

SNOWDEN WRITES OF FIRST WEEKS OF LABOR GOVERNMENT

No Oil Scandal for Socialist Cabinet, in Spite of Alluring Bait Held Out to Them—Russia Recognized and Better Feeling in Europe—Houses for Workers and Unemployment Relief.

By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M. P.

(Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer)

London, Feb. 11.—Although the Labor Government has been in office only a few days it has made a most favorable impression on the public mind. None of the terrible anticipations of the capitalist press has been realized. There is a general tone of cheerfulness and hopefulness in the national outlook which has been absent for a long time past.

This state of feeling is in a considerable measure due to the business like way in which the new Government set to work on the various problems which confront it. In the past when Parliament has not been sitting, the country heard nothing of the activities of the Government. It is now different. There are a great many things which Ministers can do by administrative action, and already several popular matters of this sort have received attention.

The Recognition of Russia

Within ten days of the accession of the Labor Government the Soviet Government was recognized de jure. The London "Times," in commenting upon this act remarks that the Note which was sent to the Soviet Government announcing this recognition is the most remarkable document which has ever emanated from the British Foreign Office. There is no reason to believe that its friendly tone and offer will not be accepted and reciprocated.

The recognition of the Soviet Government has given great satisfaction to the Labor and Socialist movement and the act has been very favorably received by all parties. It was, of course, fully understood that this would be one of the first things which the new Labor Government would do. There are already signs that the recognition of Russia may influence the action of other Powers.

No Oil Scandal

Another important matter upon which the Labor Government lost no time in coming to a decision was on the sale of the shares of the British Petroleum Company. The British Government holds about one-half of the shares in this company. Recently an offer was made by the Burma Oil Company to purchase these shares with the object of merging the Burma Oil Company, the Royal Dutch and the Shell Companies into one great combine. This offer has been made under the consideration of the late Government, but when they left office no definite decision had been taken. There are very strong reasons, into which I need not enter, against the sale of the Government shares, and the Labor Government decided not to entertain the offer, and a public announcement to that effect was made a few days ago. This refusal to fall into the plans of the great combine has raised a great campaign by the Burma and Shell people, but it is so obviously dictated by selfish interests that it is not likely to have much effect.

The Pensions Scandal

For some time past there has been much popular indignation about the treatment of some hundreds of ex-service men who are in Poor Law asylums suffering from mental diseases. Under the terms of the Pensions Warrant an ex-service man is not entitled to pension or assistance under the Pensions scheme unless his disability can be proved to be due to, or has been aggravated by military service.

In the cases of the men in question an examination of their history has led the medical boards to the conclusion that their condition had no connection with their short military service. Without violating the Pension Warrant they could not be treated as ex-service patients. But the fact that they had been in the army enlisted a great deal of public sympathy, and there was much indignation at the fact that they were treated as "pauper lunatics." The Minister of Pensions, Comrade F. O. Roberts, with the approval of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has decided that these men shall be accepted as a charge on State Funds, thus removing them from the stigma of pauperism. The public announcement of this decision has given great public satisfaction.

Housing for the Masses

A housing scheme of a practical (Continued on Page 2)

FLATTERY IS NEW WEAPON OF FOES OF LABOR GOV'T

Reactionaries Try to Alienate Workers From MacDonald by Praise of His "Moderation"—Four Current Lies Nailed—Communists Too.

London.—Unable to have prevented the advent of a Labor Government, the enemies of the workers are trying a new tactic, that is, to divide the labor movement by judicious flattery. The eagerness of the reactionaries to approve of certain members of the Labor Government and of certain actions of the Ministry would be inexplicable, if it were not for the known fact that it is their new policy to get the party to quarrel. If they can.

They are as successful in these new tactics as in all their tactics in the past; which means not at all.

It is a curious spectacle to see the reactionaries, big business and the Communists uniting in carefully explaining that Premier MacDonald (Continued on Page 3)

HILLQUIT SHOWS DIFFERENCES OF U.S. AND EUROPE

Differences between conditions in Europe and the United States, resulting in differing political development, were stressed by Morris Hillquit in his lecture Wednesday night at the Rand School on "Radicalism in America."

It was the second of a series of four lectures, the first having been delivered the Wednesday previously. A large audience heard the lecture. Hillquit said that in Europe class distinctions had been established for centuries, going back into Feudal times. It is not necessary for a Marx to point out to the workers that they formed a separate class, the lecturer said. They knew it without being told.

On the other hand, in the United States there has been theoretical equality, and every worker has considered himself an embryo millionaire.

In Europe, the lecturer continued, political struggles were largely between parties representing definite historical classes, while in the United States, the two historical parties have represented no rival classes and politics has therefore not been an economic and class struggle, as has been the case in Europe.

Hillquit will take up the development of the Socialist movement in the United States next Wednesday.

LABOR GOVERNMENT HELPS DOCKERS WIN THEIR STRIKE

London.—The British Labor government has another brilliant achievement to its credit, the successful termination of the dockers' strike.

The workers have won a complete victory, and the public were protected from victimization by profiteers taking advantage of the tieup and increasing food prices.

For the first time, a government has met a strike situation, has settled it, has come through with credit and with the approval of the workers and of the general public.

Over 120,000 men were directly involved.

The representatives of the men conferred with the Minister of Labor, Tom Shaw—who is a labor leader himself—and then with the employers. As a result, the men got the increase in wages they asked for in record time.

The successful ending of the strike, with the aid and intervention of the Labor government, is a terrible blow to the enemies of the government, both Communists and others. The Communists loudly declared that the MacDonald government was solidly opposed to the strikers, and the reactionaries fervently hoped that the strike would embarrass the Labor regime.

At the outbreak of the strike, instead of the usual "warnings" of the Government to the workers to be careful of "law and order," the MacDonald Cabinet warned the merchants not to take advantage of the strike and raise food prices. That stand, alone, was enough to cause an epidemic of apoplexy among the beef-eating stockholding business men.

SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN



VICTOR L. BERGER

BERGER ASKS FOR QUIZ INTO SHAPE OF RAIL'Y STOCK

Socialist Congressman Says Lives of Passengers Are in Danger Because of Deterioration Since Strike.

Washington, D. C.—Representative Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, has introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee of seven members of the House of Representatives to investigate the present state of equipment and rolling stock of the railroads on which the machinists, shopmen, and maintenance-of-way men have been on strike since July, 1922, and also the amount of money expended by those railroad companies to break the strike.

He said: "There are a number of railroads which have not as yet reached an agreement with their striking employees. Among them are the Pennsylvania lines, the Boston and Maine, the New York, New Haven and Hartford, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, the Missouri Pacific, the Long Island, and the Western Maryland."

"According to information I have received, the condition of the rolling stock of those roads is such as seriously to endanger the lives of both employees and passengers. As a matter of fact, there has been a large increase in the number of accidents reported by those roads, due to the Interstate Commerce Commission reports, to defective equipment."

"I am reliably informed that close to eighty per cent of the locomotives now in use on the Pennsylvania lines have been found defective. If that road were compelled to discharge its obligation to the public properly it would have to (Continued on Page 3)

BOTH OIL PARTIES GUILTY OF MAKING CRIMINAL LEASES

Quick to Repudiate Leases When Their Nature Is Revealed, But G. O. P. Boasted of Them in 1920 Campaign—Both Parties Hopelessly Corrupt and Shameless—No One Can Dodge Responsibility When the Facts Are Known—Sweep Both Parties Out of National Life!

By MARX LEWIS

Washington.—Twenty-six investigations, either under way or about to be authorized by Congress. That is the record and it breaks all previous records for investigations. That the Republicans and the Democrats should once more appeal for support on the record they have established is not surprising.

From many years of experience they know that the voters, having reaped as they have sown, will sow once more that they may reap once more.

The Republicans have likewise a record of criminal guilt and perfidy which in another country would be so overwhelmingly repudiated that the party responsible would never dare make another appeal to the people. They have not only robbed this generation, but they have robbed generations that are to come. The investigation of the Veterans' Bureau has also shown they have not hesitated to desecrate the dead.

Rumors, reports, hearings, and gossip continue to make their rounds in Washington to such an extent that one is tempted to do what was done by some writer during the French Revolution. He conjugated the word "suspect," with the result that it was "I suspect, he suspects," and "we suspect, you suspect, they suspect." Everyone here suspects everyone else of something criminal. A few more may become involved, but they cannot be more important than those already involved; a few new sources of graft and corruption may be located, but that will represent a difference in degree, not in substance.

Nor will an investigation of Mr. Daugherty's conduct disclose anything very startling, unless it be that he is innocent of wrongdoing, and that does not seem possible after the hectic and more or less known public life of the gentleman in question. That he purchased oil shares from the concern of which Mr. Sinclair is the head is already established, but all that proves is that he used better stock market judgment than he did when he accepted \$25,000 worth of worthless stock from Charles W. Morse to convince President Taft that Morse was dying of tuberculosis in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, and as a result of which Morse was pardoned in time to be of service to the Demo-

(Continued from Page 3)

SMITH BORROWS SOCIALIST PLAN; SOLONS DODGE IT

Tammany Governor Can't Go Municipal Housing, But He Timidly Suggests State Aid—Doesn't Follow Through.

Albany.—The best minds and most brilliant statesmanship of two old parties assumed the terrific task of meeting the housing situation, and having been told the situation had grown worse in three years' operation of "emergency" rent laws, they reenacted those laws for another year and called it a day. They were apparently unable to rise to the heights of doing any original thinking to relieve the situation more than that, their giant intellects breaking under the strain of continuing the inadequate "emergency" laws.

This action of theirs is the more remarkable when taken in connection with the fact that Governor Smith, in his annual message realized that the legislation of which his party had been so proud, was completely sterile and took a leaf from the Socialist book as a recommendation for further progress; a recommendation that was completely ignored by his followers in the legislature, as well as the opposing party.

Smith's Mild Proposals

Smith did not go so far as to call for municipal housing and the elimination of private enterprise in supplying homes for the people; but (Continued on Page 3)

THEUNIS' DEFEAT MAY MEAN LABOR GOV'T IN BELGIUM

Brussels.—A second nation governed by the Socialists and Labor forces is likely to be the result of the defeat in the Chamber of the Government by the Socialists and Flemish Catholics Wednesday.

King Albert is loth to accept the resignation of the Cabinet, but Premier Georges Theunis insists upon quitting, and Emile Vandervelde, veteran leader of the Socialists, says that he will press for an election upon the issue of nationalization of railroads and mines and all means of production, a capital levy to reduce the war debt, a reduction in the term of military service and an international agreement with the powers, including Russia.

The defeat of Theunis is a terrible blow to the Poincare policy, since the Belgian chief of state had been the right hand support of the Frenchman in his continental policy.

The foreign policy of the MacDonald Government in England has had its effect in every country of Europe, weakening reaction and strengthening the Labor and Socialist forces and making an easier situation and understanding.

The election is not unlikely to return a Socialist majority. The Socialists have over 600,000 dues paying members in a nation of 7,500,000; there are 68 Socialist members of the Chamber of Representatives out of 186. Socialist sentiment is running high. Socialist organization is perfect, and Vandervelde has the unbounded affection and confidence of the Belgian people.

Two Labor and Socialist governments in Europe, together with the defeat of Poincare in the May election will go far toward defeating reaction and bringing in a new era in Europe.

SOCIALISTS OF FRANCE DEMAND EVACUATION

London.—Jean Longuet, the famous French Socialist, on a visit to London, declared that the majority of the French Socialists demand the evacuation of the Ruhr.

The impression abroad was that only the French Communists took this position, Longuet said, but in fact the Socialist majority and even large group of Liberals recognize the evil effects of the Ruhr adventure on Europe, including France.

There can be no doubt that if the French Liberals should come into power circumstances would compel them to reverse the policies of Poincaré.

Economic Laws Rule

"Political and economic reasons, such as the fall of the franc, would exercise powerful pressure on them," Longuet continued. "Even to a larger degree would they have to take into account the impossibility of their remaining in power without the votes of the Socialists and the extreme left."

"So far as the Socialists themselves are concerned, there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who follows their propaganda that, as a whole, they are absolutely resolved to oblige the Liberal government which is likely to come into power in the next French Parliament to abandon immediately the policy of crushing and destroying Germany, which appears more and more as leading France itself to a financial economic disaster."

"At the Paris conference of the Socialist Party, a few days ago, one of the leaders of the extreme right, George Maurange, asked, 'What Socialist Foreign Minister would dare offer to evacuate the Ruhr immediately?'"

Sees Better Prospects

"Leon Blum at once arose and said most definitely: 'Certainly, I would in twenty-four hours, adding: 'Not for a minute would I go on with a policy which I consider nefarious for France and fatal for world's peace!' And there was loud applause from four-fifths of the conference at Blum's utterance, which expressed, without doubt, the feeling of practically the whole of the Socialist movement in my country."

"So," Longuet concluded, "we can hope the dawn of better times is near when, by the combination of Socialists and progressives, in full agreement with our brothers and friends of the British Labor party, we shall repair the harm that has been done to Europe and to the world by our silly jingo performances."

And Palmer Too!

Gifford Pinchot said to other day: "In 1920 Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, without a fight, turned over \$500,000,000 of oil lands from our public domain to the Southern Pacific Railroad. Palmer refused to appeal to the United States Supreme Court from the decision of a lower Federal Court favorable to the Southern Pacific."

With regard to the alleged attempt at forest exploitation, Governor Pinchot said:

"Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, sought first to have the Government forest preserves placed in the hands of private interests before he succeeded in leasing the naval oil reserves for private exploitation."

"The first step in the exploitation of the forest preserves was to have been the transfer of the forest from the Department of the Interior. This move was favored by President Harding."

INDIA

Labor Conditions in Bombay

The Government of Bombay Labor Office has issued official reports of Labor in Bombay. According to these, ninety-seven per cent of the working-class families live in single rooms; the infant mortality for the families living in single rooms was, in 1921, 828.5 per 1,000, while for those occupying four rooms it fell to 133.3. It is safer to be born by the roadside—evidently a common event in Bombay—for the mortality in this case is only 484.8. The consumption of cereals is just equal to the maximum allowed under the Famine Code, and less than that allowed in the Bombay jail. Indian prisoners are said to look much fatter than their free brethren. In the cotton industry, real wages have risen only twelve per cent since 1913, although nominal wages stand much higher. The hours of labor are for most of the male workers and for half of the women workers ten per day.

COMIC SUPPLEMENT

"Daugherty . . . repeats refusal to resign; Sees Radicalism in Attack; Reds Seek New Victims," Headline in revered New York Commercial.

VLADECK AND KAHN REPORT ON ST. LOUIS

By LENA MORROW LEWIS

Alex Kahn and B. Charney Vladeck shared honors last Monday night at Beethoven Hall. The meeting was under the auspices of the Jewish Socialist Verband and was held for the purpose of hearing their reports of the St. Louis Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Briefly reviewing the tenor and spirit of the first conference held in Chicago, February 22, 1922, which seemed to be affected largely by the desire to reward friends and punish enemies, Alex Kahn threw out the hint that the motive in calling this first convention, so far as the railroad men were concerned, was to throw a scare into the ranks of the old parties by threatening to organize a third party, if they were not good to labor. The St. Louis meeting was in marked contrast to the earlier gathering insofar as the idea of dealing with the old parties was concerned.

"Representative Sinclair, Congressman from North Dakota, elected on the non-partisan plan related his inability to get any relief measures through Congress as now constituted, and like other speakers addressing the audience ended his speech by the query 'How are we going to meet this situation?' not daring to come out boldly for independent political action, but evidently waiting for someone else to make the start."

"An amusing and exciting situation arose when Thomas E. Ryan of New York, an active in the State convention held in Albany last July protested against Morris Hillquit and for a time tried to make use of all the points of order he had ever seen used on a convention floor. For a little while the Socialists and their friends were dubious as to the outcome, but according to Kahn, there was not even so much as a grease spot left of Ryan and his opposition when the redoubtable Hillquit had finished with him, Hillquit told the actual story of the shameful tactics used by Ryan in Albany at that time."

"Perhaps the most constructive speech of the whole proceeding was made by Morris Hillquit, who pointed out the important part the Taft-Vale decision played in forcing the workers of England to take up political action. With so many things happening in this country it may be that some overt act on part of the old parties will arouse the workers and the movement for a big Labor Party in the United States will be a living reality."

"Altogether," said Alex Kahn in closing his speech, "the sentiment for a third party among progressives and Labor groups outside the Socialists is very promising, and the conference adjourned to meet in Cleveland, July 4, to take such action as the times and situation warranted."

B. C. Vladeck spoke along the same lines in Jewish, interspersing his remarks with sallies of wit and humor as is his manner and habit."

"Whether we unite with the movement that nominates candidates at the Conference July 4, or as Socialists find it necessary to go our own way and place our candidates in the field, there will still be work for the Socialist Party to do. We will either become an educational force directing and leading the new Labor Party in the United States, or we will continue our role as the party seeking political power in the name and for the welfare of the working class."

MR. MORGAN'S GIFT

Mr. J. P. Morgan has given his father's wonderful library as a gift to the public in perpetuity.

The building is an architectural gem, and the treasures in it are priceless. The building and contents are estimated to be worth anywhere from \$8,500,000 to double that amount. Mr. Morgan also establishes a fund of \$1,500,000 to take care of the library in the future.

The library, with its priceless collections of rare manuscripts and paintings; with its volumes of manuscript documents of untold value to the historian, was assembled as a diversion of the spare time of the elder Morgan, and now his son decides that it of right belongs to the public.

Good for Mr. Morgan. Far better that great wealth be employed in collecting books and giving them to the public than in riotous dissipation like the wastrels of Newport and Palm Beach, or the corruption of government by hiring of high public officials for their supposed influence.

But why must we wait until Mr. Morgan gets a generous impulse? Why must public welfare wait upon the father's hobby and the son's good impulses? Suppose the son suddenly got a bilious attack from too much good food; it is possible that he might decide to close the library forever to anyone but members of his family. Such things have been done. Or suppose he decided to spend his money financing counter revolution in Mexico; or in floating chorus girls on the uncertain seas of theatrical careers—as many another wealthy man has done? Suppose he decided to have two wives and two families and run both in luxury simultaneously—as a certain contemporary of his has done?

SNOWDEN ON LABOR CABINET

(Continued from Page 1.)

character is particularly urgent. It is not merely a financial question but one of labor. The supply of certain essential kinds of labor is not adequate to meet the requirements of extensive building operations.

For some time past negotiations have been going on with the building trades unions with the object of seeing if an agreement could be reached for the "dilution" of the skilled trades by the introduction of outside labor. The building trades have quite naturally looked with suspicion upon these suggestions when they came from capitalist quarters. Unless "dilution" were accompanied by some guarantee of a long period of employment, the effect might well be to create great unemployment and to cause a degradation of the conditions in the industry.

The appropriate Ministers are now in consultation with the building trades unions, and it is believed that some agreement will be reached by which a sufficient supply of skilled labor will be secured with adequate safeguards against unemployment and a lowering of the status and conditions of the workers in the industry.

The trade unions naturally look at proposals coming from a Labor Government with more sympathy than if they came from a Government of employers.

It is yet too early to outline the Government's housing plans, but it may be said that in the course of a few weeks proposals will be submitted to Parliament by which it is hoped greatly to accelerate the building of houses and at the same time directly and indirectly absorb some proposition of the unemployed.

Housing schemes alone will not solve the unemployment problem. It is largely a problem of providing employment for men in shipbuilding, engineering and textile manufacturing. It is believed that much can be done in this direction by encouraging electrification, bridge building, roadmaking and the like.

But perhaps more than all else the settlement of Europe and the restoration of trade with Russia will help Britain's unemployment. Much is hoped in this direction from the recognition of Russia and the development of trade with her.

The Settlement of Europe Perhaps the test by which the Labor Government will be judged more than by anything else will be its foreign policy. It has inherited a terrible legacy of mismanagement and blunders. The Prime Minister, who is also Foreign Secretary, is working day and night on this difficult problem. He is in communication with M. Poincaré, and has addressed to the French Prime Minister a friendly letter in which he expresses the desire to keep on cordial terms with France and the hope that some policy for the settlement of differences may be devised which will lead to the restoration of peace and prosperity in Europe. M. Poincaré has replied in cordial terms.

There has been a decided change in the tone of the Paris press since the advent of the Labor Government and evidence is forthcoming in these inspired utterances that M. Poincaré is now inclined to take advantage of a new Government in Great Britain to reconsider his general attitude to some of the outstanding problems left by the war. It certainly is a favorable opportunity, and with goodwill on all sides it may be found possible to settle some of those terrible problems which have baffled statesmen for five years, and the

unsettlement of which has inflicted such awful suffering on Europe.

The Financial Problems The "stunt" press this week came out with sensational stories about some quarrel between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Admiralty about the Navy Estimates for next year. All rumors of this sort must be taken with more than the proverbial grain of salt. All rumors about what the Chancellor will do in the matter of remitting some taxes or imposing new ones, even when they profess to come from "well-informed sources" must be taken as merely the creation of vivid or non-vivid imaginations.

BIG McADOO FEE

(Continued from Page 1)

to any representations he might make to President Obregon demanding the country Mr. McAdoo expected to rule, specifically, Mr. McAdoo's boss.

Undoubtedly, also, Mr. Doheny, who is an ardent Sin Feiner, would make to President Obregon demanding the right of fuller exploitation have contributed some of the profits on such deals to the cause of Irish independence. Thereby showing a sense of humor not at all Irish.

McAdoo's Fees

Mr. McAdoo, who is so eager to be President that he gave up substantial retainers to keep in the running, did not feel that it was proper to accept huge fees from Mr. Doheny, and the moment his connection with the oil man was revealed, he showed how innocent he felt by promptly resigning from Mr. Doheny's employ—while insisting that it had been all right to be in that employ.

He emphasized the fact, however, that he had no connection with the oil leases, and added—when he was asked point blank—that he had been on a mission to Mexico City to "straighten out certain difficulties with the Mexican Government" for Mr. Doheny. For which his fee would be \$900,000.

The Mexican people have a constitution that includes the famous Article 27, a heritage from the old Spanish law. The Article provides that all mineral wealth under the surface of the soil is the property of the people of Mexico. It is in the Constitution of Benito Juarez, and was set aside by bloody old Porfirio Diaz, who gave oil and mineral fields of priceless value to American exploiters—like Hearst, Guggenheim, Charles P. Taft and Edward L. Doheny—to be exploited at will. Doheny, for example, got 620,000 acres of oil fields at Tampico from Diaz in 1900 at 60 cents an acre. There he exploited the Mexican people to his heart's content unchecked by Mexican laws.

The Madero revolution and the political events that followed, were for the purpose of restoring Article 27 to the Mexican people. President Carranza proceeded to enforce the Article compelling the Doheny and other oil interests to pay export taxes and in other ways observe the fundamental law.

The Cause of Friction

The principal friction between the Mexican and American Governments has been over that constitutional provision, safeguarding the property of the Mexican people from exploitation by American adventurers. Doheny protested a number of times to the State Department that there was discrimination in favor of British companies in Mexico—the British companies presumably observing the law, while Doheny wells were sealed by the Government because Doheny refused to obey the law.

That was McAdoo's mission in

LABOR VICTORY WILL MEAN FAIR PLAY FOR EGYPT

Cairo.—The overwhelming victory of the Zaghlulists in the recent Egyptian elections and the advent of a Labor government in England promise an era of fair play for Egypt and a new adjustment of British diplomacy to the modern tendencies in the near and far east.

Aziz Izzet Pasha, on the eve of his departure from Egypt to England as the first representative of an independent Egypt, expressed the hope that the year 1924 would seal the bond of everlasting friendship between England and Egypt.

The independence of Egypt having been solemnly recognized by the declaration of February 28, 1922, the next step will be to work out practical details to put it into effect and endow Egypt with all prerogatives of a sovereign nation.

Can Gain Influence

"Now that the elections of January 12 have secured for Egypt a representative Parliament which will control and direct the policy of the government, the problem of our relations with Great Britain will be fully and finally solved by an understanding on the remaining points to the entire satisfaction of both parties," Aziz Izzet Pasha said.

"England is in a position to regain her old influence in the whole eastern world if she will hearken to the advice of her prominent men who know and sympathize with the east, and who have never ceased to suggest the application of the best Anglo-Saxon principles of fair play and reciprocity to eastern politics. England, can, indeed, achieve the greatest service to herself and to mankind by a trustful and friendly policy in the east. With regard to Egypt, it depends entirely on England to re-establish her old moral position and influence by rendering Egypt happy, satisfied with her own lot, and free to develop institutions congenial to her people."

Mexico, it is understood. As the prospective President, he was to impress President Obregon with the necessity of letting Doheny do business in his own way, regardless of the Mexican laws and the welfare of the Mexican people. Doheny was to make several hundred millions, it is understood; McAdoo was to get \$900,000 in addition to the Presidency (if he could get it) and the American people would be faced with further trouble with Mexico, and possibly a long period of wars.

McAdoo's Influence

At the same time, McAdoo is charged with having appeared before Government departments where his influence as son-in-law of the President and former Secretary of the Treasury, carried weight. He is said to have made \$50,000 out of Daugherty's friend Charles W. Morse, ex-convict, by use of that influence, in addition to a lot of other heavy fees in this department practice.

This all goes to tear the veil from what capitalist business is. Governments are the executive committees for the ruling class. The oil and soap shipping and mining magnates are the ruling class.

Only by cleaning out—not merely a few crooks, but the whole capitalist class, can there be relief. Only by the participation in a larger and larger measure of workers as work-

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Office Workers' Organization Grows in Every Country—Eight-Hour Day to Be Fought For.

London.—Because of their membership in the Red Trade Union International the applications of the Russian and Bulgarian clerical workers' unions for affiliation with the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees was rejected by the Federation's executive committee at a meeting held here the second week in January. The executive officers went on record as approving the resolution adopted at the conference in Amsterdam last November of the secretaries of the trade international belonging to the International Federation of Trade Unions barring from membership any union forming part of the Moscow International.

A growth in membership of about 8,000 during 1923 was reported by Secretary Smitt, the number of workers belonging to the thirty-five organizations in thirteen countries affiliated with the International being given as 817,731.

It was decided not to hold a congress this year, but the delegates representing clerks', commercial or technical unions at the Vienna Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions next June will get together and hold a sort of informal convention.

In a resolution adopted condemning the attacks upon the eight-hour day all over Europe, it was pointed out that in many countries clerical workers did not enjoy a working day as short as that, but that the International was determined to back up its affiliated groups to the limit in their struggles for the introduction, or maintenance, of the eight-hour day. The executive committee decided to ask the International Labor Office of the League of Nations in Geneva to institute an inquiry into the working conditions of clerks,

GEO. F. COMINGS COMES OUT FOR NEW ALIGNMENT

Madison, Wis. —Lieut.-Gov. George F. Comings, La Follette Progressive candidate for governor, has come out for a new party.

"I am more than ready to leave the rotten, oil-soaked Teapot-Dome Republican party, and to leave it forever, and join the movement for a new party at any time."

"The news that recently came to us from St. Louis Conference for Progressive Political Action, to the effect that La Follette will accept a nomination for president from the convention to be called in Cleveland, July 4, is the most encouraging, inspiring and important news in the field of politics that we have heard in many years."

"If there were a Farmer-Labor party or a Progressive party in Wisconsin now I would be in it. But we cannot form a new party except under the leadership of Senator La Follette, and I join with thousands of others in calling on him to take action. He has for twenty years fought with untiring devotion the stealthy encroachments of privilege upon the rights and liberties of the people, and is the logical leader to carry our banner forward to victory."

"In the Progressive bloc in Congress he now has a following of Senators and Representatives who will follow him into a new party and make it most formidable."

"The Republican party has had its day. It has ceased to do good and learned to do evil."

shop assistants and technical men in all countries.

The Hungarian Government was condemned by the executive committee for having stopped the holding of a convention of affiliated unions in Hungary. The Amsterdam headquarters of the International reported that affiliated unions had already contributed \$30,000 toward helping the hard-pressed German unions.

Secretary Bramley, of the British Trade Union Congress, welcomed the delegates to London, as did the officials of the National Federation of Professional, Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Workers.

was fathered by Senator Walsh, Democrat, of Montana, and that the section under which Secretary Denby acted when he transferred the oil reserves was written by Former Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels.

Now, as was pointed out in these columns several weeks ago, the act was passed during a Democratic administration at the request of the Democratic Secretary of the Navy. It made possible Fall, Doheny, and Sinclair, just as the contributions made by the oil interests, and all other private interests, to the two old political parties made and make possible a hundred steals at various times during all sorts of administrations, including this.

Furthermore the Republican party national platform of 1920 declared: "A Republican Congress has just passed an admirable leasing law, which conserves these great public mineral resources for the people, provides for their development by private enterprises under lease, prevents waste and destruction, protects the field workers, and provides for royalties. . . ."

In the Republican Campaign Text-Book for 1920, the passage of this act was hailed as one which "stamps the work of the Republican Sixty-sixth Congress as being a wisely practical character, as being progressively and constructively responsible to the best opinion of the times." To make sure that the Democrats would not get any credit out of the passage of this coal and oil leasing bill, the Republican campaign managers went on to say:

"Republican administrations under Roosevelt and Taft laid the foundations for this legislation and urged its enactment, and after eight years of Democratic failure to secure the legislation a Republican Congress places upon the statute books the legislation which had its genesis in former Republican administrations. No legislation of recent years is of more far reaching beneficial character than this."

No one will quarrel with the last sentence in that statement. There is no doubt that it was far-reaching and those who reached got it; and it was also beneficial, not only to Fall, who received the suit case and its contents, not only to Doheny and Sinclair, who received these valuable oil reserves for a song, but also to the Republican party, which received a substantial contribution for that campaign.

But the significant part of all this is that now the chairman of the Republican National Committee has the audacity, in the face of this written proclamation of its own achievement, to seek to fasten the blame for it on the Democrats, who were no better, but who certainly were no worse, than their Republican colleagues.

In the face of such methods, no statement or charge that may issue from anyone of the twenty-six investigating committees can possibly startle anyone. Persons capable of adopting such tactics will not stop at any—in fact they have not stopped at anything.

BERGER'S BILL

(Continued from Page 1.)

withdraw from service four out of every five of its locomotives. The same state of affairs is said to exist on the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific.

"Most of the accidents that have resulted so far have been of a minor nature, at least in the number of those killed and injured. A more serious disaster may awaken the nation to the reckless disregard with which those roads treat the situation. The time to prevent such a disaster is now."

VOTE FRAUDS

(Continued from Page 1.)

The report on Mr. Bloom indicates that Socialists have known all along, that election thievery in Harlem (as well as other parts of New York) is a matter of course and a usual thing, and doesn't worry those who indulge in it—if they are Tammany men.

In 1917, John Purroy Mitchell sought the nomination for Mayor as a Republican. He lost in the primaries, but so eager were his supporters to get him on the ballot that votes were stolen wholesale for him, especially in Harlem. Joab H. Banton, who is the Tammany district attorney now, was then an assistant district attorney, and he took delight in prosecuting the guilty parties. Whenever pressed to prosecute vote thieves of his own party, Banton invariably quotes his own record of 1918, when he went after the men of the rival party, as proof of his eager desire to secure an honest ballot. But he never explains that they were Republicans, while the crooks of 1921 were Tammany men.

The case that is scheduled for next Monday is of the election inspectors of the Second Election District of the 17th Assembly district, where on election night 394 votes were openly stolen.

For 28 months, when asked when the thieves would be prosecuted, Mr. Banton has promised "soon." But not soon enough to discourage the same practices at the special election in January, 1923; not soon enough to make it appear that a man who steals votes and helps steal an election does so at the imminent peril of immediate arrest and punishment.

Flattery Used by Labor's Enemies

(Continued from Page 1.)

is not an extremist, is nothing terrible, after all. But his "Clyde wild men"! They're awful. MacDonald had to throw them a bone in the shape of a couple of offices to keep them quiet. Then the ingrates had to turn around and take a stand in favor of the Poplar guardians—thus putting MacDonald in a hole! That's their story anyway, and they stick to it.

Trying to Flatter MacDonald The reactionaries have been flattering MacDonald for his "moderation" and the Communists have been denouncing him for the same thing; but the organs of the Independent Labor party, the London New Leader and the Glasgow Forward, have pointed out that the Comrades understand and will not take the hint so gratuitously offered them, to turn on their ministry and denounce it. And thus kindly create the dissensions to oblige both silk hatted gentry and Communist.

As a matter of fact the Labor party is thoroughly united. There is a "liaison committee" of twelve non-ministerial Labor members and three ministers, to keep the party and the Government in touch, presided over by that veteran rebel, Bob Smillie. The Ministers are swamped by their government duties, but they keep in intimate touch with their party, and have no desire to do otherwise.

Four "Lines" The four principal "lines" of the enemies of the Labor party are: (1) that the MacDonald ministry and the party are disunited, that the "wild," "revolutionary" members are distrustful of MacDonald, (2) that the Government opposed the dock strike. This lie is a Communist favorite. (3) that the Government did not favor the Poplar policy, but that the Minister of Health, John Wheatley "put one over" on his chief and made him support it as a matter of form, not to let people in on private dissensions, much to his private disgust, and (4) that that ardent, rampaging, radical "Red," Arthur Henderson, is eager for a revision of the Versailles treaty, but that conservative, diplomatic gentleman, J. Ramsay MacDonald, won't let him do it.

It happens that all four are completely untrue. The Ministry is united, and the party in Parliament and in the country enthusiastically support it. It happens that MacDonald is the leader of the Independent Labor party, the "extremist" organization in the Labor party. And it also happens that he is the ablest parliamentarian and statesman in the party, and that is the only reason he is Premier. The party, composed in an overwhelming majority of trade unionists, selected him, (he is a writer and not a member of any union because there isn't any he is eligible for) as their leader because they know him, honor him, admire him, and trust and love him. They could get rid of him in ten minutes if they wanted to, just as they elected him leader in November, 1922, because they wanted him, rather than John R. Clynes, who happens to be a trades unionist. The Labor party is completely democratic in organization.

The Dock Strike The Government did not oppose the dock strike. Indeed, the strike was managed by the Executive of the Trades Union Congress, of which the chairman is a member of the Government, Margaret Bondfield. The Cabinet, instead of "warning" the strikers not to interfere with the "rights of property"—that is, the profits of the bosses—warned the profiteers not to take advantage of the strike and raise prices of food. Something utterly unheard of before this amazing Government took hold.

Labor has always stood for work for all—or full maintenance of men out of work through the stupidities of the Capitalist system. The MacDonald ministry stands for "Work or Maintenance" if for nothing else, which is the Poplar policy. Wheatley and MacDonald are fellow members of the National Executive of the I. L. P., and they know and respect and understand each other. It is a cheap press hoax to assert that Wheatley played the Poplar trick on an unsuspecting Government.

As for Versailles; it happens that Arthur Henderson is not in Parliament just now, but he is campaigning to fill the seat from Burnley just made vacant by the death of old Dan Irving. In his campaign, he made it clear that the Labor party wants a revision of the Versailles Treaty of Abominations. MacDonald, as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, is creating a more friendly situation with France. Neither one interferes with the other. But the reactionary press instantly howled that "Red" and "revolutionary" Henderson is running away from his "conservative" boss, MacDonald!

These tactics fool no one, and are to those who understand a source of innocent merriment. Meanwhile, the Labor Government is going ahead, "one step at a time," MacDonald says. And with a vision of Socialism as its goal and its inspiration.

Only the economic organization is capable of setting on foot a true political party of Labor, and thus raise a bulwark against the power of capital.—Karl Marx.

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SMITH BORROWS SOCIALIST PLAN

(Continued from Page 1.)

he realized at last—what Socialists had been hammering away for years—the dangers of unrestricted private operation. He did fly in the face of the real estate interests to the extent of suggesting State and municipal aid in building "if private capital does not meet the demand for the housing at low costs." And that was all he could think of.

That message, weak as it was, completely ignoring, as it did, the crux of the situation which is the right to make profits on public needs, was widely heralded as a "radical" measure, that would go far to solve the situation. Also widely denounced as "radical."

Meanwhile the housing situation continued bad, and the old party statesmen in Albany were being memorialized every day by real estate interests—but not by the people. And they ignored even the weak message of Mr. Smith.

Governor Smith's recommendations were—

"Housing is such an elemental need that we always speak of the three necessities of life together—food, clothing and shelter. The search for decent homes in wholesome surroundings at rental figures possible to the lower income groups is almost hopeless."

"The report of the State Housing Commission confirms in every respect the recommendation of the Reconstruction Commission which I transmitted four years ago on the subject of State aid for the construction of homes. The facts as disclosed by the Housing Commission's investigations thus far show that one of the most important things necessary to stimulate the construction of homes and dwellings for those of moderate wage earning capacity is a freer supply of money at low rates of interest."

"This matter is now receiving the careful consideration of the Housing Commission, but I strongly approve at this time its recommendation that the way be paved for State aid in connection with housing, so that if private capital does not meet the demand for housing at low costs, the State and the various municipalities will be in a position to step in and supply whatever assistance may be necessary."

Of all the enthusiastic supporters of Al Smith—before election—who said that their election was necessary to "do something now" for the workers—not one took the trouble to make a fight for even that poor plan after election.

And at this writing, even Al, himself hasn't taken the trouble to make a fuss about it. It was good campaign material. Both for people who have to pay rent even between elections—but that's Socialist politics.

LABOR DAILY IN SYDNEY, N. S. W.

Sydney, N. S. W.—The number of Labor daily newspapers throughout the world continues to grow.

After an adventurous career as an Independent Labor paper, the Sydney Daily Mail has been taken over by the New South Wales branch of the Australian Labor party.

The paper was formerly under the control of P. J. Minahan, a wealthy Labor member of the State Parliament, but as a result of the efforts of Mr. Willis, president of the Labor Executive and secretary of the Miners' Union, the movement acquired the control.

Until now neither Sydney nor Melbourne, the two largest cities in Australia, each with a population approaching a million, has had a Labor daily. Weekly papers in both cities have won large circulations throughout the State of New South Wales and Victoria, while Brisbane, Adelaide and Hobart have supported struggling dailies.

The future is what we make it. Let us see that the work we do is of the kind that endures, so that those who come after us may realize our worth by the results of our labors.—Keir Hardie

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POST MORTEM vs. STATUS QUO

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

For the sake of public morals something may have to be done to clothe the bared figures of Republicans and Democrats who have been dipped in oil. To be sure the disrobing has been so thorough that it is doubtful if much can be done. At least Latin might be used in the captions of articles dealing with the great gusher. So here it is.

For the exposure continues. What was likely meant to be a momentary peep into a dark corner turns out to be the opening of a veritable book of revelations. Instead of a one-act headliner, there is continuous vaudeville, with old party notables making a hurried entrance and exit after each other across the boards. And what a glorious spotlight!

That being so, instead of the customary post mortem of the carcass of a departed bit of public betrayal, there is a constant stench as though crossing a large battlefield of slaughtered office holders. If someone does not dig into Latin deep enough to put a quietus to the procedure, then the searchlight will swing in from what was done in the past to the status quo of what is doing right now.

And why should not the curious public catch up with itself? If the past dead is too recent, so that there is still contamination of the living, it must be attended to surely. But how about the pretty killings that the old party of officeholders are making even now and which they contemplate?

For it needs no ghost come from a grave of yesterday to tell us that the chances and the certainties of public betrayal in the very immediate present are far grander than were those of the more or less honorable ancestors of the current political highbinders.

Let us take a case in point.

Among others who have been doing faithful messenger service between those already exposed and those fearful of exposure is Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania. Mr. Pepper is taken to represent the scholar in politics. He is an eminent lawyer and a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. In the doubtful usage of words in politics, he would be accepted as the "clean" type, albeit roundly torn in his economic beliefs and attitude toward social change.

But suppose this business of prying into the doings of public men goes on. How will Senator Pepper shape up?

Just now oil is the governmental commodity. Anyone found done in oil is a dead sardine. But the railroad men are striving to make an issue of the railroads. An issue closer to the people is not to be found. When the railroads are being investigated, how will office holders fare, especially Senator Pepper?

Mr. Pepper was appointed originally by Governor Sproule to fill a vacancy. Some photographer thought the occasion of general interest and snapped the group in the governor's office. The three chief figures were the governor, the new senator and Vice-President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Lots of those photographs are about. How indeed will Mr. Pepper fare when the people go after the railroads as very decidedly they should?

Incidentally, Mr. Pepper's claim to distinction as a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania rests in no slight degree upon his acting as the spokesman of the corporation chiefs who dismissed Scott Nearing. A very good act to gather corporation funds for the university, and not to be overlooked in shaking down the corporation chiefs for Republican Party campaign funds. But in these days of a new public conscience how will Senator Pepper fare?

Then, if one is to travel from post mortem to a status quo, what is Mr. Pepper's party doing back home? Is it spending its time in political Sunday school? Or is it engaged in high crimes and misdemeanors?

Mr. Pepper's associates in the Republican Party are very busy turning over parcels of public property to Mr. Pepper's associates among the trustees of the university. That is putting it very indirectly. The Pennsylvania Railroad is to be presented with a large piece of land at the heart of the city as a breathing space fronting its station when pushed back a piece. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company is being made custodian of the city's streets without a penny for inestimable franchise values. The United Gas Improvement Company, lessor of the city's gas works, is willing to have any arrangement that puts millions of additional unearned profits into its coffers annually. And so on, et cetera and ad infinitum, to sanctify these transactions with Latin.

That is why it is such bad business to engage in post mortem exercises. Worse still if someone does not bring a halt before the aroused public trespasses over into the status quo. Then the whole pretended usefulness of the old parties will fall down and their pretenses for continuance come tumbling after.

Furthermore, if the public loses its relish for mere post mortems and searches about for what values it is still possessed of and seeks to take the precautions to safeguard them, then one of the most gigantic

THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S GREAT OPPORTUNITY

By Alfred Baker Lewis

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, with which the Socialist Party is affiliated, held an historic meeting at St. Louis on Lincoln's Birthday. They issued a radical platform and decided to call a convention at Cleveland on July 4 to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. The Socialist Party, cooperative societies, international unions, and farmers' organizations are invited to participate. The call does not state that a Labor party or a Farmer-Labor party is to be started, but as they are going to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President themselves instead of going into the old party primaries, they will have to start a third party.

With a Farmer-Labor party thus in the field with which the Socialist Party is affiliated, we will be in the same position as the Independent Labor party in Great Britain is in the British Labor party. Just in proportion as the Socialist party members are active in the unions, cooperative societies, farmers' organizations, and workers' education classes, they will come more and more to be the leaders of the new party. This has been the case with the Independent Labor party in England and will be the case with us.

Socialists have an organization used to spreading literature, leaflets and papers. They have also a philosophy and an understanding of economics that will make it possible for them, if they will be active enough to put their knowledge to work, to see ahead from present issues to the one about to come up, and to suggest the right and wrong ways of meeting present issues. This knowledge and this organization for the spread of the printed word is bound to make them in the long run far more influential in proportion to their numbers than any other affiliated group in the Labor party.

To take an example: Farmers today are in a terrible plight in many sections. Some among them advocate a subsidy on certain farm products, while others want to make the farmers' position more tolerable by squeezing the profits out of rural banking, railroading, flour milling, meat packing and the wholesale and retail distribution of farm products.

A farmer who wants a subsidy is no more radical than a manufacturer who wants a protective tariff; but a farmer who wants to better the condition of his class by squeezing the profits out of rural banking, railroading, milling, packing, and the distribution of food products is lined up with the Socialists. Which remedy the farmers are going to get behind and push will depend on the activity and vigor of Socialist propaganda among them. If they demand the subsidy they are going to get stung, because nearly everyone else will oppose it. If they demand the squeezing out of profit from transportation, banking, and middlemanism they will only be opposed by the big interests and those whom the big interests can misinform and fool. So that in the long run the Socialist solution for the farmers' plight is the only practicable one.

But the most significant thing about the Conference for Progressive Political Action was what it shows as to the value of Socialist propaganda. Many of our old comrades have carried on their propaganda, and yet the membership and the vote during the war declined and in many places has not yet recovered. Yet an incident occurred at the conference, vouchered for by a member of our National Executive Committee, which shows that the effect of their propaganda was not lost.

When the resolutions committee was considering the platform they were to adopt, they were hesitating whether the platform under discussion was not too radical, some wishing to tone it down considerably. As the matter hung in the balance, the Socialist member of the committee said, "Come now, let us be honest with ourselves. How many of you have never been members of the Socialist Party at some time or other?" Only one man raised his hand, and further questioning brought out the fact that even he had often voted the Socialist ticket.

The committee realized that just the same thing would be true of the entire membership of the conference

steals of all will be frustrated. That is super-power.

The time is just ripe for the enormous development of the coal and water resources of the country, especially in such states as Pennsylvania and New York in the making of electricity and its transmission from source to service with a substantial cutting down of the existing waste in power. If that development is done as a public duty, the public will benefit. Left to private exploitation, there will be little if any savings to the people, to say nothing of monstrous attending graft and corruption. Is the public wide-awake to its interests?

Verily, it will be a sad day for the political malefactors, if the public reaches into the status quo,

and proceeded to report the radical platform, which was finally unanimously adopted by the entire conference. Why? Because the Socialist educational work carried on among the workers and farmers in former years had sunk deep, and its effect still survived. It had not been thrown away; the efforts of former years had not been wasted.

This is a lesson to us all. It is clear proof that it is worth our while to keep up our educational work with undiminished vigor, even though it does not bear immediate results in membership and votes; clear proof that we have no reason to be discouraged and every reason to keep up our fight against capitalism with undiminished hope. We are building for the future—our educational work for Socialism is bread upon the waters which is sure to come back many-fold.

We have now a tremendous opportunity, backed by proof that our efforts have not been in vain. If all our members will work to see that the whole question of a third party is thoroughly discussed in the unions and the farmers' organizations, and that meanwhile for the next four months especially Socialist literature is carried out and distributed, the circulation of party papers increased, and our mass meetings made more frequent and more widely advertised, the unions and farmers' organizations, as well as the Socialist Party, will go into this convention at Cleveland on July 4 prepared to launch a Farmer-Labor party on a national scale and with a platform bearing the clear impress of Socialist principles. We have four months of time until July 4 in which to do our most vigorous educational work. Let's go.

"Nephew, I value not my own life a chip; but what concerns me is, that the law which takes away my life may hang every one of you whenever it is thought convenient."

—Algernon Sidney, in prison on the night before his execution.

The New Leader Forum

WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP

Editor of The New Leader:

Will you permit me to make a few comments on the communication in your issue of February 16 from Mrs. Theresa Malkiel? First, your correspondent is in error in stating that those who backed the law of September, 1922, giving woman the right to decide upon her citizenship independently of her husband had only "in mind the American woman married to a foreigner." As one who aided in amending the old regulations, let me assure your readers that the aim was to put all women on their own feet, to make the individuality of every woman respected by lawmakers, to bring men to regard women as equals in the duties and rights of naturalization, and, above all, to cultivate in women themselves a sense of their own dignity and obligation.

Mrs. Malkiel tells us that since September, 1922, 100,000 married men have been naturalized, while of their wives not more than one in 1,000 take out papers; and she pleads that a back door be opened for the 999, through which they may easily slip into citizenship. She regards the 999 as "robbed" under our present law. Now, as a matter of fact, the 999 are not even discriminated against, much less robbed. All the 1922 law did was to give the 999 a choice, and if they elected to become citizens of the United States the law required that they go through the naturalization mill exactly as single women and as men must go.

That the 999 do "not see the seriousness" of their alien status Mrs. Malkiel regards, and quite rightly "as the tragedy of the situation." But surely your correspondent cannot hold that allowing those indifferent ones to slip into the status of citizens under the aegis of their husbands would wake them up to realities?

Mrs. Malkiel suggests many hardships that may overtake the alien wife of a citizen. Well, for my part, I wish this vision of dire happenings might come true for every one of the 999, so that they might realize that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. But, unfortunately, most of the prophecies of evil are prophetic and others quite unsubstantiated by results. It is not a fact, for instance, that an alien woman upon marriage with an American loses the citizenship of her native country. Several European states have already copied the principle of our 1922 law. The new and growing idea is to let the woman herself decide the question of her citizenship. Nothing can stop the current in that direction. Women have started out for freedom and equal rights. They will have to pay the price of liberty, and the wise friend will advise them to pay the price, and not to snivel and try to run to cover.

Most of the hardships can be pro-

Lenin and Wilson

By JULIUS GERBER

"I come not to praise but to bury Caesar."

Within two weeks two men died, both having similar characteristics and both having failed to achieve their purposes.

Nicolai Lenin started as a Socialist, determined to make the world a better place to live in. Woodrow Wilson started as a reformer and liberal, determined to make the world a safer place to live in. Both men preached "freedom" and will be remembered by future historians as the most despotic rulers any nation ever had. Woodrow Wilson preached a "New Freedom," and during his term of office American jails were filled with political prisoners. Lenin preached the destruction of despotic czarism, and instituted a Dictatorship, which sent Socialists and political dissenters to cold Siberia and filled Russian jails.

Woodrow Wilson participated in "The war to end war," and at his death the potentialities of war were greater than ever before. Lenin wanted to establish a Communist State against the will of the majority, and at his death capitalism was more promising in Russia than even under the Czar.

Woodrow Wilson wanted to make the world "safe for Democracy," and during his term of office was instrumental in suppressing free speech and the right of assembly, the fundamental principles of democracy. Lenin proclaimed the slogan of "Workers of the World, Unite," and proceeded to break up the organizations of the workers, political and economic, until today the power of the workers is broken, politically emasculated, and many unions are economically powerless.

These two men, both sincere and well meaning, accomplished the reverse of what they started out to perform, because of their intolerance and narrow-mindedness due to their birth, education and training.

But the causes which both Lenin and Wilson preached are not dead. A new star is appearing on the horizon. This star does not come

vided for in the immigration law now before Congress, if Mrs. Malkiel will get someone to look after the lawmakers in Washington. There are many new exemptions to the operation of the quota being discussed. The alien wife of the citizen husband could be made one and the teeth of the consul in a lesser case effectually pulled. But anyone who tries to change the principle of the 1922 law, that women shall make independent choice of citizenship and shoulder the full burden of preparation, will find that she has attacked a bulwark that upstanding women, both native-born and foreign, stand ready to defend.

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH.

MORE LIGHT ON DOTEY

Editor of The New Leader:

Everytime I see the name of Aaron I. Dotey in print or hear it mentioned the chill seems to penetrate into the very marrow of my bones.

When I attended De Witt Clinton High School (Mr. Dotey's school), I remember the terror his name caused among the students, especially the "freshies" and younger set. Just as in their childhood they were made to behave by the "bogey man," so in that school they had Mr. Dotey and his "Dotey Squad." The Lord take care of the poor unfortunate brought before the tribunal headed by this man.

Just after the armistice, about the time "Gene" Debs began his term in prison, I was induced by a schoolmate to read The Call. I read it one day in the auditorium during a study period, when one of Dotey's discipline squad swooped down upon me and demanded that I surrender the "d—d Bolshevik paper" to him. When I refused, he tried to persuade me to throw it in the waste basket. When that was refused, he threatened to bring me before Mr. Dotey. Then a sudden uncomfortable feeling possessed me; my legs trembled and, need I say, I saw the end of me. But as he was stubborn, I, too, refused to weaken. We walked halfway to that dreaded inquisitorial chamber, but when he saw I couldn't be frightened (he was fooled because, as I said before, I certainly did shake, but I did my best to conceal my worry) he let me go, admonishing me never to bring that paper to school again.

Now Mr. Dotey isn't a very, very terrible demon. He once befriended me. During my luncheon one day in the vicinity of the school the restaurant man, evidently peeved at the world, picked on me and landed on my cheek a most thundering smack a la "Bull of the Pampas." Mr. Dotey nobly sacrificed an entire afternoon by appearing in court with me to obtain a summons against my assailant. He even had one of his squad men assist me in delivering the summons. But, then, he didn't know I was one of those Socialists.

Bronx. MAX DOENER.

THREE IN ONE

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from heights of the mountains but arises from the depths of the mines of Wales, the spinning mills of Lancashire and the ship yards of Glasgow. This new power arising in old England is not using great words, nor issuing hair-raising theses. Nor does it proclaim its intention to set the world on fire in twenty-four hours, and Phoenix like, arise on the morrow in a new garb. Slowly, methodically, the workers of Britain set out, to gradually rebuild the world, make it both a safe place and better place to live in, not by the rise of "force" and "dictatorship" but by good will and more democracy.

They are not speaking for the people and the working class; they ARE the working class, they are THE people.

Where Wilson failed to make the world safe for democracy, because he wanted to force it down, the English Labor Government will make democracy safe for the world. Where Lenin failed to unite the Workers of the World, the British Labor Movement, refusing to split on any issues, will set an example to the rest of the world, that Labor united is invincible.

And so while we are burying the dead, Wilson and Lenin, who failed and died, let us bid adieu to the living British Labor Movement.

The British Labor Movement refuses to split on issues and is holding up the glorious banner and says to the workers of the world:

"Workers of the World Unite and stay United. In this sign you will conquer."

PEACE PAGEANT

Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram is directing the production of a historical peace pageant which is to be presented at the Peace House, Fifth Avenue and 109th Street, on the evenings of March 1 and 2. Mrs. Cram has recruited her cast from the ranks of society girls, business and professional women, as well as school children. Miss Dorothy Stevens appears in three important scenes, and others who have prominent parts are Mrs. Reginald Lamer, Miss Ethel Potter, Miss Elizabeth Black, Mr. and Mrs. Regis Post, Miss Elizabeth Freeman, Miss Elsa Lang, Miss Anne Gordon, Mr. and Mrs. Lee Leitner, and Mrs. George Prussin. Mrs. I. Chauncey McKeever and Miss Elinor Douglas (Duchess de Richelieu) are the soloists in the pageant, and Madame Augette Foret is to appear in a special number.

Madame Foret, who is a well-known interpreter of folk songs, and who has appeared in concert both here and abroad, will sing Japanese songs in the vernacular. The proceeds of the pageant are to be devoted to the work of the Peace House, which has been established as a center for the activities of those groups which are promoting world peace.

DOTEY ON THE "RED" SITUATION

Dr. Aaron I. Dotey, disciplinarian of the De Witt Clinton High School and self-appointed guardian of the patriotism and morals of the schools, is to speak on "The Red Situation in America" on Sunday, at the Open Forum of Unity Church, Gates Avenue and Irving place, Brooklyn. The lecture will be held at 8 p. m.

The printed circular announcing the lecture states that "This is a genuine forum, welcoming the presentation and free discussion of varying opinions. Questions and three-minute speeches from the audience follow the address, and then the speaker has five minutes for a closing word. Come—whatever may be your views on the question—and challenge the speaker or give him your support."

Ambitious statesmen find their element in times of warlike enthusiasm. Their blunders in diplomacy are hushed up, their capacity for plausible speech is stimulated, and the deaths, the agonies, the misery of thousands or hundreds of thousands of their fellow-creatures are of less account to them than the pursuit of individual ends, with which they persuade themselves that their country's honor or interests are associated.—Keir Hardie.

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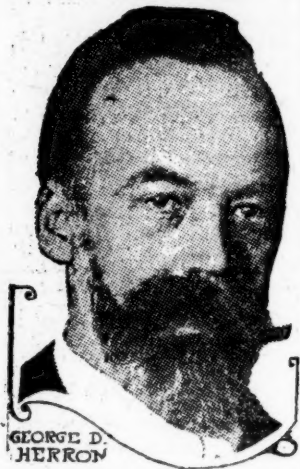
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HERRON SEES FRANCE AS THE BIG AGGRESSOR

Professor George D. Herron, formerly prominent in the Socialist party of this country but for many years living abroad, is the author of a letter, copies of which have reached the United States, which shows his complete abandonment of support of the Entente victors and their professions.

Its importance is augmented by the fact that it represents the inner conversion and public recantation of a man who had been misled by his own faith and his belief in the faith of others and then profoundly outraged in every fibre of his moral nature by the crass betrayal of the ideals he had supported. As soon as he realized that he had been deceived and that the moral professions of the Entente were merely a mask for the greatest crime in history, he repudiated, and fearlessly



GEORGE D. HERRON

attacked his former associates and thereby his own former viewpoint.

During the war Herron lived at Geneva, and most of the things that were going on behind the scenes were familiar to him, through his personal intimacy with President Wilson and his reports to him, to Wilson. It was to a considerable extent due to Herron's efforts that Italy entered the war. It was George D. Herron, who, always full of incredible and almost fantastic faith in Wilson, induced the Bulgarians to surrender, and Kurt Eisner, the revolutionary Bavarian Prime Minister, to confess Germany's guilt, under promise of obtaining better terms. This deadly bait Eisner swallowed in order to propitiate the Entente! The result is well-known—Kurt Eisner is dead, Germany is in extremis and Professor Herron, after great mental suffering, is frantically engaged in righting or at least in exposing the wrong perpetrated upon Germany.

The following letter was written to Mr. Stewart Bruce, publicist, a Canadian by birth, who has fought the legend of Germany's sole guilt. Professor Herron's letter, written on November 1, 1923, at his home in Florence, Italy, follows:

"Dear Mr. Bruce:

"It was good of you to ask to hear from me as to my thought about the present situation. But I confess I feel too deeply to speak at the present time. The treason and crime of France are so beyond anything that ever came into my horizon, that I dare not let myself think or feel too much about it as yet. If Germany is receiving, as some Americans say, a just punishment for her invasion of Belgium and France, if this present awful state of misery and madness resulting from starvation is anything approaching a just nemesis, then where, in the wildest imagination of the gods, shall a just nemesis be found for France? Admitting all that one pleases about the sin of Germany at the beginning of the war, the sin of France at the present time is so much greater as to be beyond comparison. I can really recall nothing in history that equals in diabolical ingenuity, in carefully wrought-out and pitiless meanness, this evolving scheme of France to literally bring the whole German nation to every kind of ruin.

"This persistent and monstrous making war upon a helpless and disarmed nation, upon a people that has already long ago surrendered, upon a people that trusted that there were some

THE UNITED AFFRONT

By James Oneal

We do not like to clutter up the columns of The New Leader with references to the Communist fraternity but the latest exhibition of Communist falsehood offers an opportunity to stress what many of our friends do not appear to understand. Two weeks ago they reported that Comrade Hillquit said at St. Louis that the coming July conference should not break with the capitalist parties and organize a party of the working class.

Notwithstanding that this view is in conflict with everything that Comrade Hillquit has worked for during nearly four decades, there are those who may be influenced by this statement. He found it necessary to challenge the falsehood in the last issue of The New Leader. Yet we are certain that Communists will carry this story wherever they can.

Ruthenberg, the author of the story, was in St. Louis. He heard the Hillquit address. Ruthenberg reported a falsehood. Is this unusual for Communists? It is not.

A Revolutionary "Principle"

What our friends have to understand is that Communists have worked out what they consider a "revolutionary principle" in this matter. It is a fundamental part of the Communist ritual to destroy opponents by intrigue and lying. This "principle" may be found over and over again in Communist literature. It is not concealed. Those who care to know can easily satisfy themselves regarding this.

A few examples of this policy will serve a good purpose. When the Socialist party and progressive unions of New York City attended the State Conference for Progressive Political Action at Albany last July and reactionary Tammany leaders forced a division on the matter of political action, the Socialist and progressive union delegates stood firm for party action independent of the capitalist parties. We were forced out of the conference on this matter of principle.

I have before me the mimeograph news bulletin of the Workers' Party reporting this incident. It is dated August 3. This is the way this Communist organization reported the incident:

At the recent Albany conference the expressed desire of trade union representatives to form a Labor Party was howled down by a combined Socialist Party and railroad brotherhood bureaucracy.

This was a deliberate falsehood. The Communists knew it when they sent this report out. The situation was just the reverse of what was reported in this bulletin, but the report was in accord with the "revolutionary principle" subscribed to by Communists in all countries.

The Berlin Conference

This was also demonstrated at the conference of the three internationals at Berlin in April, 1922. Moscow had been calling for the "united front." The other two internationals decided to test the sincerity of Moscow by agreeing to a conference. When the agreement to meet was reached the Executive of the Third International sent a secret document to the faithful in Europe. J. Ramsay MacDonald obtained a copy of this document and read it to the representatives of the three organizations meeting in Berlin. Following is an extract:

Comrades of the Third International, there is a movement on foot in Europe for a united front. It does not matter whether we are in favor of it or not; our tactics com-

mon and good faith in their conquering foes, is without precedent or comparison in history; even harking back to Carthage is a paltry evasion of the enormity of France's wickedness toward the German people and her betrayal of the whole human race. If nemesis is to be, there is only one nemesis that answers, and that is the extinction of France. And Poincaré will be one of the most execrated names in the history of mankind.

"It may be that there is some great divine intervention among the shadows that we do not see, some intervention that will sweep away all the hate and hatredness and all the methods thereof, and be redemptive to all peoples, even France. Let us still have faith that this is so. If it is not so, then we are surely at the end of the present world.

"Faithfully yours,
(Signed) "GEORGE D. HERRON."

pel us to appear to be in favor of it; but we ask the Communist sections all over Europe to take part in the creation of the united front, NOT FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING IT EFFECTIVE, but for the purpose of strengthening the Communists through direct propaganda inside the organizations taking part in the movement.

Clara Zetkin and Karl Radek were the delegates of Moscow at Berlin. They did not deny that the Communist Executive had sent out these instructions. They simply ignored the document and Radek proceeded with some classic Communist abuse of the other delegates. From this document it is evident that the "united front" is a united affront to all the ethics of decency and fair dealing. Men or movements subscribing to this sort of thing read themselves out of the company of decent men and women. Still, it is a "revolutionary principle" with the Communist movements in all countries.

The Chicago Conference

Last July the Farmer-Labor party agreed to accept the professions of American Communists regarding the "united front." Communists sent delegates in swarms to the Chicago conference called by the Farmer-Labor party. We tried to warn the national secretary of the Farmer-Labor party of what could be expected. He thought that our warnings were merely the result of our own struggles with the Communists. The seizure of the convention by the Communists is now a matter of history. Now the Farmer-Labor party will have no relations with any movement that accepts the lying professions of the Communists for a "united front."

Still more recent evidence is available to show that deception and intrigue are back of all Communist professions. The Communists wormed themselves into the conference called last summer by the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota in the hope of nominating a third party ticket this year. Would the Communists cooperate? They would. Of course they would. Do they not stand for the "united front?"

The Minnesota conference accepted the Communist professions of good faith and permitted Communist delegates to associate themselves with the Farmer-Labor party in issuing a call for a national conference to meet in St. Paul next May. Nothing could persuade the innocent Farmer-Laborites that they were taking a step that would cost them dearly.

Advising a Split

So matters stood. Now then, turn to the issue of The Worker of December 22, 1923. Here will be found an article by John Pepper on the proposed May conference. Pepper is the representative of Moscow, the ambassador to the American Communists. Judging from his writings on American economic and political conditions he was selected because of his ignorance of these things.

But in his article he writes of the "tremendous tasks" that face the Communists. They are always facing "tremendous tasks" and "great historical tasks." But the task he has in mind in this article is the necessity of the Communists splitting any organization that may be organized next May! This, he writes, "is the greatest historical task, the task which stands before all other tasks."

Of course this "task" is justified on the ground that bourgeois elements will creep into the conference. But who are the "bourgeois elements" in the view of all Com-

munists? The answer is easy. All who do not accept Communist "principles" are a part of the "bourgeois elements." The Pepper article is an announcement of what the duty of Communists is in the event of them getting into any conference on the score of the "united front." This article merely adds to the number of episodes which show that the real "task" before any intelligent organization of workers is completely to isolate all who profess Communist "principles."

The "Principle" Expounded

Still another example from Communist sources may be presented of this Communist "principle." The Workers' party has issued a pamphlet under its own imprint bearing the title, "Should Communists Participate in Reactionary Trade Unions?" It is a translation of an article by Lenin and is sold by the Workers' party for five cents. On page 13 is a remarkably clear statement of this Communist "principle." There it is stated that Communists must be ready for any and every sacrifice, and even if necessary, to PRACTICE TRICKERY, TO EMPLOY CUNNING, and to resort to illegal methods, TO SOMETIMES EVEN OVERLOOK OR CONCEAL THE TRUTH—all for the sake of penetrating into the trade unions, to stay there and by every and all means carry on the work of COMMUNISM.

Anything dastardly can be reconciled with the above paragraph and it is perfectly consistent with the falsehoods which I have mentioned above.

It is regrettable that space must be used to deal with such matters. But there are Communist organizers continually traveling. They spread their falsehoods wherever they go. The New Leader gets inquiries regarding this contemptible work. It is well occasionally to answer some of these falsehoods and to give the record of those who circulate them.

One final observation and we are through. Those who have had many years of experience in the labor movement know that intrigue, lying, sowing suspicion, making false charges, are all characteristic of the spies of the capitalist class who are sent into trade unions to destroy them. In recent years it is certain that spies have been influential in Communist organizations. If we are unable to tell in any case where the Communist ends and the spy begins it is because the exalted "principles" of Communists in dealing with others make it impossible.

A GOOD SUGGESTION FOR YOUR CIRCLE

Reverse, Mass.

To The New Leader, New York City.

Dear Comrades:

At the last meeting of Workers' Circle, 704, of this city, a committee was elected to raise funds and get subscribers for The New Leader.

Among those subscribing are A. Goldberg, S. Jonas, D. Grossman, S. Cohen, N. Cohen, L. Victor, and M. S. Marder. Donations were made by I. Lipkin, B. Raiman, L. Steinman, H. Solon and M. Cohen.

The above is only a beginning. Our Branch is resolved to do its utmost to help make The New Leader a success.

May your efforts be crowned with great success and help to bring about a strong and successful Socialist Party in this country.

LOUIS VICTOR,
Chairman of Committee.

The capitalist system must be overthrown, class-rule abolished and wage-slavery supplanted by cooperative industry.—Eugene V. Debs.

GLENGARRY'S REVIEW

Written for The New Leader

DISHONESTY abounds;
INJUSTICE is rampant;
There is not

(Nor CAN there be)

A MIDDLE course

Between INJUSTICE

And JUSTICE;

Between DISHONESTY

And HONESTY—

Between CAPITALISM

And SOCIALISM.

The FOUNDATION

OF CAPITALISM

IS SUNKEN

IN INJUSTICE

And its STRUCTURE

IS DESIGNED

AND REARED

DISHONESTLY.

ITS ENTIRE WEIGHT

IS ON the bodies

Of ALL the TOILERS;

INFANTS are FED

To its GAPIING MAW;

MEN and WOMEN

Are GROUND

In the CRUNCH

Of its JAW.

BUT, alas,

It is WORSHIPPED

By its VICTIMS.

The ENTIRE

Catalogue of CRIME

Is the SPAWN

Of CAPITALISM;

Its BOUNDLESS greed

PRECIPITATES war

And COMPELS

The COMMON people

To SLAUGHTER each other,

GATHER the SPOILS

INTO its STORE-HOUSE
And SCATTER the killers
TO REHABILITATE themselves
Or STARVE trying.

The ONLY way
To ESCAPE the PESTILENCE
IS, NOT to modify it,
BUT, TO DESTROY IT
(QUICKLY and UTTERLY).

HELP yourself
And EVERY producer
To ENJOY (FULLY)
The FULL product
Of YOUR OWN hands.

When the ROBBER'S PROFIT
NO LONGER afflicts
The PATIENT toiler,
WORK will be a PLEASURE,
And no TASK burdensome.

When CAPITALISM
Becomes an OUTCAST
It will FLEE this sphere
CARRYING on its broken back
The SKELETON of POVERTY—
A CLINGING RELIC
Of its own DEPRAVITY.

IMAGINE a world
WITHOUT capitalism—
WHAT COULD mar
The CROWNING happiness
That is ALREADY
APPEARING everywhere
For ADMITTANCE?

REASON finds truth;
TRUTH tenders goodwill;
GOODWILL embraces Socialism,
And SOCIALISM
Is the INTERPRETATION
Of HUMANITY.

American Labor Aids Germans

The American Federation of Labor Committee organized to secure aid for the trade unions in Germany is progressing in its work and already, according to a speech made by President Gompers before the meeting of the New York local committee some ten days or more ago, \$35,000 was reported raised of which \$14,000 is already in Germany.

Owing to the depreciation of the mark the German trade union treasuries have been completely depleted. The very preservation of the movement in Germany depends on the help received from this country. Local unions, trade boards and district councils are asked to take action on the raising of funds at once, and the committee in charge of this fund is planning public benefits through the Actors' Equity and the Hebrew Actors' Union.

Socialists desiring their contributions to be turned over to the Social Democratic party in Germany will so designate and their wishes complied with.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

Saturday afternoon, March 1, at 1.30 p. m. Scott Nearing will discuss "The Economic Conquest of Canada," in his Current Events lecture at the Rand School, 7 East Fifteenth street. At 3.15 p. m. on the same afternoon the Saturday Afternoon Cameraderie will meet for tea and talk to be followed at 4.00 p. m. by an address by Rose Pastor Stokes on "Why I Am a Communist."

On Wednesday, March 6, at 8.40 p. m., Morris Hillquit will speak at the Rand School on "The Third Party Movement in the United States." Mr. Willy Pogany will also lecture on the "Development of Art" at the Rand School on Wednesday evening, February 27, while Mr. Clement Wood will lecture on "America the Voice of Love" in his course on Modern Poetry, on the same evening.

On Thursday evening, March 18, at 8.00 p. m. August Claessens is beginning a six-lecture course entitled "Sex and Society."

Joseph Jablanower will begin a new course, entitled "The Drama of Social Conflict" on Friday evening, March 7 at 8.40.

RAND SCHOOL

GYMNASIUM NOTES

The Girls' Basket Ball class is one of the interesting features of the Rand School Physical Education Department this season. An unusual aptitude for team work is shown and encouraged, while an opening for three new players has recently been announced. Another popular class is the social dancing class for beginners given every Thursday and Saturday evening at seven. The fundamentals of the waltz are taught on Thursday, while on Saturday special attention is given to the fox-trot. In both classes special stress is laid upon musical rhythm.

BRAIN WORKERS TO JOIN LABOR INTERNATIONAL

Paris.—Hope that the International Association of Intellectual Workers, formally organized at a congress held in the Sorbonne here during the Holiday Week, would work hand in hand with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations for the benefit of workers of all categories was expressed in a communication sent to the congress by Albert Thomas, Director of the Labor Office.

Delegates from national organizations of brain workers in France, England, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Finland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, participated in the organizing congress, as did "observers" from ten other countries, including the United States and Hungary. Among the delegates were university professors, lawyers, doctors, engineers, writers and artists.

The General Secretariat of the International is to consist of a Secretary and two assistants, and the General Council includes two representatives of each national organization. L. Gallie, a French lawyer, was elected secretary. A small committee was chosen to work out statutes of the International to be submitted to a meeting of the General Council Easter Week. The next congress will be held in January, 1925.

The principal objects of the International are the defense of intellectual workers' interests in all countries, in both material and sentimental ways. For instance, the careless use of professional titles is to be attacked and the finding of jobs for members is on the program.

GREETINGS FROM BERLIN

By FRIEDRICH STAMPFER

(Editor of Vorwarts, Berlin)

If I were an American, I would have the ambition to help build up a genuine American Socialism that would lead the International movement in true world conquest. As a European, I have never ceased to build hopes upon your young strength.

It is in this spirit that I greet The New Leader, our new co-worker in the labor of the spirit, the building up of International Socialism.

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sweet from the first puff.

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GERMANY

Gains in the Sarre Election

Both wings of the political labor movement gained in the election for the Council of the Sarre Valley held Jan. 27. The Social Democrats cast 44,419 votes, against 31,849 in 1922, and won six seats, against five in the first Council, while the Communists polled 38,978, against 14,629, and increased their representation from two to five. The bourgeois parties now have nineteen seats, against twenty-three before the last election. The campaign of the bourgeois parties was handicapped by a strike of printers, which began four days before election day and tied up the local capitalist newspapers. The pro-French group calling itself the Sarre League got only 6,576 votes and no seat in the Council, and the extreme German Nationalists polled only 3,513 votes and won no seat. This indicates that the bulk of the Sarre Valley voters are not worrying so much about what will happen to them in 1935, when, under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, control by the League of Nations in the interest of France is to come to an end and the people are to decide their future status through a plebiscite. The figures on the election are subject to slight corrections when the official returns are available. The Sarre Council was created by the Governing Board of the League of Nations and is a sort of debating society, without any real legislative power.

FRANCE

Details of Marseilles Convention

Jean Longuet and Leon Blum were enthusiastically continued in their posts as editors of *Le Populaire*, the leading daily organ of the French Socialist party, by the Marseilles national convention of January 30-February 4, at which, as reported in *The New Leader* last week, the 20 delegates from seventy-three district organizations turned down the Communist proposition of forming a "workers and peasants' bloc" for the coming elections for the Chamber of Deputies and decided to allow local groups of the party to enter into temporary electoral combinations with such parties and individuals of the bourgeois Left as could be trusted to fight the imperialist policies of Premier Poincare and his "Bloc National." Local Communist groups will be welcomed into such combinations, but there is small likelihood of any of them braving the wrath of their central organization by so doing.

The proposition submitted to the Marseilles convention was worked out at the Lyons national convention of the Communists the week before, and provided for a nationwide electoral bloc of Communists and Socialists only, the dropping by Socialist leaders of all connections with the bourgeois press and the "Left Bloc," and the obligation to work together for the re-establishment of trade union unity. During the discussion preceding the rejection of the Communist proposal, it was pointed out that trade union unity in France was in process of being restored through the opposition groups of unionists developing within the national federation set up by the Communists several years ago after the split in the regular Confederation of Labor, and that the Communist plea for unity was only an attempt to halt this process. In speaking against the Communist proposal, Deputy Bracke said that if the Communists really wanted unity all they had to do was to apply for membership in the Socialist Party and they would be taken back.

The convention sent a message of sympathy to the widow of Nikolai Lenin and, according to a dispatch to the *Berliner Tagewacht*, sent a telegram to the Soviet Government of Russia saying that the French Socialist party would fight for the official recognition of that Government by France if the Social Revolutionists in Russian prisons were released.

Among the fraternal delegates from foreign countries to the convention welcomed by Paul Faure, general secretary of the Party, in addition to Bertha H. Mailly of the American Socialist party and H. N. Brailsford and R. C. Wallhead of the British Labor party, were Emile Vandervelde and Louis Perard of Belgium, Santiago Iglesias of Spain, and Dr. Winter of Czechoslovakia.

The convention directed attention to the reaction reigning in Hungary and appealed to the League of Nations to do something toward putting an end to the persecution of the Hungarian Socialist and Liberal elements. It was emphasized that the Government of Hungary should be obliged to give guarantees that this persecution would cease before the international rehabilitation loan be put through. The convention expressed its disapproval of the French Government's policy toward Switzerland in abolishing the free customs zone along the border.

BELGIUM

That the workers of Belgium are well equipped with publicity organs in their fight against the proposed enactment of a modification of the eight-hour law, which would allow the employers to work their employees 120 hours overtime each year, is evidenced by an article on the Socialist press in Belgium recently printed in *Le Peuple* of Brussels. The Socialists have seven big dailies,

two printed in Flemish, the others in French; twenty-six weeklies, sixteen of them in Flemish, and a dozen monthlies and semi-monthlies.

Besides the Socialist papers, there are about thirty trade union organs. The pretext for the revision of the eight-hour law proposed by the Minister of Labor on February 1 is found in the fact that, due to bad weather and other material reasons, the average working year of the Belgian toilers is 2,320 hours, instead of 2,440, on the basis of 305 working days. The Belgian Government, at the request of the bosses, would like to see this "lost time" made up by extending the legal working day to ten hours often enough to recoup the loss. The overtime would be paid for at 25 per cent above the regular rate.

POLAND

Ukrainian Socialists Arrested

Charged with carrying on anti-Polish propaganda and agitating for the separation of Eastern Galicia from Poland and its attachment to Soviet Ukraine, practically all the leading Ukrainian Socialist leaders and newspaper editors in Lemberg and its environs have been placed under arrest, according to reports sent out on February 1 by the Polish Telegraph Bureau.

Among those arrested were Elias Kaliczynski, chairman of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Socialist party; M. Czerny, secretary of the Central Committee, and editors Dobryanski and Kompe. The offices of the Socialist papers, *Vpered*, *Zemia*, *Vola* and *Nova Kultura*, were sealed and an order issued to arrest the editor-in-chief of *Vpered* on a charge of high treason.

Eastern Galicia was placed under Polish control, until a plebiscite scheduled for 1944, by the Treaty of Versailles.

PARTY NOTES

THE NEW SECRETARY

By JOHN M. WORK

The Socialist Party is the first to have a woman at the head of its national office. Although the Socialist Party was the first to support the rights of women, she was selected because of fitness, not because she is a woman. Bertha Hale White, the new national executive secretary, has served a long apprenticeship. She entered the national office a dozen years ago as assistant to the head of the woman's department. A little later she became secretary to the national executive secretary, a position which she filled with conspicuous efficiency until a few months ago when the national executive committee changed her title to that of assistant executive secretary. Now she becomes secretary.

It is not an easy position to fill. The greatest handicap is the lack of sufficient funds to supply the crying need for organization and education. When the party was first organized, the dues were fixed at too low a rate, and it has been impossible to raise them to a proper figure.

The guy who wears our cap once served as national secretary himself, and he says he is going to send to Comrade White his heartiest congratulations. Along with them he will send a remittance as a voluntary contribution to the work of the office, and he hopes others will go and do likewise. The address is 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago.—The Milwaukee Leader.

CALIFORNIA

At the educational lectures given by Walter Thomas Mills each Sunday at 11 a. m., at 1253 Market street, in San Francisco, and at the Labor Temple at 8 p. m. in Oakland, there was a splendid attendance for the opening of the series on Sunday last, at both places.

Each lecture has a ten-minute prelude, covering some current event, and an equal period is given to the answering of inquiries, growing out of previous lectures.

Last Sunday, the subject of the prelude was the "Teapot Dome." Comrade Mills has been placed in charge of an organization drive for San Francisco and the Bay District that has resulted in the greatest awakening the party in this section has ever known. Members are coming into the party in large numbers, and meetings are better attended than ever before.

CHICAGO, ILL.

The Chicago Comrades are early in the field with a full county, congressional and legislative ticket. At a recent convention at the Machinists' Temple, the campaign was planned and a large fund raised to start the work going.

The ticket is as follows: For States Attorney—Daniel Uretz. Coroner—Raphael B. Green. County Recorder—Pierce L. Anderson.

Bailiff of Municipal Court—Robert C. Denmore. Clerk of Municipal Court—Michael Ladevich. Clerk of Circuit Court—Charles Pogorelec. Clerk of Superior Court—Max Silverman. Board of Review—Adolph Dreifuss. Board of Assessors—Mauritz De Jong, Philip Godina. Sanitary Trustees—Fred Ehling, Fred Frese, William Stelk.

CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS IN COOK COUNTY

Districts

First District—Elmer Whitmore. Second District—William Frank. Third District—Kellam Foster. Fourth District—John Krause. Fifth District—Leon Hannock. Sixth District—Edward Hangesen. Seventh District—John M. Collins. Eighth District—Wm. L. Long. Ninth District—Evar Anderson.

OHIO

The Ohio State Socialist Convention will be held at Cleveland, Ohio, March 1 and 2 at the Headquarters of the Cleveland Socialist Party, 5008 Woodland avenue.

Plans will be laid for the coming campaign at this convention and an intensive organization tour will be arranged. Delegates from all parts of the state are expected to attend. Among the delegates already elected by their locals are the following: Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton; William E. Denison, alternate, Dayton; Anna Kiel, Cincinnati; August Panschar, alternate, Cincinnati; John G. Willert, Joseph Martinek, Henry Kullman, Louis Katz, Cleveland.

The convention will be opened at 10 o'clock Saturday morning, March 1, by Oscar K. Edelman, of Dayton, State Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

State Conference Saturday

The State Conference of Pennsylvania Socialists will convene in the hall of the striking shopmen on the third floor of 303 Broad street, Harrisburg on Saturday, March 1, at 10 a. m.

Reports received so far indicate that there will be a good representation from all the stronger locals in the State.

The importance of this conference is increased on account of the fact that it now seems probable that the Independent Labor Party will be launched this summer, and the party will decide the attitude it will take toward such a movement.

The State Executive Committee of the party will meet Friday (February 29) at the Central Hotel. The meeting is called for 2 p. m.

Montgomery County

A general membership meeting of Local Montgomery was held in Pottstown on February 14, and the following candidates were nominated: For Congress, 9th District of Pennsylvania, Elmer H. Young, For Assembly, 1st District, Mary Winsor; 2d District, Walter F. Kern, 3d District, Albert S. Horne, Edward S. Orr and Darlington Hoopes.

On the same evening Branch Pottstown held the first meeting in four months, and from the spirit indicated by the comrades present, there is no doubt that this branch is going to do its part in the coming campaign.

PHILADELPHIA BRANCHES WAKING UP

The Northeast Branch recently held a successful meeting at the Kensington Labor Lyceum with Alfred Baker Lewis as the speaker. The branch also covered two important labor meetings with leaflets. Comrade Sehl was the speaker on February 21 on the subject: "The Forces Working for Socialism." As a result of the revival in activity, the branch has bought \$52.50 in dues stamps in two weeks.

The Twenty-second Ward Branch has a new meeting place at Vernon Hall, 5700 Germantown avenue. Comrade Sehl spoke there on February 14 and the branch expects to have a speaker regularly every Thursday evening.

Dauphin Branch, due to the energy of Comrade Kazmarck in distributing leaflets and sending out notices of the meeting, had the best meeting last Thursday that it has held for three years. Comrade Thompson gave an inspiring talk on the British Labor movement.

The Twenty-eighth and Thirty-second Wards Branch held a reunion and expects to have a speaker from now on at every branch meeting.

The West Philadelphia Branch gave a supper to Comrade Bauer, who has been its financial secretary for fifteen years, at the branch headquarters, 5222 Haverford avenue, on Wednesday, February 20.

The Twenty-sixth, Thirtieth and Thirty-sixth Wards Branch is making arrangements to get Comrade Ethelred Brown of New York to speak in some of the large colored churches.

The Philadelphia Labor College is conducting a large number of lively classes, largely due to the fact that there are seven Socialists on its Executive Board.

Local Philadelphia Meeting

Joseph E. Cohen and David Morris were elected delegates from Philadelphia to the Harrisburg state convention of the party, at a meeting of Local Philadelphia held last Sunday at Carpenters' Hall, 18th street and Spring Garden avenue. Cohen was also elected a committee of one to draw up a letter of appreciation of the local for the four and one-half years' work of Otto Branstetter as national secretary; and to tender Bertha Hale White, the new secretary, the fullest support of the party.

One of the interesting incidents of the evening was the presentation of a fountain pen to Comrade J. E. Eisel, as a celebration of having completed fifty years' dues paying in the Socialist movement (20 years in Austria and 30 years in America).

Comrade Leo Harkins, member of the National Executive Committee, reported the recent meeting of the conference for political action. After an exciting discussion, the declaration was drawn up by that conference was adopted unanimously.

George H. Goebel of *The New Leader* was requested to speak, and at the conclusion of his remarks, a large number of subscriptions were handed in, and the executive commit-

tee instructed to take up the matter of subscribing for all branch secretaries, and also reaching all the enrolled Socialists in Philadelphia in the interests of the paper.

Reading Nominates Maurer and Snyder

At a caucus of the county membership, held in Labor Lyceum last Friday night, the Socialist Party of Berks County took the first step toward an energetic campaign in the approaching legislative contest.

James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder were named as the city candidates for the legislature. Both Maurer and Snyder were candidates for the same offices at the election of two years ago. In that election the Socialist candidates ran second on the final count. This year the party will again put forth a vigorous effort to elect both candidates.

The legislative nominees from the three county districts were Elwood W. Leffler, Goughersville; David B. Kline, Centreport; Charles Yerger, Laureldale. Raymond S. Hofses of the 9th ward, was chosen as the party's candidate for Congress and Jacob D. Reber, of the 11th ward, for State Senate.

The Party will start immediately to prepare for the campaign. Branches in every ward in the city have been instructed to appoint delegates who will combine as a County Campaign Committee and lay plans of action. A platform committee consisting of John A. Aulenbach, George W. Snyder and Raymond S. Hofses was appointed.

Delegates From Allegheny County

The following are the delegates from Allegheny County to the state convention of the Socialist Party to be held Saturday, March 1: Pittsburgh, William J. Van Essen, Anna Van Essen, F. A. Silvis, L. Finn, John Luopa, and D. Schechter. From Wilkensburg, W. J. Wright and William Adams, Braddock, Sadie Stark and Sidney Stark. McKeesport, H. Levine.

Westmoreland County

The regular delegate meeting of Local Westmoreland was held at Irwin, February 10. It was decided to hold a series of lectures in connection with the regular local meetings on the second Sunday of each month at 1:30 p. m. at the local headquarters.

Comrade H. K. Churns, 1637 Poplar street, South Greensburg, was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the local and comrades are requested to send all future communications to him. Comrade Churns is very anxious to build up the local so that Westmoreland can do its proper work in the presidential campaign.

NEW JERSEY

Camden

The Convention Committee, composed of Leo M. Harkins, C. William Thompson, Jacob Kline, Fred Moellers and Herman F. Niessner, is busily engaged with the plans for the coming State Convention of the Socialist Party which will be held in Camden in March.

At the monthly meeting of Local Camden last Sunday, Comrade Wilbert C. Rambo, who was elected at the Semi-Annual meeting in January, assumed his duties as Executive Secretary of the Local. Comrade Rambo's address is 2729 Hayes avenue, Camden, and in the future all communications for the local should be addressed to him.

Bergen County

The Bergen County Committee and the Local will meet Sunday afternoon at the home of Sam Hoke, 1070 Anderson avenue, Palisade, New Jersey. Lena Morrow Lewis of Alaska and California will speak. The meeting is called for 2:30 p. m.

MASSACHUSETTS

Brockton

A farewell meeting was held February 19 by the members of Local Brockton at Moose Hall, in honor of Comrade Charles J. Brandt who is leaving Brockton to make his home in Sharon, Connecticut. Besides the present members of the Local, many sympathizers and former members were also present. George E. Roemer, Jr., of Boston, spoke on "Some Problems Confronting the Labor and Socialist Movement of the United States," at the conclusion of which he presented to Comrade Brandt in behalf of the comrades of Brockton Local a purse of gold for his loyalty and devotion to the movement.

Subscriptions were taken for *The New Leader*, and a number of former members rejoined the Local. Much enthusiasm was shown by those present.

CONNECTICUT

New Local in Waterbury A new local has been formed in Waterbury by State Organizer Jasper McLevy and State Secretary Martin F. Plunkett. A large number joined, and all sorts of activity was planned.

There will be an important meeting of Local New Haven Tuesday night, March 4. Delegates to the national convention will be nominated and other important business will be taken up.

Finnish Branches Hold Convention A convention of various Finnish Socialist Branches in the Metropolitan districts was held at the Finnish

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Hall, 2056 Fifth avenue, February 23 and 24, at the same time when the parent organization of several of the Branches represented in the convention, was celebrating its 20th anniversary.

Finnish Socialist Branches having representation in the delegation were Brooklyn, Jersey City, Mariners' Harbor, Portchester, Philadelphia, Newark and a delegation from the Finnish Branch of Local New York.

Comrade Jokinen from Philadelphia presided over the convention and Adolph Salmi, from New York acted as Recording Secretary. The convention was very successful and extensive education and agitation activities were planned for next year.

The decision most interesting to English speaking comrades was the resolution directing all the Finnish Branches to do their best to get subscribers to *The New Leader* and the Free Youth, and the decision to give stipends for Finnish Young People who want to attend courses in Socialism and Labor Organization at the Rand School.

Comrade William Reivo, from Fitchburg, attended the convention representing the Finnish Federation of the Party.

NEW YORK CITY

Primary Petitions

Branch secretaries, organizers and other active workers are asked to come to the party office in each county for the primary petitions. They are now ready for signatures. The signatures must be obtained and petitions filed by March 1. Party workers are asked to act quickly in this matter. These petitions are for the spring Primary, which is held every presidential year.

MANHATTAN

Local N. Y. Dance

Local New York announces the first of a series of membership dances to be held on March 14 in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. The entire membership is expected to turn out. There will be some special features at these dances. Further announcements later. Keep the date open.

MERGER COMMITTEE

The Joint Merger Committee has issued a call for a joint meeting of all the central committees of Local New York, Kings, Richmond and Queens. This meeting will be held at a time to be announced later, in room 508, 7 East 15th Street. Other steps in merging the locals of Greater New York will be considered at this meeting. Morris Hillquit will address the delegates on Socialist organization problems.

FREE YOUTH TO BE WINED AND DINED

A coming out party for Free Youth, the new Yipsel magazine, has been arranged by the Greater New York Yipsels in the form of a banquet and ball on Saturday evening, March 15, at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street.

The committee has decided to charge \$1.50 per individual. It is the intention of the committee in charge to have as many active party members and out-of-town Yipsels as possible at this affair. As the capacity of the banquet hall is limited to 200, it will be a case of first come, first served.

BROOKLYN

Kings County Ball

The annual ball of the Kings County Socialist local will be held Saturday night, March 8, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. A fine band has been engaged for dancing, and a large crowd and a good time are confidently anticipated.

The central committee of Local Kings County will have a get-together banquet tonight (Saturday, March 1) at the Manhattan Restaurant, 766 Broadway, near Sumner avenue.

The 23rd A. D., Branch 2 will hold a special meeting Monday, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. All members are urged to be present.

There will be a joint meeting Monday night of the 22nd A. D., Branches 2 and 3, at 218 Van Siclen avenue. All members should attend.

The 1st, 3rd and 8th A. D., will hold a meeting Tuesday night at 122 Pierrepont street.

There will be an important meeting of the 17th and 18th A. D., branch of Local Kings County, Friday, March 7, at 1336 Lincoln Place. A special appeal is made for old members of the party, and those who have recently moved into the (Continued on Page 7)

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

7 EAST 15th STREET

Saturday, March 1, 1.30 P. M.

SCOTT NEARING

"Economic Conquest of Canada"

Wednesday, March 5, 8.40 P. M.

MORRIS HILLQUIT

"Third Party Movement"

WILLY POGANY

"Development of Art"

Beginning Friday, March 7

JOSEPH JABLONOWER

"Drama of Social Conflict"

Beginning Thursday, March 13

8.00 P. M.

AUGUST CLAESSENS

"Sex and Society"

(6 lectures, Fee \$2.00)

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7 EAST 15th STREET

for Saturday Night's (Mar. 1)

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BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS UNION

Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.

Saturday Evening, March 15, 1924

PARK PALACE

110th STREET and FIFTH AVENUE

TICKETS, Inc. Wardrobe, 75 Cents.

Music by Union Orchestra

THE FORUM
CALENDAR

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 29

Manhattan

JAMES ONEAL, "How Our Ideals are Formed," 257 East Fourth street. Auspices, 6th A. D., Socialist Party.

The Bronx

SAMUEL ORR, "The Housing Tangle Here and Abroad," 1167 Boston road. Auspices, American Labor Party and Bronx Labor Forum.

Brooklyn

B. C. VLADECK, "Problems of the American Labor Movement," 3033 West 22nd street, Coney Island. Auspices, Coney Island Forum of the Socialist Party.

NORMAN THOMAS, Subject to be announced, 167 Tompkins avenue. Auspices, 6th A. D., Socialist Party.

DR. ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER, "Psychology of Conservatism," Reiser's Hall, Pitkin and Rockaway avenues. Auspices, Cooperative Educational Institute.

Newark, N. J.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Can Wealth Be Distributed More Equitably," New Union Hall, Springfield avenue, Cor. Broome street. Auspices, Socialist Party, Local Essex County.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE HAIET, Jr., "The Capture of Cleveland for Proportional Representation," 1304 G street, N. W. Auspices, Public Forum of the League for Industrial Democracy.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1

Bridgeport, Conn.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Women and Modern Industry," first of series of six lectures on Sex and Society, 306 Fairfield avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party.

Manhattan

ADOLPH HELD, "Current Events," East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Industrial Democracy," 257 East Fourth street. Auspices, 6th A. D., Socialist Party.

CHARLES SOLOMON, "The British Labor Party," 73 St. Marks Place. Auspices, 8th A. D., Socialist Party.

Brooklyn

B. C. VLADECK, "Current Events," Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place. Auspices, 13th-19th A. D., Socialist Party; 11 a. m.

WILLIAM KARLIN, "Labor and the Law," 1709 Pitkin avenue. Auspices, American Labor Party and Socialist Party.

Palisade, N. J.

LENA MORROW LEWIS, Subject to be announced. Home of Sam Hoke, 1070 Anderson avenue. Meeting of Bergen County Local, Socialist Party, 2:30 p. m.

New Haven, Conn.

PROFESSOR EDWIN M. BORCHARD of the Yale Law School, "Economic Elements in the Present International Situation," Trades Council Hall, 215 Meadow street. Auspices, Socialist Party Forum.

Buffalo, N. Y.

BISHOP PAUL JONES, "The Economic Roots of Peace," Elmwood Music Hall. Auspices, Buffalo Public Forum.

Pittsburg

H. A. GOFF, "Will the Bok Prize Plan Prevent War?" Walton's Hall, 220 Stanwix street. Auspices, Socialist Party.

MONDAY

Brooklyn

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Selfishness," Paper Box Makers Union Hall, Ralph avenue and Broadway. Auspices, Paper Box Makers' Union.

TUESDAY

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Ethics and Economic Conditions," 319 Grand street. Auspices, 4th and 14th A. D., Socialist Party.

WEDNESDAY

Manhattan

MARIE B. MACDONALD, "Socialization," 204 East Broadway. Auspices, East Side Socialist Center.

THURSDAY

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "The Distribution of Wealth," 227 East 84th street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 15th and 16th A. D.

PARTY NEWS

(Continued from Page 6)

neighborhood, to be present. There will be important business, as well as a brief lecture after the business meeting.

Morris Paris, one of the ablest and most popular of the younger Socialist lecturers, will open a series of lectures in Brownsville on "Psychology." The lectures will begin March 19, and will be given at 1709 Pitkin avenue, under the direction of Branch 1, 23rd A. D. Admission will be free.

Junior Yipsels' Revolution

The Junior Yipsels of Kings County have transmitted the following resolution for publication in the party press: "Be it resolved that we the Junior Y. P. S. L. of Kings County in Borough Committee assembled do hereby go on record as giving our moral support to the Laundry Workers (Wet Wash) Union of Kings County, as the bosses have been using foul tactics, and be it further resolved that we elect a committee consisting of 2 delegates from each Circle elected by their Circle shall meet and draw up a plan of action, and that copies of this resolution be sent to all papers of New York City."

HARLEM SOCIALIST CHORUS

A musical society, known as the Harlem Singing Society, has been organized, and it meets every Wednesday at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center. All persons who want to exercise their vocal powers are invited to join. Membership and instruction are free.

NEW PROBLEMS FOR RADICALS

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

This series of four articles by Morris Hillquit is based on lectures delivered in the Rand School of Social Science. Questions are invited and will be taken up by the lecturer. Address all questions to him, in care of The New Leader.

INTRODUCTION

ALL of us who are actively engaged in the radical movement should pause periodically and survey the task before us in the light of existing facts, laying aside our fixed views, programs or tactics. Unless we do that we are apt to become ossified.

Before the war there was danger of the radical movement growing churchified, of becoming definitely wedded to certain sets of doctrines or, if you want, dogmas. For that matter the whole world was classified and catalogued. One was a Socialist and that told his whole position. One was a conservative and everybody knew where he stood on all questions.

The year 1914, among other things, has broken up all pigeon holes in which the institutions and the movements were stored. It has torn the world open, and every year since that time there have been startling changes rapidly following upon the heel of each other and presenting new and unforeseen circumstances, situations and problems.

The term Radical itself has ceased to have a permanent meaning. What was considered a radical a few years ago today passes in certain quarters for highly conservative, even reactionary. We are living in a constant state of flux and the one good thing that the war has done for us is that it has broken down our dogmatism, and given us a freer attitude towards the problems of the world and life.

THE term Radical as used today is more indefinite than it ever has been in the past. It is particularly indefinite at this time and in this country. When we speak of a radical in application to European politics we still have some general conception of what we mean. When we see the term used in our press, it is very difficult at times to discern what is meant by it. As understood by the general newspaper-reading public, it has reference to the manner or appearance of an individual rather than his political views. The attempts at scientific definitions of the term are not much more satisfactory.

I have permitted myself the experiment of looking up a number of dictionaries for their definition of the word Radical, and I found the most hopeless confusion. All through them, however, run two distinct conceptions, one defining the term as synonymous with fundamental, and the other, with extreme. Both definitions are used with equal frequency, but there is a world of difference between them. In the first definition the lexicographers hark back to the etymological derivation of the term "radical" as pertaining to the root (the Latin word "radix" stands for root). In that conception a "radical" means a person who seeks to go to the root of the social evils of our time and to "eradicate" or uproot them altogether. The "extreme" attitude has nothing to do with the "fundamental." For instance, a radical in the "fundamental" sense of the term may be considered a person who sees the root of most modern social evils in the private ownership of the means of production and seeks to eliminate that institution. On the other hand, a superficial thinker, seeing that capitalists are robbing the people, is likely to advocate the "direct" remedy of exterminating the capitalists; seeing that people are starving he is likely to advise them to go and take their food from the rich. In ordinary parlance such a person would be considered an extreme radical. He is anything but it from the point of view of "fundamental" radicalism, because his views are superficial and his remedies are ineffective.

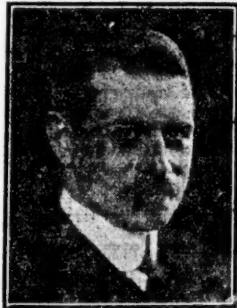
FROM this distinction flow most of the conflicts between the ordinary Socialist and the self-styled super-radical. "Fundamental" radicalism, largely represented by the Social-Democratic movement, is mainly economic in its concepts and theories. It takes its starting point from an analysis of the mechanism of the prevailing industrial order, and its whole program is determined by its conception of the workings of that order. It is realistic and evolutionary. It often lacks the spectacular element. The movement leans heavily on the every-day struggles of the workers.

The school of what we have designated as "extreme" radicalism, is emotional rather than realistic, and pseudo-revolutionary rather than evolutionary. As a rule it is largely led and supported by "intellectuals." Within the Socialist movement, in the broadest sense of the term, the division between the "radical" and "conservative" wings, took entirely different turns in Europe and America before the war.

In Europe the radical wing emphasized the working class character of the movement, the class struggles doctrine. In the political field it opposed any contact with non-working class parties. A very large part of the literature on Socialist tactics be-

fore the war was on that point, and as a rule the movement took the position of absolute non-cooperation.

At a later period a somewhat cogent question arose. About a quarter of a century ago the world was startled by the news that a Socialist in France had been appointed a member of the Cabinet—it was the present President of the Republic of France—Alexandre Millerand, who at that time was an active Socialist in the ranks of the movement. It came in a period of an acute national political crisis, when the danger of a monarchical overthrow confronted France, and an "all republican" government "bloc" was formed to avert the danger. The novel question whether or not a Socialist should participate in a bourgeois government led to heated and almost endless discussions, which terminated in the general conviction that it was not



MORRIS HILLQUIT

proper for a Socialist to accept such a position except in very unusual political circumstances. As a matter of fact up to the war there was no repetition of it in any other country. In France itself two more Socialists at one time or another became Ministers, and they were promptly expelled from the Party.

In the United States the "radicals" within the Socialist movement emphasized the ultimate ends of the movement, that is, the establishment of the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth rather than the immediate program, the measures of reform demanded for the present day.

The American "radical" within the Socialist movement furthermore developed another peculiar attitude, which distinguished him from the radical Socialists of most other countries—an ill-disguised contempt for political action, an advocacy of "shop socialism" or syndicalism, which led to a sort of spiritual kinship between them and the I. W. W.

THEN came the war and with it as if over night a sudden transformation took place in the Socialist movement of belligerent Europe. The class struggle yielded to the national struggle, and class-consciousness, which is an attribute of the class struggle, gave way to national consciousness or patriotism.

In France the most radical Socialist, Jules Guesde, who his whole life had proclaimed the solidarity of the workers of all countries, was one of the first to enter the Government and so was Vaillant and so were other leading Socialists of France. The same thing happened in England with respect to the Labor Party. In Germany, Socialists were not offered and did not accept Cabinet positions but the Socialist Party in its majority supported the government all through the war.

The most firmly established practices of Socialism disappeared suddenly, as if blown away by a strong gust of wind. Then the war ended and new situations arose. The war conditions and war psychosis were gone; the working class found itself face to face with the capitalist class in each country again, and the struggles recommenced.

At the same time another unexpected event, probably as large in its ultimate social significance as the war itself, and surely even more unexpected, occurred—the November revolution in Russia.

The fact that the Great Russian Empire, the fort of European reaction up to the time, suddenly fell into the hands of a group of advanced Socialists, who proclaimed a Socialist Regime throughout the country, again created an entirely new situation.

WHEN the armistice was declared, and the Socialists of the world had a breathing spell to take stock, a very definite new alignment of the forces of Socialism took place. The separation was brought about primarily by the Communist Internationale.

Perhaps at this time, about five years after the event, we are in a position to begin evaluating the new contributions which "Communism" made to the Socialist movement.

In the first place the Communist movement, largely inspired by the events in Russia, proceeded upon the error, under which we are likely to labor at all times, namely to take a temporary, accidental situation and to treat it as a permanent and eternal, and make general deductions on that basis. For instance, Socialists had always thought prior to that time that the process of social revolution was a lengthy process; that it presupposed the ripening of certain forces, objective and subjective, economic, political, moral and intellec-

tual. Then, all at once, the most backward country of Europe was the first to proclaim a Socialist Commonwealth. Within another year there was a general toppling of crowns and shattering of thrones, and the working class came into the government of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The period of 1918-1919 was a period of revolution, and the Communists believed that the thing that had happened in Russia was even more certain to occur in the other and more advanced countries. The theory of an immediate proletarian world revolution became the basic point of their whole philosophy. They saw the capitalist world crumble! They saw the Socialist Commonwealth everywhere! In a manifesto issued at that time, the Communist Internationale even referred to the Civil War raging in the United States between the working class and the capitalist class. The entire program of the Communist Internationale was based upon the conception of the imminent collapse of the capitalist regime, and it was this fundamental conception that underlay most of their other theories.

THE assumption that the ruling classes of most leading countries in the world were as weak and tottering as they had been in Russia on the eve of the Bolshevik revolution led to the theory that the governments of these countries could be immediately "captured" by the Socialists if they but "dared and did." And since the conquest could and in most cases would be undertaken by a conscious minority of the workers, the power of the proletariat could only be maintained by special and strenuous measures: the "destruction" of all institutions of the bourgeois or capitalist state, including not only armies, police, bureaucracy, etc., but also parliaments, universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press and assembly and all other attributes of political democracy. The main contributions of neo-Communism to the modern Socialist theories and tactics may be summed up in this: It discarded the conception of the Socialist revolution as the culmination of a process of gradual growth in the countries of highest capitalist development, and proclaimed the possibility and necessity of immediate proletarian revolutions, practically in the whole world. As a logical corollary it deprecated parliamentary methods and struggles for partial social reform. It reverted to the pre-Marxian conceptions of making social revolutions by conspiratory methods and physical force and it revived and vulgarized the theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Communist Internationale also introduced certain new moral elements into the Socialist movement. Up to the war the Socialist movement was built on a very definite ethical concept. The basis of the Socialist philosophy was economic, of course. But with all that the Socialist movement as a revolutionary movement, as a movement of men and women for a better and higher order of things, never lost sight of the fact that the economic salvation of mankind, "the full dinner pail," was not the ultimate aim of the movement; that the Social revolution and the Socialist Commonwealth were not the ultimate aim, but only a means; that the aim was to create a happier, fairer world of better men and women. This ethical conception created a certain atmosphere in the Socialist movement which was one of its most important assets—the atmosphere of fair dealing, mutual respect and comradely relationships between Socialists. There were quarrels within the Socialist movement at all times, but underneath all of them there always was the feeling that it was a dispute between comrades equally and passionately devoted to a great and common cause. It was this ethical or spiritual side of the movement which enabled it in the first instance to resist the attacks of the ruling powers, to survive all persecutions and to grow to the point of power which it attained in 1914.

The "Communist" code formulated by the Russian Bolsheviks was the first to aim a definite and deliberate blow at this moral side of the movement. It proclaimed and openly preached the theory that the end justifies the means, and that there are practically no moral laws which Socialists are bound to consider in their efforts to attain their ends.

THIS leads to the other new and revolting elements introduced by the Communists into the movement: the political and physical persecution of Socialists of one school by Socialists of another school. We have become used to many things since the war but few of us can get reconciled to the fact that an alleged Socialist Party in power in a great country like Russia, should be jailing, exiling, and executing fellow-Socialists because of political differences in opinion, in as brutal a manner as the Czar ever did or dared to do.

These then are in the main the new theories and tactics which introduced new divisions in the Socialist movement with the advent of Communism. They have hardly had time to be formulated when the rapid march of social development rendered them obsolete.

The early period of post-war revolution was followed by a general wave of political reaction: The Hungarian Soviet Republic was crushed

FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

Under this heading The New Leader will reprint excerpts from books, ancient or modern, that our readers should be glad to keep for future reference. Readers are invited to offer selections for consideration. The name of the author and the title of the book from which the selection is taken must accompany each contribution.

EDUCATION AND EMANCIPATION

By THOMAS HUXLEY

In "Administrative Nihilism"

IN the first place, it is not true that education, as such, unfits men for rough and laborious, or even disgusting, occupations. The life of a sailor is rougher and harder than that of nine landmen out of ten, and yet, as every ship's captain knows, no sailor was ever the worse for possessing a trained intelligence. The life of a medical practitioner, especially in the country, is harder and more laborious than that of most artisans, and he is constantly obliged to do things which, in point of pleasantness, cannot be ranked above scavenging—yet he always ought to be, and he frequently is, a highly educated man.

In the second place, though it may be granted that the words of the catechism, which requires a man to do his duty in the station to which it has pleased God to call him, give an admirable definition of our obligation to ourselves and society; yet the question remains, How is any given person to find out what is the particular station to which it pleased God to call him? A new-born infant does not come into the world labeled scavenger, shopkeeper, bishop, or duke. One mass of red pulp is just like another to all outward appearances. And it is only by finding out what his faculties are good for, and seeking, not for the sake of gratifying a paltry vanity, but as the highest duty to himself and to his fellow men, to put himself into the position in which they can attain their full development, that a man discovers his true station. That which is to be lamented, I fancy, is not that society should do its utmost to help capacity to ascend from the lower strata to the higher, but that it has no machinery by which to facilitate the descent of incapacity from the higher strata to the lower.

And who that attends, even in the most superficial way, to the conditions upon which the stability of modern society—and especially of a society like ours, in which recent legislation has placed sovereign authority in the hands of the masses, whenever they are united enough to wield their power—can doubt that every man of high natural ability, who is both ignorant and miserable, is as great a danger to society as a rocket without a stick is to the people who fire it? Misery is a match that never goes out; genius, as an explosive powder, beats gunpowder hollow; and if knowledge, which should give that power guidance, is wanting, the chances are not small that the rocket will simply run amuck among friends and foes. What gives force to the socialistic movement which is now stirring European society to its depths, but a determination on the part of the naturally able men among the proletariat, to put an end, somehow or other, to the misery and degradation in which a large proportion of their fellows are steeped?

All that I desire to point out is, that if the chances of the controversy being decided calmly and rationally, and not by passion and force, looks miserably small to an impartial bystander, the reason is, that not one in ten thousand of those who constitute the ultimate court of appeal, by which questions of the utmost difficulty, as well as of the most momentous gravity, will have to be decided, is prepared by education to comprehend the real nature of the suit brought before their tribunal.

by a brutal capitalist dictatorship; the working class governments in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland fell one by one and were superseded by bourgeois cabinets; the precarious economic conditions prevailing in most countries of Europe tended to make the workers timid and conservative. The expectations of an immediate proletarian world revolution were dissipated in thin air. The Communist regime in Russia itself was compelled to retreat along the whole line and to compromise with capitalist institutions under the guise of the "New Economic Policy."

THUS the bottom fell out of the whole social philosophy and tactical program of neo-Communism, and the Communists all over the world have since been busy revising their theories and tactics with vertiginous speed. The policy of separating the "pure" radical or Communist elements from the Socialist movement by the process of splits gave way to the enthusiastic advocacy of a "united front," not even always a united or proletarian front, but, as in this country, a united front with middle class elements or with any elements that would consent to accept the political cooperation of the Communists; the Socialist revolution was again relegated to the distant background, and the Communist program made room for the most paltry of immediate Social reforms including planks for the preservation of political democracy. What remained of the new Communist program so proudly proclaimed a few years ago is practically nothing but personal hostility to the organized Socialist and Labor movement.

On the other hand the pre-war tactics of Social Democracy have also undergone considerable changes. The electoral laws of almost all countries have been radically modified since the war. In most instances, the principle of proportional representation has been introduced in the election of members of parliament, thus obviating the need or usefulness of electoral combinations with other parties. On the other hand, the electoral laws of France and Italy give the plurality or majority parties such tremendous advantages over the minority parties, that the latter are compelled to combine for self-preservation. This accounts for the decision of the recent French Socialist Convention permitting combinations with liberal bourgeois parties against the "National Bloc" of Poincare.

THE question of Socialist participation in bourgeois governments has also assumed an entirely different aspect. In several countries the Socialist parties represent the

largest parliamentary groups and no government can exist without their approval. In such cases the Socialists are faced by the alternative of either forcing all non-Socialist Parties to combine in a reactionary government, or passively support a progressive minority government or take an active part in a liberal coalition government.

The situation is distinctly new and cannot be disposed of by reference to principles or tactics evolved under entirely different conditions.

The fact is that the Socialist movement of the world is entering upon a new phase of development. It is engaged in new and different struggles and is compelled to forge new and appropriate weapons. Besides almost every country confronts a practical situation peculiar to itself, and the Socialists everywhere must adjust their strategy and tactics to suit the particular problems of their respective countries.

This is particularly true of the Socialists of the United States, who face an industrial and political situation, a historic development and a popular psychology vastly different from those of any European country, and more different now than in the years before the war. We have no precedents to guide us and no ready formulae to enlighten us. We must deal with the problems before us as new problems, for the proper solution of which we alone are responsible.

The first requirement for the successful accomplishment of that difficult task is a sober analysis of the special conditions under which we are bound to operate. Such analysis I shall attempt to make in my next lecture.

Youth Conference

Get your reservations for the big "Youth Meet." The "Meet" will be big, but the "Youth" will be big and little in size, from mere children to those who are dangerously near the line of middle age. The best brains in the Y. P. S. L., the L. I. D., I. W. W., Y. M. C. A., Y. M. H. A., Y. W. C. A., Y. P. G. C. C., C. E., F. Y. F. P., well, altogether some twenty organizations will take part in the conference.

March 1 and 2 at Bear Mountain Inn, Palisades Interstate Park, is the time and place, and the ferry leaves foot of Cortland street at 1:20 p. m., and 42nd street at 1:35 p. m. Saturday for the West Shore R. R. at Weehawken, train arriving at Bear Mountain at 3:15.

A. Ray Petty, Jacob Riis, Walton H. Hamilton, Harry W. Laidler, Jean Gardiner Kennedy, Scott Nearing and others will take part.

SOME SOUTHERN PROBLEMS

A Review By James Oneal

DARKER PHASES OF THE SOUTH. By Frank Tannenbaum. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Rarely have we come across a book that combines so much solid observation with careful analysis as this the latest volume by Frank Tannenbaum. Almost three years ago he published "The Labor Movement," one of the best expositions of trade union philosophy that has come from any American writer. This study of some phases of the South confirms the verdict he won by the publication of his first book, that in Tannenbaum we have an eminent sociologist.

There are only five chapters in the book. They consider the Ku Klux Klan, the burial of the children of the South in the textile industries, southern prisons, the social consequences of the single crop, and the problem of southern solutions.

His analysis of the social origins of the Klan largely agrees with Professor Mecklin's work recently published on the same theme. When we say that the Klan is a thing of passion and hate we have yet to explain why it is so. Tannenbaum finds it rooted in the tradition of the old Klan of an earlier day, the changing status of the Negro, the violence which the war hates released, and the drab life and boredom of the average village and town of the South. The dull monotony of existence provides a hunger for excitement, for activity and change. The following paragraph is illuminating in its analysis:

"It (the Klan) seizes upon the monotony of a small town and gives it a daily drama. It takes him who lived an uneventful life, one who is nobody in particular, and makes something of him. It gives him a purpose; makes him a soldier in a cause. The very existence of the K. K. K. is proof of emotional infanthood. It would not be possible in a community where the people lived full, interesting, varied lives. People who lived actively in a busy, serious world look upon this thing as child's play. That is just what it is. It is pretending to be what you are not. It is assuming the possession of importance and significance when you have a robe and a hood because you have no importance without them. It is living in a make-believe, magic world. It is child's play."

In the chapter on "The South Buries its Anglo-Saxons" we have a presentation of one of those contradictions that often accompany a society that is backward yet boasts of itself as a model. Southern chauvinists like many of our northern type have their own self-glorifications. One of these is the purity of its native American stock. Yet here are its leaders consenting to the burial of its children in the textile shambles around which are built feudal relations with factory owners as overlords. Whole families are buried physically, intellectually and spiritually. Equality of servitude is the basis of these mill towns. One is forced to the conclusion that there is some widespread hypocrisy in a great region where boasts of its native stock go hand in hand with a destruction of the bodies and souls of a large section of the population. It is well to observe, in this connection, that the detested Yankee has provided much of the capital that goes with these feudal cotton towns. However, it would appear that the opportunity of the descend-

ents of the old southern planters to participate in the exploitation of the pure Anglo-Saxons takes the curse off this spoilage. On the other hand we cannot forget that the Yankee capitalist in his own habitat is accustomed to live by the exploitation of our young and we have no doubt that many southerners would point to this when their own gains are questioned.

The chapter on southern prisons is a record of a dreadful system, shocking in its brutality and leaving the reader painfully aghast at the frightful cruelties that still survive. Throughout this section of the book the author is restrained yet this very restraint in the use of the language leaves the reader with a mounting sense of anger and revolt. Excerpts from official reports of the inhuman administration of southern prisons are sufficient for Mr. Tannenbaum's purpose. Other investigations have revealed many horrors in prison administration in northern states but they certainly cannot exceed the record of the South. For more than a hundred years American prisons have been subjected to investigation and criticism. There have been some improvements yet there are large survivals which in infamy compare well with the debtors' prisons of colonial and post-revolutionary days.

Other writers have written of the consequences of the single crop in the southern states but it is doubtful whether a more sweeping survey of this evil can be found in the same number of pages in any other book. As for solutions the author does not think that there are any immediate ones and the best that can be hoped are definite approaches to partial solutions of southern problems. We may agree that "neither dogmatism nor emotion is very helpful in a difficult situation" yet he seems to be over cautious when he goes on to say:

"There is no solution. That is something that people have not been willing to face. A solution must be had. It must be had immediately, without delay, and it must be efficacious, final, and Utopian. Yet solutions are not available for real problems; all that may be arrived at is attenuation, relief, a resetting of the strain, a removal of some of the friction. All that may be asked for is change in the relative position of some of the factors, for the new problem, remains in a new form—possibly under a new name—but it remains, and taxes the ingenuity of man to a greater subtlety and more finesse."

Our own opinion is that there is a solution although we agree that the South will be many decades approaching it. The main responsibility lies with the white workers of the South coming to see that they have a common cause with the Negro workers both of whom are the victims of the race prejudice that colors all social, economic and political problems. A class solidarity of the workers of both races will eventually make the color line a minor factor of little significance compared with the big problem of the whole working class ousting the white ruling class. This is a Socialist problem, to be sure, and little talked of in the South, but eventually it will captivate the southern workers, the only class in that region whose immediate and ultimate interests are bound up with the need of fundamental social and economic change.

VIVID BIOGRAPHY

EPISODES BEFORE THIRTY. By Algernon Blackwood. New York: Duttons.

Things happen swiftly when youth is impetuous and venturesome. Algernon Blackwood, for all his six and a quarter feet of husky frame, could hardly be said to have begun to live in England; the first twenty years of his existence were rather the formation of a fertile layer out of which life might flourish. For Blackwood's father had "got religion;" the boy was reared in a household of wealth and aristocratic ease, but was never in a theatre, never saw even the outside of a saloon. At the age of twenty this raw lad came to Canada to make his fortune. Experience crowded the next few years to atone for a youth of quiet. Perhaps there is value in a secluded childhood; the cloistered mind grows receptive without becoming over-burdened or confused by the shifting images of a turbulent environment. Blackwood retains vivid impressions of those Canadian days, and of the years that followed, when he was starving in New York. "Episodes Before Thirty," more than any other recent biography, carries one along as on tempestuous rapids, sweeping toward an unseen but raging cataract.

Blackwood found adventure aplenty. Canada gave him a swindling partner in a dairy-farm venture; then a saloon, which carries off the rest of his money. New York was more hospitable; though it introduced him to park benches and bug-ridden boarding-house beds, it supplied work as a reporter and awakened the desire to write that he had not known, yet that was to be his life work. Covering assignments in the police courts and scurrying about for sensational news furnished much material for later stories; the account of those days makes these reminiscences read like a romantic tale. Gorky in his slum "univer-

sity," Kemp careening through the land, knew not so varied and exciting deeds, met not so diverse and diverting men. Newspaper experiences ranged from interviews with those about to be electrocuted to a seance with an escaped lion—Richard Harding Davis three rungs higher up the ladder. Persons like his room-mate, the English gentleman forger and thief are thrown in juxtaposition with others like the kindly German morphine-victim; the one to shake Blackwood's faith in human nature, the other to restore it.

The thirty years that have passed since his New York experiences seem, Blackwood tells us, like thirty days. The reader lives through them as of the actual moment; tense, healthy experiences, such as make a full-visioned man. Blackwood has woven them into an unusual biography; not with the sober philosophy of an aging man who glances smilingly along the roadway of his past, but with the vehemence and ardor and sincere emotion of one whose life is still bearing the impress of those episodes before thirty.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

The second volume of "An Outlaw's Diary," by Cecile Tormay, published by Robert M. McBride & Co., deals with the Commune in Hungary at the time of Bela Kun. It is bitterly partisan in favoring the aristocracy, giving the anti-working-man hostility of the ruling classes but contains most interesting history.

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

AMONG THE MAGAZINES

FREE YOUTH

All credit to the Young People's Socialist League for this initial number of their monthly magazine. Starting with sixteen pages, we have a magazine that should do yeoman service for the young Socialists of America in building up the Yipsel organization. The cover design, drawn by Willy Pogany, is expressive of the spirit of intelligent youth and the hope of ideals realized when they become the elders of the next generation. William M. Feigenbaum, of The New Leader staff, contributes a popular article on Socialism and David P. Berenberg considers "That Flapper," what she is, and her future possibilities. "The Shadow" by Clement Wood is exceptionally fine in its portrayal of progress from superstition to knowledge. Eugene V. Debs contributes characteristic greetings to the new magazine and an anonymous contributor has an informing article on the meeting of the International Young Socialist organizations in Germany last year. Emanuel Blum in a "Footnote to the Goosestep" deals with the military training in our "educational" institutions and Gertrude Weil Klein considers our national folklore which may be surmised from the title of her article, "From Newsboy to Millionaire." Turning to the editorial page we find that Gertrude Weil Klein is Editor, Morris Novik Associate Editor, and Samuel H. Friedman Managing Editor. The Assistant Editors are Ben Belsky, Manie Switkes, and Warren E. Fitzgerald. The editorials and miscellaneous matter round out what is the splendid beginning of a Yipsel magazine that has an important work to do in this country. We advise all young Socialists and sympathizers to not miss this first number. Subscription rates are one dollar a year, fifty-five cents for six months, or ten cents a copy. The publication office is the People's House, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

THE AMERICAN MERCURY

Of the things sacred to the inhabitants of American Babbithburgs that take the count in the March number of the Mercury are John Brown, the Chautauqua, the Bible and American politics. In considering "The John Brown Myth," Leland H. Jenks leaves little but rags and tatters of the Brown of historical legend. It is the most devastating assault upon a piece of American folklore that has been written in many decades. In "Reflections of a Bible Reader" Arthur Davison Ficke points out the danger of the wide distribution of a book that contains so many examples of violent attacks on those in high places. This should find a place in the order of business of the Rotary Clubs and be given serious consideration. The Chautauqua, refuge of American mediocrity and sacred ground of William Jennings Bryan, its technic and atmosphere, are portrayed by Greg-

Ernest Toller

Gabriele Reuter writing in the N. Y. Times Book Review of Ernest Toller, the author of "The Machine Wreckers," "Masse-Mensch," says: "In the development of Ernest Toller, however, I find both these qualities. Changing fashions cannot divert him from his difficult path. A prisoner in the Bavarian fortress of Niederschönfeld, he atones for his communistic ideals with exclusion from the amusements of youth, from friendships and freedom. He is one of the few survivors of that handful of dreamers who, in 1919, established in Munich a Soviet government after the Russian model. As every one knows, it was of short duration—poets and their associates are seldom qualified for statecraft."

Long ago the French aristocracy listened, shuddering and yet delighted, to the song of their death, as sung by Beaumarchais in "Figaro." Ernest Toller's first play, "Die Wandlung" ("The Transformation"), an immature, youthful piece of work, cannot, it is true, be compared to "Figaro." But even at that

time a stirring genuine cry sounded through all the revolutionary talk. Who heard or understood him? The people? Oh, no—the fashionable little theatre was packed with the sons of the great Berlin financiers and their diamond-bedecked ladies, an audience that had promised itself a sensation. A grotesque contrast that was, between the spectators and the proceedings behind the footlights.

Since then Toller, from the seclusion of his cell, has conquered the Berlin stage more and more. His dramas "Masse Mensch" and "Die Maschinen-Stumer" ("The Machine Wreckers"), remained on the boards for months. It is not novelty nor unusually great talent, but thorough honesty that emanates from his plays and forces the audience to succumb to its spell. His two latest works (both published by G. Kiepenheuer, Potsdam) are of unequal value. "Der entfesselte Wotan" ("Wotan Unbound"), is a blunt, farcical derision of the mischief that can be wrought by patriotic phrases in the mouths of the stupid and vicious.

TRANSATLANTIC REVIEW

The second issue of The Transatlantic Review, which Seltzer is publishing in collaboration with Paris and London firms, strengthens the impression made by the first number: it leaps at once to the forefront, among our best magazines of international literature. So far it has successfully avoided both the drearily conventional and the deliberately extreme, cultivated (separately or at once) by most magazines of its type; yet it ranges from poems of H. D.'s imagistic best through a casual French skit to the already "classical" Conrad. Lincoln Steffens's vignette of Russia today is striking and honest; the editor's political comments are interesting but tend toward gossip. We fear for the editor; he seems starting on a Frank Harris' fatal course of erecting a magazine upon himself. But Ford Maddox Ford cannot succeed in doing that as long as contributions maintain their present vitality: Daniel Chaucer's pertinent "Stock-taking of English literature," John J. Adams' swabbing "Brainworm."

A dozen clappers in committee Control the business of a city. A few score clappers in debate Govern the Transitory State. In polished pulpits some are heard To speak a comfortable word—

Soupart's vivid Paris letter; these have, all, the vitality of youth and the gusto of earnest emotion. With the rapid growth it promises, The Transatlantic Review should cast a cloud of concern upon its more dilatory fellows.

THOUGHT

By Joseph T. Shipley

The white heat of minds is an alchemy
Refusing nothing, fusing all to steel.
Dross it accepts, and the mud of the quagmire—
Water and sunset are welcome
And dust from the scurry of frightened feet,
And the slime of slums and luxurious quarters of cities,
Factories, fancies, microbes, giant stars—
Refusing nothing, fusing all to steel.

Steel has two uses.

Bridges from mind to mind are fashioned of steel.
Stars are the flying sparks struck off at the joining of arches,
Heaven includes all things in a dome of steel
Built of the white heat of men's minds.

Barriers between mind and mind are fashioned of steel.
Walls and the will to destroy what they hide,
And the weapons.

Stars leap from the fires that coil through the ruin;
The heavens are hostile—every man in his helmet of steel
Built of the white heat of men's minds.

For the white heat of minds is an alchemy
Refusing nothing, fusing all to steel.

PROFITS AND HOUSING

A Review by W. M. Feigenbaum

HOUSING PROGRESS IN WESTERN EUROPE. By Edith Elmer Wood, Ph. D., New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

Where shall we lay our heads? What are we to be compelled to pay for that shelter? What of housing? These are among the most important of the questions before the masses of the people. Especially since the outbreak of the war shunted all productive forces into the making of war materials, and the consequent shortage of houses, the housing question has been a burning problem to all workers.

In America, we take it for granted that housing is a business matter, that it is the proper place of business men to invest their hard earned money in real estate and dwellings, and that the speculator has a legal "right" to whatever he can make out of the people's needs. Since 1919, when the situation became desperate and visions of tenants' revolts and bloody revolution troubled the dreams of the thoroughly comfortable, that "right" has been slightly modified—at least in New York—by certain weak and anemic "emergency" laws. And there the matter rests.

In Europe it is different. There, congestion is greater, industrial centers are much older, there is not the flux of population that we have in America, and slum conditions have been far more horrible than in any American city.

And in Europe, there has been the frightful callousness to human suffering that we have in swagging, "laissez-faire" America. There has therefore been more attention paid to slum conditions across the ocean than here. Long ago, when it was considered right and proper for American slum dwellers to be allowed to stew in their own juice because it was their fault, anyway, and if they didn't like it, they could go back to where they came from, there were stirrings in European countries among people who wondered if they didn't have some sort of responsibility for the condition of the masses.

At first, it was just philanthropy. Good and gentle people didn't like to see suffering. But little by little, the idea got over that in so vital a matter as housing, it is as wrong and immoral to allow unrestricted private enterprise as it would be to allow schools or the streets, or the water supply, to be the football of private competitive profit-making.

"There is a widespread, but fallacious view in the United States that European housing conditions are so much worse than ours as to make action necessary which would be unequal for here. The reverse is true. We have housing conditions worse than any which now exist in London or Paris or Brussels or Amsterdam. Slum clearance has been carried on in London, for instance, to the point where nothing remains which is structurally injurious."

"During the past year, I have made a point of seeing, under the guidance of visiting nurses, or rent collectors, or other competent persons, examples of the worst houses that remain in London and Paris and also, more hurriedly, in other French and English as well as Dutch and Belgian cities. And I can assure my fellow countrymen that I have nowhere seen houses even remotely comparable to the ten thousand old-law tenements of Lower Manhattan built before 1879, with their hundreds of thousands of inhabited rooms devoid of any opening to the outer

air. Nor have I seen any surviving layout as bad as that as the North End of Boston, with its four-to-seventeen-foot streets between five-story buildings and labyrinths of rear tenements filling the interior of its blocks.

"The people of Western Europe have undertaken national housing schemes, not because their need is greater than ours but because they are more convinced than we of the importance of good housing in the making of good citizens, and of the obligations of communities in connection with the house supply."

In other words, America is the only advanced country that still considers it right and proper and moral to conduct housing solely for private profit, and that considers the welfare of the masses—if at all—only with some weak and ridiculous ameliorative measures as a check upon the rapacity of profit seeking landlords.

"Public opinion on housing questions in Europe is at least a generation ahead of ours in the United States. We are still discussing points which they settled forty years ago. Accustomed to regard America as a synonym for progress, Europeans find it hard to believe, for instance, that we still cling to the exploded theory that supply and demand, in the long run, produce satisfactory homes for working people."

That is the background. From charity, from philanthropy, the development to public enterprise was easy, and now it is taken for granted that the only way to take care of housing is by permanently ditching the idea of operation for private, competitive profit.

England has succeeded to a large extent in establishing the "garden city" system, that is, villages of cottages of real beauty and comfort in which workers can live. There has been private enterprise, such as the work of the Cadburys the big-hearted chocolate manufacturers in building up little jewel towns. And there have been cooperative plans, and municipal housing.

These plans have been seriously interfered with by the war and its aftermath, but in principle, municipal housing is well established and unrestricted. Private enterprise is outlawed in all Western Europe.

That is what Dr. Wood reports in this fascinating volume, together with details of housing schemes, plans of financing, and charming pictures of what has already been done in many countries and cities.

The book is a gold mine of information and an arsenal of facts for those who go forth to do battle against private exploitation of human needs.

There is no room in this brief review to go into details of the various plans that our author sets out for us but there is room for an urgent word for everyone to provide himself with the book and fight landlordism with it. Not to read it to the rent collector, but to supply arguments to build up a sentiment in favor of doing what other countries have done—outlawing private exploitation of human needs and putting humanity above dollars.

You will not convince many landlords of the morality of depriving them of their easy graft, but with the arguments of what has been made a matter of course in other places before us, we can go far in creating sentiment for it among the victims of landlordism and speculation in homes.

Immigrant and Industry

ADJUSTING IMMIGRANT AND INDUSTRY. By William M. Leiserson, Ph. D., New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is the ninth volume in a series of articles on "Americanization." This term is defined by the publisher as "the uniting of new with native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of self-government, the highest welfare of all. With our rich heritages, Americanism will develop best through a mutual giving and taking of contributions from both newer and older Americans in the interests of the commonwealth. This study has followed such an understanding of Americanism."

Tucked away in the back part of the book, is this significant statement: "Wherever may be our ideal of American citizenship, the basis for common thought and action between the native and foreign-born lies in the adjustment of the immigrant to the conditions of American economic life. For most immigrants the necessity of earning a living and the problems arising in the course of their employment constitute the major interests of their lives. It is in these interests, therefore, and in the methods of solving the problems of their working lives, that the basis for fusing the native with the foreign-born must be sought."

Generally speaking the author has assembled a mass of interesting facts and figures, but more important than this even, is the way in which he has organized the material he has at hand and the scholarly manner in which he presents the subject.

The part the employer is playing in the Americanization of the foreigner is told in interesting detail, and without any intention on the part of the author to get over any propaganda, the reader who knows how to draw his own conclusions,

can discern two types of employers, the one, who makes the operating of his concern the sole and only object in life, and treats his workmen as mere tools of work and not potential citizens; and the other who has the foresight to see that an intelligent laborer who understands the language of the country, its laws and customs, etc., makes a more efficient worker. There runs here and there a hint of the employer who foresees the day when the worker must have more and more interest in the control and management of the job on which he labors, and it follows therefore that he must be prepared for such a situation.

Organized labor is playing a very valuable part in the naturalizing of the foreigner, and the service the foreigner has rendered in the organizing and building up the trade-union movement in the United States and maintaining a high standard of life, is comprehensively set forth. Much space is given to the work of the I. L. G. W. and the Amalgamated, and credit is given these organizations for taking the clothing industry out of the sweat-shops of the East Side of New York.

What the foreigner has done for himself in the way of cooperative homes, agencies, clubs, etc., is set forth at some length.

A chapter or two is devoted to the problem of the foreign-born woman, who not only has the question of the immigrant in industry to face but also the question of woman in industry, and therefore it becomes a complicated one so far as she is concerned.

The book is carefully written, and the work a valuable contribution to the study of American problems and their solution. The advice of the author as to a more systematic work on the part of the Government in giving instruction to the immigrant in the language and customs and standards of life in the country is timely and well worth considering.

LENA MORROW LEWIS.

THE FOLLY OF VIOLENCE

By EMIL HERMAN

Several centuries before Christ, Socrates was sentenced to death by drinking poison hemlock because of his opposition to idol worship.

Two thousand years ago the Carpenter of Nazareth was nailed to a cross because of his opposition to human slavery.

In the fifteenth century John Huss was burned at the stake because of his preaching against auricular confessions, Papal indulgences, and Mass after death as a means of converting sinners into saints.

About three hundred years ago, Bruno, the monk-astronomer, was roasted at the stake because he refused to repudiate the fact that the earth is spherical instead of flat, and other astronomical truths.

A half century ago John Brown was hung at Harper's Ferry because of his efforts to assist chattel slaves to their own emancipation.

None will contend that these men were of the worst elements in the society of their day. All will agree that they were of the very highest moral, intellectual and spiritual development. Yet all of them met violent deaths as convicted felons.

Without exception, the ideas and ideals which they taught and for which they died as "criminals" are now well established and generally accepted truths.

The old orders defended by the beneficiaries thereof, and who condemned these men to a violent death, have all passed off the stage of human institutions, thus proving that violence cannot and does not perpetuate an outworn economic system.

Nor does violence help to usher in a new and higher order. The human race has made progress, not because of the resort to violence and war, but in spite of them.

The physical revolution in industry—the change from capitalism to Socialism—will come only after there has developed an intellectual revolution in a sufficient number of working-class heads. It cannot result from a blind resort to violence.

If we cannot think clearly, we cannot shoot straight. And if we do not think clearly, there will be no need to shoot at all.

We must reason our way to emancipation and organize our industrial and political power, and now is the time to do it.

In my travels, as a Socialist Party speaker and organizer, I meet many who ridicule the use of the ballot as a weapon in the struggle for freedom. They insist that the co-operative commonwealth can be brought about only by the destruction of life and property, and deride those who advocate the need of mental development, the use of reason, and of political action along class lines, as being "yellow bourgeois Socialists and betrayers of the working class."

Many of these "holier than thou" revolutionists do not belong to any labor organization whatever and are biding the time until the masses rise up in arms, "when we will help them shoot and destroy their way to freedom."

Not a few of these advocates of destruction of life and property, "as a necessary means to Labor's emancipation," are themselves property owners. When one asks them whose blood shall be the first to be shed, and whose property the first to be destroyed, they look indignant and say that will suggest itself when the time comes. When one suggests that their lives and their property may be among the first to be destroyed, they lose some of their enthusiasm as advocates of violence and for the first time seem to begin to realize that after all the end does not justify the means, but that for the attainment of a good end good means must be used.

It cannot be otherwise if the law of cause and effect is correct, and so we find that even these ultra-revolutionists and advocates of violence are amenable to reason when a consideration of their own lives and property is brought to their attention.

The Socialist Party way is the right way. Its program of political and industrial solidarity points the way to industrial freedom, and well-balanced Socialists are more and more coming to a realization of that fact.

Every place I have visited thus far, on this tour of sixty dates, I have left from one to four members of the party behind me. Most of these members have paid from three months to a year's dues in advance, which indicates that they mean to stay with the Socialist Party. I have been on the road eleven days and have added eighteen members to the organization and collected \$36.50 in dues.

If Socialists will quit waiting for others to get busy and will themselves join the party and go to work, we will make the best showing in the history of the party in the elections this year.

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Ball. The annual ball of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, will be held March 15 at the Park Palace, 110th street and 5th avenue.

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY IS GROWING

By MARTIN BARZUN

1919: 1,615,000 votes for Parliament.

1922: 137 Department Councils, and 196 Municipal Councils, put into office by 580,000 district votes.

1923: Gain of two district Representatives in by-elections.

1924: Gain of two seats in the Senate, 3,000 delegates voting the Socialist ticket.

At present: Four Senators and 50 Deputies spokesmen for Socialism in the French Parliament.

Toward the 1924 Victory for Socialism and Labor.

The tide has turned for Socialism in Europe, and the movement is proud to record, since the British Labor victory, 1,080 representatives in twenty nations, not including Russia, while awaiting the coming day when they will sit in the Congress of the European United States.

Indeed, the British Labor victory has also helped to turn the tide in favor of French Socialism and Labor. After the black years of 1920-1921, the crisis opened by the Communist secession seemed to leave no hope for recovery. But the district elections of May, 1922, set the mark of the Socialist receding limit as well as of its new start forward.

Up to these elections, the Communist leaders were a controlling majority in the vital forces of the party. The proportions were reversed when the district consultation revealed nearly 600,000 votes cast for the Socialist ticket, as against the 320,000 polled by the Communist candidates.

Since then, the Socialist Party has been gradually regaining what it lost by the split, and this attraction has been made irresistible through the efforts of the propagandists in the field, and "Populaire," the party daily, in Paris and the country.

Campaign for the Senate. The latest opportunity for a test of strength was given the Socialist Party in the elections for the Senate, which took place on January 6 of this year. The results came as a surprise, to say the least, to the most optimistic leaders. The Socialist ticket was voted by 3,000 delegates, and two new Senators were elected, while the Communist program was endorsed by 400 delegates and failed to get a seat. A glance at this campaign is most encouraging, for it shows in what unusual conditions this Socialist success was obtained.

If we try to define the system in use for the election of senators, we may quote Jean Longuet declaring its character to be "scandalous and fraudulent," as it gives to small rural communities a power 100-fold greater than to the industrial cities.

For instance, in the Northern district, where the working class polled the majority in the last district elections, no Socialist senator was elected this year.

One-third of the Senate was to be renewed, and the election covered thirty-six departments. The Socialist Party felt strong enough in nine of them to present candidates on its platform. The returns were gratifying, as they increased from two to four the number of Socialist senators, the ones elected this year being Joseph Brenier (Isere Federation), with 636 votes, and Camille Reboul (Herauld Federation), with 534. The two senators previously elected are Jules Bouvier and Gustave Fourment.

Socialists 3,000, Communists 400. The votes cast in the seven other departments are most encouraging. In Drome, the Socialist candidate polled 114, while the successful Liberal received 177. In Nièvre, with 268 votes, the candidate of the Party lacked only 15 votes to be elected. In Pas de Calais, the Socialist led with 639 votes at the first count, obtained 722 at the second, and was elected only at the third. In Nord, the Party candidate polled 600, 650, and 830 votes at the three ballots, the Liberals winning, not by a majority, but by a plurality.

However, the Socialists helped to defeat the Conservative senator, spokesman for the great northern industries, who relentlessly led the fight against the eight-hour law.

In the three other departments, the Socialist votes were 109, 63, and 26, thus bringing to about 3,000 the number of delegates who supported the Party candidates.

In contrast with this unprecedented figure, the Communist campaign did not total more than 400 delegates, and Marcel Cachin, leader of the party, obtained only 31 votes in Seine et Oise, at the very door of Paris.

1,615,000 Votes in 1919. After such results, the Socialist outlook seems brighter for the coming campaign for the Chamber of Deputies.

Looking backward, the Party sees on its record that the previous 1919 campaign brought 1,615,000 votes to the Socialist ticket, despite the post-war militaristic landslide which gave the majority to the "Bloc National."

Comparing figures, we note that in 1914 the last pre-war campaign gave 1,396,000 votes, but owing to the un-

fair election law voted in 1919 the Socialist Party lost about 10 seats in the present Chamber, with nearly 220,000 more votes.

One instance illustrates the election system. The Longuet-Faure list, with 119,000 votes, was defeated, while the chief of the Royalist party with only 19,000 votes was elected.

From the 70 representatives of 1914 the group in Parliament fell to 65, then to 60, and finally to 50 through the polls, secession, and death among its members.

But this did not leave the Party downhearted. Its membership, which fell to 50,000 in 1922, has steadily increased, and the number of its local sections grew from 1,400 to 1,650.

Last November, in a by-election, the Party won another seat in the most important Paris Municipal Council, where eleven seats already belonged to Socialism.

Prospects Next May. These indications point to a deep change in French public opinion concerning the failure of the Ruhr occupation, strongly opposed by the Socialist Party and organized labor.

As a consequence, a forceful current toward unity is noticed within the rank and file of the three Labor bodies, which have about 800,000 members out of the 2,000,000 membership of the pre-war General Confederation. There is no doubt that a united Labor vote on the Socialist ticket, next spring, would play a decisive part in the expected victory.

Without unwise optimism, the French Socialists think that the coming campaign will at least restore the Party to its pre-war strength.

Such numerical power would enable the Parliamentary group to enforce its influence either as the minority leader or as the necessary balance of power in a Liberal majority. The latter would thus be in a position to overthrow the militarist "Bloc National" and to materialize a program of constructive democracy in France and of international readjustment in Europe.

Relying upon Socialist support, a new Government would, moreover, successfully cooperate with the British Labor Government in the pursuance of a peace policy.

Undoubtedly, this ultimate goal will be reached in time under the enlightened leadership of Blum, Longuet, Boncour, Mistral, Brenier, Faure, Renaudel, and their fellow-workers in all the local federations.

The stake is worthy of all the help that the American Socialists can offer to their comrades of the French party for its campaign and its indispensable daily paper, Populaire.

Among the Unions. AMALGAMATED RESOLUTION. The members of Local 85, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 2,000 in number who live and work in New York, have adopted the following resolution on the Johnson Immigration Bill.

"In view of the fact that the growth of our country in wealth and power and its conversion from a barren wilderness into an industrial state of the first rank in the world is due to the labor and devotion of two hundred years of immigration."

"And, in view of the fact that the political and social ideals of the United States as formulated by the fathers make our country the place of safety for all liberty loving, honest and industrious men and women, regardless of race, religion and nationality."

"And, in view of the fact further that the Johnson Bill aims at intolerable and un-American discrimination against certain races, national-

ities, ways of thinking on social and political problems.

"Be it hereby resolved that we denounce this Bill as un-American and contrary to the economic, political and social and humane ideals of our country and urge Congress to reject it."

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to our representative Congressman and to the House of Representatives."

International Chorus

The International Chorus, organized some time ago and now consisting of more than 100 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, will give a concert and recital tomorrow (Sunday) at 2 p. m. at the Town Hall. The chorus, which is directed by the well known choir director, Leo Low, has had a number of rehearsals and is now in splendid tune to make the debut in Town Hall.

In addition to the chorus there will be a violin solo by the celebrated violinist, Huberman, and a few songs by the well known baritone Joseph Winogrodoff. The members of the I. L. G. W. U., their friends, all progressive lovers of music should not overlook this event.

FURRIERS' CONCERT SUNDAY

The third of a series of four concerts under the direction of the educational committee of the International Fur Workers' Union will be held at the People's House Auditorium, March 2, at 2.30. There will be a program of French music, participated in by Max Jacobs, violinist; Mrs. Agnes Armstrong Laidler, soprano; David Jar slawsky, baritone, and Herman Epstein, at the piano.

Admission will be fifty cents. David Mikol, for the educational committee, announced that there are classes in English every Monday and Thursday, at 22 East 22nd street, at 7.30, free to members of the union. Before and after the classes there are radio concerts for the members.

Button Workers' Meeting

The Button Workers' Union, Local 132 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, will hold a special meeting Friday, February 29, at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th street.

Union Health Center Ball

The Union Health Center of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has arranged a Masquerade Ball to be held on Saturday, March 29, at the 71st Regiment Armory. Harry Wander, chairman of the Center, announces that \$500 in prizes will be offered for the best costumes and urges all members of the I. L. G. W. U. and other organizations to get their tickets at once. They are on sale at all union offices and at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th street.

Capmakers Elect New Executive Board. The Cap Operators' Union, Local 1, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America will hold a Special Meeting, Saturday, March 1, at Beethoven Hall at 8 p. m. The order of business will include the election of a new Executive Board and the consideration of a local unemployment fund.

Morris Geller, the organizer of the local, urges all members to come on time.

The Ruling Class. I assume it as self-evident that those who, at any given moment, are the strongest in any civilization will be those who are at once the ruling class, those who own most property, and those who have most influence on legislation. The weaker will fare hardly in proportion to their weakness.

A ruling class is seldom conscious of its own decay, and most of the worst catastrophes of history have been caused by an obstinate resistance to change when resistance was no longer possible.—Brooks Adams in "The Theory of Social Revolution."

CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 16 West 21st St. Watkins 7950
I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD
GENERAL OFFICE:
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman OSSIF WALINSKY, General Manager

CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION

Of Greater New York
Office and Meeting Room:
175 E. Broadway Phone Orchard 6646
Regular Meeting Every Monday at 8 p. m.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday
J. EFFRAT, Manager. D. HOFFMAN, Secretary

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 239
Office and Meeting Room:
106 Seventh Avenue Phone Chelsea 9549
Regular Meeting Every Monday
Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 p. m.
GEO. B. HOVELL, JAS. F. COVILLO, President. Bus. Agent
J. J. COUGAN, Sec. Secretary. E. J. NAGLE, Sec. Secretary

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union, Executive Board Meets Every Friday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street, Telephone 7748.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Manager-Secretary

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 67 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7106-7
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Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 163, 169 and 305

UNION DIRECTORY

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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2148
MORRIS SIGMAN, President. ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Gramercy 0618
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office
SAM COHEN, President. ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, Sec. Treas. ADOLPH LEWITZ, Rec. Sec. WILLIAM CHERNIAN, Vice-Pres.

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4189
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager JOSEPH FISH, General Secretary

Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283
Meets Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at Arlington Hall
23 ST. MARKS PLACE AT 6:30 SHARP
JOSEPH HARKOW, Secretary-Treasurer. J. ROTTER, President. WOLF ALPER, Business Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.
OFFICE, 391 EAST 150TH ST., ROOM 2. Telephone Melrose 5674
THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSER, Bus. Agent.
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EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8 P. M.
2033 Fifth Ave. Phone Harlem 4578

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 213 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.
JOHN PEARL, Vice Pres. THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN LEAVY, JOSEPH LAMONTE, Business Agents.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: Telephone: 62 East 106th Street University 2528
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 219 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFIELD, Financial Secretary. ROBERT TREASURER

Journeymen Plumbers

Local Union 418
Of Queens County, New York
Meets Every Tuesday Evening at 8:15 at 519 Jackson Ave., Long Island City
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ED. GOTTFESMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
L. D. BERGER, Manager
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3657
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, Pres.
M. M. ESSENFIELD, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-FOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place Stuyvesant 6558
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet Mondays at the office.
Regular meeting every Wednesday at 151 Clinton Street, New York.
M. WIENER, H. KAPLAN, Organizer Secretary

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1954
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
M. POLINSKY, A. WEDGARTEN, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.
130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 1472
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

Cloth Hat and Cap

OPERATORS LOCAL 1
Office 210 E. 5th St. Tel. Orchard 9466
Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.
MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

D R A M A

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

THE THEATRE GUILD will present "FATA MORGANA," a new play by ERNST VAJDA, opening Monday night at the Garrick with Emily Stevens, Morgan Farley, Helen Westley, Josephine Hull, William Ingersoll, Orlando Daly, Helen Sheridan, Armina Marshall, Edith Meiser, Charles Cheltenham, Patricia Barclay, Sterling Holloway, Aline Berry and Paul Martin. Philip Moeller is directing the production. Lee Simonson has designed the setting and costumes.

The title of the new Theatre Guild production, "Fata Morgana," is not as mysterious as the many queries pouring in imply. It is not Hungarian, either, as many suspect from the nationality of Ernst Vajda, author of the comedy.

Fata Morgana may be found in either the dictionary or the encyclopedia. It is the Italian name of the fairy Morgan, step-sister of Arthur and pupil of Merlin. Her name is used as the name of the particular kind of mirage she is supposed to create. This mirage, the Fata Morgana, is seen on the plains of Italy and Hungary. It is usually a mirage of water, sometimes with ships and men, and occasionally the image is double—one inverted.

William Harris, Jr., will present LIONEL ATWILL in "THE OUTSIDER" Monday night at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre. This play is by DOROTHY BRANDON, an English writer, and has been shown in London and the provinces with some success the past two seasons. "THE OUTSIDER" is the first long play from the pen of this author. The play has to deal with the plight of a young woman who has been crippled from childhood. The part of the outsider, Ragatz, is played by Lionel Atwill. The daughter, La-lage, is played by Katherine Cornell. The father is played by Lester Lonergan. Others in support of Mr. Atwill are Pat Somerset, Whitford Kane, John Blair, T. Wigney Percival, Kenneth Hunter, Fernanda Eliscu, Florence Edney. The rehearsals have been under the direction of Robert Milton. The three scenes were designed by Livingston Platt.

"TYRANTS," a satirical comedy by THADDEUS RITTNER, adapted by Benjamin Glazer, translator of "Liliom," will be presented by the Inter-Theatre Arts, Inc., at the Cherry Lane Playhouse, 40 Commerce street, opening Monday. The cast includes Harry Wagstaff Gribble, Dennis Clough, Harda Daube, Josephine Royle, Raymond Walburn and William Kirkland. This will be the first production of this play, which had its premiere at the Hofburg Theatre in Vienna, on the English speaking stage. The production is staged by Elizabeth B. Grimbail.

THURSDAY

A double bill of ballet pantomime, Prokofiev's "Buffon," preceded by "An Arab Fantasia," an oriental divertissement based on Arab folk melodies, will be presented at the Neighborhood Playhouse next Thursday. This marks the premiere in this country of Prokofiev's new work. Both the music and action of "Buffon" are farcically grotesque.

Beggars by Airship

"BEGGAR ON HORSEBACK," THE NEW KAUFMAN-CONNELLY PLAY AT THE BROADHURST

"If wishes were airships, beggars would fly," Kaufman and Connelly keep the audience flying at the Broadhurst, with the speed of their "Beggars on Horseback"—certainly a Twentieth Century speed. Like most swiftly moving bodies, the play starts with imperceptible motion: McKee is a poor but struggling musician, the kind that wants to write symphonies and is forced to prepare jazz orchestrations to keep alive. But McKee (Roland Young) has a great chance, in the love of a millionaire's silly daughter develops for him. His friends urge the composer to leap at the chance, to marry the girl, and write what music he pleases at his leisure. With this on his mind, McKee falls asleep.

By this time the play is going at full speed, with the hum of a perfectly running motor. McKee dreams the life he would lead, married to money, expected to tag around after this frivolous girl, pestered by a golf-loving father-in-law and a hymn-singing, knitting new mother. With delightful theatrical caricatures, there are at the same time clever burlesque uses of the new "expressionism," the hero dreams through a satire that spares little of life today.

Wealth is pictured from several sides. We see the wasted lives of the millionaire's family, the frittering away of their days, the son a sniveling dependent, the daughter a slightly gadabout. We are introduced to the widget industry, which Mr. Cady built up with his own hands, until if the "output" were laid next to the Woolworth Building it would reach to the moon. McKee stumbles through reams of red tape and seven offices to get a lead pencil, on his first day at his father-in-law's office; then he falls into a director's meeting, the inanity of which is unsurpassed.

In desperation, unable to compose, McKee murders his wife and her whole family; this offers new satirical opportunities. In half a second the Morning-Evening is being shouted "Extra! Extra!" down the theatre aisles, with pictures of the scene, the murderer, and the family, and a complete statement, with much of interest. News need not be accurate so long as it is "extra" prompt, and "extra" sensational. The court room, in this weird dream, becomes frankly what it so often is: a showhouse where seats for the performance are sold. At the trial McKee is sentenced to turn out song hits for the rest of his days; the scene shifts to the Popular Art Wholesale Production Corporation, where, behind cages, men work on eight-hour shifts turning out best sellers, magazine covers, popular songs, and poetry for the people. The novelist is creating his seventeenth hit by reading his sixteenth to the stenographer. McKee hangs out tunes as the lyric writer sings according to copy furnished from the last season's hits—until McKee, rising in protest and raging against the door of his cage, discovers that it has always been unlocked. This is probably meant to be symbolic, for he soon wakes up, manages to break the unfortunate engagement, and draws to his heart the little lady from across the hall who is willing to share his poverty.

A last glance at The Morning-Evening. This is the brightest burlesque of a newspaper we have seen since "Dynamite" came in our college days. One headline reads "Predicts era of prosperity for nation, but says labor must listen to reason." This headline is based on nothing at all in the text. Another headline tells of a man who "Gives Business to Employees." The text reveals that the man made two million dollars in the past year; he figures on four million in the next; all over that sum he will divide among the employees. "A board elected by the men will govern the business, and I will not interfere in any way except to decide things. If the men agree with me on important points, they will have their way about everything." Under the new arrangement, Mr. Warren said, he would be able to reduce the number of his employees by ten per cent, and make many more widgets. This paper is one of the most effective satirical devices in a most penetrating as well as entertaining play. What politician could do better than the gem it tucks in a corner: "What this country really needs is a man who can give it what it really needs!" And so one beggar climbed off his horse.

J. T. S.

"The Chiffon Girl" Moves Up to Jolson's Theatre

"The Chiffon Girl," the new musical comedy in which Eleanor Painter is starring, will be transferred on Monday from the Lyric Theatre to Jolson's 59th Street Theatre. This change was contemplated before the presentation was made by Charles Capehart at the Lyric Theatre, but the booking could not be effected, owing to the tenancy of Jolson's Theatre by the Moscow Art Players.

Maurice Swartz Going to London With Yiddish Art Company

Mr. Swartz and his company of twenty-eight persons, now playing down at the Yiddish Art Theatre, will sail on April 8 for the other side, and on April 19 they will open at the Scala Theatre in London in "Sabbat Zvi" as the first of a series of plays.

From London the company will go to the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre in Paris, and thence on to Berlin and Moscow.



HELEN MENKEN

plays the leading role in Austin Strong's "Seventh Heaven," which celebrates its 600th performance Saturday at the B. H.

The Lincoln Legend

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN" AT THE GAIETY

Hero worship is a fundamental characteristic of the childlike mind; the boy that adores his teacher becomes the youth that equally upholds his football champion and the man that hails the national saviour. As this dependence upon some object of admiration outside of oneself amounts almost to a need, every country will have her outstanding hero. "Even if God did not exist, he would still be necessary and divine," with equal truth those nations that are so unfortunate as to be without a great hero will invent one. This land—nature here being in all things lavish—is blessed with two: the father, and the preserver, of the Union. Around each of these the usual golden mist of legend has accumulated, the patina of mellow rust time sets on our memories, to dim and at the same time magnify our visions. Yet, as there can after all be but one true champion, the years have allowed Washington to slip farther and farther into the background; undisputed in pride of place as the True American, the son of the soil that rose to highest power, and used it well, stands Honest Abe Lincoln.

The films at the Gaiety which stirred these reflections does its best to foster the Lincoln legend: humble, poor, sturdy, honest, witty, henpecked yet patient and winning his way, which was the way of God, from rail-splitter to president. Horatio Alger never had a better model for his stories. There is in the career of Lincoln much that justifies admiration, too much, perhaps, for sentimental minds to withstand—hence the picture of him practically deified. In the film he is held to the human plane; we see him fight with Bully Armstrong, his love idyll with Ann Rutledge, his ungainly and awkward efforts to dance. These episodes, bringing him nearer to us, serve to heighten the contrast of his great qualities, his calm clear vision, his exaltation, his sublime trust in God and in the people. To him faith was a living creed. And thousands after him, with praise for him, and with words of his on their lips, make mockery of the spirit that breathed in him, that lives again as he moves upon the film.

J. T. S.



MARGARET WYCHERLY,

one of the original cast in Brock Pemberton's revival of "Six Characters in Search of an Author," now playing at the Punch and Judy.

"Saint Joan" Moves Shaw Play Goes to Empire Monday—More Seats at Popular Price

"Saint Joan" will move to the Empire Theatre Monday with unchanged cast, including Winifred Lenihan, Ian MacLaren, Albert Brunning, A. H. Van Buren, Henry Travers, Philip Leigh, Maurice Colbourne, Joseph Macaulay and Ernest Cossart.

French Players Coming to Fulton March 10th

Wendell Phillips Dodge announces that the first American appearance of M. MAURICE DE FERAUDY, Sociétaire and Vice-Dean of the Comedie Francaise, and his Paris company in repertoire will take place in the Fulton Theatre on Monday evening, March 10. The engagement is limited to two weeks.

The opening bill Monday evening will be M. de Feraudy's greatest comedy success, "Les Affaires sont les Affaires" ("Business is Business"). His repertoire for the first week will be: Tuesday night and Wednesday matinee, "L'Aver" ("The Miser"); by Moliere; Wednesday night, "Monsieur Brotonneau"; Thursday night, "Il ne faut Jurer de Rien"; by De Musset; Friday night, "Monsieur Brotonneau"; Saturday night, "Les Affaires sont les Affaires."

For the second and last week of the engagement of M. de Feraudy at the Fulton Theatre the repertoire will comprise: "Monsieur Brotonneau," on Monday and Friday nights; "Blanchette," by Eugene Brieux, on Tuesday night; "Le Legataire Universel," on Wednesday afternoon; "Les Affaires sont les Affaires," on Wednesday and Saturday nights; "Il ne faut Jurer de Rien," on Thursday night, and "L'Aver," on Saturday afternoon.

COHAN SHOW HAS A FIND

BETTY HALE, the lithe, blithe and pretty dancer with George M. Cohan's "The Rise of Rosie O'Reilly" company at the Liberty Theatre is a native of Ridgewood, New Jersey. When very young, she gained celebrity in her home town as a child dancer and after attending the local high school she became a pupil of a ballet school connected with the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. Though finally admitted as a member of the ballet, she found promotion too slow, so she deserted the classic ranks for a prominent cabaret production. She then appeared in vaudeville and played a speaking and dancing part in the production of "An Arabian Nightmarc," seen in the principal cities on the Keith Circuit. It was in vaudeville that Mr. Cohan found her and engaged her for his current attraction. Miss Hale has a good singing voice and is taking vocal instructions from a prominent local teacher. She is a descendant of the revolutionary hero, Nathan Hale, and is a member of the D. A. R.

THEATRES

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

MONDAY EVE., 8.30
 49th ST. Thea. West of Broadway
 Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2.30
 WM. HARRIS, JR., Presents
LIONEL ATWILL
 IN
"The Outsider"
 By DOROTHY BRANDON
 Cast Includes:
 CATHERINE CORNELL, LESTER
 LONERGAN, PAT SOMERSET

ELEANOR PAINTER
 In the Romantic Musical Comedy
THE Chiffon Girl
 "Some of the Loveliest Music of the Current Season."—Quinn Morris, World.
MOVES MONDAY NIGHT 7.30
JOLSON'S 59th St. Thea.
 Evs. 8.30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2.30.

OUTWARD BOUND
 Ritz

COMEDY THEATRE
 41st St., East of B'way. Evs. 8.30
 Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2.30
 In 5 MONTHS over 125,000
 People have witnessed an
 ACTING SENSATION

"THE SHAME WOMAN"
 By LULA VOLLMER, Author of "Son-Up"

The Play that is Making History
 Anne NICHOLS
 RECORD BREAKING COMEDY
ABIE'S IRISH ROSE
 2ND YEAR REPUBLIC
 49th St. Thea. West of Broadway
 Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2.30

D. W. GRIFFITH ILL FROM OVERWORK

D. W. Griffith, suffering from exhaustion and a severe cold, lies ill in his room in the Astor Hotel as a reward for rushing the opening of his latest picture, "America."

He is in care of physicians who report his condition due to complete exhaustion and severe inflammation of the throat and lungs. He is unable to talk. The doctors demand that he take a complete rest.

The students of Professor Randolph Somerville's dramatic class of New York University attended Thursday's performance of "The New Englander," at the 48th Street Theatre. On Friday, Miss Katherine Emmet, who plays the part of the New England mother in the play, will address the members of Professor Somerville's class at the University. Her subject will be, "American Plays, American Authors, American Actors and an American Repertoire Theatre."

An aftermath of the contest conducted by the management of "Moonlight," for a name for its orchestra is a christening ceremony to be performed over the radio from station WJLN at midnight Monday.

SHUBERT THEA. 44th W. B'way
 Evs. 8.15 Sharp
 Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2.15

7th MONTH AND STILL THE REIGNING REVUE HIT OF NEW YORK

ARTISTS AND MODELS
 OF 1923. 400 SEATS AT \$1.00

WINTER GARDEN--TO-NIGHT SUNDAY CONCERT

WINTERGARDEN B'way & 80th St.
 Evs. 8.20. Mats. This Week Tue. & Sat. 2.20

Special Midnight Performance Thursday
 Greatest Revue Ever Staged!
TOPICS
 of 1923. Introducing
ALICE DELYSIA

CHARLOT'S REVUE of 1924
 West 42d St., Evs. 8.30
 Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2.30
 With BEATRICE LILLIE, GERTRUDE LAWRENCE and JACK BUCHANAN
GOOD BALCONY SEATS AT \$1 AND \$1.50 AT BOX OFFICE ONLY
SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE
THE TWO SOLID HITS OF THE YEAR
SPRING CLEANING ELTINGE
 With VIOLET HEMING, ESTELLE WINWOOD, ARTHUR BYRON, A. E. MATTHEWS
GOOD BALCONY SEATS AT \$1 AND \$1.50 AT BOX OFFICE ONLY
SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE

STILL THE FUNNIEST MUSICAL COMEDY IN NEW YORK
GEO. CHOOS'
Mr. Battling Buttler 5th
 with CHAS. RUGGLES & WM. KENT
 42d St. Evs. 8.30
 Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2.30

"A Musical Comedy Gem."
 —Eve. World.
MOONLIGHT
 The Musical Comedy Gem
 WITH A SPARKLING CAST AND A TIFFANY CHORUS
MOONLIGHT GLORIFIES MUSICAL COMEDY
 LONGACRE W. 48th St., Evs. 8.30
 Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2.30

PLYMOUTH Thea., 45th St. W. of B'way. Evs. 8.30
 Mats. Thursday & Saturday, 2.30
 The play with
1002 LAUGHS
THE POTTERS
 By J. P. McEVY
 "An indispensable play."
 —Heywood Brown, World.

OF ALL THE DRAMAS OF THE YEAR
TARNISH
 EASILY HOLDS ITS PLACE IN FRONT
 BEST SEATS AT BOX OFFICE IF BOUGHT IN ADVANCE
BELMONT THEATRE, 48th STREET, EAST OF BROADWAY
 EVENINGS, 8.30—MAT. THURSDAY & SATURDAY, 2.30

"WALTER HUSTON is Zona Gale's 'MISTER PITT' . . . 'Especially in the lighter scenes, for which the play was obviously intended, he is superb.'—Gilbert Seldes in Phila. Public Ledger.
 "Mr. Huston's delineation is one of the unforgettable gallery of one's theatre memories."—Lisle Bell in Ohio State Journal.
 Moves March 10 to larger theatre.
39th ST. THEATRE EAST OF BROADWAY. EVENINGS AT 8.30. MATINEES WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY, 2.30.

NATIONAL Thea., 41st W. of B'way. Evs. 8.30
WALTER HAMPDEN
 in CYRANO DE BERGERAC MAIN ORDERS 4 WEEKS AHEAD

2d YEAR IN NEW YORK
 601 to 608 Times
JOHN GOLDEN
 PRESENTS
7th HEAVEN
 Comedy Drama by Austin Strong
 LENGTH OF N. Y. RUN TO DATE TELLS THE STORY OF ITS SUCCESS
BOOTH W. 45th St., Evs. at 8.30
 Reg. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2.30

An Astonishing Success
D. W. GRIFFITH'S "AMERICA"
 Series One: The Sacrifice
 Story by ROBERT W. CHAMBERS
FORTY-FOUR STREET THEATRE
 WEST OF BROADWAY
 TWICE DAILY—2.15 & 8.15

Notes

MARGOT KELLY will appear in her original creation of Phrynette in the second act of "Pierrot the Prodigal," with LAURETTE TAYLOR as Pierrot. Sunday evening at the Music Box when the gala benefit for Mrs. Fiske's pet charity is given under the direction of Neysa MacMein, Alexander Wollcott and Marc Connelly.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL'S play, "WE MODERNS," opens at the Gaiety Theatre, March 17.

The opening performance of "MACBETH," which Equity Players will present as their fourth production of the season, with JAMES K. HACKETT as Macbeth and Claire Eames as Lady Macbeth, will occur at the 48th Street Theatre off Saturday evening, March 15. This will be Mr. Hackett's first appearance in this country since his return from France and England.

EVA LE GALLIENNE, is henceforth to be specially featured in "The Swap," Molnar's successful comedy at the Cort Theatre.



WILLIAM S. HART,

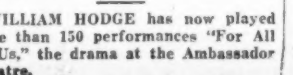
Back on Broadway in "Singer Jim McKee," a tale of the Sierra Nevada. At the Rialto next week.

-:- THEATRES -:-

"Faust" in Tabloid at Hippodrome

DAISY JEAN, Belgian 'cellist and soprano, will present works for the cello and songs, some of them at the harp, at Town Hall on Monday evening, March 2.

IDA KRAMER,
who plays the laugh-provoking
friend of the Family" in "Abie's
ish Rose," now in its second year
the Republic.



LATELL & VOKES
and Other Acts

New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

THEATRE Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

WOLFSOHN MUSICAL BUREAU, INC.,
ANNOUNCE

PHILHARMONIC
WILLIAM MENDELSSOHN, Conductor

liminary road tour of Henri Bern-
in's "Judith," June 2, as guest of Pasadena Center
of the organization.

liminary road tour of Henri Bernin's "Judith."

The first conference on non-professional play-producing units of America in the history of the Little Theatre movement, has been called for the week of May 26, and Pasadena will be the rallying point for the amateur thespians. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Drama League of America, which meets in national convention in the Crown City, May 26-June 2, as guest of Pasadena Center of the organization.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, March 1, 1924

A LIMPING "LIBERAL"

FURTHER disclosures regarding Mr. McAdoo's connections with the Doheny interests leave him a limping candidate for the Presidency. It now appears that his firm was to obtain a fee of \$1,000,000 if he was successful in his mission to Mexico. While the details of that mission are not disclosed, it is fairly certain that its chief object was to obtain the repeal or an important modification of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution. This has been the chief object of American oil interests in Mexico, and McAdoo could have had no other purpose in visiting Mexico.

The World has emphasized these facts. As a Democratic organ, it does not want to play into the hands of the Republicans by agreeing to the nomination of McAdoo and then have them squirt oil on the "liberal" candidate.

There is little doubt that McAdoo was to be the candidate of the A. F. of L. and the railroad brotherhoods. Were it not for the disclosures in the oil scandal McAdoo would likely have received this support. In that event a "liberal" might have gone into office so associated with big imperialist forces as eventually to go to war with Mexico to favor those interests. This would have been to also betray the ten years' struggle of the Mexican workers to emancipate themselves from the clutch of American freebooters. American workers would have betrayed themselves and their brothers across the Rio Grande.

It is a tremendous lesson, that teaches the working class the necessity of building their own party and relying upon their own devoted representatives in office rather than to look for "friends" in the political camps of their enemies.

HELP THE NATIONAL OFFICE

THE opportunities of the Socialist Party this year are such that they require the utmost of devoted service that members can give. Never has the situation been so complex; never have the possibilities been more promising. Conditions here are in many respects similar to the conditions that brought about the organization of the British Labor party.

Aware of the situation, the National Executive Committee is urging the special need of an organization and sustaining fund. Members and friends are asked to pledge and pay a certain definite sum each month to this fund. Owing to the illness of Comrade Debs, a second tour had to be abandoned after the expenditure by the National Office of several thousand dollars in hall rents and advertising. This has left the National Office with small resources, and the membership is asked to do its utmost to enable the office to undertake the important work ahead this year.

The New Leader is published to strengthen the Socialist Party, and it is glad of the opportunity to give widespread publicity to this appeal of the National Executive Committee. We urge members not to wait until they get the letter and pledge card from the National Office. Send in your name and address now, together with a pledge of a definite sum each month. Address Bertha Hale White, Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. Above all, do it now!

A FRENCH PROSTITUTE PRESS

FRENCH journalism has reached its lowest depths of prostitution in the revelations made by l'Humanite regarding the purchase of Paris editors by the former Czar's Government. Some twenty

odd publications are shown to have been in the pay of Nicholas. There is no question regarding the evidence which consists of reprints of original documents detailing the transactions. Thanks to the articles of Lewis S. Gannett in The Nation the dirty story is now available to American readers.

It appears that the journalistic prostitutes accepted the Czar's money as their reward for developing the alliance between the French Republic and the Russian criminals. Poincare appears in the nasty mess as a disburser of Russian funds in 1912. The Temps, regarded as the official organ of the French Government, benefited by the Russian subsidies. For thirteen years this bribery of the French press continued and it is probable that the Czarist generals who invaded Russia after the revolution greased the itching palms of French editors.

Here is a part explanation of the French policy of supporting armed intervention in Russia. However, it also goes back to the days when French bankers staked the Czar with loans—the funds coming largely from the savings of French workers and peasants deposited with French banks. It was the money of the French usurers that helped Nicholas to put down the revolution of 1905.

It is these same prostitute editors who have been instrumental in shaping "public opinion" in support of French policy in Europe. In this we have an example of scoundrels poisoning the minds of millions with publicity of the lowest type. French capitalism is about the dirtiest thing that has survived the World War. The sooner it is wiped out the better for mankind.

A SHIFT OF CATHOLIC OPINION

IT is no accident that in Minnesota, where the working class has conducted a successful revolt against the political chicane of capitalism, the Catholic Church should be affected by this revolt. Conservative in its nature, it has managed to shift its position and identify itself with a new order when an old one has been wiped out by progressive changes or by revolution.

A series of articles in the Catholic Bulletin of St. Paul, written by the Rev. J. C. Harrington, illustrates this ability of the Church to shift ground. As the official paper of the Archdiocese of St. Paul, the Diocese of Duluth, of Fargo, N. D., and Helena, Mont., these articles are stamped with a semi-official sympathy.

In one contribution the writer considers the capitalist character of the Reformation in terms that remind us of the writings of Marx and Engels. "England," he writes, "beginning to be plutocratic, joined the Reformation and made it respectable. The same plutocratic reformers, after the industrial revolution, gave us industrial capitalism. . . . Plutocratic Protestant reformers stole political power and private property from the Crown and the Commons of England in the sixteenth century." At a later period "the pioneers of industrial democracy created a movement which made for international sympathy among the workers of Europe."

The writer stresses the need of linking up with the social movements of the workers, quoting Cardinal Bourne to the effect that if Catholics "stand aside from the social movements of the day, they will go forward without us." Instead of considering the proposal of collective property in the powers of production as impious and opposed to religion, the family and the State, it is regarded with an open mind. The whole tenor of the articles is sympathetic with progressive trade unionism and a general program that differs little from that of the Socialist Party.

The Catholic War Labor Council has also in recent years issued some documents having a similar tendency. Throughout her history the Church has been a sensitive barometer of important social and economic changes. Today a progressive party in the Church senses a capitalist world in transition and prepares for a shift of the Church to acceptance of a new order. It is one of the significant signs of the times.

FREE YOUTH

WITHIN two months the Socialists of New York have established two publications to serve the Socialist movement of the United States, The New Leader and Free Youth. The latter, the child of the Young People's Socialist League, is excellent in typography; and as for its contents, we refer our readers to the book page for details.

We extend hearty greetings to this monthly magazine of our young Socialists and urge the cooperation of their elders in giving it a wide circulation. Here we want to observe that the Socialist movement is recovering from the blows showered upon it, and the birth of these two publications is

evidence of its vitality and its recuperative power.

As evidence of the growth and increasing activity of the Socialist Party, The New Leader points to the expansion of the Socialist News page. The news items are constantly increasing and we are compelled to run this matter over on another page. We are confident that Free Youth will contribute to this expansion, and The New Leader extends hearty greetings to the young Socialists and hopes for a future of devoted service to the Great Cause.

MORE LIGHT FROM OIL

FACING the quarrel of two sets of political crooks over the oil mess, the National Republican editorially remarks that "most of the honest radicals of the country are in the Socialist Party—an organization which, however mistaken it may be in its theories, has a plan for the complete extirpation of the system of private ownership against which non-Socialist demagogues inveigh with no program to present other than that of destruction of the existing order."

It must be a desperate situation at Washington for a G. O. P. organ to get so much candor in a single paragraph. Not content with this criticism, the editor proceeds with a challenge that is remarkable considering its source. He writes:

"If the system of private ownership is wrong, if the existence of big corporations to do the large scale business of the country is a menace, if business men generally under the system of private property are crooks, why not propose the overthrow of the system even if that program were to call for the immediate sacrifice of his political job by the crusader?"

This is like saying to the Democrats: We both stand for the same things and you know as well as we do that the whole system of swindle and plunder cannot be wiped out without accepting something like a Socialist program. Don't try to smear us with oil unless you are ready to abolish capitalism root and branch. Urge this and we will concede that you are honest—as honest as the Socialists.

In the light of the burning oil, knowledge may reach even the dullest.

A WAR MYTH EXPLODED

ONE of the legends of the late war portrays the French ruling classes as innocent victims of wanton aggression. It is known that when hell was brewing that fateful July, 1914, the French Government ordered the withdrawal of its troops ten kilometres from the frontier. Foreign Minister Viviani then telegraphed Sir Edward Grey that by leaving this territory undefended "the Government of the Republic hopes to prove that France does not bear, any more than Russia, the responsibility for the attack."

Foreign Affairs, London, for January, now quotes from French writers, including Viviani himself, that this withdrawal was a "bluff." The General Staff raised no objection on strategic grounds, and the evidence indicates that the order was intended to influence the action of the British Government or, to quote one French writer, "to infect England with the war plague." Foreign Affairs makes this comment:

On July 30, 1914, the very day the French Government withdrew its troops in proof of its peaceful spirit, Russia ordered her fateful general mobilization! She was the first great Power to do so. A day later, at 1 a. m., in the night of July 31-August 1, 1914, the French Minister of War, disclosed to the Russian Military Attache in Paris, "in a buoyant and hearty tone, that the (French) Government is firmly determined on war." This was eighteen hours before the German Government declared war on France.

Thus ends the legend of the saintly French militarists and the ten kilometre retreat. Not that it gives a clean bill of health to the German militarists. Not at all. All capitalism, militarism and imperialism is, on the whole, the same, regardless of what national label it bears. This French retreat belongs to the class of tricks with which we associate the famous Ems telegram of Bismarck which preceded the Franco-Prussian War. It is a case of the criminal endeavoring to prove an alibi by calling witnesses to prove that he has a good character and that he could not have been present when the crime was committed.

MR. JOHNSON'S MEMORY AWAKENS

IN A communication to the Times Robert Underwood Johnson complains of the dock strike in Great Britain which interrupted the transportation of the mails. The report awakens his memory of the A. R. U. strike in 1894 "and of a certain American President named Grover Cleveland, who,

when the mails were interrupted by the strikers, declared that a postal card sent across the continent would be delivered if it took the whole United States Army to effect it."

The report also awakens our memory but unlike Mr. Johnson we do not remember what isn't so. After the strike was over Grover Cleveland's strike commission reported a mass of evidence showing that it was the thugs of the Manager's Association who interfered with the transportation of the mails by derailing trains and burning cars. There is the further fact that the strikers did not refuse to transport the mails but that Pullman insisted on attaching his private cars to mail trains and the striker's refused to haul Mr. Pullman's cars.

Mr. Johnson has some distinction as a former editor of the Century and he should not spoil it by trying to perpetuate a myth which government records exploded within a year or two after the strike occurred. The pudgy, dull and mediocre Cleveland served his class well in 1894 and MacDonald is also serving his class well in refusing to follow the example of the Stuffed Prophet of Buzard's Bay.

The material and intellectual ruin of modern war provides an opportunity for the moron to rise to power. We have seen this in the rapid development of Ku Klux bands in the United States. In Bavaria Adolph Hitler's chief distinction is a pronounced vacuum above the ears. His "beer hall" revolution last November will go down in history as a unique contribution to vaudeville and the announcement that he must undergo an operation invites the question, Can the surgeons fill the vacuum?

It is rumored that the proposed exploration of the Polar regions by airplane may be postponed as there is no assurance that oil will be found there.

The dough in Doheny and the sin in Sinclair make a nasty mess when mixed with oil. They lead straight to a Fall.

The Chatter-Box

A PARABLE

For eight long years the larger wolves, waited outside in hunger, while the smaller wolves, glutted, and lapped and grew sleek within. Then a fierce storm broke. The smaller wolves were driven out and the larger wolves came in. In four years, the larger wolves more than balanced the suffering of eight lean years. But gluttony is gluttony. Indigestion comes from over-eating. Scandal comes from over-boodling.

GORDON GIN

(Without even an Apology to Rudyard Kipling)

Time—Present:
Scene—A Bootlegger's Cellar.
Dramatist—Personal.
(1) Bottle of Bourbon Rye (made in Mott street.)
(1) Bottle of Gordon Gin (made in Elizabeth street.)
220 Cases of Miscellaneous Brands (made in miscellaneous sections of Canarsie, Hoboken and Canada.)
Several bundles of sundry labels and scores of empty bottles, corks, crates, etc.

The Bottle of Bourbon Rye disclaims:

Oh it's Gin-Gin Gin
Oh you lovely, lucid, languid Gordon Gin,
Though I've belted you and flayed you
By the bootlegger who made you,
You're better hootch than I am, Gordon Gin.

Our nemesis, the Serious Thinker, attached, stuck and tentacled himself to us at the Rendez-vous Cafeteria last night, and between sips of soup and coffee, our ears caught the following:

" . . . the economic interpretation . . . compared to the philosophy of Lenin as . . . manifesto opposed to bourgeois tactics . . . the Second International did not . . . neither Bakunin nor Dietzgen . . . is the great trouble with the Socialist Party in this . . . nor can MacDonald . . . what happened to Briand and Spargo will . . . what good will political action . . . Just then Ad Warshaw spoiled our evening by inquiring of us whether it is true that quite a few autoists lately have died from inhaling monoxide gas. But old pal Serious T., nothing daunted, turned his barrage upon the patient ears of Julius Gerber, while we most delicately edged out into the light, frothy wanton street.

Our poetry contest has evoked tremendous interest throughout the nation. Our mail has trebled in quantity since last week. The regular editors have kindly helped us open and read the three letters received.

SERIOUS NOTE

So far the best poetry we have received is a remarkable bit of verse from a lifer in Northern California Prison—signed Prisoner No. 10699. What has happened to our Comrades? Isn't there a quip—a joke—or a wheeze left in them. Kick in some of you; a columnist's life is not a happy one—unless the contris contrib. But contest or no contest, poetry does not overflow upon our desk, twenty-six poems received so far, two are bitter complaints against a fair, false damsel, who has done the minstrel dirt, and twenty-four can be compressed into this perhaps more rhythmic formula:—

The rich are rich and we are poor.
They sit in ease, we dig the soil;
We sow and reap—and they secure
The honest efforts of our toil.
Oh, workers! rise—in all your might—
And strike the chains that hold you fast.
Lift up the torch and spread the light,
This inequality must not last.
Oh, working class! oh, working class!
Let not your masters tread you down,
Oh, working class, oh, working class,
Who till the fields and build the town!

And we could write—ad boredom infinitum—73,843 more such stanzas at the rate of 420 per hour, with the ease of filling tea cups and bank accounts, out of a Teapot.

S. A. De WITT.