

DAUGHERTY QUIZ MAY BRING OUT FACTS SUPPRESSED LAST YEAR

**Kellar Investigation of 1922 Was Turned Into
Whitewash of Daugherty and Virtual Indict-
ment of Kellar—Other Way Around Now—
Daugherty Can Taste Daugherty Justice.**

By MARX LEWIS

Washington.—Less than twenty-four hours after it had started, the Senate Committee investigating Harry M. Daugherty and the department he has graced or disgraced, the generous coat of whitewash the House Committee on the Judiciary administered a year ago, following the impeachment proceedings which Representative Oscar Kellar, of Minnesota, instituted against Mr. Daugherty, had been removed.

If it was put on clumsily at that time, it was removed just as clumsily. If the committee then proceeded upon the theory that he must be found innocent at all hazards, the present committee seems to go on the theory that he must be found guilty at all hazards. Both extremes seem open to objections.

The lightning-like rapidity with which the present Daugherty investigation got under way, the readiness with which the testimony of witnesses who ought not to be relied upon, unless corroborated by at least a half dozen and more reliable witnesses, was heralded to the four corners of the globe, the determination of the committee to pass sentence before it had established guilt, present a disquieting situation and certainly an unhealthy one. Unhealthy not only for Mr. Daugherty, since he will have to retire no matter what the evidence is, but unhealthy to those who hope to accomplish more than merely landing another scapegoat.

A Former Whitewash

A year and a half ago, when the House Judiciary Committee submitted what it pleased to call a report of its findings in the impeachment proceedings instituted by Representative Kellar, the pendulum swung to one extreme. Ordinarily the more serious the charges, the more thorough the investigation; in that instance, the more serious, or the more numerous the charges, the thicker was the coat of whitewash.

At that time the Attorney General was not only given the benefit of the presumption of innocence, but the committee went much further. It turned upon Representative Kellar, and made him, instead of the Attorney General, the defendant. And Mr. Kellar, himself, did not enjoy the benefit of the presumption which one who is accused is entitled to. The committee severely denounced him for his refusal to go ahead with the proceeding when he found that the cards were stacked against him.

The intimidation which was practiced by practically every member of the committee upon those who dared to make an effort to testify against Mr. Daugherty, a year and a half ago was so flagrant, the zeal of each member to convict the witnesses rather than to listen to what they had to say about Mr. Daugherty; the surveillance to which each witness was subjected by Burns' operatives while in or near the committee room, all helped to create the situation to which the present hearing may form an exact counterpart, if the committee proceeds as it has started.

Daugherty's Anxiety for "Justice"

When Mr. Daugherty insisted that the Senate grant him a hearing before adopting the resolution it was considering to call upon the President to request the Attorney General's resignation, the hearing he had in mind was the one he was given by the Judiciary Committee of the House. That was why he was so

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TEXTILE BARONS' AIDE FAVORS CHILD LABOR

Washington.—David Clark, editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, Charlotte, N. C., made a savage attack on the United Children's Bureau and the theory of Federal regulation of child labor laws before the House Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Clark assured the committee that he opposes child labor—if the State prohibits it, but he does not favor Federal intervention.

The witness was handled roughly by the committee. Congressman Foster of Ohio quoted from an editorial published in Clark's paper after the first Federal law was set aside by the United States Supreme Court, and asked Clark whether he was spokesman for the children working in textile mills, and why he did not call on these children to join with him in celebrating the court's decision that they were privileged to work eleven hours a day.

Clark has been a leader in opposition to Federal child labor laws, and loudly insists that this is a matter for the various States.

MAY ELECTIONS TO FIND GERMAN WORKERS READY

Berlin.—With the Reichstag dissolved and elections set for May, the Social Democratic Party is facing the conflict full of confidence in its ultimate triumph, although well aware that the number of its deputies in the new legislative body will probably be reduced from 171 to about 100, out of a total of 459, as the result of a swing to the extreme Right and Left due to the disgust felt by the German masses with the vacillating policy in both foreign and domestic affairs displayed by the various coalition governments in which Social Democrats, Centrists, Democrats and People's Party men have participated.

Because of objections by Bavarian Socialists to holding the party's national convention on March 30, only a week before the election for the Bavarian Diet, the Executive Committee has postponed it until April 13, when plans for the final campaign drive will be adopted.

In taking stock of the situation Vorwaerts, the Socialist Central organ, remarks that no matter what may be the result of the coming elections it will by no means decide the fate of the German Social Democracy, which has the historic task of freeing the German people from wage slavery and is steadily preparing itself for that work, regardless of the temporary defection of forces drawn to the Left by Communist promises of quick and successful revolution. The extreme reactionary movement led by the Hitler and Ludendorff forces under the names of German Popular party and German Nationalist Socialist Labor Party is characterized by Vorwaerts as a wave of slime which is bound to recede eventually.

Further signs of recovery from the slump in party activities caused largely by the collapse of German currency and the premature hopes of leaders who thought the Socialist Party was about to take charge of Germany, are seen in the renewal and intensification of the party's educational and propaganda work. Vorwaerts reports a big gain in circulation by the Socialist press all over the country, notably in Hamburg, where the Hamburg Echo won 10,000 new readers in a few weeks. The gap created by the suspension of the party's scientific monthly, Die Neue Zeit, is to be filled on April 1, by the publication of Die Gesellschaft, an international review of Socialism and politics, edited by Dr. Rudolf Hilferding. The place of the women's magazine, Die Gleichheit, is to be taken by Frauenwelt, published semi-monthly by I. H. W. Dietz's successors, in close collaboration with the Women's Bureau of the party. Unlike Die Gleichheit, the new magazine is not to be confined almost exclusively to Socialist subjects, but is to try to cover the same field as the bourgeois women's magazines, only better, and to put over the Socialist message without stressing it too much.

Reaction Gains in Potsdam

Due to some extent to active participation in the campaign by the host of ex-army officers and retired functionaries living in Potsdam, the municipal elections held there March 16, resulted in large gains for the German Nationalists and German Popular party, their vote rising about fifty per cent, while that of the Socialists and Communists fell off some thirty per cent. The total vote was 31,000, an increase of 10,000 over that of 1920. About seventy-seven per cent of the electorate voted.

ANOTHER STALL!

The case of The People vs. Daniel Platt et al., set for Thursday, March 20, was again not tried. It was set for trial, and was taken off the calendar for some obscure reason, not explained.

This is the case of the election inspectors who are under indictment for stealing the election of August Claessens in the 17th A. D., Harlem, nearly twenty-nine months ago. This is close to the twentieth postponement, all of which have been for plausible pretexts.

It is reported that the case will be taken up "soon" or "at once." District Attorney Banton said the same time two years ago, when the indictments were first found.

It is reported that the case will be on the calendar early next week.

Senate Has Bill For Civil Gov't For Virgin Isles

Washington.—A bill to grant civil government to the Virgin Islands, was introduced in the United States Senate March 10, by Senator McLean of Maryland, at the request of a committee from the Virgin Islands, which is now in the United States.

The Virgin Islands, lying forty miles east of Porto Rico, came under United States rule in 1917, through purchase from Denmark. The principal industries of its 26,000 inhabitants are sugar cane and cotton growing; grass and fodder growing for cattle raising; fishing; coaling of steamships; and watering of ships when there is any water available.

The wages of its inhabitants are twenty to forty cents per day for agriculture; and for coaling vessels, sixty cents per day, only two days' work in the week. The houses generally consist of one room shacks with an occasional lean-to kitchen. The food of the workers consists largely of fudge, which is a mess of corn meal and fish.

The Commission in Charge of Insular Possessions and Territories in its report to the Secretary of Labor Davis, finds the native population clean, bright, genial, peaceful, intelligent; ninety-eight per cent can read and write; honest and very polite. There is very little crime and that largely in the seaport towns.

The Committee of Virgin Islanders now in the United States in behalf of their fellow islanders, are petitioning for civil government, in the hope that under such form of government they may effect an installation of a water supply and irrigation system to meet agricultural and domestic needs. Rainfall is ample if conserved. This, they claim, will insure more regular employment as well as more and better home grown food supplies.

They hope also to restore St. Thomas, which is one of the finest ports in the West Indies, as a port of call by steamship lines using the Panama Canal and sailing to and from Atlantic ports of South America. Its present uselessness creates an appalling lack of unemployment and inevitable undernourishment.

Federal Prohibition, the islanders claim, has crippled the bay rum industry. They would, without violating our Federal laws, institute a study of preparation of bay rum that would restore its market standing. The Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce could materially help in this study, as well as that of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture.

As an aid in the development of

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SOCIALIST MAYOR



DANIEL W. HOAN.

DAN HOAN TOPS PRIMARY POLL IN MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee, Wis.—Having headed the poll at the primary elections here Tuesday, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist, is getting ready for the last lap of his campaign for his fourth term as head of the city government.

Under the election laws, there are no party designations on the ballot, and all candidates are eliminated at the primaries except the two highest. The entire Socialist ticket got placed with a substantial vote, and it is now the Socialists against the field.

Hoan has not yet had a Socialist administration to work with him, and the big drive is to elect Socialist city council majority and Socialist city officials to take hold of the city after April 1 election.

David S. Rose, head of the city government in the days before Socialist control, recently returned from California, and reentered city politics. He ran for Mayor, and he will be Hoan's opponent at the polls. During his administration, Milwaukee was one of the most corrupt cities in America. During Hoan's eight years as Mayor, Milwaukee has been one of the most honestly and efficiently governed cities in the country.

Brockway, Socialist, Polls Big Vote in London Election

London.—Labor and Socialism scored a remarkable success in the bye-election for the Abby division of Westminster, March 19. While Otho Nicholson, Tory, was elected, A. Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor party and one of the leading Socialist propagandists in the country, polled 6,158 votes.

This is the first time there was a Labor candidate in this section, in the past, the Tory always being elected unopposed. The constituency was always considered of the type absolutely hopeless for Labor and especially for Socialism, but the remarkable success of the Labor Government has created Socialist sentiment where none existed before.

The feature of the election was the circus campaign of Winston Churchill, who ran as an independent anti-Socialist. He had 200 automobiles on election day getting out the vote. The Labor forces were weak in everything except the righteousness of their cause. The vote, itself a sign of political revolution, marks the elimination of the Liberal party. It was as follows:

Otho Nicholson, Tory.....8,187
Winston Churchill, Anti-Soc. 8,144
A. Fenner Brockway, Socialist, 6,158
Scott Duckers, Liberal.....291

The vacancy was made by the death of General J. S. Nicholson, father of the successful candidate at the bye-election.

NEXT WEEK AND AFTER

What a wonderful opportunity present conditions would give a half-dozen Socialists in Congress! The pillars of capitalist politics are being shaken by the disclosure of the deeds of the office boys of capitalism in Washington. What a strong group of Socialist Congressmen could do is evident from a speech by Victor L. Berger in the House. Witty, sarcastic, challenging, the voice of the Socialist party was heard through Comrade Berger. "Socialism in Congress," a speech by Comrade Berger. Next week!

Many books and magazine articles have been written since the end of the war which seriously propound the view that modern civilization is dissolving. David P. Berenberg considers this theme next week in an article on "Socialism or Barbarism."

THE NEW LEADER IS YOUR PAPER.
WHAT ARE YOU DOING FOR IT?

LABOR GOVERNMENT ESCAPES TRAPS SET BY WILY ENEMIES

Snowden Tells of First Weeks' Battling in Parliament—Attempts to Divide Labor Party Fail—Government for Gradual Disarmament—Old Parties Completely Bankrupt.

By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M. P.
(Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer)

London, February 26, 1924.

The first week of the New Parliamentary session under the Labor Government was devoted to preliminary skirmishes. The position of the Government has by common assent been greatly strengthened by what has taken place. The main business has been the consideration of supplementary estimates—that is votes for expenditure which had not been provided for in the original estimates for the year. The subjects under consideration have not been important in themselves, but they have given some of the new ministers an opportunity to show their mettle.

These estimates have been in charge of Comrade Wheatley, the Minister of Health, Comrade Tom Shaw, the Minister of Labor, and Comrade William Graham, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. All these Ministers have greatly enhanced their reputations by the ability with which they have conducted the business.

There developed at one time a considerable opposition to a proposal put forward by the British Government to a loan by the Sudan Government for the development of cotton growing. A section of the Liberals, who were supported in this matter by a section of the Labor

KEENEY FREED IN MURDER TRIAL IN WEST VIRGINIA

Fayetteville, W. Va.—C. Frank Keeney, president of District 17, United Mine Workers of America, was found not guilty of being accessory to murder by a Circuit Court jury.

The indictments against the union chief grew out of the march of armed men from the union coal fields of the State to the non-union Logan County field in 1921. The accessory charge was lodged in connection with the death of John Gore, a Logan deputy sheriff, who was killed during the fighting on Blair Mountain. Five weeks were required to hear the evidence in the case.

The main issue in the trial was whether Keeney and other union officials encouraged and assisted in bringing about the march, as claimed by the prosecution, or whether it was a purely spontaneous action of men in the coal fields enraged by what they believed was persecution of union miners.

The acquittal of Keeney marks the end of one of the most remarkable trials in all labor history. Aky defended by Harold W. Houston, veteran Socialist lawyer, Keeney made the witness stand a forum to expose the iniquities of corporation ruled West Virginia.

During the trial, Keeney wrote a letter to Arthur W. Page, editor of the World's Work, replying to an article in a recent issue of that magazine, "Must Murder be the Price of Coal?" Keeney compared conditions in the coal fields of southern West Virginia to feudalism, and charged the existence of a "gigantic conspiracy of non-union operators to own and control the Government of the State, and through seizure and misuse of its powers to drive the United Mine Workers from the State."

The non-union fields are said by Keeney to be "seeking to precipitate strikes and disorder in the unionized fields this spring, and as aiming to prevent harmonious relation between the union and the mine operators who employ unionized workers."

"There has been violence and lawlessness in West Virginia," he says, "but to attempt to put the full responsibility for it upon the shoulders of the United Mine Workers, and to grant a clean bill of health to the coal corporations with their armies of gunmen, mine guards and special deputies is to ridicule and deride the known facts and actual conditions."

"An attempt to discuss the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek strikes and yet neglect to mention the infamous armored train—box cars lined with boiler plate—which, without lights or signals prowled through the mining camps during the night and poured machine gun volleys through portholes into the tent colonies of workers and their families, is to overlook the cause of more than three-fourths of the violence and bitter feeling in that struggle."

Keeney specifically denies the existence "of a conspiracy in the central competitive field to unionize the coal mines of West Virginia," and the allegation that "the miners' union expended \$2,557,000 in one

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Snowden

Party strongly criticised the proposal. Things looked ominous, but a tactful and well-informed speech by Comrade Graham completely turned the current of opinion and the proposal was carried without a division.

Comrade Wheatley belonged before his accession to office to what is called the "Clyde Contingent." He has been regarded with suspicion by the Liberals and Conservatives who expected him to attempt all sorts of reckless things. But he has already proved himself to be an administrator of great capacity. He has not only disarmed suspicion but has enormously raised his prestige. He is now regarded by the House of Commons and the press as one of the strong men of the Government. The same comments apply to Comrade Tom Shaw. His great ability is recognized by all who know him. He is infusing into the Ministry of Labor a sympathy which has been lamentably lacking in the past.

The Air Defences

When the Labor Government took office it realized that in the present state of the world a country must take a view of realities. No Government, whatever its idealistic aims may be, can immediately depart from established policy. The enormous air forces in the possession of France, which are many times superior to those of Great Britain, have given rise to a good deal of uneasiness in this country. In the last Parliament it was decided that the air forces of Great Britain should be gradually increased until they were equal to the air strength of the country within striking distance of Great Britain.

The explanation of the Labor Government's air program fell to Comrade William Leach, the Under-Secretary of the Air Ministry. Comrade Leach is a well-known pacifist, and there was something rather incongruous in the spectacle of our comrade appearing as the exponent of a defence program. He announced that the Labor Government accepted the policy of a one power

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KANSAS UNION OFFICIAL WINS IN SUPREME COURT

August Dorchy, former vice president of District No. 14, United Mine Workers of America, who was fined \$500 and sent to jail for six months for calling a strike in violation of the Kansas Industrial Court law, has won in part his appeal of the case in the United States Supreme Court. In a decision handed down Monday, March 10, the high court ordered the judgment of the Kansas Industrial Court vacated until the Kansas Supreme Court has opportunity to pass on the validity of a section of the law under which Dorchy was convicted.

The strike over which the issue arose was called in February, 1921, by Dorchy and Alexander Howat, officials of the district miners' union,

NEW LEADER SUB-GETTERS WORKING FOR THEIR PAPER

Well, we'll admit that our naturally sweet, amiable disposition is somewhat ruffled this morning! Every day, every mail, bunches of letters and subs from friends in all parts of the country that causes the heart of ye writer to swell with joy, even as the up-rushing spring sap is swelling the lilac buds in our garden—and (not content with baring us out last week) The Master Mind now stands over us, saying, "just about two sticks for you this trip, Mister!" Some of these days we intend to arrange a lecture tour for The Master Mind, just to get him out of the way long enough to give an entire edition to The Boosters, and their steadfast, continuous, loyal work in making friends for The New Leader and increasing its subscription list. And it would take pretty close to an entire edition if we were to express ourselves adequately.

One noteworthy fact about the booster mail is the number of folks that, like a person timidly wading out in deep water for the first time, subscribe for three months or six months, "just to see whether they will like it," and then a few weeks later, send the sum needed to make it a full year, and for good luck add a subscription or two for friends or shopmates. This is the best kind of testimonial for the paper.

First in our hand today is D. O. Hastings, of Wyoming, veteran of veterans in the Better-World Brigade—and then a sub for all the officers of "The Fighting Union," the Cleaners and Dyers of Greater New York; H. L. Hammer, Chairman; Julius G. Cohen, President; J. Effrat, Business Manager; and D. Hoffman, Secretary. One Hundred percenters all right.

Then the Duplicators and Triplifiers, as we call them—the folks who always count for more than one in the scheme of life. Here's a string of them in succession: Emma Henry, of Indiana; S. N. Diamond, of Michigan; Wm. P. H. Wilson, of Texas; S. M. Jones, of Massachusetts; Samuel Orr (Esquire, thank you!) of the Bronx; Dr. McVey, of Massachusetts; good faithful Shay of York, Pa.; Wm. Scriber, of the Camden Baker-Confectioners, back again; that good Call dependable, J. W. Quick, of Philadelphia; his fellow dependable, Alvin Huff, of Easton, Pa.; Arthur Burr, of Utah, whose sub list is polygamous even if the State is not, and—excuse me a moment. Here's one from W. H. Golden, of Arkansas, who describes himself as "a black man and an ex-

slave." He was one of Wayland's wonderful appeal army, says he was "just wondering where he could get a good paper, and happened to see a copy of The New Leader," so along comes his money and a lot of good will. Have you folks ever realized the good you might do the paper by handing out a few sample copies now and then? Everywhere there are good fighters like Golden who would be tickled to get a paper like The New Leader, but do not know it exists. Why not make a list of say, five people, send them a sample copy or two, then a few days later, ask them for a sub?

Another former Appeal worker who comes along with subs and lists to sample is Charles F. Redman, of Colorado, who likes the Hillquit articles very much, and says in his opinion the Socialist Party is entering upon a new period of growth. Like a breath of ozone to read a letter like this. Both due to sample copies. Here's another that makes us laugh (for the recollections it brings up) from J. C. Hogan, of Monroe, N. Y., who edits the lively little Open Letter and has his own style of stirring up the animal, says The New Leader is great, and with a combination of old timers like Onal and Solomon and Feigenbaum and Goebel in charge, it must be a big success. To which, of course, we modestly subscribe, but suggest in addition that no general ever amounted to a tinker's cuss unless he had a pretty live army behind him.

Oh, stop tickling us! Here's one from T. F. Brough, of Massachusetts; one of our best hustlers, who's afraid we can't keep getting out our fine paper, but says if we do, in a short time we will have as fine an army of sub-getters as did The Little Old Appeal. Well, watch us and see—for we are the most capacious critics the paper has. The ink is hardly dry until we are in conference with ourselves figuring how this or that page will be improved.

Oh, Shucks, here's The Master Mind looming up in the distance. We know he won't let us get in any more, although there's folks like Ida Jakinen, of Maynard, Mass.; A. D. Altman, of Butler, Pa.; Jos. H. Weitz and Frank Bjorklund, and many others to whom we would like to say how-de-do. Anybody like to have The Master Mind lecture in their town for say a week, or a month? If so, notify The Booster Army Man. He will then show a Booster column what is a column!

Here's an Idea—Be a Duplicator!

To THE NEW LEADER,
7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

I am a subscriber to your paper, but am not satisfied to just enjoy it myself. You will therefore find herewith \$—, for which send the paper for — months to

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

From.....

Of.....

I. L. G. W. U. CLASSES

Saturday, March 22, at 1:30 p. m., Dr. John H. H. Lyon will discuss "Hardy, the Thinker and Novelist," in his course on the "Modern Novel." At 2:30 p. m., David J. Saposs will discuss "The American Federation of Labor, Its Structure and Its Policies."

Sunday, March 23, at 10:30 a. m., Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun will discuss "Institutions as Challenges" in his course on "Social Institutions," and Dr. J. H. Carman will continue at 11:30 a. m. his course on the "Development of Modern Europe."

In the Unity Centers, Monday evening, March 24, Miss Kopald will continue her course on "Economics and the Labor Movement," at the Brownsville Unity Center, Public School 150, Christopher avenue and Sackman street. On Tuesday the same course is given at the Bronx Unity Center, Public School 61, Crotona Park East and Charlotte street. On Wednesday, March 26, Mr. A. L. Wilbert will continue his course on "Modern Economic Institutions" at the East Side Unity Center, Public School 63, 4th street, near First avenue.

Of special interest will be the lec-

ture by Professor J. Salwyn Schapiro of the College of the City of New York, who will discuss "Modern Tendencies in History," on Wednesday, April 2, 8 p. m., in the I. L. G. W. U. Building.

Admission free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U.

The students of the Workers' University, Unity Centers and Extension Division, their friends and teachers, are holding reunion, Saturday, April 5, 7 p. m., in the dining room of the Washington Irving High School.

A SLAVE'S LULLABY

Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top,
When you grow up you can work
in a shop,
When you are married, your wife
can work, too,
So that the rich will have nothing
to do.

Hush-a-bye, baby on the tree top,
When you are old, your wages will
stop,

And when you have spent what
little you save,
It's rock-a-bye, baby, off to the
grave.

—Australian Worker.

NEARING MUDDLING THROUGH

By JAMES ONEAL

One of the most astonishing performances was Scott Nearing's recent lecture on the subject, "Can Britain Escape a Revolution?" It is astonishing because of its hazy conceptions, unwarranted or inept analogies, queer reasoning and absurd logic. I quote from the printed report of the lecture published by his class in Current History.

The first few sentences are illuminating. "Thus far there has been no revolution in Britain." Certainly not. No member of the Labor Party or any Socialist expected a revolution because the Labor Party has formed a Cabinet. "On the contrary," continues Nearing, "British Labor has been trying to prove that it is possible to make a transition from capitalism to Socialism by the processes of evolution, and in accordance with the accepted principles of present-day society."

British Labor has been trying to do nothing of the kind. Knowing its limited power, that it holds office at the mercy of a majority in Parliament, British Labor has been trying to represent the British working class within the limits of that power. It can do no more. It would be folly for it to attempt more. To attempt it would be to invite the return of a capitalist coalition. The Labor Party is in office but it does not have power. In these opening sentences of his lecture, Nearing does not reveal a comprehension of the simplest elements of the situation that faces the Labor Party.

The Second International

On the basis of his absurd promise, Nearing goes on to say that the Second International failed in two tests and today it faces its "third and last chance in the form of the British Labor Ministry." If the latter fails, "the Second International will make its final exit from the field of world affairs." By failing he means failure to accomplish a fundamental revolution. He returns to this again as we shall see. He first sets before the Labor Party the task of bringing Socialism when it has only limited power and that power itself held by a slender thread that can be cut by its enemies at any moment, and then predicts the collapse of the International if this limited power does not destroy capitalism in Great Britain! If we could only dispose of capitalism itself with the same ease that Nearing disposes of the Labor Party, our task would be an easy one.

"The attempt of British Labor," continues Nearing, "to inaugurate a new social system by due process of law is the last chance of the Social Democrats. If British Labor fails there is no hope for the workers of the world save"—save what? Fortunately he provides us with a sure means of escape, for he says, "save in the methods of Communism, that is, the seizure of political power, the dictatorship of the workers, and the expropriation of the capitalists."

Happy Workers of Italy

Turn to Italy where the "methods of Communism" were followed after the style of Nearing. Now the workers of Italy should be happy, if Nearing's premise is correct. But ask him and he will deny that things are rosy for the working class of Italy. Why? Mussolini is in power. Precisely! The Communists attempted to seize power and Mussolini beat them to it. What magic formula has Nearing to offer to guarantee that a ruling class will not beat the masses at this game of seizing power? Really, Nearing is offering one capitalist noose in exchange for another.

Moreover, it is necessary to correct his statement that Communism means the "dictatorship of the workers." The Russian model shows that Communism fears the workers and does not trust them in the matter of free organization, maintenance of their own press or propaganda. What he really means is a Communist dictatorship and the suppression of all organizations of workers that do not accept the Communist yoke. If Nearing cares to deny this probably a few quotations from Trotzky, Radek and others will

satisfy him. If desired I will be glad to supply them.

If Nearing's lecture was merely a case of muddling through by a perplexed man uncertain of his own allegiance in the movement, we might pass it up as an example of sincere but illogical reasoning, but when he goes on to assert in the matter of the threatened railroad strike that "The MacDonald Government in its first test chose the side of the owners" we have a right to protest. The New Leader has carried first-hand information from its first issue of the Labor Government's administration. Considering this information I am justified in charging that either Nearing is misinformed or that he has become a convert to that Communist ethic that makes falsehood a virtue. Let us hope that he is misinformed and that he is unfortunate in his source of information.

A Curious Compound

This whole lecture is based upon an amazing misconception of the conditions on which the British Labor Party assumed power, the limitations of its power, the ease with which it can be ousted by the enemy, etc. It is such a curious compound of Syndicalism, Communism, Socialism, romance, and reverence for the dramatic, that it is impossible to classify Nearing. Had it been delivered in 1919, had it been brought to the attention of Communists at that time, it would have been classified as an example of the "cowardly center," or a woeful exhibition of "bourgeois prejudices."

One other statement in this lecture deserves notice. This is the assertion that "the leaders of the European Social Democrats treated the Revolution in Russia to opposition and indignity." Is Scott Nearing ignorant of the storm of denunciations that the Communist leaders hurled at the Socialists all over the world, that they deliberately split the movement in all countries, weakened it, prostrated it for a time, and thus gave the ruling classes of the imperialist nations their opportunity to plot against Russia and even invade it? Is he ignorant of the fact that despite this provocation the organized Socialists of the world opposed the attacks on Russia?

He certainly is not ignorant of these facts and being aware of them the reader can form his own judgment of his statement. However, Socialists did oppose the attempts of Moscow to dominate the world movement and they will continue to do so as long as Moscow continues to follow its lunatic policy of attempted disruption and control.

Muddling Through

Those who remember the few years of disruption and chaos that followed the split in the American movement in 1899 will be able to understand Comrade Nearing. There were those who were unable to think their way through to a clear policy. They muddled through, trying to maintain friendly associations with both sides in a matter of principle that could not be compromised. They wavered and involved themselves in absurd contradictions. They vegetated in a twilight zone between the two forces, proving to be sorry examples of an opportunist attitude while waiting to see which side had the bigger battalions.

Comrade Nearing is the best modern example of this type that has appeared in the Socialist movement. He does not know what he is. There isn't a Socialist, a Communist, a Syndicalist, an Anarchist or anybody else who can tell what he is. I am sure that I do not know and I have been unable to find anybody who claims to know. This is the only explanation I know of that will account for the strange lecture he served to his class in Current History.

Nearing makes a prediction that the failure of the Labor Cabinet will bring a collapse of the International. My prediction is that when the Cabinet falls, as it eventually will, the Labor Party will not be seriously affected, the International will increase in membership and influence, and Scott Nearing will still be muddling through.

endar of labor conventions to be held in 1924.

Speakers, writers, and teachers have found the Year Book invaluable in the past. The book is also to be found in the libraries of commercial houses, universities and newspapers. Much of the material it contains is unavailable in any other form.

The book is published by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

Steel Founders' Profits

American steel foundries, a combination of iron and steel mills, reports a profit last year of \$7,595,944.

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DRESSMAKERS STRIKE; GIRLS INTIMIDATED

Chicago.—More than 3,000 workers—mostly girls—in the dress industry are on strike for a living wage, and city officials are maintaining their brutal policy in these cases. The girls are intimidated by the police and by Injunction Judge Sullivan and State's Attorney Crowe. The latter recently permitted Dudley Taylor, attorney for the manufacturers, to use his office while he questioned striking upholsterers. The unionists did not know at the time they were talking to an agent of the bosses, who was using the people's prosecuting machinery in an effort to break their strike.

In the present strike State's Attorney Crowe has made another record by assigning police attached to his office to strike duty. Trade unionists point out that while bootleggers and gunmen are terrorizing Chicago, the State's attorney is aiding employers to break a strike of girls who demand a living wage, decent working conditions, and relief from the unemployment hazard of this highly seasonal industry.

In a letter to Crowe, President Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, said: "We had hoped that you would have some regard for womanhood and that there was some limit at which you would stop in your desire to serve the interests of unfair employers."

MARRIED WOMEN FORCED TO TOIL

Washington.—"Make it possible for the normal married man to support his family according to a decent American standard of living and the problem of married women in industry will take care of itself."

This is the conclusion of Mary N. Winslow's address, "Married Women in Industry," which is being circulated in pamphlet form by the United States Women's Bureau.

Tons of white paper have been used in discussing this question, and solutions without number have been offered. Mary N. Winslow sweeps these aside, and in a few words sums up the cause and the cure: "Married women are in industry because they are forced in. Pay the husband a sufficient wage and the wife will stay home."

The writer refuses to confuse women architects and women shopkeepers with women wage earners. She shows how confused some writers on this subject are by citing one individual who made this reference to working women: "The perfect wife, devoted mother and successful working woman, Queen Victoria."

"There are some women who enter a profession because they have not enough interest in their family to keep them busy at home," said Miss Winslow, who emphasized that her study refers to women employed in typical women-employing industries and not to professions or special types of women.

"Regardless of their earning capacity and the length of their employment," says the writer, "married women are in industry for one purpose only—to provide necessities for their families or to raise their standard of living."

"In one study we found that practically all women who were wives or mothers—95 per cent of them, to be exact—contributed all of their earnings to their families."

Attention is called to the two standards that are applied to married women in industry. When times are booming they are welcomed. When times are dull the married woman who works "is said to be a menace to the social standards of the community."

The address includes infant mortality figures from the Federal Children's Bureau, which show the price babies pay when their mothers are forced to work in a factory or mill. In Manchester the mortality among the babies of mothers who went out to work during the first year of the baby's life was 22.5 per 1,000, compared with 13.9 for babies of mothers who remained at home and were not gainfully employed.

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LABOR YEAR BOOK OUT APRIL 1

The American Labor Year Book for 1923-24 will be off the press on April 1. This is the fifth volume of the series begun in 1916. The present volume, edited by Solon De Leon, will contain fourteen chapters covering in an objective manner the American labor and political movements, trade unionism and labor politics abroad, labor legislation, court decisions on labor, workers' education, labor banking, co-operatives here and abroad, and an exhaustive study of labor disputes. The material is illustrated by many tables. A new feature of the book will be a carefully compiled Labor Directory, giving names and addresses of every international, national and State labor organization in the United States, and a complete list of labor, Socialist and Communist papers. It includes a labor diary for 1922 and 1923, and a cal-

endar of labor conventions to be held in 1924.

Speakers, writers, and teachers have found the Year Book invaluable in the past. The book is also to be found in the libraries of commercial houses, universities and newspapers. Much of the material it contains is unavailable in any other form.

The book is published by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

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This corporation secured an injunction against striking employees at Granite City, Ill., in May, 1914. The case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, which ruled, in December, 1921, that courts should control picketing, and suggested one striker at each point of ingress and egress in a struck plant or place of business.

SOME LABOR REMINISCENCES

By JOHN W. ROBERTSON

Enclosed you will please find subscription blank duly filled out together with money order for two dollars, covering subscription for one year to The New Leader.

I may say I am very glad to know you have been successful in launching The New Leader, and trust that it may live a long and useful life in fighting the battles of the workers. I had been a subscriber to the "Appeal to Reason" ever since I came to this country in 1911.

In the old country I was a constant reader of Blatchford's "Clarion," and Keir Hardie's "Labor Leader" from the very first issue of both papers, and I was well acquainted with both men in the early days of the I. L. P. in Great Britain. I was also a member of the old Scottish Labor Party away back in 1888, when we first put up the late J. Keir Hardie for Parliament. I joined the I. L. P. when it was formed and remained a member of it until 1906, I think it was, when the I. L. P. formed an alliance with the Liberals for election purposes of which I disapproved, so I severed my connection with it after a fight at our branch meeting.

I have, however, remained a Socialist, and will never be anything else as long as I live, but alas, I am no longer young, and so able as I used to be, still I will try my best to get some subscribers for your paper. So far, I have not taken any active part in the Trades Union or Socialist movement since I came here, and as far as Pawtucket is concerned, it seems to me to be one of the most backward and God forsaken places I ever knew in said movements.

It is now forty years since I first began to agitate and organize among the miners of the West of Scotland, and many a bitter fight we have fought, and won and lost, and when we lost, we were just up and at it again until we won. At that time we had to contend against the bitter and powerfully organized Coal-owners association, and many a time my old friend and colleague "Bob" Smillie and myself would go out in the early morning, sometimes wading through snow up to the knees (By the way perhaps you know "Bob?") and hold meetings with the miners, get them to join the union and otherwise conform to union principles, and so we kept plugging away like that for years, until we got every man and boy organized into one of the strongest unions of miners in Great Britain, namely, The Lanarkshire Miners' County Union, and I am proud today to be able to say that I was to some extent instrumental in bringing that about.

I could go on giving you accounts of the many trials and sufferings we had to endure in those days for an indefinite time; suffice it to say, that Smillie and myself, and many others were blacklisted, victimized and ordered out of our houses, and could not get work because we were all known as bad men.

Besides Smillie, I know about twenty of the Labor members for Scotland, who were active in the movement about the same time as myself.

I need hardly mention how pleased I am to know that our early efforts have resulted in our party at last taking over the control of the affairs of the greatest Empire in the world. Again wishing your paper all prosperity.

BUILDING THE INTERNATIONAL

By OSCAR POLLAK (London)
Assistant Secretary of the Socialist and Labor International.

When in Hamburg in May, 1923, the divided forces of world-Socialism united and the two groups of parties, known as the Second International and the Vienna Union respectively, united, they were driven by the common need of international action. International action, however, is but the happy outcome of a mental disposition of international feeling and international understanding, and to create this mental atmosphere there is no other way than to base it upon the solid foundation of international organization. Therefore, if we want international action strong enough to restore a war-damaged, greed-ridden world, thrown into utter confusion and drifting from bad to worse, if we want to rescue humanity, which has lost both the war and the peace and to lead it beyond capitalism's failure, it is not by merely deploring the lack of power of international Socialism that we shall attain it. We must not merely criticize the modest state of effectiveness achieved by Socialist cooperation in a world still suffering from a great war. We must work strenuously to reach a higher stage. With the strain and toil of our own hands we must build up its strength through solid organization.

That is what the Labor and Socialist International has been doing since its foundation at the Hamburg Congress. When, after nine months of unassuming work, its Executive Committee assembled on February 16 and 17 at Luxembourg, no grandiose report was presented, no brilliant record reviewed. Still there was some work done and some further progress to be hoped for.

Mutual Trust

Those delegates who had also been in Hamburg and had known the appearance of this large and varied gathering, still ranking with the divisions of war-time, and restless with many misunderstandings amongst Socialist personalities and parties, must have been pleasantly impressed with the atmosphere of mutual trust which seems to have increased in Socialist ranks since May, 1923. With the growth of mutual trust we vote the gradual disappearance of many difficulties.

Since Hamburg the overwhelming majority of parties represented there have formally declared their affiliation to the Labor and Socialist International and accepted its regulations. The International is to issue a Bulletin and there is some hope of creating a more effective service of international information in due course.

In the meantime the International has had to deal with misunderstanding between certain parties. The Commission appointed by the Hamburg Congress to investigate the relations between the Socialist Parties of Czechoslovakia, reported on its conciliatory work which is to be continued. A similar effort is to be made in Latvia. There will also be a conference of the Balkan Socialist Parties in Bucharest, with a view to examining the doubtful course taken by the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, in participating, until recently, in the terrorist Government of Tsankoff.

Strengthening International Cooperation

While setting its own house in order the International would also like to be on good terms with its neighbors. Part of the work at Luxembourg consisted in examining the relations existing between the

Labor and Socialist International and other international organizations of the Socialist workers' movement. With the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Cooperative Alliance relations have already been established.

The proposal to set up a Joint Central Committee to unite the forces of the three principal international working-class organizations for common action marks further progress. In order to strengthen cooperation with the Socialist Youth International, the International Socialist Women's Movement and the newly-founded International of Socialist Education a mutual delegation of these bodies and the I. S. J. was also decided upon.

Political Situation

But why all this rallying of forces if not to fight? The International Executive reviewed the whole international situation, and in several resolutions pointed to the root of the present world position and the workers' pressing duties. The problems of European policy actually have entered a new stage; capitalism itself begins to realize the failure of the policy of force which Socialism has so strongly denounced. Capitalist Governments themselves are trying to stop their strifes about the Ruhr and Reparations, and to settle these questions by means of bargaining. Now, instead of using machine guns they are going to set up Committees of Experts. This change of capitalist policy also entails a change of Socialist policy. While the capitalists of France and Germany were struggling against each other we had to press for a peaceful solution. Now that they have started bargaining with each other, Socialists, while claiming their just share in this fortunate turn of events, must nevertheless warn the working masses of all countries of the dangers of even of capitalist "understanding." Are they not going to understand each other at the workers' expense? The International was right in emphasizing the fact that capitalism is to be feared even when looking for a "peaceful" agreement.

Moreover there is one point which the Executive's resolutions

place on record. That is the danger that the final settlement of the reparations dispute might force upon the misery-stricken German working class a further burden of heavy taxation, unequal financial measures dictated by foreign financial control, with an eye to figures rather than to social justice. That being so the ten-hour day, already haunting the German workers, would become an iron law sanctioned by international capitalist powers. Obviously this would portend the gravest danger to the eight-hour day the world over. The Executive therefore urges Socialist Parties to check the capitalist plot by enforcing the ratification of the Washington Convention concerning the eight-hour day in all countries. Belgium and Switzerland have already defeated capitalist attacks. Austria has secured conditional ratification. By making the international eight-hour day their first fighting slogan will the workers of all countries succeed in defending, not only their German comrades, but themselves.

The Labor Government

When, therefore, the British Labor Government will help to make the eight-hour day a binding international obligation, thus affording British workers more effective protection from the unfair competition of sweated foreign labor than the highest tariff wall could ever produce—will they act by order of the "German International?" (That was how the Conservatives attacked the Labor Party during the last election campaign.)

It is unnecessary to take a Tory election blunder into serious consideration. Still the existence of a Labor Government in England is an outstanding feature in the present international situation and therefore had a certain effect upon the International itself, an effect relating to organization rather than to politics. Automatic resignation of any committee member accepting office in a Government being compulsory according to the Constitution of the Labor and Socialist International, many vacancies had to be refilled. A larger question, however, arises out of this purely technical matter. The International is anxious to avoid interference with

The New Leader Forum

AN IMPORTANT CAMPAIGN

Editor of The New Leader:

We are writing to you as one vitally interested in the problem of human progress, and in the name of hundreds of thousands of foreign-born women who need your help.

The passage of the Cable Law, giving women the right to independent citizenship—an excellent law in intent—has played havoc with the married women of foreign birth whose husbands have lately become citizens.

To counteract the evil, an organization of women and women's groups was formed under the name, the "Woman's Citizenship Committee." It is the aim of the committee to follow up the cases of the newly-created married citizens and stimulate a desire in their wives to become naturalized in their own right.

It is also our aim to carry on a campaign among the Trade Union women for naturalization and to establish classes for women with the aid of the New York Board of Education.

The work of the committee will be confined to citizenship and will be carried on in conjunction with the Naturalization Aid League, which has branches throughout the city—with adequate clerical staff—to give actual practical assistance to all applicants.

In view of the various proposed immigration restrictions and additional burdens threatened upon the shoulders of the alien, this activity is of the utmost necessity and timeliness.

Membership in the "Woman's Citizenship Committee" call for \$1.00 a year and upward in dues from individuals, and \$5 and upward from organizations.

At the next meeting of the Committee, to be held at the Rand School Cafeteria, 7 East Fifteenth Street, Tuesday evening, March 25, an amendment to the Cable law now pending will be discussed. Please make an effort to be with us—at 8 p. m.

THERESA MALKIEL, Chairman.
New York City.

POLISH SCHOOLS

Editor of The New Leader: The Polish republic which was founded after the World War guaranteed national autonomy and equal rights to all national minorities. The national autonomy consisted in establishing elementary and secondary schools for the minorities, with their mother tongue as the official language of instruction.

The Polish Government has not fulfilled its promise. It did not establish any schools for the minorities. Therefore all the minorities, the Germans, White Russians, Ukrainians and Jews, began to establish on their own initiative, schools

for their children. The Polish Government not only did not encourage the establishing of these schools, but even persecuted them. But thanks to the energy of the people, many schools were established in all parts of Poland. The people themselves maintain their own schools. The Government does not subsidize them. The 4,000,000 Jews of Poland succeeded also in establishing their own schools. The schools are of different types. One school is controlled by the rich Jews; the other, by the workers. The schools of the Jewish proletariat, where Yiddish is the official language of instruction, are subsidized at present, by the American Peoples' Relief Committee, which consist of all Jewish trade unions in America and the Forward Association.

But the Jewish proletariat of Poland wanted the Polish Government to fulfill its promise and maintain their school system. Therefore a bill was introduced in the Polish Parliament providing that the Jewish proletarian schools should be subsidized by the Government. But here something happened that is difficult to believe. The Polish Socialist Deputies voted hand in hand with the Polish and Jewish reactionaries against this proposal.

When the Socialist Deputies were asked why they voted against this proposal, they answered that separate schools lead to separatism. But does it? Has not a national minority the right to have its schools in their own mother tongue? I think that every nation has a right to its own language and its own culture. In Russia, the Bolsheviks established separate schools for the different minorities and recognized the right of their languages and I think that all the Socialists will agree on this point with the Bolsheviks. Therefore, I think the American Socialists together with Workers' International should send a vigorous protest to the Polish Socialists for this and demand that they recognize the elementary rights of a people, namely to use their mother tongue in their schools.

ELY BARUCH BRESHKOVSKY.
Bronx, N. Y.

Following the end of the World War the Polish Socialists became chauvinists and followed the nationalist policies of Pilsudski. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party a few years ago adopted a ringing statement against the Polish Socialists which was accepted by our party members.—Editor.

Will Joseph Caldwell, formerly active in the Socialist Party in Providence, R. I., please communicate with the editor of The New Leader? Information of special interest to him awaits him in this office.—Editor.

any of its national sections taking over the Government of a single country, because interference in the special affairs of one nation would be opposed to its principles. The Labor and Socialist International equally wants to avert the error which the Bolsheviks committed in making the Communist International the mere instrument of the Moscow Government.

It is in the spirit of these principles that the question was raised at Luxembourg as to whether the circumstances under which the Hamburg Congress had decided to establish the Secretariat in London had not changed in the meanwhile. The Executive did not answer that question immediately. It deferred consideration of this question until the next Executive meeting in June, in Vienna.

Does this mean, as our adversaries put it, that Mr. MacDonald is either controlled, or embarrassed by the Socialist International? It means, I think, that in building up a solid international organization, based on free democratic discussion and on the work and good will of every party and every Socialist, we are on the way to creating that sound international spirit, which needs no order and no control—both derivations of the autocratic mind—but which, whether today MacDonald holds office in England, or tomorrow perhaps Vandervelde in Belgium, whether a party is in office or another in opposition, will coordinate their efforts towards the common aim.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY ATTACKED IN AUSTRIA BY BIG EMPLOYERS

Vienna.—The opening of a campaign against the legal eight-hour day by a number of big Austrian employers, including the Alpine Montan Company, the huge iron and steel concern controlled by Hugo Stinnes and Camillo Castiglioni; the Steel Works Association in Styria and several big glass making concerns, has found the Austrian trade unions ready and willing to fight for their rights to the last trench.

When the Alpine Montan Company recently tried to make a wage raise asked by the workers contingent upon an increase in the working hours, despite the Austrian law forbidding the lengthening of the eight-hour-day except under very exceptional circumstances and then only to a limited extent and with overtime paid for at fifty per cent above the regular rates, negotiations were promptly broken off by the union representatives.

On February 7 representatives of the Executive Committees of all the big Austrian unions met in the chamber of Labor here and passed resolutions voicing their determination to support all categories of workers in their impending struggle for the maintenance of the eight-hour-day and calling upon the rank and file of the unions to stand firm and fight to a victorious finish.

There are about 1,000,000 trade unionists in Austria out of a total population of a little more than 6,000,000, so the companies are likely to be defeated in their drive, even if supported by the Clerical Government.

The Shadows Vanish

From out of the midnight of superstition, ignorance and slavery the disenfranchising, emancipating sun is rising. I am not gifted with prophetic vision, and yet I see the shadows vanishing. I behold near and far prostrate men lifting their bowed forms from the dust. I see thrones in the grasp of decay; despots relaxing their holds upon scepters, and shackles falling, not from the limbs, but from the souls of men.—Eugene V. Debs.

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NOTICE OF ELECTION

Of Delegates to 17th Biennial Convention, I. L. G. W. U.

To Be Held in Boston, Mass., May 5th, 1924

Saturday Afternoon, March 22

at

ARLINGTON HALL, 23 ST. MARK'S PLACE

Polls Open at 12:30 and Close at 6 P. M.

All the active members of the Locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will meet at the

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Remember the Date and Place

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at the

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Tickets can now be obtained in all the offices of our unions. Do not fail to come to the ball. It is the duty of the healthy ones to help those who are sick.

DR. GEORGE M. PRICE, Director.
HARRY WANDER, Chairman Board of Directors.

WASTE IN OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM

By WILLIAM BLOOM

The great indictment against the present industrial system is, first, that it is motivated by profits rather than by service, second, that it is exceedingly wasteful. It is anti-social in essence; it destroys human life and sacrifices the finer instincts of man on the altar of profits. Moreover, that our present system is wasteful, need not be argued any more by radicals. Sound and safe conservatives like our leading engineers admit this defect quite openly. The engineers are, of course, not so much troubled about the human side of the question as about the conservation of our natural resources and improvement of efficiency in production. They do not think that waste in industry is inherent in the present profit-seeking system; but suppose that it is mainly due to ignorance and shortsightedness. Hence they proceed to educate our captains of industry in efficiency and scientific management without much regard to the human elements that are the producers of wealth.

To the producing masses the problem of waste in industry is not a question of conservation of natural resources and efficiency for the sake of profits, but of what could be accomplished in lessening the burden of labor and in promoting the general welfare of society if the loss of labor, hours, materials and horsepower that are now wasted because of inefficiency, and that are used in non-essential and anti-social industries, were converted for the production of tangible things that make up about ninety per cent of man's physical needs.

Patent Medicines

As illustrative of superfluous industries mention may be made at this point of the fact that if the patent medicine industry alone were converted towards useful production it would yield enough to give every child of this country between seven and thirteen years of age, six months extra schooling. This, however, is only a very small fraction of the extent of waste. The yearly expenditure for armaments amount to three billions of dollars. Advertisement in 1916 cost over two billions of dollars. (It has very likely doubled the amount for the past few years). Insurance schemes, stock exchanges, law courts, banks; abrupt changes of styles for purely commercial reasons, chewing gum, adulterated confectionery, "soft drinks," poisonous drugs and other vices, cheap movies and cheap entertainments, add a good deal to waste.

In 1919 the total luxury of the country amounted to twenty-two billions of dollars, of which only about a half could be considered as reasonable comforts. These eleven billions of dollars spent in 1919 in luxuries are figured as the approximate equivalent of the annual la-

bor of about seven millions of workers. All this expenditure involves tremendous waste in material, service and production of goods.

Technic and Profit

The present system is also wasteful in its technical process of production and distribution of goods. The scrapping of old machinery and the introduction of new and improved machinery largely depends upon the increment of profit that can be derived by the new method. If, however, the existing plant were reorganized in accordance with modern scientific knowledge and technical improvement of machinery and the elimination of unnecessary duplication in production and distribution, a tremendous amount of human energy could be saved. At present enormous quantities of the output never reach the consumer by reason of defects in the distribution and lack of market facilities. In time of so-called overproduction, untold quantities of various kinds of goods are being destroyed or dumped in foreign markets in order to maintain artificial standards of prices.

Another typical characteristic of the present system is waste in idleness of man and machinery caused by instability of industry. The present system of production fails to secure permanent employment. From four to eight millions out of the forty-two millions potential producers are generally idle. This loss constitutes four to eight millions man-days wasted daily. The temporarily unemployed number two millions during normal times and up to six millions during times of industrial depression. Strikes and lock-outs—the direct result of our present economic system—causes millions of lost labor days, even making allowance for the probability that had the strikes and lockouts not occurred considerable time would have been lost by layoffs and other reasons that are common events in present society.

Human Waste

About three million workers are sick and incapacitated daily. A distinct feature of waste consists in preventable sickness and accidents. There are various kinds of idlers, among them the idle rich, that are able-bodied but choose to live on the backs of the producers. Thus about twenty per cent, or at least eight millions of people, are idle during panic years, as was the case in 1921. Our present industrial equipments are, therefore, not fully utilized. The instability of industry makes it impossible to utilize them continuously notwithstanding the fact that the machinery of production does not keep pace with technical improvements. It is estimated that about forty per cent of the buildings, machinery and other physical facilities are on the average never used.

So far I have pointed out waste

GIFT, GRAFT AND GUARANTEE

By DONALD G. RICHBERG

The New Leader herewith submits excerpts from an important paper read to the delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action in St. Louis in February.

HELPING THE "INFANTS"

The purpose of recalling these fragments of railroad history is to point out again the falsity of that which the railroad propagandists repeat from time to time; that the railroads of the United States represent in their development great benefits conferred upon the public by the far-sighted, efficient, courageous public service of private individuals. In truth the American railroads represent the squandering of billions of dollars furnished by the public in land grants, in donations of public money, in payments of exorbitant rates, wherein greedy, dishonest exploiters of public needs have competed with each other for

in production. There is still an important element to be considered and that is human waste. It differs from labor and material waste. It consists in bodily pain and spiritual suffering. It is the greatest indictment against our present society. Its evils are numerous—too numerous to recount. Malnutrition, adulterated and devitalized food, overcrowding and slums, cheap clothing, industrial accidents and diseases, infant mortality, illiteracy and ignorance, crime and prostitution, alcoholism and the use of drugs, deadening of the play instinct, deadening of the artistic and creative instinct, are the woes and agonies of the toiling masses. Added to this list comes the cost of war in lives which falls heaviest upon their backs.

Summary of Indictment

We thus find that the waste in our present industrial system of production is due, first, to waste in production and service that have no relation to the needs of man; second, to waste due to the antiquated technical mechanism of production and inadequate facilities for distribution of goods; third, to waste due to idleness of man and machinery caused by instability of industry; fourth, to human waste that destroys millions of workers body and soul.

All these four types of waste are the direct result of our present system of private ownership of industries which regards the profit motive above the welfare of society. The solution of this evil does not lie in reforming the present economic system, but in removing its cause. Only Socialism which aims at the reconstruction of our economic structure by substituting the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production and distribution for service and the common good of humanity would be in a position to curtail waste to its minimum and conserve both human life and the natural resources and make life worth living.

III

opportunities to bleed the public.

Let it be understood that railroads have not been omitted from this historical review because their methods were different, but because of the impossibility of reviewing the entire railroad industry in a short space of time. The available records concerning the operations of the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, the Nickel Plate, the Santa Fe, the Burlington, the Illinois Central, the Hocking Valley, the Northern Pacific, and other great railroad systems tell the same story. Public monies are obtained either through outright gift, or valuable franchises permitting the levying of unjust taxes upon the public, extortionate earnings are capitalized, melons are cut to divide surplus profits with insiders, stock markets are manipulated, innocent investors are plundered, favored contractors and railroad officers become wealthy in secret partnerships. Ruthless and greedy men operating within and without the law have used every known device for getting something for nothing and the public has paid them billions of dollars for no value received.

The Period of Graft

To review briefly the period of Graft that followed the period of Gift, a few facts may be quoted from one of the great decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission written by Commissioner Lane in 1911, in the Western Rate Case. In that case the principal carriers in the West sought to increase rates, utilizing the arguments which the railroad propagandists have been dining in the ears of the American people for the last twenty years.

They claimed they needed more capital to provide more facilities, that they could not raise capital unless they had higher rates. They claimed that Government regulation was stifling successful operation of railroad properties. Everyone of their arguments was proven conclusively to be false.

Commissioner Lane pointed out that in ten years the mortgage indebtedness of the railroads had increased seventy-seven per cent, although their mileage had increased but thirty-six per cent; that interest in 1899 on this debt was at the rate of four and one-half per cent, while in 1909 it was less than four per cent. In ten years the roads had raised \$4,250,000,000 at a less rate of interest than they were previously paying; and Commissioner Lane well said:

"Reason for Hope"

"These figures are incomprehensible. Our railroads borrowed upon mortgage in one decade more than twice as much as the national debt at the close of the Civil War. 'Give us reason for hope' is the impassioned cry of one of the railroad counsel. 'We wish to know that we may have the funds wherewith to supply the transportation needs of our people.' To this there is apparently no answer unless one is suggested by these figures."

The Commissioner continued: "In ten years with an increased rate of dividend and increased maintenance charges and a vastly increased fixed charge for interest, these carriers had accumulated a surplus of \$606,536,556, or an increase of 312 per cent of 1899, while the mileage had increased only thirty-six per cent. Is it too much to say that such facts are a complete answer for those who persistently 'view with alarm' the outlook for American railroads?"

In this case the railroads argued that they had put their surplus earnings back into their properties and had capitalized these additions to their properties and that they were entitled to have their properties valued on the basis of their reproduction cost and thereby entitled to impose an additional burden of freight and passenger charges upon the public. The Interstate Commerce Commission took the position that "whether value means investment, cost of reproduction or something else, our position is that a railroad may not increase rates upon shippers for the reason, and as an outgrowth of the fact, that it has accumulated out of rates a balance of profit which has been invested in the property. This investment must take care of itself, it must bring a return itself, either in increased traffic, or in a reduction in expense of operation." The Commission pointed out that if the investment of surplus would authorize the increase of rates then "the shipper is worse off each time he pays a rate which allows a revenue over and above a reasonable return upon the original investment."

The Period of Guarantee

In this case decided in 1911 may be seen the battle lines laid down for the test between public and private interest, which is now being waged in the third period of railroad exploitation of the public—the period of forcing money out of the

public to maintain the fortunes of the railroad dynasties through guaranteed income. As railroad properties have been overloaded with security issues, representing the capitalization of excessive profits made or to be made of public service, these corporations have steadily approached their present dilemma wherein they find it impossible to justify the exaction of the rates they desire on the basis of a necessary reimbursement for the cost of service.

Railroad Rule of Industry

It is well known to all students of transportation problems that the railroads, distinct from all other industries, do not keep cost of service accounts, that it is impossible to tell from the accounts of a railroad the actual cost of hauling its freight or passenger traffic, of transporting a particular commodity a specified distance. In the Western Rate Case of 1911, the Commission endeavored to ascertain the relation between the cost of the service and the proposed charge for the service. The railroad executives unanimously opposed the application of any such standard and agreed that the cost of service could not and should not be ascertained. They insisted that rates should be based upon what the traffic would bear and that the traffic manager's judgment should be supreme in his determination of what rate the traffic would bear and what profit he should obtain. The Commission summed up the railroad position in the following language:

"This theory entitles the railroad to enter the books of every enterprise which it serves and raise or lower rates without respect to its own earnings, but solely with respect to the earnings of those whose traffic it carries. This is not regulation of railroads by the nation, but regulation of the industries and commerce of the country by its railroads . . . a position which may fairly be characterized as a modern extension of the ancient principle of divine right."

The railroad managers knew that such a position could not long be maintained against the opposition of intelligent and honest public officials and so the pressure increased for fixing railroad rates upon the basis of that vague, uncertain thing called the "value" of the property. It happened about this time that Senator LaFollette was pressing before Congress his demand for a valuation of the railroad properties, in order that the public might know how much those properties had cost. He sought for a valuation, to determine the investment in the railroads, because as some of the books of the railroads had been destroyed and all railroad accounts were unreliable, a valuation of railroad properties was necessary to find what they represented as actual investment.

(To be continued)

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With all wishes for your success I am,
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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

NEWS FROM OTHER LANDS

FRANCE

More Socialist Victories

More straws indicating the rise of a wind that French Socialists and Liberals hope will sweep M. Poincaré and his "Bloc National" into oblivion, at the coming elections for the Chamber of Deputies are found in results of recent local campaigns.

Chief of these was the victory won in Le Mans, a city of some 70,000 inhabitants, on February 17, by the Socialists and Radical Republicans when they elected their thirteen candidates for the city council by an average vote of 8,000 against 4,500 for the "Bloc National." Seven of the victors were Socialists, one of whom, M. Barbin, led the lists with 8,200 votes. On the same day, in Villeneuve-le-Comte, two Socialists defeated M. Poincaré's candidates on a second ballot.

On February 24, in a by-election in the canton of Marquion, M. Delplace, Socialist, beat M. Bricoud, Republican, for a seat in the general council, by a vote of 1,882 to 1,383. In a three-cornered fight on February 24, in the canton of Ahun, M. Legrand, Socialist, was elected to the general council with 723 votes, against 673 for his Radical opponent and 355 for the candidate of the National Bloc.

In the meantime, in line with the decision of the Marseilles convention, various regional Socialist organizations are holding special meetings on electoral tactics and, generally, are approving the formation of temporary combinations with the other parties of the Left for the big fight to overthrow the reaction of the Chamber.

ITALY

Campaign in Full Swing

Led by such old parliamentary veterans as Filippo Turati, Claudio Treves, Ivanhoe Bonomi and Oddino Morgari, the Unitarian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Unitario) is waging as hot a campaign as it can under the restrictions imposed by the Fascist Government of Italy and expects to capture a goodly share of the 179 seats in the Chamber of Deputies graciously allowed to the minority parties by the Mussolini election law, which gives two-thirds (356) of the seats to the party getting a plurality of votes, providing this plurality amounts to twenty-five per cent of the total cast. The Communists and the Maximalists (the group formerly composing the official Socialist Party of Italy, but now badly cut to pieces over the question of joining the Communists) have also named a number of candidates and are carrying on a campaign.

The Unitarian Socialist Party had at first intended to boycott the elections of April 6, in protest against the unfair election laws, but when the Communists, Maximalists and Republicans decided to take part in the campaign the Executive Committee of the party met in Milan on February 18 and 19, and voted to enter the lists. It chose for its official emblem the rising sun of Socialism, with the word "Liberty" imposed on the rays. In its official call for the support of the voters, as printed in La Giustizia of Milan, the Executive Committee execrates the Fascist regime, refers to the good work of the British Labor party, points out that the Unitarian Socialist Party belongs to the Socialist and Labor International and concludes: "Already before this the reaction has solidly blocked the way to all the free spirits—Democrats, Socialists, honest Constitutionalists—and the bloc of liberty has triumphed over reaction. A day also the free spirits are with us, or near us. We urge them to line up and do their civic duty under the sign of the rising sun, which radiates Socialism and aims in every way at the liberty of the peoples. If it is not yet the sun of emancipation, final and complete, it fecundates their germs, it prepares the way. The rest will come."

HUNGARY

Socialists Favor Liberal Block

That the Hungarian Socialists are ready to work with the other opposition parties against the Clerical Agrarian Government, presided over by Premier Stephen Bethlen, as agent of Admiral Nicholas Horthy, in a sort of Liberal block was brought out at a meeting of the Social Democratic deputies and the party's executive held in Budapest on February 26. Deputy Stephen Farkas, who presided, and partially all the others present agreed the twenty-five Socialist deputies ought to do whatever possible to line up the Liberal elements among the fifty-one non-Socialist members of the opposition. It appears that disputes over taxation, land distribution and the terms of the international rehabilitation loan have created considerable dishonesty among the 166 deputies elected as Horthy men in 1922, so the Social Democrats seem to think that a fighting opposition, although small in numbers, could do something toward mitigating the White Terror that has prevailed ever since the overthrow of the Communist regime, in the summer of 1919. The recent victory in Debreczin, where Dr. Vinzenz Nagy, supported by the Socialists and the Kussuth Democrats, beat the reaction in a special election, confirmed this belief.

Deputy Julius Peidl reported to

the meeting on his recent trip to London, where he and Ernest Garami, a Hungarian Socialist emigre living in Vienna, had held conferences with members of the British Labor Government and with Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International. As in an interview printed a couple of days previous in Nepszava, the Budapest Socialist paper, Peidl was not included to admit that he had made any special efforts toward inducing the British Government to attach conditions regarding the international regime in Hungary to its approval of the proposed international loan. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Socialists apparently hope for good results from his trip, as well as from the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Socialist International at its Luxembourg conference calling upon Socialist Parliamentarians everywhere to support the Hungarian workers in their fight for liberty. Peidl said he was well pleased with the results of his work in London and that he had found the British leaders in the labor and cooperative movements eager to help their Hungarian comrades.

Dr. Kunfi's Trail Called Off

On February 25, the President of Provincial Court ordered the Budapest Criminal Court not to begin the trial, in absentia, of Dr. Sigmund Kunfi on charges of slandering the Hungarian nation in articles in newspapers and in speeches in Hamburg and The Hague. No date was set for taking up the case again. Budapest Socialists note that a political trial while the international loan commissioners are in Hungary, could not fail to arouse unfavorable comment abroad. Dr. Kunfi, who was Commissar of Education in the Cabinet of Bela Kun, has been prominent in Hungarian Socialist affairs for many years. He is living in Vienna and writing for the Arbeiter-Zeitung.

GERMANY

Monthly Educational Magazine

A gap in the educational work of the German Social Democracy was filled on February 1 when the Kulturwille, a new Socialist educational monthly magazine made its appearance. The "Will for Culture" is published in Leipzig by the General Workers' Education Institute (an institution maintained by the Leipzig Socialists and trade unionists) and it aims to promote the all around education of working folk. Considerable space is devoted to articles on art and there is a poem by Ernest Toller, the young Bavarian poet still held in prison by the reaction for his part in the uprising of the spring of 1919.

PARTY NOTES

VOLUNTARY ASSESSMENT STAMPS

Voluntary Assessment Stamps have been issued by the National office of the party to help pay for the national convention. The stamps are in denominations of 50 cents, \$1.00 and \$5.00. All local and branch secretaries have stamps and members are urged to get them at once.

CALIFORNIA

Local San Francisco Growing The Socialists of San Francisco have been growing so fast that they have outgrown their old headquarters. They have taken a place at 1212 Market street, the largest and most commodious quarters they have ever had, and within a few days, when alterations are completed, they will move in. There will be a fine and airy party office, and a hall seating 350 people, as well as a fine dance hall.

INDIANA

Emma Henry, state secretary of the Socialist party, has been elected delegate at large to the national convention of the Socialist party. Other delegates are being balloted for. The party work is improving in the State, the receipts for January were better than the average for several months in 1923, and the February report showed a slight increase over the previous month.

Local Marion County, Indianapolis, held a social gathering for the members and friends. A number of new people were in attendance, as well as several old time comrades from out of the city. Marion County is also hustling to get subs for The New Leader.

J. L. Gillespie of Ligonier, informs the State Office he will reorganize the Local in that place in the near future. Many of the former members left to seek employment in other cities, which crippled the Local.

Herman Blankenship, Secretary of Local Winfield, reports a good meeting, with twenty members present. The members of this Local are scattered over a large territory in that locality, so it speaks well for them to have such a good attendance.

W. J. McMillen of Huntington, informs us that the members from that Local are making plans to attend the state convention by getting up auto parties. He also sends in an order for dues and supplies.

R. A. Hale of Dugger, member-at-large, informs the State office that

SPRING PRIMARY APRIL 1

The spring primaries are held this year on Tuesday, April 1. All enrolled Socialists who reside in the same place from which they voted last fall are entitled to vote. The polls in New York City are open from 3 to 10 p. m. All Socialists should make it their business to vote.

he is ready to cooperate and help in the work. He will look after arrangements of meetings for any speakers that may be coming into that locality. Sarah Leicht of Anderson, informs the State Secretary that there will be a good delegation to the Indianapolis State convention.

ILLINOIS

ROCKFORD LABOR PLATFORM

Rockford, Ill.—Municipal ownership of an electric light plant, direct employment of labor by the city for all public work, home rule and free speech are among the principal planks of the labor platform in the Rockford municipal election this spring. Mayor J. Herman Hallstrom is serving his second term as the nominee of labor. The campaign is being managed by the Winnebago County Labor Legion, the organization that put Hallstrom across at previous elections. Membership in this legion is confined to workers and those who sympathize with workers' aims. Hallstrom is an old-time Socialist.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA NOTES

Comrade Sehl kept up the record of good speeches at the North East Branch on March 13 by a talk on the Labor party. Leo M. Harkins, the active secretary of Local Philadelphia Branch March 12 on a Labor party for this country. The activity in West Philadelphia is growing steadily due to its series of open meetings. The Branch has had more applications for membership in the last month than in the preceding six months. Comrade Lindset will be the speaker on March 19.

Comrade Harkins also spoke at a well-attended meeting of the Strawberry Mansion Branch on March 13, and secured three applications for membership.

A good deal closer cooperation is developing between the Socialist party and a number of the unions. Comrade Harkins, as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party, is speaking on a Labor party at a special meeting of the United Shoe Workers on March 17, at a meeting of the independent textile unions on March 27, and at a meeting of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers on March 28. The Philadelphia branches are taking up a scheme to pledge every member to sell at least five pamphlets every month. The West Philadelphia, Dauphin, Strawberry Mansion and North East branches have already undertaken to do this.

MASSACHUSETTS

Central Branch, Boston, held a public meeting at the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Hall, 15 Essex Street, Boston, at which Roberto Haberman, Member of the Mexican Federation of Labor, spoke on the subject: "Behind the Scenes in Mexico." Enthusiasm for the speaker ran high, those present declaring they had learned more about Mexico from Comrade Haberman than they had ever known before about our Southern neighbor.

NEW YORK STATE

ELMIRA, N. Y.

Death of William R. Clarke It is with sincere regret that Local Elmira of the Socialist Party learns that Comrade William Rooke Clarke has died. Comrade Clarke was born in New York, March 24, 1865, of English parents, and soon after his birth his parents returned to England with him. He returned to America when he was sixteen, and it was during this return trip across the ocean that he gave his first serious attention to the art of drawing. He made pencil sketches of icebergs and sold them to his fellow passengers, and six years later, when he was twenty-two, he adopted art as his vocation and became a noted scenic artist.

Comrade Clarke visited England in 1905 for about a year, and while there was attracted by the working-class political movement, and after his return he joined the Socialist Party, in 1910, became a dues-paying member, and remained a hard-working member to the end.

His heart and soul was in the working-class movement, and he was at all times ready to make any sacrifice to aid the movement. He was a close student of political affairs in Europe, and was greatly elated over the wonderful growth in England.

In the death of Comrade William Rooke Clarke, the Socialist Party, and especially of Chemung County, has met a great and serious loss, and the sincere and heartfelt sympathy of Local Elmira goes out to the family.

STATE CONVENTION, JULY 26

The state convention of the Socialist Party will be held in New York City July 26 and 27, it was decided at the meeting of the state executive committee in Schenectady last Sunday. The convention will nominate a full state ticket, adopt a platform and plan for the state campaign.

MANHATTAN

CITY CONVENTION APRIL 12

The state executive committee voted at the same meeting to call a city convention of the Socialists of Greater New York April 12. The meeting was called at the request of a general membership meeting held under the direction of the Joint

Merger Committee. The convention will have as its principal business the adoption of a merger plan for the city.

The state executive also adopted resolutions of sympathy for the death of the late Alex Fraser, for many years a member of the state committee of the party, and sent letters of greeting and good cheer to Comrades Harry Kritzer and Otto Branstetter, who are ill.

Philip Hockstein will speak Monday night at a meeting of the 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D. on "The Outlook for a Labor Press." The meeting is to be at 22 Bank street, and there will be short business session before the lecture.

The 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D. recently undertook to round up members in arrears. Within a few days, twelve members paid up \$53 in back dues. And the drive is continuing, not only in that branch but in other parts of the city.

The Central Committee of Local New York will meet Tuesday night at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street. Delegates at large from New York County to the city convention will be elected, and other important matters will come up. Local New York has twelve delegates at large, Kings, seven; Bronx, five; Queens, two; and Richmond, one. The branch quotas will be elected within the next few weeks.

8th A. D. Ball

The 8th A. D. will hold its weekly dance and entertainment March 22, at 73 St. Marks place. There will be two dance contests, with prizes for each. The 8th A. D. dances are getting to be an important function in the social life of the party, and comrades attend from every section.

BROOKLYN

A meeting of the Central Committee of Kings County will be held on Saturday evening, March 22, at the County Headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn. The coming city convention and other important matters will be taken up.

Junior Y. P. S. L.

