still your sword?  
Give us the word we seek.  
Speak, Jesus, brother, Lord!

IV  
Tell me, Jesus, on the level—  
In my head the thoughts are swirled—  
Is he really god, or devil,  
He that wrought this world?

V  
Jesus, this is the only world we know.  
Put us not off with others; rather tell  
That there is each man's heaven and his hell  
As his own living makes the hours flow . . .  
Let not the few, for greed of pailty power,  
Set heaven beyond the rim of this world's dower.  
JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY