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A Weekly Newspaper
Devoted to the Interest
of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

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BOSS' SPIES INFEST BRICK UNION

TIMELY TOPICS

Norman Thomas

THE inventor of the automobile (whoever he was), on the day when he finally got his horseless carriage to go, invited friend wife to take a ride. She went. Some hours later, dusty and badly jolted, she was safely returned home.

"How did you like it?" said Henry—or whatever his name was. "Well," his wife replied, "Of course I'm proud of you, but don't you think somehow the machine could be made to go a little better, with fewer smells, jolts and stoppages?" "The idea," the aggrieved inventor replied. "We must have averaged fifteen miles an hour, and your grandfather with all his horses could never do that!"

What is wrong with this picture? You know the answer. No real inventor ever talked like that. No real inventor was ever content to compare his performance with the past. He judges it by the standards of his hopes and dreams. If Edison or Marconi or Ford or their disciples had ever talked like the man in my story, we should never have had the mechanical progress that leaves us bewildered with amazement.

Yet in the matter of social invention, change, or progress we are continually being reminded like the inventor's wife of how much better off we are under our present system than were kings and nobles in days of yore. Even the poor man, we are told, today can have a bathtub better than a king's in the days when Henry the Eighth was establishing a record in the matter of wives which a modern movie picture sheik might envy.

It is time to stop this business of the backward look in social matters. The real point of comparison is not that we are better off than our great grandfathers at a time when man's conquest over natural forces was just beginning. (Indeed, it may be a matter of dispute how much better off we are in terms of real happiness). The true comparison is between what we have accomplished socially and what we might accomplish socially: between our physical power to abolish poverty and the gross and shameful misery that persists among us. Once, to be a cliff dweller or a cave dweller was the best that man could do. That millions of men and women and children in this age of power should live in the cliffs of New York's tenements and the caves of other great industrial centers, is a disgrace to our humanity and a reproach to our social inventiveness.

The Failure To Manage Coal

This utter failure of social inventiveness is nowhere more apparent than in our treatment of the coal chaos out of which so much suffering arises for workers and consumers alike. It is generally assumed, even by liberals who are no lovers of the coal barons, and by many labor leaders themselves, that nationalization and public control of the mines is impossible. In part this conviction is born of deliberate propaganda by great interests, which propaganda conceals and misrepresents the many successes of public ownership. In part it is born of a justifiable fear of the kind of nationalization we would get under either of the two old political parties. We look at the unsatisfactory machinery of politics and bureaucracy and instead of saying, how can we improve this machinery, we say, "Oh, it won't work," and let it go at that.

Now the demonstrated fact is that private ownership won't work. It could conceivably be improved in the case of the coal mine. But it is in the nature of things impossible to treat a great natural resource which no man made as private property operated for profit, either under a competitive or monopolistic system, and get results satisfactory to consumers or workers. The private owners are bound to think first of their own profit. They cannot plan properly for the public good. They are bound to divert as large a sum as possible to their own pockets at the cost of low wages to the producers, or high prices to consumers, or both. There is no getting around this logic, which is abundantly supported by the history of coal mining and all public utilities.

On the other hand, public ownership is free to plan for the public good and to eliminate the element of private profit, thereby creating an opportunity to reward the workers at a lower price to the consumers. What hinders us is bad social machinery. So long as the workers leave the government in control of big business with corporation lawyers on the judges' bench, a lot of political hacks in Congress, trust magnates Mellon in the Treasury Department, and Wall Street's pal, Cal, in the White House, we can be reasonably

(Continued on page 3)

PROGRESSIVES IN CONGRESS LOSE OUT

Tactics Fail to Win Material Gain — Berger Will Fight On

By Marx Lewis

Washington. WITH every advantage gained in the last Congress, when the Progressives had a sufficient number of members to hold the balance of power, lost in the opening days of the present Congress, and with even the semblance of a political opposition destroyed by a union of Republicans and Democrats, Congress will reconvene on January 4 slated to put over its program in the interest of the ruling class by June 1, and adjourn.

Except for the passage of the appropriation bills, which will take several months, some slight modification of the immigration act, an authorization to the railroads to effect a consolidation, and some other pieces of legislation of minor importance, the present Congress is unlikely to create more than a ripple of interest anywhere.

The one piece of legislation upon which a fight may be made, and in which the interest of the people will again be sacrificed to the desires of the trusts, is the Muscle Shoals measure. If present plans go through—and they were prevented from going through last year only by the filibuster which Senator Norris conducted—the costly Muscle Shoals plants will either be turned over to private interests, as recommended by a commission, or their disposition will be left again to the consideration of another commission.

Progressives' Gain and Loss

That the Progressives lost what they gained in Congress without gaining a compensating advantage in making propaganda for the views they hold, was evident on the opening day of the present session, when the Republicans, co-operating with the Democrats, voted to abrogate the rule permitting 150 members of Congress to bring a bill out of committee when the committee refuses to report on it. From the point of view of practical benefit, the advantage of having the rule was negligible, but it was the price upon which the Progressives surrendered them-

(Continued on page 3)

Labor's Dividends

Elmont, L. I., Dec. 26.—Andrew Kriss, 57 years old, of Queens Village, L. I., was killed today when a compressed air pump on which he was working exploded.

Yonkers, Dec. 18.—Christopher M. Hagsvik, a carpenter of 7104 Washington street, Hoboken, was killed yesterday when an angle iron fell on his head at the plant of the Methodist Book Concern at Dobbs Ferry.

New York, Dec. 29.—An avalanche of seven tons of coal, hurled on top of him from an overturning truck, killed Patrick Hayes of 22 Stockton street, Brooklyn, at Stuyvesant avenue and Van Buren street, yesterday. Hayes was helper on the truck.

New York, Dec. 29.—Arthur Gladd, 43, section hand for the Long Island Railroad Company, was killed by a westbound train yesterday at the East Marine street crossing of the Long Island Railroad in Hicksville. He was working on the truck with a gang and failed to get out of the way of the locomotive.

Hollis, L. I., Dec. 25.—William Lassiter of Remsen street and Merrick road, Jamaica, a lineman for the Queens Electric Light and Power Company, was electrocuted yesterday while at work on a pole at 191st street and Palermo avenue, Hollis. He fell from the pole, according to physicians, was dead before he reached the ground.

Fort Worth, Texas, Dec. 27.—Four trainmen, all of Fort Worth, were killed and two others injured today when a switch engine backed into an approaching freight train on the Fort Worth & Denver Railway, near here.

New York, Dec. 25.—Three men were killed last night on the Long Island Railroad. An extra express bound for Manhattan from Babylon struck two men walking the tracks between the Smith street and the Locust avenue crossings. Both wore blue overalls and it is believed they are employees of the railroad, although positive identification has not been made.

Charleston, S. C., Dec. 24 (A. P.).—Two of the Atlantic Coast Line's crack tourist trains, carrying holiday travelers, crashed head on early today near Monck's Corner, 30 miles from here, killing the engineer and fireman of both trains and injuring twenty-four other persons, three of them seriously.

Labor in 1925

A Review of Events by the Department of Social Action on the National Catholic Welfare Council

THE CHIEF EVENTS in the American labor movement during 1925 have been the membership drive, the growth of co-operative banking and insurance, the extension of the Baltimore & Ohio plan of employe sharing in management, the new wage policy, the fight against communists in some of the organizations, and the anthracite strike.

Except for the anthracite strike, labor is better off than a year ago. It is still, however, in serious difficulties and the greatest of the difficulties are the increased power of finance and company unionism in its various forms.

These two difficulties are enormous ones for labor. The wealth of American industry is unparalleled in the history of the world and while many persons own certificates in the companies which possess industry and trade, the ownership and, to a still greater extent, the control is centered in a very small number of persons. The power of the banker, the investment agent, and the insurance company is decisive. Their opposition to independent labor union organization is weighty and hard to overcome. Yet the only way the working people can protect themselves is by uniting their own strength and controlling it themselves.

American industry in the last ten years has developed company unionism, and stock ownership plans under control of the company as a substitute for independent labor union action. For the company union the plea has been made that it gives the employe a real say not only in the determination of their working conditions, but also in the determination of the policies of management. The plea is also made that this brings employer and employe closer together for the more efficient management of industry and for the fuller recognition of the dignity of the employe. The same plea is made for stock ownership plans.

Along with all this the time has come when a workingman looks less and less to the independent

ownership of a small business of his own. More of them realize that they will be employes of some large concern all their life, that their fate is tied up with the success of industry and that their chance of attaining a degree of independence hinges upon their ability to hew out a place for themselves in the concern or industry in which they are working. Moreover, they know that few can attain such a position by their individual efforts and ability. They know that to attain it they must attain it together through their own organizations.

Company unionism has driven the labor unions to the B. & O. plan, through which they share in the management and offer the employers the increased efficiency that comes from using the ideas and zealous efforts of the men. Stock ownership plans under control of the employer has driven labor to the discussion of and to occasional experiments in stock ownership under union control. The strength of banking and insurance has driven labor to establish co-operative banks and insurance companies of their own.

But apart from this outside pressure, there has come a movement from within. Labor has decided that if it wishes independence in industry, it must look to co-operative action and that this must extend beyond the traditional sphere of collective bargaining into sharing in management, and it is recognized sometimes even into sharing in ownership. Wishing the traditional independence of American citizens, they are coming to look for it jointly with others in their same position.

THE SPY AGENCY AT WORK

"Industrial Relations"

NATIONAL CLAY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING CHICAGO, ILLINOIS Telephone Dearborn 1946

GENERAL COUNSEL—GOOD, CHILDS, BOBB & WESTCOTT MEMBER—LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL RIGHTS NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD September Twenty-fifth 1925

General Manager, North River Brick Co., R. F. D. 4, Saugerties, N. Y. Dear Sir:

Find herewith excerpt from confidential report received from one of our staff representatives in connection with the Connecticut strike situation:

"Lowrie did not speak tonight of using any violence, but begged the men to stick for the sake of their wives and children, saying further that next spring when this battle opened up again, the Hudson River district would be organized so that no influx of negro labor could occur, as is now the case, and with this road blocked, the CBMA would have to come to time."

It is essential that this fall, winter and next spring, the Hudson River operators get together and formulate a definite labor policy and it would be advisable to have the writer address you on the subject matter of "What is the U. B. & C. W. of A.?"—"What Do They Do?"—"What Have They Done?"—and "What Should We Do To Offset Their Activities?"

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. A. JUNG, Commissioner.

H.AJ:MM.

A NEW YEAR'S LETTER

FROM THE EDITOR OF THE NEW LEADER

To the Friends of The New Leader:

The New Leader has readers and friends in every State of the Union, and the business and editorial staffs desire to thank those who have helped to give The New Leader its national circulation. But we are not satisfied. Neither are our devoted workers in the field. We never will be.

we want a better and better paper. We expect to have both, and we will have both, with the aid of our friends. During the past year we have received many verbal and written expressions of satisfaction over the improvements made in The New Leader. Some have said that it is the best weekly publication that has ever been issued by the Socialist Party, and these favorable opinions have encouraged all those who have tried to make our paper merit such praise.

But, we repeat, we are not yet satisfied. We want to make The New Leader a national power, a paper that will make our readers feel that every day in the Socialist movement is one of adventure and eager service for the ideals of a Socialist world. We want to make it a fighting organ of the working class, a paper that will be talked about from New England to California and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

Bigger Paper Is Coming

By way of approaching this ideal The New Leader will soon appear with seven columns, which will enable us to give a better display and use a wider variety of type. Then there are certain features which we intend to add, and which will be announced from time to time. One of the first of these will be the original story of the rural rebellion in the Northwest, which is announced elsewhere on the second page.

Another feature which we intend to introduce is a syllabus of American economic and political history. In this series we will attempt to present some of the fundamentals in the development of American capitalism and its related institutions. This series will be adapted for use in study classes. Debates will be suggested on various themes in this study. By using this syllabus branches of the party will be able to vary their routine of business with some sound educational work and help to keep the interest of members sustained.

Then we want to impress on our readers how they can help us make The New Leader a more powerful weapon of the working class. There are a few who never fall in sending clippings about some important struggle or some phase of capitalism in their locality. These readers are reporters in the field. They have helped us often. We need more of them. We appeal to our readers to help us in gathering the facts and telling the story of capitalist civilization whenever something of special interest occurs in their locality.

Moreover, no opportunity should be lost to bring The New Leader to the attention of those who may become subscribers. Every reader knows several friends who would be interested in it. We cannot reach those friends, and if our readers do not reach them with The New Leader they will not be reached at all. In the trade union, in your home, on the street, at branch meetings, anywhere and everywhere, The New Leader must be called to the attention of prospects and its circulation increased. Without this co-operation we cannot make it that powerful

influence which it certainly can be.

For a year or two American capitalism has been fattening on Europe, and some of the "prosperity" has been seeping down to the masses. This situation has encouraged a false sense of security, but the reaction is coming. Depression, unemployment, dissatisfaction are ahead. A powerful Socialist movement is certain to appear, and The New Leader will play an important part in the big revival. New problems will be presented and new responsibilities will face the Socialist Party. The new era will test the intelligence and generalship of Socialists, and without a powerful press the new opportunities will face us without sufficient preparation to meet them.

The New Year faces us with new duties and new responsibilities, and The New Leader is here to help you face them. Make it the power it should be!

Yours for Socialism, James Oneal, Editor, The New Leader.

Zausner Is Re-elected Secretary of Painters

Philip Zausner, secretary of the New York District Council of Painters No. 9, representing 11,000 workers, has been re-elected to that office by a decisive majority over his opponent. More than 6,000 votes were cast in the election, which took place last Saturday, of which 3,982 went to Zausner and 2,117 to his opponent. Bruno Wagner, Arthur Stevens, Hyman Horowitz and Hyman Marcel were elected to serve as business agents on the progressive ticket, headed by Zausner.

Verband Convention Opens in New York

The Jewish Socialist Verband opened its national convention in New York city Wednesday night with a mass meeting in the New Star Casino, Harlem. The speakers were Abraham Caham, R. Charney Vladeck, H. Berger, Fine-man and others. The convention went into session at Forward Hall Thursday.

Poverty Among Farmers Reported Acute Again

Billings, Montana. No less than 22 sales of farm property by the sheriff because of failure to meet mortgage payments are advertised in a single issue of The Billings Times, a local newspaper.

The situation among the farmers is reported from all sides to be as acute as it has ever been in recent years. The spurt of prosperity which preceded and followed the election of President Coolidge has run its course.

According to figures quoted by representatives of farmers' organizations, farm districts are depopulated, and delinquent taxes of more than \$11,000,000 are on the books.

SECRET AGENTS' WORK BROUGHT TO LIGHT

Association Peddles Information on How to Combat Labor Union

By Edward Levinson

MANUFACTURERS have not hesitated to "plant" in the labor unions of the country a wide-spread spy system. There seem to be few unions that have escaped at least one representative of this vicious private detective army. Industrial espionage has become a huge system on which have fattened numerous private detective organizations.

In addition manufacturers' associations have organized special secret agent departments whose duty it is to secretly spy on and report the activities and unions. It is common record that in many cases disorder and violence charged to unions in time of strikes have been caused by special agents employed by the bosses.

That the brick industry has such an espionage agency is proved by the accompanying letter, the original of which is in the possession of The New Leader. The letter reveals the entire systematic method of the brick manufacturers in their brutal efforts to frustrate the legitimate right of the workers to organize. By quoting from a sample of a spy's work in a Connecticut strike, this agency hopes to interest New York brick manufacturers in employing its spies.

The first paragraphs reveal that the National Clay Products Industries Association had one of its spies in attendance at strikers' meetings in Connecticut; and that this spy was in the habit of transmitting to the Association, who in turn passed it on to the manufacturers involved, certain information concerning the activities of the strikers:

"Lowrie did not speak tonight of using any violence," says the report of this secret agent, showing a frame of mind that is just hankering for the opportunity to report that the strikers are planning or using "violence." The agent, reporting further, warns that "next spring" there will be an attempt to organize the Hudson River district. This spy agency not only supplies its clients with information as to the plans of the unions and strikers, but also hands out advice to guide the manufacturers in their relations with the unions. This form of service gives these private detective groups an opportunity to disguise themselves under the innocent title of "Industrial Relations Experts." The letter-head of this agency resorts to this falsehood, too.

Proceeding from the report of the secret agent, the association through its commission, H. A. Jung, advises "It is essential that the Hudson River operators . . . formulate a definite labor policy." And, he writes, it would be advisable for him to address them on the subject of "What is the U. B. and C. W. of A.?" This he is prepared to use the information gathered by his spies about the United Brick and Clay Workers of America and pass it on. Further, the "commissioner" is ready to talk with the manufacturers on what this union does and what it has done. Then, finally, and most important, he will treat with the subject, "What Should We Do to Offset Their Activities?"

That is how the espionage department of the brick manufacturers does its work. It is but a picture of the way their twin brothers work in every other major industry.

The greatest danger to the labor unions in this gigantic net-work of spies is not in the mere membership of agents who confine themselves to observing and reporting on the every-day business of the organization. There are very few well-conducted, bona-fide unions whose activities cannot be made known to the whole world.

But he is simple, indeed, and sadly misinformed concerning the nature of industrial spies who thinks for a moment that the duties and activities of these men begin and end with the turning in of true reports concerning the doings of the unions. The employes will not maintain them for such purpose. They must produce. And the product the employes demand is prevention that leads to disorders and violence, disturbance that will bring the union involved into disrepute and difficulties with the authorities. The spies have demonstrated over two-score years in the United States now, their ability to create conditions leading to crime, if not actually committing such crimes themselves.

That is the work the spy has cut out for him. This growth of the use of secret agents is a problem that American labor must place uppermost among questions to be immediately and effectively met and disposed of.

20 YEARS OF SOCIALISM

By Morris Hillquit

TWENTY years have passed since the memorable day when a group of young enthusiasts met in Peak's Restaurant and founded the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, with the object of promoting an "intelligent interest in the Socialist movement among the educated men and women of the country." Twenty years are but a fleeting moment in the history of the world. In the lifetime of the individual it is an epoch. This was forcibly brought home to me as I examined the roster of the organizers and first members of our society. Some of them are no longer among the living, some have grown weary or wise and have deserted the battlefield, while others still carry on their self-imposed task with unabated zeal. The young have become middle-aged and the middle-aged old. New conditions and new problems have sprung up around us and a new generation is growing up to meet them. The Socialism of 1925 is not the Socialism of 1905. Twenty years ago the movement was much easier of intelligent understanding than it is now. Its philosophy was simple. Its aim was direct. Its methods were uniform. Its forces were harmonious.

The Movement 20 Years Ago

In all countries of modern industrial development there were Socialist parties of substantial strength. They were parties of the workers diametrically opposed to the "parties of the capitalists." Their objective was to "capture" the powers of government and to proceed to the realization of the Socialist program—the abolishment of private ownership in the instruments of wealth production and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. Toward this objective they marched in a straight line, steadily augmenting their membership, their press and parliamentary representation, building up their auxiliary economic and political organs, and preparing for "the final battle."

The assumption was that the passing of governmental powers from capitalist hands to the victorious forces of Socialism would be one definite act; that it would probably meet with physical resistance on the part of the outvoted ruling classes and be settled by the arbitrament of arms.

In the United States, Socialism, which had begun to take root a few years before the organization of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, found its task fully carved out and its path definitely outlined. It was a part of the international movement of Socialism, profiting by its experience and growing with its growth.

The War And After

Then came the war and the virtual suspension of international Socialist activities. The movement which revived on the signing of the peace

DEBS HONORS STEINMETZ AT GRAVE IN SCHENECTADY



When Eugene V. Debs, national chairman of the Socialist Party, visited Schenectady recently, the most solemn part of his visit was when he placed a wreath on the grave of Charles P. Steinmetz, the electrical wizard of the age. The picture shows Debs and Socialist Party Organizer S. H. Stille at the grave of Steinmetz. Steinmetz, as Debs is, was an ardent Socialist all his mature life.

treaties appeared in a new form and developed along unexpected lines. In the defeated Central European states the powers of government quietly passed to the Socialist parties, who surrendered them as worthless gifts at that time. In Great Britain, as in Sweden and Denmark, the Socialist workers later secured the control of their governments not only without armed resistance, but even before they had obtained a majority of the suffrage. In other countries they have at one time or another formed part of the government or controlled its policies from the outside. In these countries the power of capitalist resistance has proved weaker and the efficacy of democracy stronger than the Socialists had generally anticipated.

In Russia, the great hinterland of Europe, the line of development has taken a different and even more startling turn. Weakened by the exhaustive war and crushing defeat, discredited and impotent, the age-long reign of political absolutism collapsed and vanished, and the government of the vast country was eventually assumed by one of the groups of Russian Socialists. The Czarist autocracy of old was replaced by the rule of proletarian dictatorship. A new and acute issue was thus introduced which rent the Socialist movement asunder from one end of the world to the other—the issue of Dictatorship versus Democracy, of Communism versus Social Democracy—an issue which largely reflected the economic and political differences be-

tween the less developed and more advanced countries of the world.

The Game Between Communism and Fascism

The proletarian dictatorship of Russia has endured for eight years and seems to be stronger today than ever. But the Communist regime in Russia is largely political and personal. Its radical program of economic reconstruction has completely foundered on the formidable rocks of undeveloped industry and individualistic peasant economy.

Recent events, moreover, have demonstrated that political dictatorship is by no means a purely proletarian or revolutionary weapon. The example of Italy, Hungary and Spain have shown that the game can be played even more successfully in behalf of capitalist reaction. It is a dangerous game in which Communism and Fascism are the rival contenders and the peoples of the world are the stakes.

In the countries of advanced economic development and long democratic training and traditions, the "transitional state" has not proved to be a regime of proletarian dictatorship. Rather has it turned out to be one of unstable political balance between the powers of Socialism and capitalism, marked by alternate victories, defeats and temporary compromise combinations.

In these succeeding changes of political fortune the parties of Socialism gain steady strength in the long run.

Their hopes are based on the expectation of growth to the point of absolute and permanent majorities. In the United States the last twenty years have witnessed more radical changes in the Socialist movement than anywhere else. The onslaughts of the war hysteria and the Communist schism have struck it with greater force than the movement in Europe, because it was younger and weaker. The material prosperity and general political indifference which set in after the war, the economic well-being of our workers as compared with the abject misery of their comrades in other lands all served as a check on the growth of Socialism in the United States.

But the American Socialists need not despair and will not surrender. As to myself, I am as confident of the ultimate triumph of our cause as I was twenty years ago, when we organized the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Socialism is conquering Europe. It will no more halt at the American coast line than did capitalism, civilization or the war. In the vicissitudes of the post-war period Socialism has proved itself mutable in method, elastic in form, but indestructible in substance.

The above is a report of an address delivered by Morris Hillquit at the twentieth anniversary meeting of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

Hillquit First L. I. D. Lecturer, January 5

Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the American Socialist party, will be the first speaker in the series of lectures arranged under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, on Tuesday evening, January 5, at 8 p. m., at the People's House Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, New York city.

Hillquit's subject will be "The New Social Order in the Making." He will deal particularly with the newer developments in the economic, social and political fields since the World War. George Soule, an editor of the New Republic, will lead the discussion following Mr. Hillquit's address. The discussion will then be opened to the floor. Harry W. Laidler will preside.

Tickets to the course of six lectures will be \$3. Tickets for individual lectures are 75 cents. There are reduced rates to League members. Tickets may be obtained from the League, 70 Fifth avenue, or purchased at the door.

The other lectures in the series are as follows:

Tuesday, January 12, at 8 p. m.—Subject: "Waste and the New Social Order. Is Waste Inevitable Under Capitalism?" Speaker: Stuart Chase, author of "Tragedy of Waste"; Director of Labor Bureau, Inc.; Former Senior Accountant, Federal Trade Commission. Leader of discussion: Lewis Mumford, author of "The Story of Utopias."

Tuesday, January 19, at 8 P. M.—Subject: "Government Under the New Social Order." The Problem of Dictatorship vs. Democracy. Speaker: Norman Thomas, Executive Director, L.I.D. Leader of discussion: M. J. Olgin, author of "The Soul of the Russian Revolution," etc.

Tuesday, January 26, at 8 P. M.—Subject: "International Organization and the New Social Order." Which type of organization is more important—the economic or political? Speaker: Norman Angell, author of "The Great Illusion," etc. Leader of discussion: Jessie W. Hughan, author of "Introduction to International Government," etc.

Tuesday, February 2, at 8 p. m.—Subject: "Trade Unions Under the New Social Order." Must the producer organize for protection under a system of social ownership? Speaker: John Brophy, President of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America. Leader of discussion: A. J. Muste, Director of Brookwood Labor College.

Tuesday, February 9, at 8 p. m.—Subject: "Incentives Under the New Social Order." Is the profit incentive necessary for industrial efficiency? Speaker: William H. Kilpatrick, Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia. Leader of discussion: Harriot Stanton Blatch.

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 169th St., SUNDAY, JANUARY 3

8 P. M.
"THE NEW CIVILIZATION"
Leon Rosser Land, Leader
8:30 P. M.
Open Forum
"THE ROOTS OF PREJUDICE"
August Claessens
Admission Free
MUSIC

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Park Ave. and 34th St.

Sunday, January 3rd
8 P. M.
Josiah Wedgewood, M. P.
"Red and White Terrors in Europe"
11 A. M.
JOHN HERMAN RANDALL
"The World of Yesterday and Tomorrow"

To Keep the New Year a Happy One THE NEW LEADER

America's Leading Socialist Magazine Announces Five New Features

These features are but a few of the outstanding improvements The New Leader will offer its readers during the coming year. With these The New Leader will more than maintain the reputation it has earned for itself, voiced in scores of letters—"The Best Socialist Paper We've Ever Had."

- 1—A serial novel—Governor Minturn, by M. H. Hedges, author of The Iron City—with a thrilling working-class theme that will be certain to keep you in suspense from week to week. Governor Minturn is real literature. Hedges has combined a beautiful literary style with a pulsing story and vital, live characters. The first instalment will be printed in The New Leader January 9th, to be followed by weekly instalments.
- 2—A new outline of American political and economic history. By James Oneal, Editor of The New Leader. Fascinating as the subject of American history is, it has been sadly neglected by Socialists. In this series, Oneal will present some of the fundamentals in the growth of the native capitalist system and its related institutions. Announcement of the beginning of this series will appear in an early issue of The New Leader.
- 3—Socialist Shot and Shell selected from the Arsenal of Facts. This will be a department unique in current radical journalism. It will fill a long-felt need. In it will be gathered the accumulating facts and figures of the excesses and failure of Capitalism and of the promise and logic of Socialism. It will be put up in such a form that you will be able to systematically place it in your mind to be at your beck and call on the platform or in personal conversation with those you are trying to convert.
- 4—A New Series of Cartoons by Art Young, representing the greatest work of this master of American cartoonists. The work of Art Young is too well known to require description. Throughout the country, and in discriminating radical circles abroad, his wit and artistry are a by-word. His cartoons will appear in The New Leader frequently during the coming year.
- 5—A New Form for The New Leader, an enlarged paper, brightened by new features and distinctive make-up, permitting a better display of our many special articles.

A Contest—One You Will Be Immediately Interested In—With a Valuable and Useful Premium as a Prize—Will Be Announced in This Space in The New Leader Next Week.

In addition to the new features, The New Leader will continue those that have made it so popular in the year now ended. McAlister Coleman will continue his column of humorous and pointed comment on the current events of the day. Coleman has departed for the mining districts in Illinois and his column for the coming month will deal with his experiences and observations there.

Across the page from Coleman, Adam Coaldigger will continue his lively laughing digs at the foibles and prejudices of our American Babbitts and Go-getters. Coaldigger has been called America's greatest humorist. Those who appreciate his sympathetic insight into the struggles of the American workingman know him to be more than that. His coming contributions to The New Leader will be fully as entertaining and instructive as those which have appeared thus far. Harry W. Laidler's "History of Socialist Thought," soon to be published in book form, is now reaching the most interesting chapters, those that deal with the remarkable, spectacular growth of Socialism since Marx propounded his wonderful theories that have so revolutionized all avenues of thought. These and other departments—Reviews of Books, On the International Front, Labor Jottings from Abroad, The Socialist Party at Work, News of the Drama, The New Leader Mail Bag—will continue to make The New Leader a paper worth preserving and binding as a valuable record of the Socialist-Labor movement of the day.

MORRIS HILLQUIT

ON
The New Social Order in the Making
Tuesday, January 5, at 8 p. m.
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15th ST.

AUSPICES
NEW YORK CHAPTER, L. I. D.
Leader of Discussion: GEORGE SOULE
Chairman: HARRY W. LAIDLER

This is the first of a series of six lectures on Tuesday evenings in January and February. Other discussions are:

- Jan. 12—STUART CHASE and LEWIS MUMFORD: "Waste and the New Social Order."
- Jan. 19—NORMAN THOMAS and M. J. OLGIN: "Government and the New Social Order."
- Jan. 26—NORMAN ANGELL and JESSIE W. HUGHAN: "International Organization and the New Social Order."
- Feb. 2—JOHN BROPHY and A. J. MUSTE: "Trade Unions Under the New Social Order."
- Feb. 9—Prof. WM. H. KILPATRICK and HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH: "Incentives."

Tickets to this course of six lectures are \$3. Individual admission tickets, 75c. Reduced prices to members of the L. I. D. Secure course tickets from the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, or at the Auditorium on the evenings of lectures.

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at 8 o'clock

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TUESDAY, JANUARY 5th
JOHN COWPER POWYS
"Four World Poets: III.—Shakespeare"

Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL
at 8 o'clock

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2nd
HOUSTON PETERSON
Havelock Ellis—"The New Spirit"

MONDAY, JANUARY 4th
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
Logic

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6th
JOHN MANTLE CLAPP
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TO DR. STEPHEN S. WISE:

An Open Letter On His Conversion To Christ

It will not perturb you greatly, I am sure, to know that you were never much to my maturer years. During days of adolescence, settlement house interests had brought me in contact with your platitudes and posturings for a week or two of Sundays at the Free Synagogue. It was then I held you with the mimicking others as a fine speaker, a consummate artist at bowling down the ten pin alleys of phraseology.

Manhood came, and I lost sight and sound of your gold-fleeing flock, your diamond studded pewry, and your silver eloquence. I had arrived at a philosophy that relegated you and yours to a dim realm of inconsequential cant. The soap box of the Socialist speaker, and the candelabra pulpit of the Fifth Avenue Rabbi are poles distant from each other. I spoke my faith to the thousands of unconsolidated ghetto serfs. You gave devotional consolation to the calloused consciences of slave owners. In my virgin apostleship, so it appeared to me.

This then for history that might have never been definitely recalled, had you not but yesterday quite heroically espoused the reality of Jesus the Jew to your Judean ewes and lambskins. Thus, you have at once become something more than mere society news, to me at least.

It will hardly enthrone you to know how intimate a subject of interest you have become to me.

Wherefore, were you so suddenly moved to proclaim Christ as a great teacher? At what stage of divine revelation have you arrived? Is your startling pronouncement the fruitage of devious reason, or ecstatic rapture?

I am no orthodox rabbi, and yet I am profoundly concerned. I have long ago rusted out of your professed religion, and yet my disturbance is genuine.

To Appear The Ku Kluxers

My first reaction, and perhaps the nearest to logic, is that you expect to slay the Klu Klux Kommercal Kobra with a cross lilted sword. The Jewish businessman accepts Christ as a teacher in life ethics and conduct. Great stroke of publicity for 1926. Now yo

Kleagles—scratch a Jew and a Christ believer bleeds.

And so will every pillow-case Quixote lay down the spear of intolerance and welcome back into the Main streets of the South, the West and the North every Semetic department store owner and scrap iron dealer who has but lately fled before the blasts of night riding bigotry. Henry Ford will place the Star of David over all his smoke-stocks, and Paderewski will re-arrange "Eli Eli" into a sonatina for concert piano.

A great vision indeed; and Elijah come to Fifth Avenue; a new Moses come to lead Israel to the land of much more milk and a whole lot more honey.

Or then again, perhaps—and nearest to intuition—is the thought that this Palestine Home for Jewry has been tilling shakily on the quicksands of sickly sentiment that still is its foundation. A nationalistic consciousness can be more effectively quickened during an hour of emotional controversy and chaos. There is nothing like prodling the staid orthodox longbeards into derbies, and the smug reformists into howling fanatics, and giving them something for which to dance and shriek about. During which little party of religious inebriation you may succeed in shaking down the more emotional of the millionaire enemies and protagonists to the meter of immense donations for administrative purposes—and the fund. Already, good old Nathan Straus has tumbled out a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. More from other quarters is expected momentarily. This Christ business can be turned to profit even among us Jews, if properly handled.

The Least Plausible Inference
But our last inference, and perhaps the least plausible, is that you have really seen the light which most Socialists the world over must see, before they renounce the gods of Fifth

Avenue for the God in man. And you are now ready to join us in the great struggle for the liberation of the salary slaves, from the slave system you have served all your life.

No Hottentot, Pagan, Christian, Jew or Atheist can accept Christ as teacher and still remain apologist for our present form of spiritual and economic civilization.

We who are part of the militancy arrayed against the dictatorship of organized wealth over disorganized humanity, we, who have turned the cheek a thousand times against the blows of indifference from the stultified many, and persecution from the power-drunk few—we, who have made the Sermon on the Mount our answer a thousand times to the crucifixion judgments of a thousand Pilates—we, blooded Jew and Gentle dreamers, radicals, bolsheviks, —we, the scorned, the rejected, the jeered-at objects for the low hate and fear of your world—we still dare to project our prior claim to the acceptance of Christ the man.

Within the memory of this last century—two Christs appeared, here in godless America. John Brown, whose broken body made the vision clearer to another—Abe Lincoln who was crucified a hundred times by the money changers of his time, long before the mad assassin's bullet ended his glorious resurrection. There are sections of America today where Abe is still as hated and reviled as was Christ among the Fifth Avenue Tabernacle goers of Jerusalem.

The Christ Of These Years

Then came Gene Debs. Have you ever paused to consider him as the Christ of your years? Have you ever heard his voice as it even to this day rings out with love for the low, the lame, the leprous, the halt, the blind, and the next moment lashes the money-changers whose are forever profaning the house of

God? Cannot you see something miraculous in the manner through which his flesh has survived the crucifying years of Woodstock and Atlanta? Have you ever considered how analogous was his cry of Peace against your sermons of war—to the utterance of the olden Prince of Peace? Have you already forgotten his divine courage when he dared to denounce the war as monstrous to mankind and God, while you and your like of Fifth Avenue lambskins bleated safely and praised foul furtherance of slaughter?

Now—have you come to join Gene and us—then welcome, Comrade Wise. During your first year or so with us, we may not be able to profit very much in spirit from contact with you. But after a while, when you have learned how completely our purposes, and our dreams comprise all that Jesus taught to the fishermen of Galilee, then perhaps we will ask you to volunteer as a chairman, and later as a speaker at our meetings.

We know it will be very arduous at first. Like Christ, you will have your great struggles with temptation. The old life of ease and smug power will have its impelling lure, particularly when you have addressed a street corner meeting for a chilly hour and a half, and all you can take up in the collection is three dollars and sixteen cents. Not at all like the good old Fifth Avenue collections. Nor will there always be the awed silence such as has always been your homage. The gutter holds many nasty and doubting Thomases; always there are Pharisees to heckle and abuse your enthusiasm, and in this cynical age, miracles are not accredited, even when performed. The company you will keep and the acclaim you will earn can hardly bear comparison with what has long been your pleasure and custom.

For years you have been the petted and pampered prelate for paunchy patriarchy; some of them high usurers, many of them coarsened cloak and suit manufacturers, plundering politicians, ledgermain lawyers, fee-flattered physicians—a goodly sprinkling of intellectuals of unearned income—but all of them taking your pasty platitudes for gems of genius—most of them as parasitic mentally as they are materially—and hardly one of them a worker—even as Peter was a fisherman and Jesus a woodcarver.

I know this description of your flock will sound cruel, dogmatic and unfair at first. But after you have spoken a few times to the street corner pharisees, with the sidewalks for pews and the motley of American tollers for parishioners, you will gradually nod acceptance of our picture. And the nearer you come to Christ and his teachings, the more you will improve on your hurried and imperfect sketch of your present idolators.

As your experience in Socialist speaking mellows, you will be able to find in your crowds at times, a dingy pick-pocket, a frowny scarlet woman, a ragged burglar sprinkled here and there. By the ineffable association of familiar things they will transport you back to the temple days of your respectability, where hundreds of the same profession sat in satin and starched silence before your lingual necromancy.

There is a wealth of enriching adventure before you, Reverend Doctor, just as soon as you really accept Jesus as a man and leader. This you can do by joining the only organization in America that is struggling valiantly to put His philosophy into practice.

When may we hail you as Comrade

BEWARE OF CLOGGED BOWELS

You shorten your life many years when you carry in your system waste matter that nature intended to be evacuated.

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

evacuates your bowels, regulates your liver and keeps you hale and hearty. Good for young and old.

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AMEGIN, a SAFE dentifrice, is the oral prophylactic medication recommended by leading dentists. It will keep your teeth white, your breath sweet and make sensitive, bleeding gums firm and healthy. It also keeps your teeth brush sanitary. AMEGIN is pleasant to use, refreshing, exhilarating. No solid matter to get under gums. Get the AMEGIN habit and know the joy of a healthy mouth and a germ free tooth brush.

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JERSEY CITY—Clubhouse, 256-258 Central Ave.
UNION CITY, ETC.—E. Frautscher, 84 Maple St., Weehawken, N. J.
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AN APPEAL FOR PORTO RICO

PRESIDENT WM. GREEN of the American Federation of Labor has forwarded to President Coolidge the following resolution, dealing with conditions in Porto Rico, adopted at the recent convention of the A. F. of L.:

"Whereas, the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, in charge of all the official affairs of the Island of Porto Rico, General Frank McIntyre, has just issued for publicity a most gloomy statement to the effect that at least 300,000 native born Porto Ricans have to be taken from that island to be sent to any other part of the world; and,

"Whereas, the island of Porto Rico is rapidly and unceasingly becoming the property of a few financial interests and business corporations that have gained possession and taken hold of the soil and resources of the island in violation of the organic law of Porto Rico; and,

"Whereas, as a result of this concentration of the lands and financial powers by absentee landlords, the bulk of the profits produced by the Porto Rico masses of laborers are never reinvested in the island but in the continental United States, and foreign countries where absentee owners reside, and it is thus seen that while a great increase in the wealth production of the island is recorded, the masses still remain and are left suffering in the most unbearable degree of poverty, hunger-stricken and industrially oppressed; and,

"Whereas, the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has ostensibly devised for this problem the heartless solution of separating 300,000 Porto Ricans from their native soil, because the withdrawal of wealth from the island by absentee landlords makes their life untenable and their industrial development almost a dream; be it

"Resolved, by this forty-fifth

Resolution Sent President Coolidge Urges a Thorough Investigation

convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the President of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the President and the Congress of the United States, to create a commission as soon as possible with full authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the island, especially the living and working conditions of the masses of laborers in Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain how the federal as well as the organic law of the island has been continually violated by big finan-

cial interests, corporations and individuals which exploit the people of the island to the discredit of our nation; and, be it further

"Resolved, That it is the earnest wish of the American Federation of Labor that such commission may visit the Island of Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation, as these resolutions urge that such a commission may be composed of men who will not—as several commissions have done in the past—accept mere courtesies and superficial official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their official conclusions and recommendations, but that the aforesaid commission be composed of Senators and Representatives capable of going to the very heart of things, to get the real points and views of men who toil in every kind of work and business, who know local conditions, who feel the real feelings of the people and who understand our local conditions."

Gangsters Beat Up Paper Box Union Organizer After Extorting \$3,600 in Blackmail Scheme

A brutal climax of a vicious blackmail scheme perpetrated on the Paper Box Makers' Union by New York gangsters was reached Monday night, when George E. Powers, the union's organizer, was set upon and seriously beaten up. It appears that after having blackmailed the union into paying \$3,600 in booty, the gangsters went into the service of the employers.

In a statement on the incident the officials of the union say:

"Our organizer, George E. Powers, was beaten up by four gangsters nesting in Norfolk and Delancey streets. These same gangsters—Moe Grossman, 'Joey,' 'Silly' and 'Young Frenchy,' only got through collecting the last \$2,100 of a total amount of \$3,600 on December 2, 1925, a blackmail booty of the most treacherous kind.

"Not satisfied with this, they went a step farther. They went to work for the Maderight Paper Box Company, 46 Wooster street, a firm owned by Mr. Meister and three other partners, where a strike of paper box workers is in progress, and intimidated the pickets on the picket line, telling them that they would "allow" girls on the picket line but no men.

"Last Tuesday night, December 22, the organizer of the Paper Box Makers' Union, while in front of the struck shop, was approached by Moe and Silly and told by the former that they won't allow any men on that picket line, and that if he would show up again they would "chase" him and the girls from the picket line. When the organizer told them that he was an official of the Paper Box Makers' Union and would come to do his duty, then "Silly" told him "that means fight."

"This threat was carried out in less than one week. Monday night, December 23, at about 5:20, while Powers was talking to the girl pickets, the four gangsters came out of Mr. Meister's place and began to beat him until he went down, then kicked him. Up he came and down he went once more under the weight and pain of more blows from all four.

"The last that the organizer heard



Thugs' Victim

George E. Powers, Organizer of the Paper Box Makers Union

was "Now will you keep away?" which query brought forward his last ounce of strength, if any was left, to supply enough consciousness for an emphatic "No!"

The Community Forum

Rev. John Herman Randall will preach Sunday morning, Jan. 3, at 11 a. m. in the Community Church, Park avenue and 34th street. Subject: "The World of Yesterday and Tomorrow."

"Red and White Terrors in Europe" will be the subject of an address by Josiah Wedgwood, M. P., just arrived from England, at the Community Forum, Park avenue and 34th street, Sunday, Jan. 3, at 8 p. m. Mr. Wedgwood was a minister in the late Labor Cabinet of J. Ramsay MacDonald. He has had extensive experience in Europe during and since the war. He was the first outside observer on the scene after the Cathedral explosion in Sofia, Bulgaria, and during the terror which followed.

PAINTERS UNION NO. 51

Notice of Special Meeting

A special meeting of the members of local union No. 51, Brotherhood of Painters, will be held at its meeting hall and day room, 266 Eighth avenue on Monday evening, January 4, 1926, to vote on the amendments to the by-laws of the District Council and act on other important matters.

JOHN W. SMITH
President
GEO. F. BREHEN
Rec. Secretary

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Wise? When will you afford yourself the high privilege of our comradeship? Or if either of our first two deductions be correct regarding your injecting the Christ issue into Jewish theological controversy—may we ask you—

as Carl Sandburg, the poet, once asked the ballyhooing Rev. Dr. Billy Sunday: "What the Hell do you know about Jesus? . . ."

Respectfully yours,
S. A. De Witt.

MEXICAN LABOR'S THRILLING RISE TO POWER

An Account of the Many Difficulties and Triumphs of the Workers Movement South of the Rio Grande

(From many sources we are asked to give a summary of the political and social conditions of Mexico referring especially to labor questions. As it would be impossible in a short article to treat fully such a big subject, we have endeavored to give the most important points in the following article.)

AS IN other countries of Latin America, the War of Independence, while freeing Mexico from exploitation by a foreign country, failed to improve materially the conditions of the laboring classes. A small handful of big landowners got hold of all the riches of the country. The condition of the native laborers—60 per cent. of them pure-blood Indians—did not improve in any way. The plutocracy was Mexican in name only, the wealth derived from Mexico being spent in Europe and the United States, a procedure which impoverished the country instead of assisting in its progress.

The development of industrialism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century again brought a crisis in the social conditions of the country. For the last fifty years, most new enterprises have been financed almost entirely by foreign capital—British, American, French and Belgian—the owning promoters in most cases never coming to Mexico and consequently paying no heed to the struggles of the Mexican people, their objective being to collect the best interest possible on their investments.

Improved labor conditions in Europe and the United States finally reacted on Mexico and on the rest of Latin America when, on account of the demands of organized labor, the increased wages of the European workmen forced capital to turn for exploitation more and more to countries outside of Europe where, because of the ignorance of the population, the entire lack of organization, and, as in the case of Mexico, connivance with the authorities, cheap labor was easily obtainable. In fact, General Diaz, dictator in Mexico for 34 years previous to 1910, although in many ways a great statesman, not only did not understand the social problems but suppressed any attempt of labor to organize and better its conditions, thus barring it to exploitation.

Madero Vs. Diaz

Against the dictatorship of Diaz, Francisco I. Madero, a visionary of great strength of character and ex-

ceptional honesty, started a successful revolution in 1910, and succeeded in forming a government which introduced many valuable social laws. Unhappily, the reactionary movement plunged the country into a prolonged civil war which ceased only in 1920 when General Obregon was constitutionally elected president of Mexico. But even Obregon had to fight against reactionary and foreign influence which in 1923 fomented a short-lived rebellion headed by Adolfo de la Huerta. Several months later the Labor candidate, General Elias Calles, was elected president by a majority of 1,200,000 votes over the opposing candidate.

This ten years of struggle, however, had brought about a straightening of the social structure in Mexico and sound social legislation embodied in the Constitution proclaimed in February, 1917.

The Constitution, as far as social legislation is concerned provides for a redistribution of land so that every peasant family will be able to live from the product of its work and will either own in its own right a separate parcel of land or will have the right to use jointly-owned village property in accordance with the old Spanish and pre-Corteslan traditional Indian laws, the specific term for such a system of commonly owned village lands being "ejidos." To effect this re-distribution of land, it has been necessary to reclaim in the name of the despoiled peoples those large tracts of Indian, communal and national land which during the years of oppression had been illegally taken over and held by some few large land owners. The fact is that at the beginning of the twentieth century, out of a population approximating 16 millions, only about 48,000 owned land,

and about 10,000 of these held some 93 per cent of the land (excluding, of course, national lands). Such illegal owners were forced to return these lands to the people or to expropriate them (against indemnity) and re-distribute them among those dispossessed peasants who could make their living only by working the soil.

Labor Protection In the Constitution

Regarding labor legislation, Article 123 of the Constitution of 1917 is equally as important as the regulations concerning land distribution. This article provides for the eight hour day; for a minimum wage; for councils of mediation and arbitration; for maternity and childhood protection; for collective bargaining; for social insurance, etc.

The opposition of capital, both in-

ternal and external, however, has made the carrying out of these provisions very difficult. Internally, the opposition found expression in the formation of powerful bodies of land-owners, mine owners, merchants; externally, foreign capitalists had the support of their respective governments.

To have pacified the country without resigning any of the social postulates of the Revolution will remain an undying glory for General Obregon. Obregon was the pacifier; Calles follows as the organizer.

Such is the political history of Mexico. The Labor movement has been no less phenomenal in its advancement. Although the first Labor organization (a union of railwaymen) was started in Mexico in 1888, it met with the meteoric fate which was to befall all similar organizations following it, that of being suppressed im-

mediately by the Diaz government. The first organized strike took place in the copper mines of Cananea with Plutarco Elias Calles, then a modest school teacher, now President of the Republic of Mexico, among the leaders. This strike, too, was cruelly suppressed by the soldiers of Diaz, as were later the strikes in the textile industry centering around the city of Orizaba. So that at the close of the Diaz regime in 1910, there was no legally recognized Labor organization in Mexico.

The First Labor Organization

Madero encouraged Labor organizations and Labor supported him enthusiastically. Finally, in the year 1912 the first important Labor organization "La Casa del Obrero Mundial" (The House of the International Workman) was established, its hopeful influence being immediately felt throughout the Mexican Republic.

Notwithstanding persecution by the reactionary military dictator, Victoriano Huerta, the Labor movement began to sense its possibilities, but not until the formation of the Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana (known now under the initial letters C. R. O. M.) did it present a real and material power. This Confederation was founded by Luis N. Morones, then an electrician, now Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor in President Calles' cabinet, Ezequiel Salcedo, now Labor attaché in Berlin, and Jose Barragan Hernandez, who was later traitorously killed by paid murderers of the reactionary government.

A preliminary meeting of the organizers of the CROM was called in Saltillo in 1918 at which time the basis and general plan of the future organization was worked out. Morones with Ricardo Treviño, now leader of the Labor bloc in the Mexican Parliament, and J. M. Tristan were elected the first secretaries.

With the Congress of Zacatecas in June, 1919, the CROM became a reality. One hundred and ten delegates from all over the Republic, representing approximately 100,000 members, some 60 percent agricultural workers, the remaining 40 percent industrial workers, attended this Congress.

What the "CROM" is

The general basis of organization and program of the CROM is not unlike that of other Federations of Labor in Europe and the United States. The CROM is a class organization working for full recognition of the rights of workers through constitutional proceedings, not afraid, however, to use as often as it is necessary the local or general strike. It is entirely free from any theoretical or traditional prejudices such as only too often hamper similar bodies in Europe, notwithstanding that the latter are often better equipped and better organized. The CROM is in no way an experimental body; it never tries to solve a problem in the theoretical way but goes straight to the practical solution, a method of procedure which has proved best in nine cases out of ten.

If sometimes, because of lacking the knowledge of the details of routine, the CROM has blundered, this direct method has secured for it at least the one excellent result of keeping it from becoming entangled in sterile theoretical discussion. Never has the CROM fallen into the trap of current politics which it considered always as an arm, never an aim. This ideal, as a matter of fact, was the inspiration which led the CROM leaders to organize the political Labor Party (Partido Laborista) of Mexico, the Constitution of which explicitly states that the party depends upon and is an instrument of the organized Labor movement of Mexico and is not supposed to supersede it. In reality, the leaders of the Labor Party are also the leaders of the CROM, the present secretary-general being Juan Rico, one of the founders of the CROM, while the Parliamentary leader is the

(Continued on page 11)

THE AMERICANIZATION OF SOCIALISM

By Justus Ebert

THE article in a recent issue of The New Leader, treating of Orestes Brownson, and entitled "An Early American Socialist," by James Oneal, is an interesting one. No one familiar with the shortcomings of the Socialist movement in this country will quarrel with the reason given for its appearance, namely, the necessity of giving American Socialism a domestic historical background—a tradition, as it were, rooted in United States origins. This necessity is a great one and cannot be too strongly emphasized. It has been recognized before. Charles Sotheran, some 30 years ago, in fulfillment of this recognition, wrote "The Pioneers of American Socialism," published by the Humboldt Library, New York, in its Social Science series. Sotheran's work dwelt mainly with the Socialist scap of Horace Greely's life. Though scrapbook-like, it contains much solid information.

Following this came the unsuccessful efforts of Herman Simpson to have the Socialist Labor Party rewrite its platform in accordance with the facts of American economic history instead of the political ideology of "the founding fathers," as contended by Daniel De Leon in opposition. Simpson was, curiously enough, like Prof. Charles A.

The Need for Rooting the Movement in Native Soil

Beard in the substance and manner of his argument. He saw behind the political idealism of Hancock, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, et al, the economic determinism of a rising bourgeois class. Accordingly, he had little or no faith in their alleged political disinterestedness, or any platform based thereon.

Later came the work of Simons, whose "Class Struggles in the United States" gave American Socialist tradition a big boost, as did O'Neal's "The Workers in American History."

Giving Socialism An American "Slant"

The writer has also in "American Industrial Evolution," New York Labor News Co, 1907 (now out of print), made some modest contributions to the attempt to give Socialism an American "slant." He, too, has written about Brownson, but with deductions different from O'Neal's. Perhaps a quotation dealing with Brownson from "American Industrial Evolution," showing these differences, may now be in order:

"First note Brownson, a famous writer and friend of the distinguished men of his day; born in Vermont in

1803; died in Detroit, 1876. The passages here given are from his book, "The Convert," published in 1857, and reprinted in part in Volume VI of the "Library of American Literature" under the heading, "Some Practical Democracy." Brownson was converted by Owen in 1840, and it was at that time that he began to endeavor to make his economics square with his political democracy, only to meet the opposition of his great friends for his pains. He wrote: "Starting from the Democratic theory of man and society, I contended that the great, the mother evil of modern society, was the separation of capital and labor; or the fact that one class of the community owns the funds and another and a distinct class is compelled to perform the labor of production. The consequence of this system is, that the owners of capital enrich themselves at the expense of the owners of labor. The system of money wages, the modern system, is more profitable to the owners of capital than the slave system is to the slave-masters, and hardly less oppressive to the laborers. The wages, as a general rule, are never sufficient to enable the laborer to place himself on an equal footing with the capitalist. Capital will always command the lion's share of the proceeds. This is seen in the fact that, while they who command capital grow rich, the laborer by his simple wages at best only obtains a bare subsistence. The whole class of simple laborers are poor, and in general unable to procure by their wages more than the bare necessities of life. The capitalist employs labor that he may grow rich or richer; the laborer sells his labor that he may not die of hunger—he, his wife and his little ones—and as the urgency of guarding hunger is always stronger than that of growing rich or richer, the capitalist holds the laborer at his mercy, and has over him, whether called a slave or a freeman, the power of life and death."

"Brownson continues: 'To remedy these evils, I proposed to abolish the distinction between capitalists and laborers by having every man an owner of funds as well as the labor on a capital of his own, and to receive according to his works. Undoubtedly, my plan would have broken up the whole modern commercial system, prostrated all the great industries, or what I called the factory system, and thrown the mass of the people back on the land to get their living by agricultural and mechanical pursuits. I know this well enough, but this was one of the results that I aimed at. It was

wherefore I opposed the whole banking and credit system, and struggled hard to separate the fiscal concerns of the government from the moneyed interests of the country, and to abolish paper currency. I wished to check commerce, to destroy speculation, and for the factory system, which we were enacting tariffs to protect and build up, to restore the old system of home industry.'"

Calls Brownson Ideas Reactionary

To these paragraphs the writer added the following comments: "From this it will be seen that, while Brownson was socialistic in his criticisms of embryonic American capitalism, he was reactionary in his final aims; he would turn back, instead of going forward with industrial evolution, much after the manner of the modern populists and trustbusters."

It is possible that Oneal read the works of Brownson that were published before "The Convert" and thus formed his favorable Socialist impressions of him; impressions that are not warranted by the quotation made above.

However, Brownson's reactionary final aims need not detract from the value of his Socialistic criticisms; they are decidedly sound and of great value in the creation of an American Socialist tradition. Especially is this the case in view of the fact that Brownson later concluded that the introduction of his "economical system" was "wholly impracticable," and so gave up his endeavors in that direction.

But all this is of minor importance. The thing to do is to proceed, with all the haste possible, with the Americanization of Socialism as outlined in the article by Oneal, now under discussion. This is a work that will yield results only in proportion to its successful accomplishments.

We need it now more than ever before: the center of capitalist gravity has shifted from Europe to the United States and the world's Socialism should shift accordingly. Not in Russia, not in Germany, nor even in Great Britain is capitalism as pivotal or as crucial as here. It is here that capitalism will either "make or break" itself on a world scale. It is here that a world attack converges on a world imperialism, such as the world has never known before. It is here that industry and productivity expand at a rate that threatens ultimately to ruin us all, directly and indirectly, both at home and abroad. And it is here too that Socialism must and will raise its head as it has never done before.

But let us not trust too much to these stupendous impersonal economic forces, let us, rather, root our litera-

CAPMAKERS HONOR YARITSKY

The Cap and Millinery Cutters' Union, Local 2, of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, passed the following resolution at its last meeting, expressing their deep regret in the resignation of Max Zaritsky, their International president:

"Whereas Brother Max Zaritsky for a great number of years led our organization successfully, and

"Whereas, Through his efforts, energy and able leadership, the Cap Makers' Union reached its present stage, and

"Whereas, Due to the state of his health he was forced to resign as president of our International Union, therefore be it

"Resolved, That Local No. 2, Cap Cutters, assembled at this special meeting, held at our Lyceum, do hereby express their extreme regret over the loss of the invaluable services of Max Zaritsky and hope that he will speedily regain his health, remain an active member of the organization and give us the benefit of his practical experience in our struggle for better working conditions and a better life, and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be inserted in the Forward, in The Leader, the Headgear Worker and that the original of this resolution be sent to Brother Max Zaritsky."

A farewell dinner to Max Zaritsky, the former president of the union, was held at the Headgear Lyceum on Wednesday evening, December 30th, under the auspices of a committee of active workers, of which George W. Spector

was chairman and S. Hershkovitz secretary. Among the guests were a number of prominent leaders of the labor movement, all of whom expressed profound regret that Zaritsky's valuable services are no longer available in building and strengthening the labor movement. Short addresses were delivered by Sidney Hillman, president of the A. C. W. A.; Morris Sigman, president of the I. L. G. W. U.; Hugh Frayne, of the N. Y. State Federation of Labor; Adolph Held, manager of the Amalgamated Bank; Morris Finestone, secretary, United Hebrew Trades, and President Green and Secretary Lawlor, of the United Hatters.

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\$600,000 WORTH OF INVESTIGATION

By Louis F. Budenz

TO ANYONE who has been in the hard and soft coal fields for 24 hours, and has his eyes about him, it is plain:

1. That the miners do not luxuriate in the modern plumbing and other household necessities of the up and coming Rotarians, of the humblest mold, but that their living conditions are barren and humanly unfit.
 2. That they herd together of necessity in isolated communities, which the city dweller would revolt at inhabiting.
 3. That they engage in an uncomfortable and highly dangerous occupation, which lays low a large percentage of workers every year.
- With a little inquiry, this visitor to coal could also learn: 1. That anthracite is a hard-balled monopoly, which cares little for workers or the consumers; 2. That it is controlled by the railroads and interlocked with the large financial interests of the country; 3. That bituminous coal is in a deplorably chaotic condition, with more mines and miners than the country apparently needs.

What the Expensive U. S. Coal Commission Found; Findings Refuse to Face Nationalization Issue

It is therefore no new discovery that the United States Coal Commission has made in bringing some of these facts, and others of a like sort, to the surface—as a result of a \$600,000 investigation. The important thing is, that a commission composed of the conservative and ingrown personnel that adorns that body should have allowed themselves to be parties to such a damaging indictment of a vital public necessity under private ownership and control. For the much abused "public" does not know these facts, never having been to the coal fields, and still is largely the plaything of every new whiff of misleading propaganda.

Delayed Printing Of Its Findings

It is a grave reflection on the present workings of our benevolent Government that it has moved so slowly toward the printing of these records of the commission. We face crises everywhere in coal; and yet, the commission's records have lain on the shelves of Washington's archive rooms—unprinted and unavailable save only

to the operators. These gentlemen have been anxious not to have these findings come publicly to light. Not myself, but the American Association for Labor Legislation is responsible for such a charge.

In the summary of the commission's work, just published in book form by the staff of the commission, this defect is met in part. In the volume Labor will unearth much ammunition to confirm its position—both as to the present steps to be taken and the final action to be pursued.

The commission itself has dodged all fundamental solutions. In the introduction to the volume, John Hays Hammond, who was Chairman, says: "There is no easy panacea for this troubled industry." By that statement he hopes to demolish nationalization with an ancient side-swipe.

A Better Answer Required

But the Commission had drawn
*WHAT THE COAL COMMISSION FOUND. By the Staff of the United States Coal Commission; the Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore. \$3.00.

a picture of a bad state of things that requires some better answer. The chapter on "How the Miners Live" brings out quite clearly that they do not live decently. The company-owned shacks are, of course, particularly wretched. Twenty-five per cent of those investigated—some 71,000 in all—were merely board and batten, the cheapest kind of construction. Only 3 per cent of these "houses," in which the bituminous miners live, have inside flush toilets, and less than that number have bathtubs or showers. Less than 14 per cent have running water inside, "though nearly 61 per cent of the 713 company-controlled communities have water-works systems." Naturally, these conditions are merely the reflex of the low wages of the miners, in which periodic unemployment plays no small part. The increase in wages in recent years, even in anthracite has been less than in most other industries.

As to profits, we do not get as much of a glimpse of them as we think

should be given to consumers and the workers. But we get enough to know why the hard coal operators are opposed so bitterly at this very hour to the discussion of their profits in relation to wages and prices. Even in soft coal—notoriously overdeveloped and disorganized, we see the movement toward control on foot in the payment of some 50 Pocahontas operators of royalties to two or three companies, and the gradual development of wider control by U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, the Rockefeller Consolidation Coal Company, the Mellon Pittsburgh Coal Company, etc. Out of this unified control will come better profits. For the ten-year period, 1913-1922, profits are shown going up to 23 per cent in 1917. In 1920, wholesale profits went up to the high mark of 58 per cent on investment—no small return.

The Commission's chief recommendation for anthracite is: The declaration that it is a public utility and the establishment accordingly of machinery of regulation. Just what regulation will produce toward bettering conditions we are at a loss to see. The experience with regulation in the rail-

road industry has merely provided a highly expensive piece of governmental machinery to O. K. the carriers' demands. In labor control, rail regulation in the persons of the Railroad Labor Board, has been such a decided failure that rail executives and rail unions are united in urging its repeal.

The basic suggestion in regard to bituminous smacks very much of confiscation. If it be legal, it has more hope in it of concrete results than the regulation idea in anthracite. It is, that "the Government, as administrator of fifty million acres of coal lands, amend the leasing laws so as to restrict the opening of new bituminous mines." To grapple effectively with the situation, the Government would have to go even farther than that and close up a number of mines now in operation. So far as its recommendations go, the Commission is definitely tied down by the fact that it will not face a future and fundamental solution: nationalization. This is said with the realization that nationalization cannot come today or tomorrow. It is not to the Commission's conclusion, but to the array of coal-material that it has brought to light, to which Labor can look for aid in presenting its side of the coal question. For that purpose the present summary is welcome—and the publication of the full findings by the Government will even prove more helpful.

THE STRUGGLE OF A YOUTH

By Madelin Leaf

Seldom have we read so poetic a picturization of beaten idealistic youth as Melvin Levy has given us in his first novel. Not only poetic feelings, but that rare quality—restraint—does Mr. Levy put into his penetrating study of a youth who would be free but cannot—"The Matrix."

Never does Mr. Levy sentimentalize or gush, although both are very easy in a tale that tells of a youngster who starts to live his own mental life in grammar school, attempts to continue it in high school and college, and finally has it crushed out of him when he enters the world—free and a man.

Society and his parents are to blame. On both these heads does Mr. Levy heap coals of fire for preventing young McKim from completing his poetry or his love. Both lead him to turn his writing talents to building up a large and successful advertising firm, and both force him to acquiesce in a safe and sane middle-class marriage.

Through no high-powered coercion do society and family cow McKim. He does not get a chance to revolt to the tune of cyzabals, bloodshed or brass bands. The ties which bind him to his parents are those of affection and tradition. His eldest sister dies. How can he then leave his parents? He leaves the advertising firm. They beg him to return, whispering honeyed words of a brilliant future, where his talent for words is sure to amaze the world. What else is there for him to do but agree?

And so all the dreams, all the word-pictures, all the longings of the idealistic youth are put away, and the world sees and is proud of a successful business man, whose huge advertising agency is soon to be annihilated by still bigger advertising agencies and whose only gift to posterity is a grandson who loves the violin and disipation and drink and Paris. A fine ironic book, this, written in a restrained beautiful style.

THE MATRIX. By Melvin P. Levy. New York: Thomas Selzer. 42.

Closing Ranks in Germany

The Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Employees' department of the German Transport and Communications Federation and the General Union Post Office Workers, recently held a joint conference, and decided to organize the employes in the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone services into a single union. The draft constitution, discussed at special joint meetings, was adopted by 168 votes to 4. This amalgamation in the National Postal Service completes the work begun by the union of the railway workers into a single national organization of German railway men.

UNRAVELING NATURE'S MYSTERIES

By B. C. Gruenberg

THE facts of individual variation are most easily blamed upon the "environment" until we discover the operation and the limits of certain environmental factors. Then we resort to "heredity." In recent years the glands of internal secretion have been called upon to carry part of the burden of explaining what we do not understand in the characteristics and conduct of human beings. They share with the "unconscious" the responsibility of furnishing an easy formula to allay people's concern about what they do not know in this matter. Popular books like this one of Dr. Berman's serve to supply concrete cases or body for what would otherwise be an abstraction, to impress the public anew with the wonders of nature and with the cleverness of the scientist who unravels nature's mysteries. These functions the present book serves very well. To look further for an attempt to assimilate the marvels of nature and of science to common sense, would be asking too much.

The living matter of human beings, like the living matter of other animals and of plants is constantly influenced by variations in external conditions—temperature, moisture, oxygen, nutrients. It is also influenced by the presence of substances that are not essential to its vital activities—the by-products of its own activities, such as carbon dioxide and urea, substances that are essential but present in excessive quantities, such as various salts, and substances that are poisonous, such as the by-products of the activities of other plants and animals. A great variety of diseased conditions result from the poisons or toxins of parasitism and some other poisons—diphtheria, tetanus, lead, phosphorus. All this is fairly easy to understand. Some substances depress the action of living matter, others accelerate the action—there are stimulants and there are narcotics. Some substances act directly upon the muscles, others act upon the nerves or upon the brain cells—there is belladonna, there is cocaine, and there used to be alcohol.

All of these facts, entirely commonplace, must have added to them another class of facts. The by-products of various tissues in a complex body have specific qualities. For example, tannin is found in the bark of certain trees, pigments are found in the leaves or in the wood; certain drugs are prepared from roots, other from leaves, perhaps of the same plant. In the higher animals the flesh or muscle produces substances that are different from those found in the brain or the

Dr. Berman's Contribution to the Study of Humans

There are in the higher boned animals several structures that produce specific substances which are absorbed into the blood and distributed by the blood to all parts of the body. These glands of internal secretion have been known as structures for a long time; but it is only in comparatively recent times that the characteristics of their specific products have been systematically studied. It is found that some of them influence growth and development; others influence the output of energy; others influence the activity of the cortex or the thinking part of the brain. The "personality" or temperament is thus, from one point of view, the result of the action and the interaction of these internal secretions. It is personality as thus influenced that constitutes the subject matter of the book, "The Personal Equation."

To know these various secretions, their sources, their chemical properties, and their effect in detail, to be able to produce them at will and to administer them so as to produce specific desired results, is to master some of

"nature's most fascinating secrets." The reader must be warned against the hope of mastering these secrets through a reading of this book. The author deals rather broadly with results and conclusions. He gives you no technical details on the preparation of standard hormones, no simple rules for recognizing just what is needed in any given situation; nor does he tell us the dosage, nor otherwise instruct us on how to obtain desired results. After reading the book one is still at a loss to know whether a meal of sweetbreads or of lamb fries once a week will restore one's youth, or whether it is safe to buy thyroid tablets by the box to eat between meals to insure success in salesmanship or in passing intelligence tests. It is indeed fortunate that the author leaves so much unsaid, although for people who want that sort of thing, the market will no doubt soon enough be accommodating.

Those Medicine Man Blues
Inspired by a reading of The Medical Follies. By Morris Fishbein, M.D. (Boni & Liveright, N. Y. \$2.00). With the Writer's apologies to K. C. B., Irving Berlin, Shakespeare, Dr. Munyon, et al.

This is the age of jazz and bunk. Here is the medical-jazz sage. He blows no saxophone. But, believe me, he swings. A man and nasty medical megaphone. O, mammy, listen to him rage. At the fakers in his cage. From Cairo-practice back to home-opathy. It's always been money making time. In Osteopathy land, where the Abram's method grows. Kid, he shows up the mental healers. From Canada right down through Dixie land. He dips his pen in a strong solution. Of fact and humor mixed with brains. O, how he does analyze and tantalize. Those healing cults; the big muscle boys. The antivivisectionists. The physical culturists and bifth controllers. The monkey business rejuvenators. And the medical legislators. Plumbers, butchers and opinionaters. Watch him sock the Bris-banal editors. Who write on health and wealth. Right on the button, be. This book has no high falutin etymology. Or cold and dismal sociology. But facts that hurt like bricks. I'll tell the world and all you readers. Those correspondence course docs and quacks. Will be black and blue from these Medical Follies. Dr. Fishbein just grabbed our sick society. And gave it a little paregorical physick. O, what an enemy he makes! Of all the quacks and fakes. Too bad he couldn't do the same With all the sex and nervous wrecks. Experts, at \$5 an hour, psychoanalysts. Perhaps he will, be still, my heart, be still. And who'll go for the spiritists. Who a happy medium like this book? Whoever touches the cover of our fine system. This land of the spree and the home of the knave. Whewwwwww! What a smell! But it's got to be done. America must be debunked and rid of all pests. Who find high prices in sun spots. And pregnancy and short breath. In maladjusted vertebrae. And compressed nerves, ya gods. Yes, we have culds "vie hultz." All sorts of vegetables and trips. Different ways of making a dollar. But we have no hosannas for them, to-daaaaaaaay.

In spite of a great deal that is purely speculative, a great deal that approaches the theoretical, and a great deal of vestigial dogmatism, the book is very stimulating and enlightening in so far as it points to the experimental method of solving problems that have been heretofore left almost entirely to metaphysics and deduction from unverified assumptions.

A PILGRIMAGE INTO HUMANITY

By Gloria Goddard

DOWN through the years, John Galsworthy has made the long pilgrimage into the hearts and minds of men, and has returned with this CARAVAN of treasure. Here is a book that can stand proudly beside THE FORSYTE SAGA, and that will take its place in the van of this century's great literature.

M. Galsworthy, perhaps better than any other English writer, understands the human mind and its intricate convolutions. His Caravan has ambled leisurely through twenty-three years, beginning with 1900, and has brought back to the markets of intellect varied and interesting wares.

The first story, The Salvation of a Forsyte, links the book with his famous epic of English life. There follow fifty-six excursions into human nature. The stories are paired, an early tale being followed by one of later date, but treating of a similar theme. This treatment alone is a splendid addition to literature, especially to those of the writing craft. For it allows the comparison of the same theme, treated by the same author, in youth and in maturity. The enhanced beauty of style, the more subtle appreciation of characterization, which years of careful work bring to an author, afford a profitable study to any young writer. Thus the book has two values; as a literary study, and as a literary feast for the epicure.

To please the latter taste, there is the remarkable picture of an elderly Englishman in The Stole; the gentle etching of an old lady in The Grey Angel; and the quaint proddings into the phlegmatic British coldness so oddly portrayed in The Japanese Quince. There is a remarkable courage in all of these tales, the courage that sees actually, and is unafraid to carve it on a printed page. Such fearlessness is in The Bright Side, written in 1913, and showing in all its glaring cruelty the blunders of the recent war. Mr. Galsworthy seems to be a second Gladstone in his championship of "women of a certain type," for at least ten of the stories tell, with that kindly insight which is only given to the sympathetic, the pathos and the misery of the prostitute's existence.

There is not one story of the entire fifty-six that is not interesting and readable. Perhaps a few fall short of the perfection of their companions, one or two drop a bit toward sentimentalism, and a few may be accused of being slight. But it is only through comparison with their neighbors that they fall short. When there are such a number of tales, rising to such pinnacles as The Stole and A Feud, it would be impossible to expect all of them to reach so great a height.

So it is not too much to say that Caravan is a milestone in twentieth century literature, a book to be read and reread by all lovers of a good tale, and to be studied by all who hope to achieve the creation of one.

CARAVAN—By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1925. \$2.50.

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CAN CREDIT CONTROL BRING LABOR'S VICTORY?

By the Editor

OCCASIONALLY some new theory of capitalism is presented by an enthusiast who believes that he has discovered some simple method by which the absurdities and injustices of the system can be eliminated. The new theory is often so simple that it does not propose to alter the fundamentals of capitalism, it being assumed that this is not even necessary. We have received a number of letters from a correspondent regarding a new proposal which had its origin in England, the following being typical:

"I have neither the time nor the energy to make another protest, and yet I am going to make one. How much longer are the editors of The New Leader, and the contributing editors, going to keep the public in the dark about credit—its nature, ownership and use? I am glad the English Labor Party takes the position that the right method of social emancipation is to discover the cause of the class struggle and remove that, instead of baiting the worker on to fight in blind and bloody warfare with no definite end in view. Why can't Socialists advocate not the ownership of the means of production, but the ownership of the credit that is necessary to finance both production and consumption? But why waste my breath? You must know."

It will be seen that our correspondent assumes that we are engaged in a conspiracy to keep from the masses some important knowledge that we "must know." We heartily urge the working class on in a senseless struggle with "no definite end in view." It does not occur to him that he has the same opportunity to present his credit solution that we have for presenting our views. We have no objection to credit advocates establishing a publication and if they persistently present this idea we will not charge them with being engaged in a conspiracy to keep the program of Socialism from the masses.

First Proposed In England

The Douglas credit scheme was in England placed before the National Guilds League five years ago and was ignored. Carpenter in his "Guild Socialism" writes that "Presently, the backers of the scheme hinted very broadly that the neglect of their pro-

The Douglas Scheme, a Plan to Equally Distribute the Advantages of Capitalism—Where It Fails

ject was deliberate, partly because of sinister pressure from the financial interests at which it hit." Just why the credit advocates "must suspect Socialists as being either dishonest or corrupt because they are not impressed with the scheme is a problem which we prefer to refer to our readers."

Briefly, the Douglas scheme proposes that credit power be taken over by consumers through the establishment of labor banks, with power to issue currency, and fix prices based upon a fraction of factory cost corresponding to the ratio of consumption to production. Industrial democracy is impossible, he contends, so long as finance remains untouched while administration of industry by the workers is not important. Credit control is the important and fundamental factor of capitalism. Work out this problem of credit control in the

interest of the masses, says the supporter of Douglas, and there will be no need of bothering about anything else. Capitalism will function in an equitable way for all. In an outline of the idea Arthur Brenton says that "It solves the problem of harmonizing the interests of the capitalist and the worker within the industrial system."

It will be observed that the credit control scheme is based on the idea that the whole system of capitalism is acceptable except for one defect: Wipe out this and everybody will be happy. The scheme does not recognize human society as an evolving organism with a variety of institutions and interests constantly changing. It is as though one were to have lived in a pre-capitalist society and proposed to make all arrangements equitable for every human being by altering or modifying some particular

function of that society, maintaining its fundamental features forever.

The Harmonizing Of Interests

We are frank in saying that the outlook, the method and the scheme are utterly Utopian and we are all the more convinced of this when we are assured that the interests of capitalist and laborer will be harmonized "within the industrial system." The capitalist buys labor power and the laborer sells it. In the two classes is concentrated the antagonism of buyer and seller, an antagonism that is more acute and fundamental than the conflict which occurs between the purchaser and the seller in the case of the housewife who bargains for the weekly supply of foodstuffs.

In all countries where capitalism has appeared the conflict of interests has

resolved itself into an organized struggle between capitalists and laborers, the first in employers' organizations and the second in trade unions. China, which is entering the first phases of capitalist production, also presents this economic class struggle. Permit ownership by a class of the powers of production and no matter what organization of credit is undertaken that class will buy labor power and laborers will be compelled to sell it and out of this relation comes the economic conflict and the ensuing class struggle. Any program that ignores this fundamental fact will lead to disappointment.

By keeping the economic antagonism inherent in modern capitalism in mind, do we urge the worker "to fight in blind and bloody warfare with no definite end in view?" Certainly not. No movement has a more "definite

end in view" than the Socialist movement. In thousands of publications, books, leaflets, conventions and international congresses the end in view has been stated over and over again. If our correspondent does not understand it, it is certainly not because we have neglected to inform him.

"Blind and Bloody Warfare"

Nor do we urge the workers to "fight in blind and bloody warfare." We have always opposed blind and bloody struggle as silly and ineffective. Throughout the history of the Socialist movement we have always counseled intelligent struggle, a struggle based upon knowledge of the laws of a developing capitalism, in order to avoid illusions and to make the most of working class striving. Blind and bloody warfare is generally the course taken by workers who do not understand capitalism and the class struggle. The great upheaval on the railroads in 1877 and the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times building by the Macnamara brothers are examples of this futile form of struggle.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

BULGARIA

Socialists War on Tsankof

Recent cablegrams from Sofia telling of the pardoning by King Boris of three score persons 'condemned to death for alleged complicity in the bomb outrage in the Svet Nadella Cathedral last April and of plans by Premier Tsankof for a wholesale amnesty embracing thousands of Communists, Agrarians and Socialists, indicate that the vigorous fight against the Government waged by the Social Democrats in the Sobranje and, as far as possible in the Bulgarian press, during the last few weeks is getting some results. Despite the high-sounding defia occasionally given out by the Tsankof Government, it is well known that the mobilization of public opinion all over the world against the bloody regime that has oppressed the Bulgarian masses ever since the overthrow of Premier Stambulsky in June, 1923, is having its effect and that Professor Tsankof's days as Premier are numbered. This seems the more probable as King Boris is understood to be in favor of new elections and a milder regime.

Following the victory of the radical elements in the annual convention of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, held in Sofia in October, the party leaders have been more aggressive than ever and have kept up a constant warfare on the reaction. Before the convention met there were many prophecies in the bourgeois press to the effect that the "moderates" were sure to win control of the party and that if they didn't there would be a split. But nothing of the sort happened. The "right wing" turned out to be so feeble that it could not elect even one member of the Central Committee, which is now composed of well-tried comrades, all of whom are bitter enemies of the Tsankof regime. The resolutions adopted call for a great campaign of working class education along Socialist lines, with Marxian principles as the basis, in the hope of uniting the scattered labor forces for a drive against the Tsankof party when the time is ripe.

When Parliament resumed its sessions last month the Socialist deputies took the lead in denouncing the Government and succeeded in getting nearly all the opposition forces together in an anti-Tsankof block. In a speech summing up the work of the Bulgarian reactionary terrorists and pointing out that they were still at work killing off labor and peasant leaders, Comrade Pastukhof declared: "The present regime has outdone all its predecessors in drawing the hatred of the world upon Bulgaria and in forcing this country into the worst state of isolation it has ever known. Abroad all parties, Right and Left, Conservative and Social Democrats, Diplomats and the common people, in brief all public opinion, are as one in

their view of the present Bulgarian Government."

At first the Tsankof terrorists tried to squelch the opposition in the Sobranje by re-doing their outrages and arrests throughout the country, but the latest reports seem to show that these tactics have not proved satisfactory, which probably accounts for the present amnesty move.

SWITZERLAND

Another Socialist Victory

Following the big gains by the Swiss Socialists in the national elections of Oct. 25 came another victory on Dec. 6 when the Socialist vote in the municipal election in Bern rose to 10,388 from 9,337 in 1923, while that of the Citizens' Party and the Radicals fell from 11,048 to 10,087. The Socialist won 20 seats, against 18 in 1923, and now have 38 Aldermen, against 40 Citizens' Partyites and Radicals and 2 Evangelicals. At this rate of progress the next election of half the members of the council will see the Socialists in a majority. Reports in the Berner Tagwacht from other

municipalities in the Canton of Bern show that, in general, the Socialists held their own and in some cases made slight gains.

Insurance Referendum Carried

Largely because of the campaign in their favor waged by the Social Democratic Party, although the Socialist press, and Deputies did not fail to point out their defects, the constitutional amendments instructing the Federal Government to set up a system of old age and widows and dependents pensions and to follow that up with the establishing of State Insurance against illness as soon as practical were carried on Dec. 6 by a vote of 408,332 to 214,955. In urging the voters to support the amendments, the Socialists did not fail to emphasize the fact that the new pension system would be far from meeting their ideals, but they admitted that it was about all that could be won at present and consequently ought to be put through as the basis for a real all round insurance for the masses later.

Gruetli Society Absorbed

About the last step in the absorp-

tion of the Gruetli Society by the Social Democratic Party was taken on Nov. 22 when the last congress of that organization voted, 122 to 13, to liquidate. The only question remaining was how the 102 local groups of the society should be embodied in the Socialist Party. As some delegates favored going over as a national body while others were for allowing each group to decide for itself, it was resolved to have a referendum on this matter. The Gruetli Society, named after the meadow where, more than 600 years ago, was organized the league that laid the foundation of the Swiss Confederation, started in 1838 as a champion of political liberty. In 1893, with 353 sections and 16,400 members, it affiliated with the Socialist Party, but withdrew when the Socialists took what the Gruetli leaders thought was too radical a course during and after the World War. Then it began to go downhill, its more militant young men joining the Socialist Party, and at present it has only about 2,700 members.

The organized form of the class struggle appears in every capitalist country before the Socialist movement appears. By their economic position in society the working class are compelled to organize into unions. They so act in response to the need of improving their conditions as a class and against the will of the exploiting classes to flch from the masses all values in excess of enough to live on. Socialists did not and could not create this economic antagonism. It is a part of capitalism and to transform the struggle into an intelligent one, to organize the working class for the conquest of the system and to reconstruct the whole of capitalism on a co-operative basis is the aim of the Socialist movement.

This is not to imply that credit control in some form may not be useful in assisting the masses to acquire some measure of control over industry, but it should not be considered an end in itself. It should be regarded in the same way as the legal eight-hour day, legislative restriction of the labor of women and children in industry, protection of the franchise, more equitable representation of parties in legislative bodies, and so on. All such issues are important in winning a better position for the masses within the present social order while they organize, mobilize and march with the view of transforming the great industries into the collective property of society and managing them for the welfare of all.

Thus the Socialist movement considers the whole of modern society and not one phase of its economic functions. It considers capitalism merely as one stage of economic history, a stage that will pass away and be succeeded by another just as it succeeded a previous phase of history. This is only another way of stating what is meant by social evolution. This broad perspective is obtained by a study of history, and one who approaches the problem from this point of view is not likely to select one economic function of society for reformation in the hope of solving the social problem.

It will be interesting to our correspondent to know that before Major Douglas worked out his idea in England Mr. Charles Ferguson outlined a similar program in this country. His book on "The Revolution Absolute" was published in 1918. Guillaume de Greef, the Belgian sociologist, Ferdinand Lassalle and Pierre J. Proudhon also anticipated Major Douglas in much that he has written on control and use of credit. If, therefore, one desired to keep people in the dark regarding this alleged solution of the social problem he would have difficulty in doing so.

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The New Leader Mail Bag.

To the Editor of The New Leader:

The beginning of the year is a time to take heart and courage. In these early days of 1926, it is worth while to recall some of the words spoken by Eugene V. Debs at the banquet given in Boston in honor of his seventieth birthday, on May 1, 1925. I noted them down at the time. He said, in part:

"I feel very sorry for people who allow themselves to grow old. It is an inexcusable sin.

"I am sorry for the man who has only dollars and imagines he has wealth. The fruit of exploitation turns to ashes upon the lips at last. You show an average capitalist a magnificent tree, like the one described in Joyce Kilmer's poem, and he takes out his pencil and figures out how many feet of lumber there are in it. . . .

"I thank God I am not of those who can feel comfortable while others suffer. My overcoat is not warm while I see some poor shivering wretch. I am not fed while others are hungry.

"I have discovered long ago the fountain of youth. I am not 70, I am twice 35. There is a bright future before humanity, even if we do not live to see it. Of course, I shall not see it; but I believe in it so thoroughly that I can project myself into it, can live in it, by doing all I can to make it possible. We have to suffer, but the compensation is so rich, so overwhelming! I have regretted a thousand times that I have so little to give to the movement that has done so much for me. Going to prison? That is a joy, for Socialism. I should hate to go for capitalism!

"I was never in prison for an instant. I could look at those walls, and they would melt away. I felt always around me the vibrations of your hearts. As someone had to be there, I was glad to be able to render that humble service. I think I could go to the stake for this cause. I am happy so long as I can look myself in the face without a blush. The only way to secure immortal youth is to be absolutely true.

"Wendell Phillips wrote the first Socialist platform in 1871. I sat at his feet. . . . The tide has turned, and we shall go forward, if you will be true to your highest conceptions of duty."

He paid a warm tribute to the men who are in prison for opinion's sake. He said: "There are a great many heroes behind prison bars today, and especially here in the United States. You have two here in Massachusetts. Sacco and Vanzetti. This is what society does to men who are too honest, who cannot be bribed, cannot be brow-beaten. It was so with Socrates, and with the Man of Galilee. In every age, there have been these heroic spirits.

"Every night I think of Sacco and Vanzetti when I lie down to sleep. They are absolutely innocent. I do not know Sacco personally, but I have met Vanzetti. I sat with him in his prison cell, knee to knee, heart to heart. I looked into his deep heart. He is an idealist, absolutely incapable of the crime with which he was charged. He and Sacco were tried in a time of hysteria, and therefore found guilty. Who can imagine the torture of these two souls in all these days and months and years? If they are exe-

uted, it will leave an indelible blot upon the history of Massachusetts.

"I have such a feeling for these two heroes and martyrs that if I could I would willingly take their place. Be as true to them as they have been to you! Let us keep their names on our lips and in our hearts. Let us do everything that we can until these two innocent men walk forth free."

Alice Stone Blackwell,
Dorchester, Mass.

The National Convention Agenda

Editor, The New Leader:

Hoboken Comrades hailed with pleasure the circular letter from the National Executive Committee of the party, inviting from all the branches resolutions and suggestions which, following the manner prescribed in section 11, Article VI of the National Constitution of the party, are to receive a place in agenda for the next national convention.

The Comrades here consider the plan a decided improvement on the party's past methods in making ready for a national convention in that it will allow the branches a foreknowledge of most, if not all, of the problems to be tackled at the convention, and permit the branches' wishes on such questions to be expressed through its delegates instead of (as heretofore) the delegates' wishes for the branches spoken on matters whose coming up before a national convention the Comrades at home often could hardly be expected to foresee. **ANTHONY STEFFICH,**
Hoboken, N. J.

YIPSELDOM

Circle 8, Manhattan, meets at their headquarters, 137 Avenue B, Saturday evening, Jan. 2, to hear a lecture by Hymie Waldman on "The Law Makers and the American People." Comrade Waldman has just come from Washington where he is completing his law course. All are invited to hear him.

Circle 8 is busily engaged raising funds for "Camp Ypel" which it is trying to establish for the Ypsals of Greater New York, and would like to have the cooperation of every circle in order to start the camp by the end of May.

Bronx

The Junior Circle had a splendid entertainment last Friday at 1167 Boston Road. A real spirit of comradeship was prevailing, and harmonious prearranged action was evident, and credit is due to the executive committee of the circle for planning details in advance.

Next Friday, Jan. 1, an election of officers will take place. Every member must be present, and take an active part in the election so that only those who are most efficient in the circle's affairs should be placed in office. A great deal of the circle's activities depend upon the capability of the officials. A social is scheduled to follow the business meeting, which is to start at 8:15 sharp.

New Circle, 7th A. D.

The new circle in the 7th A. D. had its second meeting Saturday night, at 4215 Third Avenue. The attendance was better and a more sociable spirit

developed. Comrades Greshler, Bassoff, Levine, Parmett, and Hertzberg gave several recitations and a pantomime. A mock trial was performed by Hertzberg who acted both as district attorney and the defendant. Ben Levine, who hurriedly dressed up in lady's attire, acted the lady witness whose dignity was injured by an Italian street cleaner, and Bassoff presided as the judge. It was a very humorous scene and pleased everybody immensely.

Next meeting will be held Saturday, Jan. 2, 8:15 p. m., at 4215 Third Avenue, corner of Tremont. Assistant Organizer Esther Milgram will recite two interesting poems, comrades Greshler, Bassoff, Levine and Parmett promise to be present. Among other things, at this meeting, it will be decided whether to change the meeting nights to Thursdays instead of Saturdays. All those who have been receiving letters or postals from comrade Hertzberg must be present, to voice their opinion as to what nights is the most convenient for them to meet. Everybody will have an equal vote.

Classes at Bronx Fellowship

August Claessens will address the Open Forum of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Sunday, January 3, at 3:30 p. m. Mr. Claessens' subject will be, "The Roots of Prejudice." At 8 p. m. Leon Rosser Land will speak at the Fellowship Service on "The New Civilization." Soloist, Genevieve Kaufman, Pianist, Marjorie Gates.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Coal Blues

THE government of the United States of America has presented me with the full coal report. It is printed in six volumes, cost \$600,000, and will take me seven years to read, providing my blinkers hold out.

I have now a ten-foot shelf of coal literature in my library and the books are still coming at an alarming rate. If I read all these books I'd know more about coal than King Coal himself. But I'm not going to read them all. They are too depressing.

Everyone is writing about the evils of coal; the craziness of coal; the anarchy of coal; the waste of coal; the crime of coal. Nobody has a remedy and those who think they have a remedy agree that it would make things worse.

From all I can make out the future of coal is as black as the picture of the darky hunting a black cat in the cellar at midnight. The only ray of cheer is that the industry isn't as bad as it will be.

Mr. Hoover has a remedy. Or thinks he has. Being an engineer of reputation and Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover deserves attention. He shall have it.

"The coal industry," says Mr. Hoover, "is the worst conducted of all our industries." All in favor of Mr. Hoover's motion say "aye."

The eyes have it and so ordered. Mr. Hoover has the floor.

"The coal mines," continues Mr. Hoover, "are backward in using machinery, in standardizing practices, and in adopting quantity methods of production." His remedy is to throw out rule-of-thumb procedure, guesswork, about-that-much and maybe-so's, and borrow from metal mining and factory machines, time clocks, efficiency engineers, blue prints and the other paraphernalia of mass production at the expense of the masses.

Mr. Hoover's ideal of a coal mine is a subterranean Ford plant in which the miners perform a given number of jerks, twists and spasms while nursing the automatic conveyor which is delivering coal from the face to the bin of the suffering public.

What is the opinion of the meeting concerning Mr. Hoover's remedy? There being only operators and miners present the meeting has none.

Still looking for a remedy, I consult my ten foot shelf of coal facts. My eyes light upon—

The Case of Bituminous Coal
By Hamilton and Wright.

The facts and figures presented in the following misere are taken from this book. I do not vouch for their accuracy. Neither do the authors. Nor the people from whom they got them. Nor anybody else. It is coal data, which means that when it is favorable to the industry it is taken from the prospectus of a coal company which is trying to sell more stock. When unfavorable it is lifted from the brief of a coal operators' association, which is trying to show that the industry is too poor to pay living wages. But let us not blame the authors. Anybody trying to stick to facts on coal has to be some sprinter.

Now, according to Hamilton and Wright, Mr. Hoover is off his base. His remedy is no remedy at all. Its very success would be its failure. The trouble with coal, they say, is not that there is not enough, but that there is too much coal. Increased efficiency, such as is proposed by Mr. Hoover, they claim would just about finish the coal industry, by increasing the already existing cut-throat competition between operators on the one side and the miners on the other. And then they go on to show that the hydra headed monster efficiency is already gnawing on the vitals of King Coal and that it is this very efficiency that is destroying the inefficiency which allows the industry to live at all. Here are the figures. Read them and weep:

	1900—Tons	1923—Tons
Production	212,000,000	564,000,000
Mine capacity . . .	279,000,000	970,000,000
No. of miners	304,000	600,000
Output per miner		
per working day . .	2.98	4.44

The increased output per man and day is mainly due to improved mining methods and mine machinery. In 1920, for instance, only 52,000,000 tons were produced with the aid of cutting machines, while 377,000,000 tons were produced in 1923 by this method.

Citing the Coal Commission's report, Hamilton and Wright show that in a certain mine the output per man under ground per day was doubled by the use of loading machines. Assuming that to be the general effect, they estimate that 396,753 inside and outside men could have produced all the coal consumed in the year 1922.

But cheer up, the worst is yet to come. If the mines had worked 300 days instead of only 142 as they did in 1922, the number of miners required to produce the tonnage of that year would have been only 244,000.

Worse still, quoting an article by Walter M. Duke, they give an instance of a mine maintaining an average production of 750 tons a day with a working force of 60 inside and outside. Assuming that the country's coal requirements of 550,000,000 tons could all come from mines doing that well and that those mines worked 300 days a year, only 147,000 miners would be required to produce all the coal needed in the country.

When Noah saw the deluge coming he built the Ark. If Brother Hoover had been in his place, he would have prayed for rain. No, efficiency won't do. There are too many mines, miners, machines and coal as it is.

Motion made and seconded to prohibit efficiency. Carried.

No, that won't work, either. Efficiency is here to stay. So are machines. If humanity can't compete with efficiency, so much the



NEW YEAR RESOLUTIONS OF THE POOR FISH

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| Work Harder | Spend Less Money |
| ***** | ***** |
| Be Polite to the Boss | Join the Elks |
| ***** | ***** |
| Don't Listen to Agitators | Be Kind to Animals |
| ***** | ***** |
| Work Hard When the Boss Is Looking | Work Harder |
| ***** | ***** |
| Stop Complaining | Keep Smiling |
| ***** | ***** |

ALWAYS RESPECT PRESIDENT COOLIDGE

Rent, Interest and Profit THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

(Continued from Last Week)

Division Into Rent, Profit and Interest

Of course, the whole of the profit is not pure gain for the capitalist. Part of the surplus is taken by the landlord under the name of rent; part goes to the money lending capitalist as interest, so that there remains to the capitalist as such only industrial or commercial profit. "Rent, interest and industrial profit are only different names for different parts of the surplus value of the commodity, or the unpaid labor enclosed in it, and they are equally derived from this source and from this source alone." They are not derived from land as such or from capital as such, but land and capital enable their owners to get their respective shares out of the surplus value extracted by the employing capitalist from the laborer. For the laborer himself it is a matter of subordinate importance whether that surplus value, the result of his surplus labor, or unpaid labor, is altogether pocketed by the employing capitalist, or whether the latter is obliged to pay portions of it, under the name of rent and interest, away to third parties. Suppose the employing capitalist is to use only his own capital and be his own landlord, then his whole surplus value would go into his own pocket.

Value of Labor Power—Physical and Social

Returning to the value of labor power, Marx maintained that there were some peculiar features which distinguished the value of laboring power or the value of labor from the values of all other commodities. "The value of laboring power is formed of two elements—the one merely physical, the other historical or social. The ultimate limit is determined by the physical element, that is to say, to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existence, the working class must receive the necessaries absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying."

"Besides this mere physical element,"

Marx continues, "the value of labor is in every country determined by the traditional standard of life. It is not mere physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which the people are placed and reared up. This historical or social element, entering into the value of labor, may be expanded or contracted, or altogether extinguished, so that nothing remains but the physical limit. . . . By comparing the standard of wages or values of labor in different countries, and by comparing them in different historical epochs of the same country, you will find that the value of labor itself is not a fixed but a variable magnitude, even supposing the values of all other magnitudes remain constant."

The Rate of Profit

On the other hand, there exists no law determining the minimum of profit. The maximum of profits is limited by the minimum of wages and the physical maximum of the working day. An immense scale of variation is thus possible in the rate of profits. The actual rate of profits is only settled "by the continuous struggle between capital and labor, the capitalist constantly tending to reduce wages to their physical minimum and to extend the working day to its physical maximum while the working man constantly presses in the opposite direction. The matter resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants." The law of supply and demand must also be taken into account in determining the kind of wages settlements actually made. The greater the demand for labor on the part of the capitalist in proportion to the supply of available labor, the more favorable will be the wage settlements. However, as capitalist industry progresses, the demand for labor fails to keep pace with the accumulation of capital. This development tends to turn the scale against the worker and in favor of the capitalist. The general tendency of capitalist production is, therefore, to push the value of labor more or less

toward the minimum limit. Some might argue that, in view of this tendency, the workers should remain passive and fall to resist the encroachments of capital. However, this does not follow. If they did this, they "would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. . . . and disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement."

On the other hand, they should not forget that in resisting such encroachments, they are fighting with effects, "that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights. . . . Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work,' they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wages system.'"

Marx thus connects up his value theories with his demand that the system which creates a surplus value should be eliminated.

Conclusion

The foregoing theories of Marx have furnished much of the theoretical basis for the modern socialist movement. By many millions they have been accepted as truths which should not be disputed. By many others, they have been subjected to severe critical analysis, and to a considerable modification in the light of more recent economic developments. Some of these criticisms will be later considered.

But, as Professor E. R. A. Seligman remarks:

"When we do not agree with Marx's analysis of industrial society, it is safe to say that no one can study Marx as he deserves to be studied—and, let us add, as he has heretofore NOT been studied in England and America—without recognizing the fact that, perhaps with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science."

worse for humanity. If efficiency throws some four hundred thousand coal miners on the scrap pile like so much rubbish, let them suffer in due humility. Efficiency wills it.

The saddest part of the book I'm quoting from is the humorous style in which the most depressing facts are presented. Each chapter starts with a funny quotation from some comic opera which is followed by data that is enough to wring tears from a granite tombstone. The effect on me was as if my buddy had risen from his marble slab in the morgue and greeted me with: "Have you heard the story about the two Irishmen, Pat and Mike?" then turned over and died again.

In spite of its callow humor, "The Case of Bituminous Coal" is a rattling good book. Every miner ought to have one in his home. It would make him think of green meadows,

moonshine and water tanks—anything but trying to make a living by mining, or if Hamilton and Wright are right the merry sound of the whistle will be heard less and less as time goes on.

Guess I'll present my ten-foot shelf of coal to the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, the old ladies' home, or the asylum for feeble-minded youths, or something. When a fellow is sick in bed it don't help him to read that he is sicker than he feels. What he wants is a remedy, and in all that noble array of facts on coal there isn't a thing that looks even remotely like a remedy. Besides, New Year is coming and how in blazes can a fellow get into the happy season's spirits by reading about the coal industry?

Adam Coaldigger.

Kidding the Kids We Ain't So Good Ourselves

SOME of our radical friends derive much innocent amusement by laughing at collegians. They particularly delight in kidding those undergraduate enthusiasts who express interest in the labor movement. And in the next breath they curse the colleges for breeding nothing but "rah rah boys," hip hounds and party petters. Which makes it rather hard for the young men and women who take life and themselves a bit seriously and are genuinely anxious to be of some use in the world.

We met quite a number of the latest crop of collegians at the annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy this last week and we are here to say that, by and large, they struck us as vastly superior to the output of, let us say, the year 1909 when we were thrust from the portals of Columbia upon a none too enthusiastic world.

To be sure we had our radicals, even in those remote days, but somehow the 1926 group appears to be more sure-footed, less fanatic, if you please, but certainly more human than the 1909 contingent.

The present undergraduates are not free, of course, from the prevalent vogue of supreme sophistication. There is very little you can tell them about anything. But it was many, many years ago that we first heard that wise crack, "You can always tell a Harvard man, but you can't tell him anything."

So it's not surprising to find that the young men and women of our colleges are supersophisticated looking at life from beneath lifted brows. What does shake our senile sensibilities is to find that they are so well informed about matters that were as alien to us in our college years as honor is alien to a banker.

The freshman class at Columbia, for example, is now taking a course in Contemporary Civilization that could no more have been given in our time than a course in Celtic Mysticism. One of the text-books is called, "Economic Life," and is edited and compiled by Tugwell, Munro and Striker, three liberal-minded gentlemen. It has pictures (think of it, brothers and sisters, pictures in a text-book on economics!) taken from the real life of factories, fields, workshops and mines. There are pictures, accompanied by unemotional but nevertheless stirring text, of congested conditions in New York and Chicago, pictures of striking miners being evicted in West Virginia rainstorms, pictures of sweated child labor in Southern factories.

Now obviously you can't be exposed to a book like this for an entire year without having something happen to your insides. You can't study the origins of private property, the life of the group, human behavior and the like as those Columbia Frosh are doing, without beginning to ask questions. And as asking questions is the beginning of wisdom, small wonder that these latter-day students seem a lot wiser than their predecessors. In spite of their surface sophistication they are youngsters with the greatest of all assets—the curious mind. Maybe we are cherishing a fond delusion about it all but it is our hunch that when they get out into the world and round about, they are going to do things to said world that will set a lot of stuffed shirt old-timers on their horrified ears.

Perhaps it's just that old age is creeping over us. Every generation likes to think that its successors will do better. It's human but it's dangerous. The danger is of course that we will sit back and say, "Go to it, kids. We hand the job to you." Then we creep out and sit in the nice safe sunshine and mumble through our toothless jaws about the great stuff we pulled off in 1917.

Nevertheless we are convinced that there has rarely been such fertile soil for the sowing of the seeds of industrial democracy as is deep in our colleges today. The idea of production for the service of all rather than the profits of a few does not strike the current undergraduate as a wild Utopian dream. In fact it seems quite sensible to him and he or she is willing to take off his or her coat and pitch in and help.

Which brings us to our moral. Let's stop throwing cold water over these hot young enthusiasms. Instead of being snifty and patronizing and god-awful superior let's hold out a hand of welcome for a change.

Heaven knows we have nothing much to be up-stage about. When a kid fresh from college comes around and wants to help we usually adopt a supercilious attitude that ill befits us who have done so little towards bringing in a new social order. "Children must be seen and not heard" we drone and harness Pegasus to a dray, licking envelopes or writing address lists. The attitude of the organized labor movement is fully as bad. When a young man like Powers Haggood, for example, comes out of Harvard and instead of turning into a go-getting salesman, joins the United Mine Workers of America and goes down and works at the face of the coal, a lot of pot-bellied, lick-spittle sons of itches who call themselves "labor leaders" stick out their snouts and begin to sniff around. They are trying to find out what the "kid's graft is." They are instantly suspicious and make things as difficult for Powers and his pals as they can. Of course to such mentalities the thought that there are still some ideals left in this world is incredible. Every college man must necessarily go into a business or profession. Otherwise he is "queer" and to be shunned.

The result of this hard-boiled attitude of labor towards the intellectual is best shown in the present state of the labor movement in America. There was never a time in its history when it moved slower, never a time when it had less idea where it was moving to. The last sentence may be deplorable English. It also happens to be deplorable truth.

McAlister Coleman.

The Rand School of Social Science

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Socialism and Some Modern Problems
NORMAN THOMAS
Saturdays, 1:30 p. m.

American History
DAVID P. BERENBERG
Wednesdays, 8:30 p. m.

Social Psychology
JOSEPH M. OSMAN
Tuesdays, 7 p. m.

Applied Sociology
MARIUS HANSOME
Tuesdays, 8:30 p. m.

The World We Live In
MARIUS HANSOME
Fridays, 7 p. m.

Theoretical Economics
ALGERNON LEE
Tuesdays, 8:30 p. m.

Materialistic Conception of History
ALGERNON LEE
Wednesdays, 7 p. m.

Managing Industry for Production
WALTER N. POLAKOB
Fridays, 8:30 p. m.

DRAMA

The Theatre in Spain

WRITING from Spain's capital, Madrid, Kenneth Parkington deplors the fact that the Spanish theatre is lagging behind the theatre of other European countries.

"Many of the plays produced here," he continues, "are adopted from the French, and what native drama I have seen does not present anything new or typical of a race. Yet surely no country in the world is so rich in dramatic life and color as Spain.

Save for the black and gold scene in the temple with the white statue, that recalled Mme. Cora Laparecierre's production in Paris, the sets were uninspiring.

Ernesto Vilches presented "Puerta de Sol," adapted from Pierre Wolff's "Les Ailes Brisees," at the Infanta Beatriz.

"Patsy" Good Entertainment. Claire Foster Sparkling Star in Barry Connors' New Comedy at the Booth

ANOTHER Cinderella play, this time with the younger of two sisters as the much-abused one.



CLAIBORNE FOSTER

Barry Connors, author of "Applesauce," has written "The Patsy" and his second play continues to hold out a promise of more fine things from his pen.

At this point there enters the most human character in the play, the father of the household, who, so easy-going and genial, has permitted himself to be turned into a mere convenience around the house.

In Barry Connors' latest comedy, "The Patsy," now playing at the Booth Theatre.

play ends happily enough for all concerned. Claiborne Foster is "The Patsy" and easily carries off the acting honors.

For the others, not as much can be said. Lucia Moore as Mrs. Harrington was a somewhat stereotyped, domineering, ambitious spouse.

JOE LYONS



Important principal of the new "Greenwich Village Follies," which opened at Channing's 46th Street Theatre last week.

Freedom Begins At Home

Dramatic Proof That "One of the Family" May Be Better Away

IN this democracy of ours, and under the social conditions that control the upbringing of our youth, the child's earliest habits are formed in the home.

Kenneth Webb's play "One of the Family," now at the 49th Street Theatre, presents an old Bostonian family—yet the conditions in any city are much the same.

The chief value of the play lies not in its story, which is weak and unimportant, especially in the way the new employer chimes in at the close, but in its picture of this family attitude, of the quite unconscious fashion in which the typical American family subordinates the desires of its chief member to the self-important question of its own survival and comfort.

Community Thea. Only Hope Of Genuine American Drama

Genuine American drama cannot be produced in New York, and the future of the drama in this country lies in the community theatre and the stock company.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The program at Moss' Broadway Theatre beginning Monday will include among the vaudeville players Lillian Morton, Frank Sinclair in a humbly musical comedy, "Fifty-Fifty"; James Kelso and Belle De Monde in James Kelso's "Papa's Secretary"; Dave Apollon, assisted by Emily Fitzgerald, Marjory Lane and J. Jurist; Dave Kramer and Jack Doyle, and other Keith-Albee acts.

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday: Belle Baker, Craftes and Sheehan, other acts; Rudolph Schildkraut in "His People"; new Hal Roach comedy.

JEFFERSON

Monday to Wednesday: Prince Lol Lana and Co., Wm. A. Kennedy, Stan Stanley and Co., Harry Coleman, others; "His People," with Rudolph Schildkraut.

THEATRES

WINIER GARDEN. EVENINGS, 8:25. Matinees Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. NOW, AS ALWAYS, THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE.

AMBASSADOR THEATRE. THE STUDENT PRINCE IN HEIDEBERG. HOWARD MARSH. Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN.

FORREST THEATRE. NEW YORK'S BEST LIKED MUSICAL COMEDY. MAY FLOWERS. Jos. Santley & Ivy Sawyer.

WINTER GARDEN. SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT. Always the Best Sunday Entertainment in Town.

MARY FLORENCE. A LADY'S VIRTUE. by Rachel Crothers. with ROBERT WARWICK.

TUESDAY NIGHT Anniversary Performance. Starting its 34 Year in New York. The Comedy Knockout.

CENTURY THEATRE. 62d Street and Central Park West. PRINCESS FLAVIA. MUSICAL VERSION OF "THE PRISONER OF ZENDA".

SHUBERT THEATRE. 4TH STREET, W. OF B'WAY. EVENINGS 8:30. MATINEES WED. & SAT. GAY PAREE.

IS ZAT SO? By James Gleason and Richard Taber. Now at the Central Theatre.

The Biggest Comedy in Town. The Patsy. CLAIBORNE FOSTER. SIX LESSONS IN LOVE. Booth Theatre—now MATINEES.

GEORGE S. KAUFMAN'S BROADWAY'S FUNNIEST COMEDY. THE BUTTER AND THE EGG. with GREGORY KELLY.

CROSBY GAIGÉ SUCCESSES. MADGE KENNEDY. BEWARE OF WIDOWS. MAXINE ELLIOTT THEATRE.

AHWOODS PRESENTS THE GREEN HAT. BY MICHAEL ARLEN. STAGED BY GUTHRIE.

Wherever intelligent people meet they discuss FAX BAINTER in THE ENEMY.

LAUGH

MORALS. BRILLIANT ACTORS' THEATRE CAST IN LUDWIG THOMA'S BOLD, WITTY COMEDY.

MERCHANTS OF GLORY

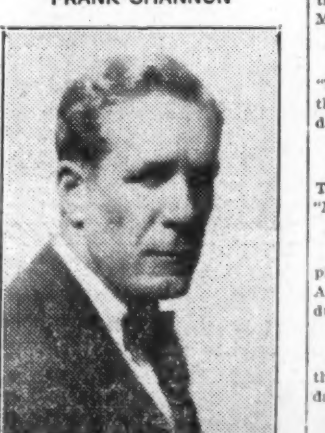
MERCHANTS OF GLORY. ("AS A PLAY, AS A PRODUCTION, THE GUILD HAS WON A COMPLETE ARTISTIC TRIUMPH.")

American Laboratory Theatre To Present "The Scarlet Letter" Thursday Night.

Helen Chandler is playing Ophelia in "Hamlet" in modern dress with Basil Sydney at the Heckscher Theatre.

Broadway Briefs

"Kosher Kitty Kelly," Leon de Coste's tenuous and romantic music-drama, last seen at Daly's Sixty-third Street Theatre, after a six months' run at the Times Square, will be the attraction at the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday.



Gives a masterly performance as the villain in Anthony McGuire's drama, "12 Miles Out," at the Playhouse.

THE NEW PLAYS MONDAY

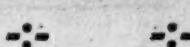
"DOPE," a drama by Hermann Lieb, will be presented by Fred C. Curtis for a series of matinees at the 48th Street Theatre beginning Monday afternoon.

TUESDAY

A NIGHT IN PARIS, the newest in revues, will open New York's latest playhouse, Casino de Paris (top of the Century Roof), Tuesday evening.

THEATRES

DRAMA



EVERY EVENING (Except Monday). Two Matinee Shows: Saturday and Sunday at 2:30.
First Play of the New Season

ANSKY'S
THE **DYBBUK**

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English Version by Henry G. Alsborg

LITTLE THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway. Even. at 8:30. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday.
"A beautiful story of love won, lost and regained in this new drama. Mr. Loraine acts in his own finished manner, and is especially well supported by Ian Keith and Virginia Pemberton."—E. W. Osborn in Evening World.

Messrs. Druce and Street Present
ROBERT LORAINÉ

in a Novel Romantic Comedy-Drama by Catherine Chisholm Cushing Based on Robert Herrick's Exultant Story
"THE MASTER OF THE INN"
with a Cast of Distinction Headed by
IAN KEITH and VIRGINIA PEMBERTON

B. S. MOSS' CAMEO 42d St. and B'y
BEGINNING SUNDAY
REVIVAL OF
D. W. GRIFFITH'S
"BIRTH OF A NATION"
Famous Cameo Theatre Orchestra

B. S. MOSS' THEATRES
GREATEST AMUSEMENT BUY IN NEW YORK!
2 BIG SHOWS IN ONE AT POPULAR PRICES

The PHANTOM OF THE OPERA

ETHEL LEGINSKA



The noted composer and pianist will conduct an orchestra of 80 players at the Philharmonic this Sunday night at Carnegie Hall.

"The Master of the Inn"
Robert Loraine Most Effective in Chisholm Cushing's Heart-Warming Play at the Little

A heart-warming tale of human love and of fine manly decency is told in "The Master of the Inn." Catherine Chisholm Cushing's new play that is on exhibition at Mr. Winthrop Ames' attractive Little Theatre. The play is based upon a novel of the same name by Robert Herrick, and it could not have found a finer time to burst upon the scene than during the holiday period when everyone was bursting with humanity. Or, at least, was supposed to be.

The scene of the play is the main living room of The Inn, a fine and spacious home in the Virginia hills. A company of men are gathered around the table in the evening, singing "Just a Song at Twilight" and discussing their inn and its master. It is a place where men broken in health and shattered nerves may come and rest. They do their own work, dig in the fields, fish in the streams, cook their own meals and bask in the sunshine and in the warmth of the friendship of David, the master. Restored in health and strength they go back refreshed and reinvigorated. There is no charge, but if those who have come to rest in the inn would show their appreciation they may leave an offering in the box for a school for crippled boys.

The lawyer, the broker, the architect, the doctor, the artist sit in the twilight wondering about their host. "The moment he looked at me, he knew my story. But no one knows David's story. Why is he here? Why does he do this?"

"I thought no one was interested in me," said David, who had come quietly into the room. "If you want to know, I'll be glad to tell you. It began ten years ago, in this very room. I was 35, full of life, a graduate M. D., rich, American by birth, English by education, Harvard and Oxford, a friend of old Judge Ashe who used to own this house. On a visit to him one day his granddaughter flashed across my vision."

The curtain falls for a moment as the scene is changed a little. Where David has an open door a tapestry takes its place; a picture on the wall, and we see the room as it was ten years before Geoffrey David Thorne first met Andree Leigh.

But Geoffrey isn't the only man. There is Toney Norton, wonderfully skilled young surgeon, whose father, himself a world-famous surgeon, had loved Andree's mother, who could not control his own love for drink, and because of it they had been separated by Judge Ashe. Toney and Andree are gloriously in love with each other, but her grandfather insists upon a two years' separation while he studies in Paris. If they still love, if he does not yield to liquor, if he returns two years later he will consent to their marriage.

Geoffrey has heard their colloquy as they separate, and he will not speak of his great love for her during the two years. But he buys a farm nearby and waits upon her, rides, hunts, plays with her. She loves his beautiful character and admires his mind, and he mistakes it for love. He comes to the house at the day and hour Toney is

ROBERT WARWICK



Who plays the roving husband in Rachel Crothers' delightful play, "A Lady's Virtue," at the Bijou Theatre.

Lewis E. Gensler, who wrote most of the songs in "Captain Jinks," is working on the score of "Queen High," a musical version of Edward Peple's farce, "A Pair of Sixes." The book has been adapted by Laurence Schwab and B. G. DeSylva, and the latter is also writing the lyrics. The piece is intended for Spring production by Schwab and Mandel.

Laurence Schwab will sail for London on the Majestic next Monday to supervise the production of "The Firebrand," which will be presented at the St. James Theatre in February under the direction of Gilbert Miller and Schwab and Mandel. The London cast will be headed by Ivar Novello as Cellini.

David Belasco will star Lenore Ulric in "Lulu Belle," a new play by Edward Sheldon and Charles MacArthur.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—Thomas Meighan in "Irish Luck" with Lois Wilson.
CAMEO—D. W. Griffith's "Birth of a Nation."
CAPITOL—Elinor Glyn's "Soul Mates," with Allen Fring and Edmund Love.
COLONY—"The Phantom of the Opera," with Lon Chaney, Mary Philbin and Norman Kerry.
RIALTO—"The Enchanted Hill," with Jack Holt.
RIVOLI—"A Kiss for Cinderella," by J. M. Barrie, with Betty Bronson, Tom Moore and Esther Ralston.

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149th St., E. of Third Ave.
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.
BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
LEON DE COSTA'S
MUSIC-COMEDY HIT
"KOSHER KITTILLY KERRY"
Direct from a six months run on Broadway with the original cast.
TINKLING TUNES—DANDY DANCERS—THOUSAND LAUGHS
Week of January 11th
"WHITE CARGO"
A Drama of the Tropics

The PHANTOM OF THE OPERA
WITH
LON CHANEY
MARY PHILBIN-NORMAN KERRY
AND CAST OF 5000
—ALSO ON THE STAGE—
PARISIAN GAJETIES
A GORGEOUS EXTRAVAGANZA OF SONG AND DANCE WITH
75 ARTISTS
COLONY
BROADWAY and 53rd STREET
CONTINUOUS 10:30 AM. to MIDNIGHT

MUSIC and Concerts
PHILHARMONIC
WILHELM MENDELBERG, Conductor
CARNegie HALL, THIS SAT. at 8:30.
6TH STUDENTS' CONCERT
Last Appearance of Mr. Mengelberg at this series this season
SCHUBERT: "Undine"; SYMPHONY: GOLD- MARK: "New Espinoza"; STRAUSS: "Death and Transfiguration"; BEETHOVEN: "Leonore's Overture No. 3"; ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)
Carnegie Hall, Wed. Eve., Jan. 6, at 8:30

CINCINNATI SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
FRITZ REINER, Conductor
1st New York Appearance with Mr. Reiner
BRAHMS: Symphony No. 4
Strauss—Berlioz—Bartok
Charles Pearson, Mgr. Tickets at Box Office

B. S. MOSS' BWAY
"Where the crowds all go"
ALL NEXT WEEK
LILLIAN MORTON
FRANK SINCLAIR & CO.—D. APFEL- LON & CO. KELSO & DE MONDE, KRAMER & BOYLE
OTHER ACTS
THOMAS MEIGHAN
IN
"IRISH LUCK"
with LOIS WILSON

Paul Robeson and Lawrence Brown will give a program of Negro Spirituals at the Town Hall on Tuesday night.

MUSIC

"Die Walkure" Added to Metropolitan Opera Repertoire

"DIE WALKUERE" will be sung for the first time this season at the Metropolitan Opera House Thursday evening of next week. The cast will include Jeritza, Matzenauer, Gordon, Taucher, Whitehill and Bender.

Other operas next week: "La Juive," Monday evening, with Rosa Ponselle, Morgana and Martinelli, Errolle.

"La Vestale," Wednesday, with Rosa Ponselle, Matzenauer and Johnson, De Luca.

"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci" as a matinee on Friday, the former with Rosa Ponselle, Telva and Gigli, Basiola, the latter with Mario and Tokatyan, Ruffo.

"Der Barber von Bagdad" and "L'Heure Espagnole," Friday night, the former with Rethberg, Bourskaya and Laubenthal, Bender, the latter with Bori and Errolle, Tibbett.

"Pelleas et Melisande," Saturday matinee, with Bori, Howard and Johnson, Whitehill.

"Fedon," Saturday night, with Jeritza, Gilford and Martinelli, Scotti.

This Sunday night's concert will be for the benefit of the Opera Emergency Fund.

Chicago Opera Forces To Tour Eastern Cities

Word comes from Chicago that the Chicago Civic Opera Company will make an Eastern tour, opening in Boston on Monday, January 25, two days after the close of the season there. The company will visit many of the principal cities of the East and South, including Miami, Fla. In past years—some seasons back—the Chicago forces made an annual visit to this city. There is some talk that this may happen again next season.

WILHELM MENDELBERG



The talented and brilliant conductor of the Philharmonic will make his final appearance here at the Student's concert this Saturday in Carnegie Hall.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY
Walter Damrosch will conduct his last Sunday concert at Mecca Auditorium this Sunday afternoon. The feature of this farewell program will be a repetition of George Gerahs's "Concerto in F," with the composer again playing the piano part. Damrosch's final appearance with the orchestra this season will be at the Young People's Concert in Carnegie Hall, January 23. Shortly afterwards he will leave on a vacation trip to Southern Europe. Other numbers on this afternoon's program include Tschalkowsky's Symphony No. 5 in E minor and Ravel's Symphonie Fragment from the Ballet "Daiphnis and Chloë."
Eugene Goossens will direct his first

concert as guest conductor Thursday afternoon and Friday evening at Carnegie Hall. His visit will extend through six concerts, up to the arrival of Otto Klemperer from Wiesbaden, Germany.

The program will include Symphony No. 2 in D, Brahms; Concerto in D major for Violinello, Hady; Le Sacre du Printemps, Stravinsky. Pablo Casals is the soloist.

PHILHARMONIC

Otterino Respighi, the distinguished Italian composer, who is on his first American tour, made his American debut with the Philharmonic Orchestra at Carnegie Hall Thursday evening, playing his piano concerto, which has its first American performance on this occasion, with Wilhelm Mengelberg conducting. Respighi is known here for his "Fountains of Rome," his songs and his chamber music. His new choral work is scheduled for performance by the International Composers' Guild in January, and "Pines of Rome," a sequel to the "Fountains," is to be played by the Philharmonic Orchestra under Toscanini. Thursday's program included Schumann's overture to Byron's "Manfred" and Strauss' "Also Sprach Zarathustra." The program will be repeated in Carnegie Hall this Friday afternoon.

The sixth Philharmonic students' concert in Carnegie Hall on Saturday evening will mark the last appearance of Mr. Mengelberg at this series. Schubert's "Unfinished Symphony," Rubin Goldmark's "A Negro Rhapsody," Beethoven's third "Leonore" overture and Strauss' "Death and Transfiguration" make up the program.

Music Notes

Ethel Leginska will conduct a group of players from the Philharmonic Orchestra this Sunday night at Carnegie Hall. Lucille Oliver and Greta Torpadi will be the soloists. The program: Symphony in D major, Mozart; Concerto in F major, Opus 11, Weber; Six Nursery Rhymes, Leginska; Fantasia, Leginska; Tell Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks, Strauss.

The Hartmann Quartet will give another concert Monday night at Town Hall, with Eugene Goossens as guest artist. The program includes: Quartet in F minor, No. 13, Mozart; Quintet

Op. 23, Eugene Goossens; Quartet, No. 1, Op. 4, in E flat Major, Leo Weiner.

The Cherinavsky Trio will give their second recital Tuesday night at Aeolian Hall.

Florence Astral will make her metropolitan debut this Saturday afternoon at Carnegie Hall.

Hulda Lashanska initiates her Eastern season with her recital at Carnegie Hall this Sunday afternoon.

The Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Fritz Reiner, will make its appearance with Mr. Reiner at Carnegie Hall on Wednesday evening. The program includes Berlioz's "Benvenuto Cellini" Overture, Brahms' Fourth Symphony, a dance suite by Bartok and Strauss' "Till Eulenspiegel."

Karina Branzell, Swedish contralto of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will give her recital at Aeolian Hall next Friday evening.

Eva Gauthier has chosen a program of "four centuries of song," beginning with Monteverdi and ending with Ravel, for her recital at Aeolian Hall next Saturday evening.

HENRY TRAVERS



Plays Androcles in "Androcles and the Lion," Shaw's brilliant comedy now centered at the Klaw Theatre.

Mexican Labor's Rise

(Continued from page 4)
same Ricardo Trevino who was one of its first secretaries.
The progress and growth of the CROM during these first eight years of its existence has been enormous. Its membership has mounted from 40,000 in 1918 to 1,250,000 at the present time, the composition remaining more or less the same (60 percent agricultural and 40 percent industrial workers). There is practically no town or village in Mexico where it has not some ramifications. The joint budget of the CROM and the Labor Party exceeds \$250,000 a year, this figure, of course, not counting the budgets of the affiliated unions. Its members are perfectly disciplined. As proof, we have only to recall the great First of May manifestation when in Mexico City alone 93 unions with over 100,000 members took part; or again, the fact that organized labor decided the issue of the last presidential campaign, loyally and whole-heartedly supporting General Calles.
Better conditions of livelihood for the Mexican workman have become a reality due to the efforts of the CROM. While before the revolution the average salary was about 50 cents a day, today, in Mexico City, it is about three pesos, a similar change being felt throughout the Republic. Collective bargaining is a fact all over the Republic. Now, under pressure of the CROM, Parliament is discussing the application of the new Labor Law drawn by CROM leaders themselves. Already its general terms have been approved by Parliament and there is no doubt that the moral prestige and the real power of the CROM will carry it through.
In the work of educating the Mexican masses, the plans of the CROM are far-reaching. Today, they are being put into effect under government authority, the present cabinet of General Calles being inspired in all its social dealings with the spirit implanted by the CROM. Morones, as Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, can see realized many of the reforms he dreamed and planned as a poor electrician who through vicissitudes, self-sacrifice and political persecution strove to assert the personality of labor organized. Celestino Gasco, another leader of the CROM, after having been governor of the Federal District (Mexico City and surroundings) for three years, is now chief of the national factories, while three states—Mexico, Hidalgo and Aguascalientes—have Labor governors.
While the great ebullience among the laboring classes of Mexico is to be credited directly to the CROM and its leaders, this same enthusiasm has sometimes crystallized in other labor organizations, some collaborating with

the CROM, others opposing it. Among its strongest allies is the Socialist Party of Yucatan (Partido Socialista del Sureste) organized by the late Felipe Carrillo Puerto, with some 250,000 members, all of whom are affiliated with the CROM. Among its antagonists are the General Confederation of Workers (Confederacion General de Trabajadores) an anarchist organization with some 12,000 members, the Communist organizations with some 5,000 members, and the Catholic organizations, especially on the Pacific coast, with some 25,000 members. The Railway Union, while not antagonistic to the CROM, guards its autonomy. It counts about 70,000 members.
The international obligations of organized labor have never been slighted by the leaders of the CROM. For some years before 1918, the late John Murray, Samuel Gompers and Luis N. Morones planned for some sort of closer contact between the laboring classes on the American continent, but the World War and internal revolution in Mexico prevented the plan from being realized until 1918, when at a preliminary meeting at Laredo on the Mexican border the Pan-American Federation, comprising eighteen American countries, was organized. Several congresses have been held since, the most important being the one held in Mexico City in 1921. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, is now president of the Pan-American Federation; Luis N. Morones, leader of the CROM, is vice-president; Mathew Wolf, treasurer; Chester Wright, English secretary, and Santiago Iglesias of Porto Rico, Spanish secretary.
Contact with European labor organizations dates back to 1918, when Morones made a trip to Europe especially to get into touch with the French and Italian unions. In 1921, Eulalio Martinez and Fernando Rodarte were sent by the CROM to Russia to study conditions there, their trip, however, giving negative results. Relations with the Amsterdam Federations of Trade Unions are friendly, Morones and Ricardo Trevino having paid two visits to Amsterdam, while J. W. Brown, one of the secretaries of the Amsterdam Federation, spent several months in Mexico studying conditions. Last October, A. A. Purcell, president of the International Federation of Trades Unions, and Ben Smith, secretary-general of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, both members of Parliament in Great Britain, made a short visit to Mexico as delegates of the British Trade Union Congress, which served to strengthen the bonds of understanding and good will between the workers of Mexico and those of Great Britain.

THE NEW LEADER

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Table with columns for United States and To Foreign Countries, and rows for One Year, Six Months, and Three Months.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1926

THE NEW YEAR

IN THE matter of New Year resolutions the intelligent worker has much that he can resolve to do in the coming year. First and foremost he can resolve to do his utmost to awaken the indifferent of his class with the knowledge that all is illusion that is not based on education, information and the will to win.

But to know our world and not to have the will to translate knowledge into action is like accumulating seed for a bed of roses and then not to sow it. For at least two years in this country the whole labor movement, political and economic, has marked time.

The New Year should bring another resolution, a determination to put life and devoted service into the cause of human liberation. We follow in the rear of the movement in all other countries. It is useless to deny this. It applies to every movement and organization in the United States without a single exception.

SALUTE IL FASCISMO!

THE extraordinary statements recently made by Mussolini regarding the expansion of Italy into another Roman Empire and his cryptic hints of force to achieve this aim reveal something more than the drivel of this paranoic. There is reason for believing that all this indicates the approaching end of Fascism in Italy.

In the first place, the wish for a war is characteristic of statesmen in every period who feel that their tenure of power is endangered. Even Seward, perceiving the approaching catastrophe over the question of slavery, wanted Lincoln to embark in a foreign war in the hope of uniting the nation and thus thrust the issue of slavery into the background.

Mussolini has a huge majority of Italians against him. Fascism rests upon a seething volcano. His murder bands have made deadly enemies of trade unionists, Socialists, cooperators, peasants, Communists, Catholics, Free Masons, and all anti-Fascist political parties. Italy has become a slave state resting on the bayonets of the Fascist militia. Even the regular army and many of its officers are passive opponents of the armed bands that keep Mussolini in office.

Mussolini himself is not the "strong man" that is portrayed by his sycophants abroad. He is a coward who fears the fate that awaits him once the volcano bursts. Naturally, he turns to the expedient of war and expansion, hoping that "patriotism" will divert attention from his crimes. He is the prisoner of the murderous fanatics who are running wild. Far from controlling them, he is controlled by them, and they will go down in a common ruin, and, in all probability, will drag down the monarchy with them.

This is our prediction regarding this monstrous Caliban, this voracious bat, that sucks the life blood of Italy. Fascism, we salute you, for you are about to die!

RURAL VS. URBAN VOTERS

ONE peculiar phase of American history is that prior to the rise of capitalism the commercial towns enjoyed an excess of political power in legislative bodies and farmers were constantly waging a struggle for more equal representation. With the advanced capitalism of today it is the rural districts of the states that are over represented in the legislatures, while the industrial cities are waging a struggle for emancipation from rural control.

The modern contradiction grows out of the new state constitutions adopted in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the rural districts won their battle for more equitable representation. Since these constitutions were adopted the drift of population has been to the cities, but it has not been accompanied with a change in these constitutions.

The absurdity is especially glaring in New York State and is brought out by the recent estimates of its population. The State has 11,162,151 inhabitants, but New York City exceeds the rest of the State in population by 584,561. Despite this fact the relative voting strength of the city and country will not be

materially affected and the rural regions will continue to dominate as a minority.

One reason for the difficulty in obtaining an equitable change in representation is that the 100 percenters have so often stressed the divine origin and perfect character of State and Federal constitutions that the up-state peasantry have accepted it as a holy religion. Now reaction comes home to plague the reactionaries for the dead rule the living through a rural population.

CAPITALIST POLITICS

AN Arkansas Congressman complains that the Department of Justice has no intention of investigating the aluminum trust and that Secretary of the Treasury Mellon practically controls the business. He contends that tariff schedules have been adjusted so that housewives are contributing millions of dollars to the owners of the business by the purchase of cooking utensils. He offers data to support his contention.

All of which simply means that it is an excellent thing to have a government around when you want to accumulate some extra change. Mellon is one of the wealthiest men in the United States and to assume that he and others like him are not in politics for their class is sheer bunk. They know what they want and they have always got what they wanted because they know the value of having a government which they can use.

One of the amazing defenses of capitalist politics is that the elected and appointed representatives of the two major parties are in some way above the clash of conflicting interests and represent people in general. Still more amazing is that some "reformers" insist that such representatives or appointees should represent man in general, something that has never happened, something that is impossible, something that is utterly absurd.

The history of all nations in the matter of government is a history of one interest or another contending for power. Before manhood suffrage became general in this country the statesmen and politicians talked in terms of interests, such as mercantile, the commercial, the landed or the slave interests. As the suffrage became general it became necessary to conceal the particular interests which a politician or statesman represented. Considering that he never represented the working masses and with universal suffrage he had to appeal to these masses, he ceased to speak in terms of particular interests and began to talk of the "people" and about men in general.

The old politics of representing particular economic groups and classes has not changed. What has changed is the form of political appeal and this was made necessary by the fact that the representatives of railroads, banks, mine owners, and so on have to appeal to a ballot-armed working class to get into office. Once there, they represent their particular economic groups and pay homage to "popular government" which is an abstraction.

Because Socialist representatives are frank in their assertion of representing the claims of a suppressed class and thus tend to expose the whole mechanism of deception they are fought to the last ditch by all bourgeois politicians. Intelligent voting is only possible when the voter understands this phase of capitalist politics.

THE BLOOD OF INDUSTRY

PROFITS are the heart of the industrial society in which we live. Word for word this is the opinion of The Nation's Business, an exponent of the higher American Babbitry. Expectation of profits is "the sustaining blood" and whenever it flows "in sufficient quantity" everything is all right. This blood did not flow in 1921, it observes, and continues:

Consider the spectacle! Warehouses crowded with cotton, wool, leather, lumber, copper, chemicals—wealth beyond the dreams of former generations. Factories and machines, the most extensive, the most efficient the world had ever known. Currency and bank credit, greater in volume than ever before, waiting to be used. Millions of idle workers ready to do their part. And a hundred million of our own people eager to enjoy the multifarious things that these idle men, by the use of these idle machines, would gladly make and, in this age of scientific wizardry, could readily make out of these surplus materials.

Very well put, but why were those goods not sold? Why were machines idle? Why were workers in want? The Nation's Business answers that the "driving force" of profits was absent; hence stagnation. But this is saying that the goods did not sell because they did not sell. It tells us nothing. The workers wanted the goods and the capitalists wanted the profits but neither got what they wanted. The workers would have purchased the goods but could not. Capitalists could have given away the goods but this would not have brought profits.

What was the matter? Simply that there was a surplus on one hand and want on the other and profits, instead of being the "driving force" of capitalism, proved to be an obstruction to the operation of industry. Instead of being the blood of the system profits proved to be pus. This has occurred over and over again in the history of the system and it will occur again. It is the peculiarity of the capitalist system of industry that it condemns millions to the absurdity of being in want when plenty has been produced. It is rotten ripe for Socialist organization.

Regional Capitalism

WITHIN one day this week four banks, two of them national institutions, closed their doors in Montana. For at least two years bank after bank has closed its doors in the Rocky Mountain region and little has appeared in the newspapers of the East regarding it. The press of this region is filled with advertisements of sheriff sales of farms which farmers have had to surrender. The capitalism of that section is going through profound changes and former independent farmers are being driven into the cities as bankrupts compelled to compete with wage workers for jobs.

While this looting of rural workers goes on in the West the workers in the East are on the whole satisfied except in the mining and textile industries. American capitalism is of such vast territorial extent that it is capable of producing these regional contradictions, keeping the masses docile in one region while they are skinned in another. Urban workers are next due for a skinning.

The News of the Week

Nationalize the Coal Industry

Representatives of the miners and the mine owners have resumed negotiations in New York but it is not likely that any agreement will be reached by the time The New Leader goes to press. The mine owners stand for their program—miners to return to work at present wages, arbitration and a five-year contract to be revised each year. The miners insist on a modified check-off system, a five-year agreement, no increase in the price of coal, and an increase in wages if impartial investigation shows that coal profits justify it. Meantime coal reserves are rapidly approaching exhaustion, enormous prices are being paid for coal, and many miners' families are beginning to feel the pinch of hunger. All this in the basic industry of the nation. No matter what the settlement may be it will simply constitute a truce. Capitalism in the mining industry is a most miserable failure. Absolutely nothing can be said in its favor. All the editorial criticism directed to the coal situation is beside the point so long as the mines are left in the possession of capitalist owners. The basic character of fuel, the anarchy of the mining industry and the chronic misery accompanying its maladministration cry out for nationalization of the mines. Socialization of the industry and elimination of profits and dividends, with a large share of responsibility in management lodged with the miners, will bring an end to the cruel folly of waste, want and misery in mining.

between Italy and Austria) whose declaration of principles proclaims the "divinity of Italy," outdoes even "II duce" himself in wild asseverations of Italian superiority and avers that Brenner Pass is "not the goal, but the starting point." A couple of days later came the report that Italy's adverse trade balance for the first ten months of 1925 was \$282,456,000, against \$167,033,800 for the same period in 1924, and that negotiations between American bankers and the municipality of Rome for a loan of \$40,000,000 had been broken off. Much laughter was provoked in Paris by the suggestion by a Rome Fascist paper that France get rid of all her troubles by forming part of a new Roman Empire, "under the mighty fist of Mussolini!"

Party Congress by a vote of 559 to 65 on questions of policy, Alexis Rykof, successor to Nikolai Lenin as head of the Russian Government, proceeded to rebuke the head of the Communist International at a later session and remind him that it was the duty of all good Communists to take their medicine when defeated. He also accused Zinovief and his opposition group of wanting to create two capitals, with Leningrad competing with Moscow. The plank in the platform inserted by Rykof, Stalin, Bukharin, Kallin and other leaders of the majority censures the minority for over-estimating the danger from the "Fists" (wealthy peasants) and for under-estimating the need of co-operating with the middle class peasants. The program aims at industrializing Russia as fast as possible in order to become independent of foreign nations, and it calls for the strengthening of the Soviet's military forces. It warns the world of the growing power of the United States in international affairs, and, perhaps as a consolation prize for Zinovief, directs the Central Executive Committee to consolidate the Soviet Republic as the base for a future world revolution. But it also instructs the Soviet Government to pursue a peaceful foreign policy. The outcome of the congress seems to show that there will be no reversal in the near future of the Communists' policy of compromising with economic factors in order to retain control of Russia.

Wages in the United States

Paul H. Douglas of Chicago University presented an interesting analysis of wages at the Hotel McAlpin on Monday. He pointed out that the production per factory worker in 1923 had become 52 per cent. higher than in 1890. The gain in wages for all workers over a thirty-five year period is 27 per cent., but virtually all this gain had been obtained since 1914, a year which showed workers at the same wage level as in 1890. This analysis is important for a number of reasons. The period of 1890-1914 witnessed an enormous increase in the productive power of the workers due to inventions, concentration of industrial enterprises, and improving methods of efficiency, yet during this period the real wage of the workers remained practically stationary. Not until the breaking out of the World War in 1914 did the workers begin to share in the increased production, and even this increase amounted to 27 per cent., while over the whole thirty-five year period production increased 52 per cent. The figures may not be accurate, but that they are approximately correct is more than probable. They tell the story of increasing exploitation of the working class, although the wage income has increased. The most substantial gain made by the workers was a reduction in working hours, which have been shortened about 20 per cent. since 1890. This is all to the good, but it is certain that the great benefits of industrial progress have gone to the capitalist class in the past thirty-five years.

Greek Government Gets a Bad Scare

While the number of 100 per cent Communists in all Greece is probably not big enough to worry even the Civic Federation, the fact that the workers of Saloniki have refused to be dictated to as to whom they should choose as Mayor of that big port has thrown the Greek authorities into a panic. Following the voiding by the Pangalos military dictatorship of the recent election of M. Patrikos as Mayor, on the ground that he was a Communist, a new election was held, with the result of M. Patrikos being again elected by the combined forces of Labor regardless of political faiths. Now, the Greek Government announces that it will combat "Communism" by establishing compulsory voting and by creating an Under Secretaryship of State of Social Defense to "facilitate measures for dealing with Communist intrigues." Evidently the Greek authorities have taken a leaf out of the book of the reaction in Australia, where compulsory voting recently saved the Government from defeat by the Labor Party.

No Holiday Cheer For the Fascisti

The holiday week was far from being festive for the gang of black-shirts now holding down Italy. First came the hot denunciation of Fascism and all its works by President Green of the American Federation of Labor, which is reported to have hurt Mussolini's feelings greatly, especially as he is said to have been surprised by an attack from "an organization that because of its nationalist and conservative spirit would be supposed to manifest sympathy with Fascism." Then came a violent anti-Fascist outburst in Germany and Austria due to the high-handed repressions of Teutonism in the annexed territory in the Tyrol, culminating with a Fascist ban on Christmas trees, which was quickly lifted, probably as the result of worldwide indignation and ridicule. The Teuton attack caused Il Impero, a leading Fascist organ, to hurl a jingling tirade at Germany and to report the organization of a body called the Brenner Guard (after the famous mountain pass now marking the line

Zinovief Rebutted in Communist Congress
Not content with having beaten the Zinovief-Kamenev minority in the Russian Communist Party.

THE CHATTER BOX

ON another page of this issue, dear readers, you will find our Open Letter to Dr. Stephen S. Wise, which we originally intended for this column, but found it entirely too long to allow space for contributions that have been crying aloud for weeks from the bottom of our Poetry Drawer for a place in the sun. Jim Oneal, who as an Irishman is an avowed authority on Judean theology, has graciously afforded us this extra space. For which act we publicly promise to lend him the column any day he wants to review a pet book or so beyond the limits of journalistic reasons.

And just because we like H. L. Mencken as thoroughly as we dislike his mamby-pamby mob of mimickers—we are happy to present the following operetta—in one act—Words by E. P. V., of Dartmouth College, and music—by any old Saxophone—

Doggeral

The Canintellectual Chorus
Tenor (solo)
I am a little Menckense
Bow wow!
I'd criticize the way you sneeze,
So how—
Do you think that you can ever please
My judgment with your recipes?
I'll bury you in smiles!
For I'm a little Menckense
Bow wow!
Soprano (a little yap-dog; solo)
But I'm a little Menckenite
(The other
With whom I very often fight
'Sny brother.)
I never bark, I always bite
For you are wrong, and I am right!
It's clear as black is never white.
I'm right.
Oh quite!—
Far more so than my brother.

Bass (an old woffle-hound, solo)
The Menckenite, the Menckense
Are quite the cheese!
Are quite the cheese!
You'll never please! you'll never please
Them with your written recipes
(Their words is law in things like these)
So save your sorry little wheeze!

(Ensemble)
Bow wow! Bow wow!
Bow wow! Bow wow!
On land and seas
We Menckense
Are noted for our mode exquisite!
The subtle way in which we tease!
We poke such fun among the geese!
Bow wow! Bow wow!
We've taken vow
That all must cow
Before the angry Menckense:
If you would write
You'd better cease
Unless your manner's Menckense! ...
We'd criticize the way you sneeze,

The way you cook, or make your teas—
And drain the leech!
The way you write
Would be a fright
(According to the Menckense)
And we are right—
We're quite the cheese!
And YOU are just a pack of geese.
(Tenor)
For I'm a little Menckense.
(Ensemble)
We' ALL are little Menckense!
Bow wow!
E. P. V.

The Return

Falling to find on all the roads of earth
A like design to soothe his straining heart,
He sought the back trail till he found the birth
Of all his dreaming; let us say the start
Of mockery and too insistent mirth.
Not greatly changed; although the sleeping home
Had grown in weeds, a weary place and barred;
He walked about it thinking he had grown
Even as lonely and as weather scared. . . .

A little apart from souls they prayed for still,
This silent man who lived his life alone
They buried in the uncomplaining hill.
He left his word. They graved upon his stone:
Now Teach Me, God, the Wherefore of My Will.
S. Bert Coopsley.

Cupidity

TODAY is curious. His eyes at dawn
Roll eagerly with childish enterprise;
He counts his new recruits and with a wise
Obelance to his foe, projects a pawn
Across the board of Life. Fate, with a yawn
Snaps up the soul in futile sacrifice,
And one by one he writes a swift demise
Until at dusk the soldiers all are gone.
And still TODAY is curious. Before
He flings his last dragoon at yesterday
And compensates for whimsies of the morn.
He pleads to look behind TOMORROW'S door
Where all the stupid pawns he chose to slay
Are quarrelling for a chance to be reborn.
A. M. Sullivan.

And in keeping with the season, we have made our New Year's resolves, but four in number:

- 1.—To print here poems of not over twenty lines in depth.
2.—To give a One Hundred Dollar Poetry Prize Contest this early Spring—or two Fifty Dollar Prizes—as the March wind dictates to us. Entries to the contest can come in at once or no later than March 15, 1926. Further details will be announced in a week or two.
3.—To make this column more and more the haven of the poet and writer whose work merits encouragement.
4.—To establish the Dictatorship of the Poet over a money grubbing universe.
A happy and poetically prosperous New Year to us all.
S. A. De Witt.