The Kings County League of the Junior Y. P. S. L. will meet in Central Committee, March 22, at 2 p. m., at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. All delegates are urged to attend as there is urgent business to be taken up. The Central Committee has decided that every Junior Circle shall subscribe for The New Leader for one year.

The Institution of Marriage The far-famed institution of marriage is to be debated Sunday night, at a meeting of the 5th A. D., Local Kings County. Louis Weil will take the affirmative of "Should the Institution of Marriage be abolished?" while Jules Freedman will rally to the defense of the aged arrangement by debating upon the negative. Following the debate, the members of the 5th A. D. will be called upon to give their views of the matter. The meeting will be at 14 Howard avenue.

There will be a meeting of Branch 2, of the Second A. D., Tuesday night at the Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P. Following a brief business meeting, Samuel A. DeWitt will deliver a lecture.

Reorganization in 17th and 18th.

The old branch in the 17th and 18th A. D. has been completely reorganized, with new officers and a new spirit of enthusiasm. A. H. Schulman is organizer, and a literature committee has been formed consisting of Harry D. Smith, Jean Jacques Coronel and Jacob Axelrad. Lectures will be held, there will be a class of youngsters taught by Axelrad, and other activities. The branch will undertake to have regular distribution of literature throughout the spring and summer, and into campaign time.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday, March 22, the Saturday Afternoon Camaraderie will meet at 3:15 p. m. for tea and talk, to be followed at 4 p. m. by a talk by B. Charney Vladeck of the Forward on "An American in Politics" in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. At 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss the question, "What's Wrong With the Farmer?" in his Current Events Class at the Rand School.

On Wednesday, March 26, Mr. Willy Pogany will give the third lecture in his course on "The Development of Art," and will discuss "The Art of the Ancients."

On Thursday evening, March 27, at 8 p. m., Mr. August Claessens will discuss "Prostitution" in his course on "Sex and Society," at the Rand School. Also on Thursday evening, at 8:40 p. m., Mr. Herman Epstein will give an illustrated lecture on the "Meaning of Music."

RAND SCHOOL GYMNASIUM

Mrs. Lucy Retting, who is again installed as Director of the Rand School Gymnasium, announces the following classes in Social Dancing. On Monday evenings from 7 until 8 Mrs. Retting will teach the fundamentals of the fox trot and the one-step.

On Thursday evenings from 7:30 to 8:30 Miss Isabelle Rooney will teach the waltz and the one-step. Miss Rooney is a graduate of Teachers' College, where she was an A1 pupil. She is an excellent teacher of all kinds of dancing.

A GOOD TIME TO STRIKE

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

When the Labor Party first took over the Government of Great Britain, it was greeted by a couple of major strikes. These were thought to be about as embarrassing a predicament as a new party could expect to face. But the difficulties were quickly adjusted. Better than all, the working people involved fared very well, thanks to the Laborites.

Instead of upsetting the new Government, the new Government upset the expected. It was as glorious an opportunity as could be devised to satisfy the doubters and skeptics that the party in power was really of, by and for the people.

So that it is now taken for granted that every trade union with grievances crying for redress will seize the chance to secure fair dealing. As yet no crowd has demanded the impossible. English workers can be depended upon to let reason be their guide. And just because of that will they do the Oliver Twist stunt of asking for more.

The pace has been made. From now on there should be some gradual improvement in the condition to the British populace that the Socialists at the head of affairs depend upon to raise the nation out of a morass of misery and lift it to the plane of well-being. The few extremists, whether Tories or Communists, will have to make the best of it.

Most people in the great world power are quite content to have social amelioration come slowly though it seems, but substantially sure. That is true of the bulk of the workers, it goes without saying, for they are either in the Labor Party or feel themselves akin to it. It is becoming true of a larger fraction of the people in better circumstances, especially those in professional and intellectual pursuits. And it is reaching up into the class of those who are the possessors of means.

To some of these the humane aspect appeals. They are touched by the enlarging circle of quicksand in which the population is sinking. They see the nation falling away, with no prospect brighter than a certain conflict with France or America or Japan over the dwindling remainder of the world's goods. They seek security, even if the price they have to pay is social democracy.

Among many the fear of having their fortunes confiscated for a greater good to a greater number no longer has any edge. They have seen their government in war-time snatch as much as eighty per cent of their income, even while subjecting Labor to slavish conditions. They know another war would even deeper into their holdings—call it capital levy or what you will. So they are almost scare-proof.

Hence not even the arrival of a shipment of strikes drives them to that hysteria which has been so well affected by the Tory press of America. They are almost indecently calm.

Nor need much space be wasted over the confections of Tories on this side of the water. The further they are from the trenches, the more patriotic they are—of their peculiarly selfish brand of patriotism. Besides they are too busy escaping from the wrath of the public who has found them out.

What does matter here is how American Labor will regard what is happening in England. American Labor is most directly concerned in getting better terms of employment. One of the most important points for its steady consideration is when best to strike to attain its ends.

Strikes usually come in boom times. Prices are mounting and wages always lag behind. But Labor is in demand, and the workers quickly jump in to take advantage of the situation—as quickly as their expiring agreements permit. So strikes are a large crop in a prosperous period.

It is contrariwise when industry slackens down and depression sets in. Then Labor has to fight with its back to the wall against being squeezed too hard. Then lockouts are plentiful.

Now American Labor sees the British brothers striking when work is at its lowest level and getting away with it. Here is the practical test of the value of a Labor Government that answers the outstanding question among workers proud of

their reliance largely on their unions alone.

It is especially an answer to the hasty warning sounded by conservative officers of the American Federation of Labor against expecting too much from the British Labor Government. It is a complete refutation of their self-sufficiency. It topples over their whole smug self-satisfaction. It knots them into their proper place—followers, not leaders, of Labor's advance.

Accused as the American workers are with being much too materialistic to pursue the ideal of Socialism, the English workers' success at driving better bargains by helping themselves at the polls will compel a lot of new thinking on the part of the trade unionists here. One consequence will be that our Labor will discover it has not a monopoly on industrial acumen. Just as it has always given the Europeans pointers on how to win on the industrial field, so it will take pointers on how to derive the most out of political action. Labor in America will strike at the ballot box, and strike as Labor.

Furthermore, American Labor will not be content to follow. It will make up for lost time. It will ask for much more than European workers can expect out of the meager economy of their own lands. And American Labor will get what it is after. It has a habit of doing so.

What Labor is accomplishing in England and Europe will seem trifling and trivial when Labor in America gets going. There can be no mistake about that. It is the American way of doing things!

Rand School of Social Science

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1:30 P. M.

SCOTT

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4:00 P. M.

B. CHARNEY

VLADECK

"An American in Politics"

Wednesday, March 26, 8:40 P. M.

WILLY

POGANY

"Development of Art"

Thursday, March 27, 8:00 P. M.

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23. Fact and Fable in Mouth Hygiene	Dr. Alfred Angell	Tu	7:30-8:15	1.50
24. Russian Music	Mr. David Sapota	Tu	8:30-9:15	1.50
25. Psychology and Life	Dr. Will Durant	W	7:30-8:15	1.50
26. Science and Philosophy Since 1850	Dr. Will Durant	W	8:30-9:15	.25
27. Physical Exercise for Health and Ability	Dr. C. Ward Crampton	Th	7:30-8:15	1.50
28. Debating Club and Public Speaking	Dr. Alex. Cairns	Th	8:30-9:15	1.50
29. What Civilization Owe to Italy	Dr. Jas. A. Walsh	Th	8:30-9:15	1.50
30. Music and Literature Since 1850	Dr. Will Durant	Th	9:30-10:15	.25

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For further information

Call Lexington 4160 or Address Labor Temple School

THE FORUM
CALENDAR

FRIDAY, MARCH 21

Manhattan

Coney Island Forum

MARIE B. MACDONALD, "British Labor Rule and its Reflection towards the Reconstruction of Europe," Boardwalk Hotel, 3033 West 22d Street, C. I. Auspices Socialist Party.

JAMES ONEAL, "Labor in the American Colonies," 274 East Broadway, New Era Club.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "The Origin of Society," Harlem Educational Forum, 62 East 106th Street.

CHARLES SOLOMON, "British Labor Unionism and the Rise of the Labor Party," 12 St. Marks place, Auspices, Sheet Metal Workers' Local 137 and American Labor Party Lecture Bureau.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, "The Fight for Free Speech," 1167 Boston Rd. Auspices, Bronx Labor Forum of the Socialist and the American Labor Parties.

Rochester, N. Y.

GUSTAVE A. STREBEL, 476 Clinton Avenue, N. Auspices, Socialist Party, Local Rochester.

SATURDAY, MARCH 22

Bridgeport, Conn.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "The Home: Present and Future," Workmen's Circle Hall, 306 Fairfield Avenue, Auspices, Socialist Party, Local Bridgeport.

SUNDAY, MARCH 23

Manhattan

W. M. FEIGENBAUM, "Socialism Today," 73 St. Marks place, Auspices 8th A. D., Socialist Party.

Brooklyn

B. C. VLADECK, "Current Events," Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion place, Auspices 13th and 19th A. D., Socialist Party, 11 A. M.

DR. S. BERLIN, "Jack London," 1709 Pitkin Avenue, Auspices, Socialist and American Labor Parties.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Race Prejudice, the Economic and Social Factors," 14 Graham Avenue, Auspices, Williamsburg Progressive Association.

Peoples' Forum

LOUIS WALDMAN, "Current Topics," 1709 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn, Auspices American Labor Party and Socialist Party.

Washington, D. C.

DR. J. P. WARBASSE, "Cooperatives and the Work of the Cooperative League," Typographical Temple, 423 G Street, N. W. Auspices, League for Industrial Democracy.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK, "Social Parasitism," 220 Stanwix Street.

New Haven, Conn.

ROBERT FECHNER, "What Labor Unions are Doing in the Way of Character Building for their Members," Trades Council Hall, 215 Meadow Street, Auspices, Socialist Party, Local New Haven.

Monday

PHILIP HOCKSTEIN, "The Outlook for a Labor Press," 22 Bank Street, Auspices, 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D., Socialist Party.

Tuesday

Brooklyn

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Oil, Graft and Corruption," 319 Grand Street, Socialist Center, Auspices, Socialist Party.

SAMUEL A. DE WITT, "The Poetry of Rebellion," Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P, Auspices, Second A. D., Branch 2, Socialist Party.

Wednesday

NATHAN FINE, "Trade Union Matters," 23 St. Marks Place, Auspices Upholsterers' Union 76 and American Labor Party Lecture Bureau.

Brooklyn

JEROME T. DE HUNT, "Labor's Next Step," Box Makers' Hall, Ralph and Lexington Avenue, Auspices, Paper Box Makers' Union and American Labor Party Lecture Bureau.

A ONE HUNDRED
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Newark, N. J.

To The New Leader,

New York City.

Dear Comrades:

The North Ward Branch of Newark, are convinced that people who read only papers published by their enemies are not apt to make active Socialists. And equally convinced that Socialists who do not get a Socialist paper are pretty certain to be deceived and discouraged by every lie told about their party or cause. You will therefore find check enclosed to cover a three month subscription to names herewith, which covers every residence on our membership list after excluding those of our members who have subscribed direct.

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NEW PROBLEMS FOR RADICALS

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

This series of four articles by Comrade 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.

IN the last lecture we attempted a survey of the conditions which have hampered the growth of radicalism in the United States in the past. The subject of our present inquiry is whether and in what manner these conditions have been modified by the war and the after-war developments.

In contrast with the other belligerent powers the United States came out of the war not impoverished but enriched. The country became the acknowledged industrial and financial center of the world, and during the period of active war operations the workers to some extent shared in the general prosperity. The demand for labor in all fields of production grew to an unprecedented degree, while the ranks of the workers were thinned out by conscription and practical suspension of immigration. Wages rose, the workers were praised and flattered, and their leaders were showered with titles and honors.

The American workers worked and lived under the impression that the improvements in their conditions would be permanent, but the period immediately following upon the declaration of the armistice brought instant and complete disillusionment.

The concessions made to Labor during the war were made grudgingly and with a concealed feeling of resentment. As soon as it was safe to do so, the employing classes gleefully embarked upon a determined campaign to "deflate" Labor.

DURING the period of readjustment from a war basis to a peace basis the industries of the country were generally unsettled. Unemployment developed in alarming volume and was aggravated by the return of a large army of workers from military life to civil and industrial pursuits.

The employing classes took advantage of the troubled situation to slash wages, increase hours and withdraw other concessions, while the cost of living was kept up at inaccessible heights.

The campaign against the workers in the shops was supplemented by an open and embittered war against their organizations. The "Open Shop Drive" inaugurated by the National Chamber of Commerce was actively and joyfully supported by the capitalists of the whole country.

The anti-union campaign was not limited to the employers alone. It was actively and effectively supported by the government in all its departments. The statute books of the period immediately following the war are replete with the most reactionary anti-labor legislation. The injunction secured by the United States Attorney General in behalf of the Government as such against the striking railroad shop workers was the most sweeping and drastic order on record, and the deadliest blow aimed at organized labor in the same period came from the United States Supreme Court.

ON January 3, 1921, the Court in the case of Duplex Printing Press Company vs. Deering practically nullified the portions of the Clayton Act which were intended to safeguard the rights of Labor in industrial disputes and to limit the power of the courts to decide such disputes by summary injunctions without preliminary hearing, thus destroying the results of unceasing agitation of organized labor which extended over twenty years and was designed to equalize before the law the position of workers and employers as industrial combatants.

In December, 1921, the Supreme Court by its decision in the case of Truax vs. Corrigan, set aside as unconstitutional a State law which limited the power of the State courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes, thus frustrating the efforts of organized labor in all industrial States to secure relief from the tyranny of "the courts."

In the same month the Court, in the case of American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council, virtually abolished the right of striking workers to picket, no matter how peaceably, and set up a rule limiting the strikers to one "missionary" in front of every entrance to the struck establishment.

On May 15, 1922, the Supreme Court set aside as unconstitutional the child labor law.

On June 5, 1922, finally the Court handed down an opinion in the case of United Mine Workers of America vs. Coronado Coal Co., which in effect opens the way for a general raid upon union funds, by holding that labor unions are suable as such and liable for damages to employers if caused by unlawful acts on the part of any of its striking members, whether such acts were authorized or not, so long as the strike was authorized by the union.

THE systematic and brutal attacks on Labor were bound to have an effect on the political consciousness of the American workers, and this effect is heightened by another circumstance.

Before the war the Government

appeared to the workers as a somewhat abstract conception. It stood outside of their daily lives. For that reason also politics had no direct and vital interest for them. The war brought them in closer and more intimate contact with the Government. The material necessities of the war gave rise to the industrial system of "War Socialism": the Government operation of railroads and mines, the regulation and supervision of all essential industries, the war labor boards, etc. For the first time it brought home to the workers of the United States concretely and convincingly that the Government



MORRIS HILLQUIT

may become a potent instrument for good or evil in their daily lives and struggles.

A somewhat similar lesson was at the same time learned by the farmers, particularly of the poorer classes, who during the war enjoyed a brief period of prosperity, largely induced by Government encouragement and guarantees. When the fixed minimum rates of farming products were removed after the war, but the vastly increased prices of implements and charges of storage and transportation were fully maintained, their struggle for existence became a daily tragic effort against insuperable odds, and large numbers of them were bankrupted.

The minds of large sections of the farmers were thus turned towards the Government and politics for substantially the same reasons and by the same process as in the case of the industrial workers.

AND there is no lack of concrete evidence of the growing politi-

cal consciousness of both workers and farmers within recent years, particularly in the last two years.

The most direct manifestation of that change is the so-called Farmer-Labor Movement in the Middle West led by Minnesota and with a well established State organization which has conducted two victorious State campaigns. In this movement the farming element predominates.

Within the well organized movement of the industrial workers the American Federation of Labor as such has made very little political progress since the war. As an organization it still adheres to the policy of non-partisan politics.

In this connection it must, however, be remembered that even the non-partisan politics of the A. F. of L., paradoxical as it may seem, bears a working class character. Inasmuch as it makes an appeal to all workers regardless of past or present political affiliations to act together at the polls it is not devoid of a definite element of class consciousness. The weakness of the policy lies in the illusion that the workers even by united action can accomplish their political purposes through the medium of the old parties.

Besides, a number of organizations affiliated with the Federation have undoubtedly come closer to the idea of independent working-class politics since the war, and the general political interest of its members seems to have quickened by recent events.

THE most noteworthy political development in the field of organized labor is, however, the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The backbone of the Conference are the sixteen standard railroad unions of the United States with an aggregate membership of about 2,000,000. Of these unions, a number is affiliated with the A. F. of L. The United Mine Workers' Union, the Typographical Union, the progressive unions in the needle work industries and some others have from time to time participated in the meetings of the conference, swelling its labor membership to about 3,000,000, a force equal to that of the whole A. F. of L. Besides there are represented in the Conference a number of organizations of

working farmers, "dirt farmers," as they like to call themselves, several progressive, political and economic State organizations, the Socialist Party and a few minor organizations.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action has held three general meetings or conventions, and each marks a definite progress over the preceding one.

When the conference met for the first time, in Chicago, February, 1922, it had practically no definite plans or program. The immediate object of its initiators was to help in the election of a few progressive candidates to Congress. The meeting adjourned with a permanent organization, a program of action and definite provisions for periodical meetings in the future.

THE objects of the Conference, as formulated at the first meeting, were: "To secure the nomination and election of Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States, Senators, Representatives to Congress, members of State legislatures and other State and local public officers who were pledged to the interests of the producing classes and to the principle of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and government." The methods of securing the nomination and election of such candidates was left to the judgment of the State and local organizations.

At the next general meeting of the Conference held in Cleveland in December of the same year, it perfected the form of organization and made more definite provisions for independent political action in the States. The precise reading of the provision was as follows:

"The State Conference shall elect their own officers and State committees and shall organize the progressive political forces within the State for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of public officers who are in accord with the aims and objects of this Conference. Each State Conference shall decide upon the question whether the nomination and election of candidates pledged to the program of the Conference in such State can be best accomplished through the primaries of the old parties or by the method of independent political action. In cases in which the decision is in favor of concerted action in the old party primaries but such method does not result in the nomination of progressive candidates, the State Conference shall, if possible, make independent nominations."

The platform recommended by the committee was a rather conservative instrument, being confined to a few measures of mild reform of an immediate and pressing nature. The delegates on the floor, however, proved more radical than their committee, and referred the proposed platform to the National Committee, "with instructions to amplify the same by adding appropriate planks on the subject of coal, child labor, civil liberties, amnesty for war-time prisoners, rights of organized labor, and financial imperialism." These additional planks were subsequently inserted.

BEFORE the last meeting of the Conference, held in St. Louis, February, 1924, two events occurred in international and national politics which exerted a powerful influence on the delegates and gave a new direction to the movement. The Labor Government of England had clearly demonstrated that the workers have the power and capacity to govern, and the ill-savoring oil scandal in America had as conclusively proven that the capitalist parties are totally unfit to govern.

The convention was dominated by a spirit of greater boldness and self-reliance and took the first definite step in the direction of independent politics.

The Declaration of Principles which it adopted is an eloquent, convincing and progressive document. The Platform includes planks for public ownership and democratic operation of the railroads, water power and super-power; public control of natural resources, including mines; abolition of the power of courts to nullify laws; abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and the unrestricted right to organize and strike; progressive taxes on incomes and inheritances to remove tariffs on necessities of life and to provide for a proper soldiers' bonus; the enactment of the Norris-Sinclair Bill; of the Federal Reserve system; reduction of military and naval expenditures, outlawry of war and opposition to compulsory military service and training in every form.

BUT the most significant and important act of the Conference was to call a general convention for July 4, for the purpose of acting on nominations of President and Vice President. The call is issued to all national and international labor unions, all State labor organizations and central city bodies; all organizations of working farmers; all cooperative societies; all progressive State or local political parties and the Socialist Party through its National and State organizations.

When the convention meets it will in all likelihood represent a constituency of no less than 5,000,000. It is unthinkable that such a gathering, meeting under such circumstances, will fail to make independent nominations for President and Vice President. And this action will inevitably lead to the foundation of a permanent party of workers and farmers in this country. For no national campaign can be carried on without an organization to support it, and an organization of workers and farmers once created on a nation-wide scale is bound to endure. The fundamental difference between a party such as is likely to be created in Cleveland on July 4, and the Progressive party of 1912, is that the latter was supported by an ill-cemented aggregation of individuals gathered around a political leader and held together solely by the influence of his personality, while the former will represent a union of definitely established and permanent organizations of homogeneous constituencies and harmonious class interests.

THE convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action will in all probability result in the formation of an independent political labor party. But let us not indulge in unwarranted illusions about the character of the party that will thus be formed. The psychology of the American workers and farmers and the degree of their political maturity will not be revolutionized overnight by the adoption of a platform or the nomination of independent candidates. The coming Labor Party will not spring from the bosom of a politically backward labor movement with fully developed Socialist conceptions as Athena sprang fully armed from the head of Zeus. All we can expect is that the July 4 convention will set the American workers marching on the right path. It will be a long march not always moving on a straight line. It will be often diverted into by-paths and some of the marchers will occasionally tumble and fall. The political labor movement of America will call for the most patient and sympathetic aid and guidance from its better trained and more experienced supporters during the period of its formation.

What part will the Socialist Party play in that process?

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.

Evolution and Revolution

By WERNER SOMBART

In "Socialism and the Social Movement in the 19th Century."

IF WE ask now for antitheses of real importance, we are met first and especially, today, by that sufficiently explained opposition which is contained in the words revolution and evolution, the old point of discussion which was, is, and I believe will be, a constant feature of social agitation.

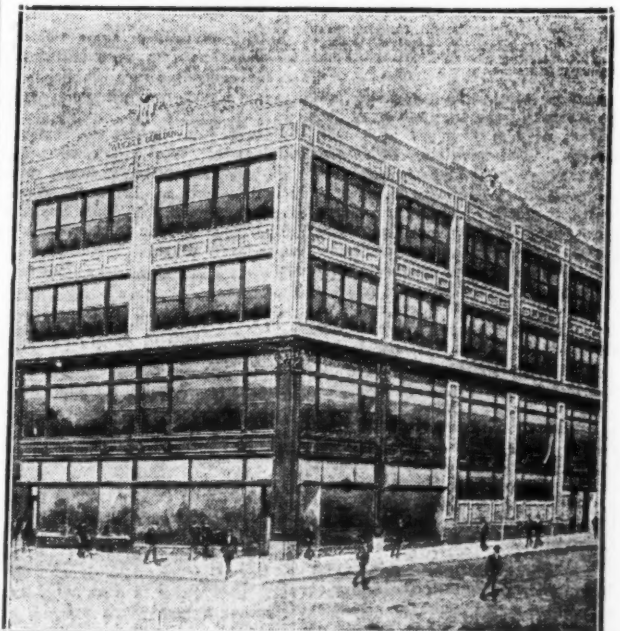
Revolutionism is, as I have shown you, a manifestation of unipennness. A man can, in a certain sense, assert that the social movement begins anew every moment; for every day new masses arise out of the lower strata of the proletariat yet living in stupid unconsciousness, and they attach themselves to the social movement. These unschooled elements, of course, in their part-taking show the characteristics of the social movement itself in its beginnings. They find their natural leaders in the disinherited citizens of the day, like Catiline of old, mostly young men who have nothing to lose and who try to substitute a fiery enthusiasm for theoretic insight and practical judgment.

Social evolution, and the conception of the social movement as such an evolution, rest upon the thought that we find ourselves in a continued condition of economic and thus social change, and that specific social interests and the necessary relations of mastery are connected with each change; thus in proportion as the evolution proceeds and as the activities of interested groups develop, the balance of power becomes displaced, with the result that the ruling classes are slowly replaced by other classes that reach control.

Among the evolutionists differences have emerged owing to a confusion of the terms "quietism" and "evolution." Especially among the Marxists has the thought spread, that evolution is so entirely a process of nature, independent of human activity, that the individual must let his hands rest in his lap and must wait until the ripened fruit drops. This quietist and, as I believe, pseudo-Marxist idea has no real connection with the inner thought of evolution. Its fundamental mistake lies in the fact that all the occurrences in social life are carried out by living men, and that men complete the process of development by placing aims before themselves and by striving to realize those aims.

It is a great mistake to apply unqualifiedly to social life the idea Socialism must come by a "necessity of nature." Socialism has nothing to do with any such necessity. Thus, for example, we cannot see why the development of capitalism should not lead just as well to the overthrow of modern culture. And it must surely take this course if the leaders of advance do not develop during the transformation of the social life the necessary qualities for a new order of society, if they allow themselves to sink into a marasmus or quietism. For them, all social happening is only a condition to be created; and in order to accomplish this in the future they need an energy of resolution.

It seems to me that the first impression to be made upon anyone by quiet observation of the social movement must be that it is necessary and unavoidable. As a mountain torrent, after a thunder storm, must dash down into the valley according to "iron, unchangeable law," so must the stream of social agitation pour itself onward. This is the first thing for us to understand, that something of great and historic importance is developing before our eyes; to recognize "that in all that happens and is accomplished in connection with this movement we are in the midst of a great process of world history which with elementary force takes hold of individuals and even nations, and concerning which it is as wrong shortsightedly to deny the fact as inadequately to struggle against it." (Lorenz von Stein).

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THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE

A Review by James Oneal

THE KU KLUX KLAN. By John Moffatt Mecklin, Professor of Sociology in Dartmouth College, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

The author of this book is a Southerner by birth and a Northerner by adoption. It is based upon months of investigation, personally and by correspondence, in an attempt to explain the origins and development of the Klan. He maintains an objective attitude in his study although it is evident that he is not a subscriber to the Klan creed and the Klan mummeries.

From this investigation we gather that the Klan, revived in 1915, made little progress until Edward Clarke Young and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler assumed the task of selling the idea. Young had some experience as a promoter and the pair soon succeeded in selling hoods, sheets and dogmas at ten dollars per.

Professor Mecklin has little difficulty in tracing the kinship of the Klan with former movements of this kind, the Know-Nothings of the fifties, the A. P. A.'s of a later date, and the nativist and anti-Catholic movements in politics during the last decade or more. It appears that this sort of thing must return to this country at stated periods to give solace to the moron. An interesting point stressed by the author is the low estimate which Klan officials place upon the intelligence of those who purchase the Klan creed. The earlier Klan was designed to impress the former slaves who had been kept in ignorance. The modern Klan acts on the principle that there are a sufficient number of ignoramus among the "Nordics" to be impressed with "the ghostly parades of masked mummers."

This does not imply that the average Klansman is vicious or inspired by pure cussedness. On the contrary, the members will average up to the ordinary American citizen although now and then there are groups who behind their masks will exhibit "ferocious cruelty, cowardly vindictiveness, superstitious ignorance, and religious bigotry." Fundamentally the Klan "is essentially a village and small-town organization" which "draws its members chiefly from descendants of the old American stock . . . where this old stock has been least disturbed by immigration, on the one hand, and the disruptive effect of industrialism, on the other." The South is a great community of this type but in the Middle West and states like Oregon we also find communities of this type and there the Klan is also strong. Add to this strong Protestant traditions, fear of all things foreign, dread of radical changes in the economic, social and political life of these communities, and we have a fertile environment for the Klan. Furthermore, "the strength of the Klan lies in that large, well-meaning but more or less ignorant and unthinking middle class, whose inflexible loyalty has preserved with uncritical fidelity the traditions of the original American stock."

Another factor not to be overlooked is the drab existence of these small communities, the dreary monotony, the lack of intellectual stimuli, the boredom and mediocrity of the social life of these villages and small towns. It is this factor which also impressed Frank Tannenbaum in his study of the Klan. We cannot re-

sist quoting a few sentences on this aspect of the Klan:

"Sinclair Lewis has portrayed for us in 'Main Street' the monotony of existence in the small town of the Middle West. In his later story, 'Babbitt,' he sketched with the pen of a master the business man of native American stock caught in the grip of traditional, unreflective, and uninspiring one-hundred-percent Americanism. To this large group the appeal of the Klan is almost irresistible. It falls in entirely with their traditional Americanism while offering at the same time through its mystery a means of escape from the wearisome monotony of their daily round. . . . The poverty of soul is brought out in all the more ghastly distinctness by the hectic activity in the accumulation of wealth through the exploitation of oil fields or otherwise. . . . We must realize the appeal of its mystery to imaginations starved by a prosaic and unpoetic environment. . . . Here is a large and powerful organization offering to solace his sense of defeat by dubbing him a knight of the Invisible Empire for the small sum of ten dollars. Surely knighthood was never offered at such a bargain! He joins. . . . It is a refuge for mediocre men, if not for weaklings, and for obvious reasons."

The psychology of the Klan is vividly portrayed. The babel of voices following the world war; the disorder and chaos, the disillusionments, the questioning of old political faiths; the revolutionary movements abroad and the seepage of revolutionary ideas into this country; the pent up passions centered on the war itself and released for free play at the end of the war, all served as a compound of explosives that set the ignorant and the superstitious agog. The whole atmosphere of the post-war period was a fertile medium for the development of the Klan. Professor Mecklin might have pointed out the rise of similar cults in Europe, the Awakening Magyars of Hungary; the Hitler morons of Bavaria; the Polish chauvinists; the Italian Fascists, and the various White bands that have been marketing a Klanism that differs from the American type only in the local coloring and background of the various countries.

The moral effect on those who participate in Klan violence may be expected. Of this the author says that "the Klan is a breeder of cowards. It breeds cowards outside the Klan because it takes courage to fight an antagonist who strikes in the dark. It breeds cowards within the Klan because it offers effective concealment for the small and spiteful spirit. It places a premium on the bully and the sneak."

The book is a valuable analysis of the origin and character of the Klan. It is only when Professor Mecklin ventures into a speculation of the proper role to be played by a middle class that we have some reservations. However, it isn't necessary for the reader to follow him in this theory which we regard as fallacious and hardly in accord with what we know of the part classes play in the history of society. However, his interpretation of Klandom will undoubtedly stand as authoritative and the reader interested in this matter will do well to have the book on his shelves.

MYSTERIOUS ASIA

MAN AND MYSTERY IN ASIA. By Ossendowski in collaboration with Lewis Stanton Palen. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.

Countless numbers of books have been written about the Mystics that inhabit the countries of Asia. But this is a book that deals with the weird, unusual, natural and primitive conditions of what is perhaps the oldest inhabited continent of the planet. The book is dedicated by Ossendowski to his Mother and when one has finished reading it, his tribute to her "who taught me to see, to feel and to act," is fully appreciated.

Locked within the scope of this the largest of the continents are resources of almost every kind and variety. Mineralogists, botanists, ornithologists, will find the book interesting and we venture to say will create a desire in them to explore the country for themselves. The author writes of "the hunter's paradise" and along with his fascinating description in this line, he drops a bit of philosophical observation to wit: "All hunters are full of superstition . . . and he who is not superstitious is not a real hunter, as this is part and parcel of a certain type of hunter's bliss. It is the recrudescence of atavism, for his ability in hunting was the dominating factor that raised elemental man in the struggle with his forest competitors; and primitive man, the child of nature, cannot help being superstitious."

Man's reaction to his environment is graphically told in the behavior of two escaped Sakhalin Russian convicts, and how when treated as men and trusted as companions, they revealed the best that was in them.

Whether it be the lover of nature, the student of physical life, the searcher after the treasures of

earth, the student seeking to know more of primitive man, and his habits; the psychologist analyzing the mental processes of mankind, all these will find much that is worth while in the book. Even one who makes no claim to be any of the aforesaid, will find it charming and instructive reading, for there is humor and pathos, information and tragedy abundant in the book.

Lena Morrow Lewis.

THE LAND OF ART. By Belasco Ibanes. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This book written some twenty-five years ago, is now translated for the first time into English. It presents a rather conventional viewpoint on Italian art, architecture, literature, etc., written in Ibanes's usual style. In the day when this book was written Ibanes was a revolutionist—and in order to escape imprisonment he fled from Spain to Italy. This volume is the result of his sojourn there.

The Aran Islands and their people, celebrated in Irish literature particularly by Synge, is the background of a novel by a new Irish writer, Liam O'Flaherty and named "Thy Neighbor's Wife." The book has been a London sensation. It is published by Boni & Liveright.

Duffield and Co., have just issued two more volumes in their "The Arts Monograph Series." The artists whose work comes under review are William Glackens and George Seurat. This series is a valuable contribution to American art.

The Century Co. will soon publish "To La hasa in Disguise" by Wm. Montgomery McGovern. This thrilling story of adventure appeared serially in the N. Y. Sunday Times.

AMONG THE MAGAZINES

THE LABOR AGE

The February number of Labor Age is late from the press but it maintains the standard set by previous issues in contents, illustrations and typography. The problems of immigration occupy a large section of this issue which is prefaced with an editorial on "What Shall We Do With the Alien?" N. P. Alifas considers the "Immigrant Before Congress" and Max Danish writes of "High Lights of a Liberal Immigration Policy." Danish properly stresses the fact that something more is involved in the problem than the consideration of "Self-preservation for the American worker." There is also a humanitarian aspect which consists of those "fleeing because of religious, racial or political persecution." Alifas gives attention to legislation which proposes to tag and index the alien after the fashion of the old police system of some European countries. Charles K. Mohler writes of the "Battle of Giants Over Super Power" and the interest that farmers and workers have in avoiding private capitalization of this power for the enrichment of capitalists. The Pennsylvania Railroad as a "Road of Death" is the theme of Charles Kutz while Prince Hopkins presents some thoughts on unemployment. "Labor History in the Making" and a digest of the opinions of the Labor press regarding LaFollette make this a very interesting number.

SURVEYING THE CHILD

THE UNSTABLE CHILD. By Florence Mater, Ph. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

"The Unstable Child," essentially a text book for students of child psychology, is written in a form understandable to the layman and made interesting enough to be appreciated by the latter.

A student of many years standing, the author realizes that "Social problems are beset with a tangled mass of psychological studies and reports which leave the person who has actual children to handle tired, perplexed and at sea." And from this angle Florence Mater proceeds to simplify the complicated problem, but takes care from the very start to assure the reader "That the last word on the significance of mentality and mental testing has not been said."

The object of the book is to explain the source of trouble, rather than offer a cure. The illustration of clinical cases, analysis of various prevailing theories as well as the results of many experiments, prove without exception dissatisfaction with mental age tests according to the Binet system and disproves diagnosis on that basis alone.

An earnest perusal of the book induces us to agree with the author that the Binet tests have been overestimated that too much weight is given to their significance. A wonderful method in its origin, it has rightly been superseded by thorough clinical analysis which alone is capable of rendering a diagnosis.

Every mother confronted with the problem of a maladjusted child, every teacher handling subnormal as well as abnormal children, every head of our penal institutions, will greatly benefit by Florence Mater's contribution to the subject.

Theresa Malkiel.

There has been an extraordinary deluge of inquiries about Rose Macaulay immediately following the publication of her new novel, "Told by an Idiot." (Now in its third edition.) Everything, from her nativity to her profession (presumably when not writing) piques the curiosity. To satisfy these requests her publishers (Boni & Liveright) have prepared

Those Who Remember and Those Who Forget

This poem by Alfred Noyes was originally published with the title "The Victory Ball."

The cymbals crash,
And the dancers walk,
With long silk stockings
And arms of chalk,
Butterfly skirts,
And white breasts bare,
And shadows of dead men
Watching 'em there.
Shadows of dead men
Stand by the wall,
Watching the fun
Of the Victory Ball.
They do not reproach,
Because they know;
If they're forgotten,
It's better so.

"What do you think
We should find," said a shade
"When the last shot echoed
And peace was made?"
"Christ," laughed the fleshless
Jaws of his friend;
"I thought they'd be praying
For worlds to mend;

CURRENT HISTORY

Much of the March number of Current History is devoted to the career and death of Woodrow Wilson, of Lenin, and the assumption of office by the British Labor Party. Six estimates of Lenin are presented, ranging from the most conservative to those offered by Radek and Trotsky. Henry Noel Brailsford writes of "The Socialist Battle for Existence in Europe" in which he sees a decline in the influence of Russian Communism on the European Labor movement and the rising influence of the British Labor Party. One sentence in this article sums up the Communist regime so admirably that we cannot resist quoting it. He writes: "She is a republic of individual peasant proprietors, with a haven of tolerated industrial capitalism, which is governed by a Communist Party prepared for any compromise." This is a marvel of accurate condensation. The article is illustrated with many portraits of European Socialists which enhances its interest. An editorial article on the British Labor Cabinet is also illustrated with the photos of fifteen members. P. Tecumseh Sherman contributes an article on the "Demoralizing Effects of Old Age Pensions," which strikes us as belonging to the intellectual period when Grover Cleveland was serving his first term. Some of the other outstanding articles are "Achievements of Science in 1923," by Watson Davis, "America's Greatest Historical Collection," by C. C. Hathaway, "The Keystones of Belgium's Foreign Policy," by Henri Jaspars, "Republicanism in New Turkey," by W. J. Rapp, "The Hybrid Soul of Japan," by William I. Irvine, and "The Mulatto—Crux of the Negro Problem," by W. H. Gregg.

SUN AND HEALTH

SUNLIGHT AND HEALTH. By G. W. Saleeby, with Introduction by Sir William Bayliss. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Early in the present century, through the efforts of Dr. Rudolph Herzog, of Tübingen, the remains of the great Health Temple of Cos, where Hippocrates in the beginning of Medicine practiced, the road to his temple was a sacred way and the priests were physicians. This temple was dedicated to the sun, medicine and music and "we learn that an effective form of religion was involved in medical practice at that time, with its prestige, its sanctions, its influence upon the conduct, the conscious and the subconscious mind of the patients; and of the physicians, let us add, lest we forget, a most important factor."

The author has made a fascinating study of the health giving power of sunlight and in a chapter on "The End of Rickets" he shows how the dread disease of the undernourished, under sun-fed children of the cities and factory districts can be cured; how tuberculosis and other afflictions can largely be overcome and finally done away with when we understand how to use the sunlight.

In conclusion Dr. Saleeby says: "In any case it is, I believe, clear that the elucidation of the action of sunlight is the next great task for the medical sciences, and that the restoration or sunlight to our cities is the next great task for hygiene in this country."

For those who want to keep their health as well as those who want to regain it, this book is worth reading.

D. Appleton & Co. announce "High Blood Pressure" by Baker and Osle. This book tells you what to do for that ailment.

this tabloid biography: English, brought up in Italy; returned to England; "was always writing"; country home in Beaconsfield; London home in the restricted Princess Gardens; unmarried; held a secretaryship at the Geneva World Conference; but not interested in politics; has a wide knowledge of history.

WHAT DETERMINES SEX?

By BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG

THERE is no field of human interest in which old wives' tales dominates people's thoughts more completely than in the matter of sex determination. When kings were more numerous and more powerful than they are today, and when the birth of male heir—or not—was of great moment to the "government," and when property rights and advantages were tied up with the sex of offspring, the interest in this problem may have been more keen or more wide-spread. But the curiosity that leads to reliable knowledge has solved the problem only within a generation. And the answer is intimately related to the problem of heredity.

To say that sex is "inherited" in the same way as hair-color or a long lip must sound absurd on the face of it, since, as is well known, both the near ancestry (say the immediate parents) and the remote ancestry (say the whole race) of any given person are equally divided between males and females. There would seem, nevertheless, good reasons for placing the character "sex" in line with other characters that are determined by the "mendelian" mechanism of heredity.

To understand this one must come to think of heredity in terms of single recognizable characteristics or qualities, rather than of racial or breed blocks of characters. For example, you may be interested in a variety of Ayre dale dog (some people are), or of some prize rose. You think of all the characteristics of the breed as a totality. You may be able to say, of a new specimen that you see for the first time, that there is an imperfection in the color, or in the form of a special part. But you continue to think of the whole combination and not of the special parts. Now the process of transmission, which is of course involved in the process of reproduction, deals with the character as units, not with the combination; or rather, this process has to do with minute structures or substances that determine the thousands of characteristics that make up the individual. The great discovery of Mendel, which has been verified for literally hundreds of species of plants and animals, including man, and for many characteristics in each species, rested on the shrewd experimenter asking questions about the inheritance of particular qualities in the various breeds of garden peas with which he worked, instead of treating each breed as a whole.

TAKE the matter of pigmentation. Among leghorn fowls, crossing a white bird of a pure breed with a black bird will yield offspring that are all white. If these whites are now crossed among each other, the next generation will yield both blacks and whites, in the proportion of one to three. The blacks will breed true among themselves, indefinitely. But the whites of this mixed generation can be divided into two strains (although they cannot be distinguished by the color of the plumage); one of these strains (comprising a third of the whites, or a fourth of the whole generation) will always breed true to the white color, indefinitely; the other (comprising the remaining two-thirds of the whites, or one-half of the whole generation) will again split up in the next generation, as their parents did, into whites and blacks in the proportion of three to one. With guinea pigs and other rodents quite parallel results are obtained, with the colors reversed, so to say—that is, crossing black and white yields all black, and so on. In the case of many plants and animals similar results are obtained, with many different characters. Now if we give our attention to two characters in any plant or animal (for example, black-white and long-short hair) we find that each character goes through the process of combination and separation independently of the other. Length of hair goes its way, color goes its way, and so on. Thus, in guinea pigs, the descendants of one pair might show in the third generation four different kinds; black long-haired, white short-haired. And if we were interested in three characteristics, or four, or ten, we should continue to find, in general, that each quality combines with and separates from its alternative, generation after generation, independently of other pairs of characters.

THE mechanism which brings about these results is now pretty well understood. In the cells that make up the body of any living thing, there is found a group of tiny bodies called "chromosomes." These are always definite in number, the same in all the cells of the body, but not always easy to make out. In fact, they are visible under the microscope only after special modes of preparation, and only if the material is obtained at just the right moment. Those "chromosomes" make their appearance as the cells are about to divide; and they are particularly prominent at the time when reproductive cells (egg cells and sperm cells) are being formed. Curiously enough, the number of chromosomes usually found in body

cells becomes reduced one half in the formation of the germ cells. As a result, each egg cell and each sperm cell has only half the number distinctive of the species. But at the time of fertilization, the chromosomes of the egg and those of the sperm combine and reestablish the normal or double number. This mechanism not only behaves in a way that agrees with the theory that the chromosomes are the "bearers" of heredity, in the sense that their precise make-up determines the characters that are to inhere in the individuals from which the particular eggs and sperms develop. It has been possible by means of careful experimental work to identify particular chromosomes, or particular regions in these chromosomes that correspond to particular characteristics. "Maps" of the chromosomes are being made, showing the location upon these structures of the determiners responsible for specified qualities—eye color, wing structure, abdominal pigment, and dozens of others in certain insects, for example.

IN more recent studies of the chromosomes, in connection with heredity, it has been found that the number present in the body cells is not uniform; in some cases the female of the species seems to have a larger number than the male. In some species it appears that while the number is the same, a particular chromosome is larger in the female than the corresponding one in the male. An uneven number in the two sexes, or a difference between the members of a particular pair of chromosomes, turns out to be the basis of sex determination, at least in a large number of species that have been investigated. The accessory or extra chromosome, called X, is found only in the female. Or, where there are two such chromosomes, the female has two and the male one. Where there is a large-and-small combination, the female bears one kind of egg-cell, each having an X chromosome; and the male bears two kinds of sperm-cells, one with an X chromosome (large) and one with a small or Y chromosome. Two kinds of fertilization are thus possible, an XX and an XY, corresponding respectively to a female individual and a male individual.

THIS association between chromosome characters and the eventual sex of the individual developing from a given sperm-egg combination is further confirmed by the facts of the so-called "sex-linked" characters, such as color-blindness and bleeding-sickness in man. The factor that determines these characteristics is present in the X chromosome of the male. It can be shown on theoretical grounds that the male offspring of a man having this character must be quite free from it (since the male offspring derives its X from the mother); whereas the female offspring bears the particular chromosome but does not manifest the character, since the "normal" X chromosome from the mother hides or prevents the appearance, and yet this female can transmit to half her sons the character of her father. In actual experience, family histories show exactly this relationship. The conclusions are further confirmed by numerous observations and experiments with many types of animals, on parthenogenesis, hermaphroditism, secondary sex characters and on sex ratios. At the moment of conception the sex of the individual is irrevocably fixed; no diet, no charms, no prayers or wishful meditation can reverse the situation.

All this and more you can find in the recently published translation of Professor Richard Goldschmidt's "The Mechanism and Physiology of Sex Determination," by Dr. William J. Dakin of the University of Liverpool (Geo. H. Doran Company, \$6). This is no book for a tired businessman's idle hour; but every page and every picture says something.

"The history of the Irish nation can be traced further back than that of any people in Europe except the Greeks and Romans. It is our main source of information concerning the Celtic races who played so great a part in shaping the modern world."

Stephen Gwynn carries his "History of Ireland" from legendary times right down to 1923.

Mr. Gwynn sat as an Irish member of the British Parliament from 1906 to 1918; he is well known in both England and Ireland as novelist, critic and poet.

E. P. Dutton are adding more volumes to their Broadway Translations. The last ones being letters to Alaphron translated by F. A. Wright, and Montesquies Letters translated by John Davidson.

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

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Belgian Eight-Hour Day Saved.

By a vote of 137 to 20, with 13 abstentions, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies has rejected the proposal of Deputy Devez, which would have modified the legal eight-hour working day, so as to allow the working of 120 hours overtime per year.

5,541,000 in Russian Unions.

The membership of Russian trade unions was 5,541,000 on October 1, last, compared with 4,546,000 on October 1, 1922, according to a report by the East Express news agency. The biggest gains were made in the Petrograd industrial district and the Donyetz coal basin. The unions in the food industry rose eighty-four per cent, while the railroad unions increased only four per cent.

Japanese Unions for Suffrage.

Two important changes of policy were made at the recent thirteenth annual convention of the Japanese Federation of Labor. The delegates voted to work for universal suffrage, thus dropping their antipolitical attitude; and they decided to send representatives to this year's conference of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, something they had previously refused to do because the Japanese Government does not officially recognize the unions.

Cause of Bombay Strike.

The cause of the Bombay textile workers strike, which has lasted since December, involving many thousand employees and producing fatal clashes with the police, was the sudden declaration by the employers that they would not pay the annual bonus of about eight per cent, amounting to some \$2,000,000. Commenting upon the bosses' plea that last year's profits were too small to warrant the bonus, the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Labor points out that the profits during the last five years amounted to \$125,000,000, so one poor year is a thin excuse.

Indian Unions Recovering.

The trade unions in the Presidency of Bombay recovered some of the ground lost during the early part of last year and had 46,000 members in December, reports the Bombay Labor Gazette on data supplied by nineteen unions. The largest gains were made in Ahmedabad.

Metal Workers Meet in July

The International Metal Workers' Federation will hold its congress in Vienna, beginning July 26. The Metal Workers' International with about 3,250,000 members, is the strongest organization affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Employers' Liability in Peru.

Features of an employers' liability law, recently enacted by the Peruvian Congress and reported in Commerce Reports are an arbitration board to settle disputes between workers and employers, accident insurance, compensation for dismissal, except under specified circumstances, and life insurance for the employee after four years' service, the premium paid by the employer and the policy amounting to one-third of the workers' total wages during the preceding four years.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS IN BIG UNION DRIVE

The Bonnaz Embroiderers Union Local 66, of the I. L. G. W. U., is conducting a campaign to round up all bonnaz embroiderers in the city, who are not yet members of the union. Although the vast majority of the shops in the city are organized, there are a considerable number that are not, and in this campaign the union intends to line up every one of them.

Leaflets are being distributed by tens of thousands showing the vast difference of conditions in union and non-union shops. A large number of members have organized into committees and are canvassing the open shops every day with splendid success.

The drive is receiving the full support of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and is being managed by Nathan Riesle, manager of the local and Max Esenfeld, secretary.

Waistmakers To Elect

The Ladies Waistmakers' Union Local 25 of the I. L. G. W. U., will have a special membership meeting Tuesday, March 25, in the auditorium of the International at 3 West Sixteenth street. The purpose of the meeting is to nominate candidates for delegates to the convention of the I. L. G. W. U., which will be held in May, 1924. A number of officers of the International Union will be present to address the meeting. Other matters of importance will also come before the meeting. Ada Rosenfelt, secretary of the local, urges all members to attend the meeting.

Finnish Unions Block Wage Cuts.

In reporting on the condition of the trade unions of Finland, the International Federation of Trade Unions notes that, although the membership fell off a little during 1923, being put at 47,633 on December 31, against 48,176 at the end of 1922, attempts by employers to cut wages had been frustrated by means of strikes and lockouts involving about 70,000 workers. Some small wage raises were won. Unemployment has declined so that it is not above pre-war figures. The Finnish unions are not affiliated with either Moscow or Amsterdam, although mostly under Communist leadership.

WORKING ALLIANCE ENDS

Amsterdam.—In reporting the dissolution of the National Working Alliance, a body set up in Germany on December 3, 1918, for the purpose of enabling employers and workers to cooperate in settling social, economic, legislative and administrative problems, the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions characterizes the Alliance as "another of those new ventures which, born in a time of enthusiasm and hope, eventually ended in smoke."

The National Federation of Clerical Employees announced the withdrawal of its representatives from the Alliance some time ago, and recently the Executive Committee of the German General Federation of Trade Unions was instructed to do likewise. The Executive Committee points out that, while the constitution provides for cooperation on equal terms, as employees on equal terms, so far as economic questions are concerned, the Alliance has been unable to prevent employers from violating the agreements concluded with its aid. It is generally conceded that neither the unions nor the employers' associations ever were very sanguine as to the results to be obtained through the Alliance.

BUILDING WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL

Zurich.—Unions of building workers in Latvia and Spain were admitted to the International Federation of Building Trades Workers' Unions at a meeting of national executives of that body recently held here. Applications for admission by the Building Operatives and Pottery Workers of Czechoslovakia and by the All Russian Building Workers' Union were rejected. The question of admitting the Czechoslovak union will be put up to the coming congress of the International, which will be held in Stockholm next June. The application of the Russian union was rejected in accordance with the decisions of the last congress of the Building Workers' International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In order to cover the expected financial loss due to the probable inability of the German Building Workers' Union to pay dues to the International this year, it was decided that the other unions should pay double dues. Secretary Kaeppler's proposal that aid be given to the German unions had already been approved by the affiliated organizations and it was formally sanctioned by the executives.

A report by Gryson of Belgium on the immigrant building workers in France showed that these workers were to be taken over by the French Building Workers' Union, but that the Building Workers' International would continue to give special aid to the French organizations admitting the immigrants.

Workmen's Circle Ball

The Workmen's Circle No. 669, will hold its annual ball at the ex-novo Assembly Rooms, 252 East Second street, next Saturday, March 29. A fine program has been arranged and a well edited souvenir journal will be issued for the occasion, the committee consisting of Louis Kleinman, secretary of the branch; H. Grossman and Max Dresenhouse urge the members of other workmen's circles to attend and enjoy a fine evening.

CLOAKMAKERS ARE MEETING EMPLOYERS

Conferences between leaders of 50,000 cloakmakers of this city and three associations of employers on the terms of the agreement for the fall and spring season will open within two weeks. Each employers' group will deal separately with the spokesmen of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Demands for the 40-hour week, increase in minimum wage rates, unemployment insurance and other provisions regulating work in the shops will be submitted.

Coal Profits Trebled

The 1923 profits of the Pittsburgh Coal Company was three times more than in 1922. Last year's profits totaled \$7,309,162, of \$16.15 a share. This was after all charges, depreciation and interest were met. In 1922 the net profits were \$5.02 a share.

FAVOR LABOR BANK

New Haven, Conn.—At a conference of 150 trade unionists, called by the State Federation of Labor, it was voted to start a labor bank in this State. The question has been considered by the State convention, and it will be submitted to a referendum.

Union Halls
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Local 25 I. L. G. W. U.
16 W. 21st St. Watkins 7057
Pauline Morgenstern, Manager
Ada Rosenfelt, Secretary-Treasurer
Pauline Gellman, Chairman Ex. Bd.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
Telephones: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

New York Clothing Cutters' Union
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 3565.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION
Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.
Office and Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., B'klyn. Dickens 0862
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCER, Secretary.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America,
District Council No. 9, New York City.
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION
LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.
Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 5390
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.
LOUIS HOROWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers
Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Bronx—12, 157th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—165 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—75 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
709 Broadway, New York City. Telephones: Stuyvesant 4380, 9510, 9511
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LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 144 Second Avenue. Telephone Orchard 0415-0416
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.
ABRAHAM GOLDEN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.
ABRAHAM BEISON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 16 West 21st St. Watkins 7050
I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD
INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
GENERAL OFFICE:
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman OSSIP WALINSKY, General Manager

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

CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION
of Greater New York
Office and Meeting Room:
125 E. Broadway. Phone Orchard 6646
Regular Meeting Every Monday at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday
J. EFFRAT, D. HOFFMAN, Manager Secretary

JEWELRY WORKERS
UNION, LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.
Office: Beekman 4934
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at 8 P. M. Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday, Room 506, 13 Park Row, New York City.
S. E. BARNESLEY, LEON WILLIAMS, Organizer Sec'y-Treas.

United Hebrew Trades
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--- D R A M A ---

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"ACROSS THE STREET," a new comedy by RICHARD A. PURDY, with ROBERT EMMETT KEANE featured, will open MONDAY night at the HUDSON Theatre. Oliver Morosco (Mitchell Production, Inc.) are the sponsors.

TUESDAY

"VOGUES," the new revue which the Messrs. Shubert present in association with George B. McLellan, the London producer, opens at the SHUBERT Theatre TUESDAY evening. This is the revue originally intended for the Century Roof.



ANNETTE BADER

ODETTE MYRTIL, the Parisian and London revue artiste, and J. HAROLD MURRAY are featured. In addition to the cast includes: Fred Allen, Irene Delroy, May Boley, Joseph Toner, Annette Bader, Marcella Swanson, Beatrice Swanson, Jimmy Savo, Charles Brown, Hal Van Rensselaer, George Anderson, Pasquali Brothers, Katherine VanPelt, Betty Compton, Alice Manning, Thomas and Covera, John V. Lowe, and James Alderman.

"Vogues" has a book and lyrics by Fred Thompson and Clifford Grey, music by Herbert Stothart, and dances and ensembles staged by Dave Bennett. The entire production was staged by Frank Smithson and Alexander Leftwich. The stage settings were designed by Watson Barratt.

"THE MAIN LINE," a comedy of American manners and customs, by GRACE GRISWOLD and THOMAS MCKEAN, will be presented by the Comedy Producing Company, Inc., at the KLAU Theatre for three matinees, Tuesday, March 25; Thursday, March 27, and Friday, March 28. The cast includes, besides Grace Griswold, the co-author, who returns to the stage after an absence of several seasons, Courtney White, Murray Bennett, Miss Jo Wallace, Elsie Esmond, Emily T. Francis, Millie Butterfield, Mattie Edwards, Hazel Harroun, Mary Ricard, Eleanor Seybolt, George Tawde, Kevitt Manton, and Sam Jaffe.

YOUTH'S MIRAGE

"FATA MORGANA," THE NEW GUID PLAY AT THE GARRICK

A somewhat unusual variation of the eternal triangle has occupied the attention of recent novelists and playwrights: that in which one of the characters is imaginary. There may also be a third real person, as in "Fata Morgana," but he is unimportant; the action centers upon the man, the woman he sees, loves, and reaches for—and the woman she turns out to be when he gets her. Cabell has given us three novels, and the splendid "Beyond Life," to show that man's life is a continued unavailing search for the dream woman, who vanishes just as our arms embrace a stranger in the familiar flesh. Man, seeking the ideal, bumps his head against the real.

George is an earnest student, a tender naive lad of imaginative powers, such as sometimes comes to bewilder matter-of-fact parents. Mathilde Fay is a society woman, a bewitching siren (Emily Stevens sees to that!) who descends upon the innocent George (portrayed with deep yet delicate understanding by Morgan Farley) when no one else is home. They have to spend the night in the house together; Mrs. Fay sees that they spend it in one another's arms. The next day her husband arrives; George startles everyone—Mrs. Fay most of all—by telling him he must get a divorce, because Mathilde loves and intends to marry George.

Unfortunately for the lad, Mr. Fay has just won an important law suit, and his fee will send Mathilde to Ostend for the rest of the season; she must hurry to prepare. George sees the mirage break; what he reaches out to as a star was but his reflection in a muddy pool. Disillusionment, coming thus swiftly, is hard to bear; yet it is perhaps kinder than the gradual wearing down of one's dreams; better the snapped than the rusted blade.

With selfish anticipation of continued secret delights, Mathilde invites George to come to see her often when he reaches Budapest in the Fall. The play closes leaving us to wonder whether the visionary youth will follow the world-old path, becoming the embittered, then the cynical, then the hardened rascal. Life has many a cropper for those who presume to dream.

J. T. S.

MODERN SATIRE

"WE MODERNS," BY ISRAEL ZANGWILL, WITH AN EXCELLENT CAST AT THE GAIETY

Go out at once and buy a ticket for "We Moderns." Helen Hayes is a perfect mixture of vivacity, sweetness, and intelligence; Kenneth MacKenna is as certain in his hesitations and his decisions, as sure in the modulations of his voice, as most long veterans; O. P. Heggie as the father, Mary Shaw as the "free" woman journalist who has had three husbands but cannot say how many fiances; these and a half-dozen others complete as well chosen a cast as Zangwill could desire for his delightful satire. In the play we find ladies and gentlemen—rather rare on the stage this season. I do not mean members of the nobility; I mean persons who conduct themselves with dignity and urbanity, who are on speaking terms with culture, who would wonder where Nature developed the "Ain't Nature Wonderful!" types of "The Pottery"—people, in short, not one's neighbors, but those one wishes were.

Their conversation is delightful, scintillating, sparkling with epigrams and puns, yet moving constantly toward the end the dramatist has in view. The play pictures the eternal conflict between generations, parents too old for their children, children too new for their parents. Mr. Sundale is especially mordant; he calls psychoanalysis "Indecency reduced to a science;" he wonders why girls today do not wear signs on their lips "Wet Paint;" he speaks of the "great war and the little treaty." He is, indeed, a most intelligent father, liberal, understanding, tolerant, one whose children can well admire—as they eventually do.

For Zangwill has a little stacked the cards. His only real "moderns" are a Russian refugee who is the Sundale cook, who appears half a minute, and a hypocritical posing writer. The children are merely youngsters who have gone off half-cocked; Mary knows a fish lays 16,000,000 eggs, but has no idea how she herself was born. Of course they become "sensible" at the end, in a sentimental close that cloy, but that cannot destroy the pleasure of one of the most intelligent comedies of many seasons.

J. T. S.

Maurice Swartz in a New Play by Ernest Toller

"The Bloody Laughter," a new drama by Ernest Toller, author of "Man and the Masses," is now being played at the Yiddish Art Theatre with Maurice Swartz in the leading role.

JULIA SANDERSON in "MOONLIGHT" CAST A WEEK FROM MONDAY

JULIA SANDERSON will again be seen in musical comedy this season after having deserted the legitimate stage for vaudeville, in "MOONLIGHT" the musical comedy now playing at the Longacre Theatre. Another change in the cast takes place Monday night when Charles Lawrence assumes the comedy role formerly enacted by Louis Simon.

"PARADISE ALLEY" GOES TO CASINO

The next attraction at the Casino Theatre, succeeding "Wildflower," will be "Paradise Alley," a musical play under the direction of Carle Carlton. The opening is set for Monday, March 31. The cast includes Helen Shipman, Ida May Chadwick, George Bickel, Paul Frawley, Evelyn Martin, Arthur West, Dorothy Walters, Leslie Barrie, Evelyn Darville, Ben Benny, Mattie Manning, Burke Western and others.

IN MUSICAL MOODS

"AN ARAB FANTASIA" AND "BUFFOON!" AT THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE

Those who are attracted by shifting colors in kaleidoscopic blends, by sound that grows imperceptibly out of mood until it is one with mingled tints or blazing monochromes—those to whom the ballet means more than a long-limbed chorus, may spend a pleasant evening at the Neighborhood Playhouse. Four scenes of Arabian life move with humdrum steadiness, polite solemnity, rising gaiety, sexual abandon (properly subdued to American standards), and religious ecstasy. The watering place, the desert, the city square, the temple of the mountain dervishes, reflect the mystical life of Arabia.

With equal skill and greater success "Buffoon!" spotlights the colors of a fantastic Nowhere Land upon the stage. The farcical pantomime to which Prokofiev weaves strange harmonic dissonances is burlesque of a high order. If a sly moral may be deduced, that even among clowns it is the cleverest knave who wins—why, that is just another reason for laughing!

J. T. S.

Fiske O'Hara Coming to Broadway in New Play.

Fiske O'Hara, who is well known as a portrayer of romantic Irish roles and who has just completed a successful season on the road in "Jack O'Hearts," is soon to be seen on Broadway in a new comedy by Anne Nichols, author and producer of "Abie's Irish Rose." While Mr. O'Hara has been a star for several years, he is more familiar to the audiences in the provinces than on Broadway, although he has appeared here on many occasions but always in an Irish play, which afforded him an opportunity to sing a number of Irish ballads. The new vehicle in which he is to star is far different than any which he has ever essayed. Miss Nichols and Mr. O'Hara are in daily consultation over the script which is expected to be ready for rehearsal within the next two months and which has not yet been named.



FISKE O'HARA

"Mister Pitt" at "Morosco" Monday

Zona Gale's comedy, "Mister Pitt," which was forced to quit the 39th Street Theatre last Saturday because of other bookings, will resume its Broadway career next Monday at the Morosco Theatre with Walter Huston and the other members of the original cast. The engagement will be indefinite.

NEW WORKS BY THE COMPOSERS OF "THE CHIFFON GIRL"

The coming season will bring forth two new musical works by Carlo and Sanders, composer and lyricist of "The Chiffon Girl." The first, already announced as "Moonlight," has been rechristened "Little Bo-Peep," and goes into rehearsal in a couple of weeks; the book is by Alonzo Price and Sidney Toler. The other, as yet unnamed, is an operetta set to a book by the librettist of "The Merry Widow," will be produced in Vienna previous to an American presentation.

JAMES BARTON AT WINTER GARDEN SUNDAY

Headline honors of this Sunday evenings Winter Garden concert program will be shared by JAMES BARTON and SLEEPY HALL, a Yale undergraduate, who appears for the first time on the Winter Garden stage, with his Collegiate Orchestra, composed entirely of Yale students. There will be a strong supporting bill.

DUSE RETURNS IN MAY

Eleonora Duse's plays for her return engagement here in May, it is announced, will be "La Citta Morta," by D'Annunzio, and Ibsen's "The Lady From the Sea." The former will be acted on Monday night, May 5, and the latter on Thursday night, May 8. Both performances will be at the Metropolitan Opera House.



JACQUELINE LOGAN

in "The Dawn of a Tomorrow," from the play of Frances Hodgson Burnett, At the Rivoli next week.

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Notes

HARRY KELLY, comedian in "Artists and Models," the revue at the Shubert Theatre, has been elected Mayor of Southampton.

REBEKAH CAUBLE, late of "Tangerine," Monday evening assumes the title role in L. Lawrence Weber's musical comedy "Little Jessie James" at the Little. Miss Cauble replaces Louise Allen. John Hendricks is now playing the role of Pierce, the collector, formerly played by Roger Gray.

L. Lawrence Weber, announces the completion of the cast of "COBRA," a drama by MARTIN BROWN, which opens in Stamford.

Walter Brooks, who has formed his own producing company, is said to have secured "Plain Jane" for his first attraction.

The all-Negro revival of "Roseanne" will play a limited engagement at the Lafayette Theatre beginning Monday. The leading male role which was played by Charles S. Gilpin will be assumed by Paul Robson, who was to have appeared in "All God's Chillun Got Wings"; otherwise the cast will be the same as that which presented the play last week at the Shubert-Riviera.

MOVES TO THE WINTER GARDEN MONDAY NIGHT

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Artists and Models Moves

"ARTISTS AND MODELS," the revue at the Shubert Theatre, which began its run last August, will be transferred to the Winter Garden for an engagement Monday evening.

A new spring edition of the revue will be presented at the Winter Garden and many new features will be introduced. Chief among them is the American debut of the Baroness Sophia Novossiltzeff Garrett, the Russian coloratura soprano from the Imperial Grand Opera in Petrograd. The Baroness is to sing under the name of Vera Lavrova. She will sing operatic arias and some Russian songs never heard in this country, as well as special music written for her by Alf Goodman, general musical director for the Messrs. Shubert.



VERA LAVROVA

In private life the Baroness is the wife of Baron Michael Royce Garrett, of Ukraine, a Russian of remote English descent. She is a graduate of the University of Petrograd in law and philosophy and of the famous Imperial Conservatory of Music, which was attached to the Imperial Grand Opera before the Bolshevik uprising in 1917.

MUSIC

"Le Roi de Lahore" at the Metropolitan, Wednesday

"RIGOLETTO" will open the twenty-first week of the Metropolitan Opera Season Monday evening with Mmes. Mario, Gordon, Wakefield, Guilford and Grassi, and Messrs. Lauri-Volpi, De Luca, Rothman, Tibbitt, Annan, Bada and Reschlin, Mr. Papi conducting.

Other operas next week will be: "MADAME BUTTERFLY," as a matinee on Wednesday, with Rethberg and Toytam.

"LE ROI DE LAHORE," on Wednesday evening, with Reinhardt and Lauri-Volpi.

"DIE MEISTERSINGER," on Thursday evening, with Rethberg, Taucher and Bohnen (first time here as Hans Sachs).

"ANIMA ALLEGRA," on Friday evening with Dori and Lauri-Volpi.

"SAMSON ET DALILA," will be the Saturday matinee opera with Clausen and Martinelli.

"L'ORACOLO" and "COQ D'OR" will be the "popular" Saturday night opera; the former with Dalossy and Harrold, the latter with Sabanieva and Diaz.

At Sunday night's "Opera Concert," ERIKA MORINI, violinist will play and Mmes. Hunter and Ryan and Mr. Schorr will sing. The orchestra will be under the direction of Mr. Bamboschek.

Music Notes

FRANK WATSON, pianist, will make his first New York appearance in Aeolian Hall, Wednesday afternoon, with a program including McDowell's "Sonata Eroica"; Andante and Variations by Haydn; Sonata in E flat minor, op. 21, by Paderewski; a Chopin group and Liszt's Fantasi quasi sonata and Apres une lecture du Dante.

The Chamber Ensemble of New York will have its first New York public hearing in Aeolian Hall, Thursday afternoon, when TADEUSZ IARECKI will present a program including compositions for combination of voice, cello, violin and piano.

SOLON ROBINSON will give a recital at Aeolian Hall Friday evening.

JASCHA HEIFETZ will give his last recital of the season at Carnegie Hall, Sunday afternoon, April 6, before leaving for Cuba and later in the month for England and France. Mr. Heifetz will appear as soloist in Paris in May with Walter Damrosch in the Beethoven Festival.

For the American debut of VERA LAVROVA (Baroness Michael Royce Garrett), at the Winter Garden, in "Artists and Models," on Monday evening the coloratura soprano is to sing as her debut, "Sadko," by Rimsky-Korsakoff and the waltz song from "Romeo and Juliet."

SIGISMUND STOJOWSKI will give a piano recital at Aeolian Hall Wednesday evening. His program consists of a group by Paderewski, Chopin, a sonata by Beethoven and a group of his own compositions.

MICHAEL LEPORE will give his first New York recital Monday evening, March 31, at Aeolian Hall.

ALBERT SPALDING left yesterday on the "Olympic" to appear April 3 with the Concertgebouw Orchestra in Amsterdam under the baton of Karl Muck.

ERNEST VON DOBNANYI, the Hungarian conductor, composer, pianist, will appear as soloist in the Metropolitan Sunday evening opera concert, April 6.



NORMA TALMADGE

will give a "quadruple characterization" in "Secrets," which opens at the Astor Monday night.

Music at the Cinemas

RIVOLI

The music program at the Rivoli is headed by a set of Spanish dances by Paul Oscar and La Torrecilla. A song is also promised, with setting by John Wenger. The overture will be played by the Rivoli Concert Orchestra, with Irvin Talbot and Emanuel Baer alternately wailing the baton.

RIALTO

The music program at the Rialto includes a Riesenfeld Classical Jazz played by the Rialto Orchestra, with Hugo Riesenfeld and Willy Stahl conducting. Charles Hart, tenor, will render a solo.

CAPITOL

BURLEIGH'S "DEEP RIVER" will be presented with a special arrangement by the String Section of the Orchestra, arranged for the purpose by Dr. William Axt. The second episode of the number will be sung by the Capitol Sextette. YASHA BUNCHUK, solo cellist, will contribute a cello obligato and Carl Scheutze will accompany on the harp.

The Ballet Corps, under the direction of Mlle. Gambabroli, ballet mistress, will offer a version of Strauss' waltz, "Artist's Life."

The orchestra, conducted by David Mondosa, will open the program with Goldmark's overture, "Spring."

DRAMA



ERNEST GLENDINNING now having his first thrill in musical comedy, in "Moonlight," at the Longacre.

Vaudeville Theatres

KEITH'S HIPPODROME PAT ROONEY & MARION BENT, in their new revue, "DANCES OF THE HOUR"; Arthur Deagon, comedian; Reynolds & Donegan, with the Hippodrome Dancers, in a skating act staged by Allan K. Foster; Marga Waldron, dancer, and the Albertine Rasch Hippodrome ballet; Andrey Downey elephants, in a circus act; the Avon Comedy Four; the Four Camerons; Billy Bonners Circus, and Sargent & Marvin.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY Next week's bill at B. S. Moss' Broadway will open the Spring season.

THE BLOSSOM HEATH ENTERTAINERS will head the vaudeville program with a specially arranged offering of the newest popular song selections. The other acts will include, York & Adams, Lou Clayton & Cliff Edwards ("Ukelele Ike"), Guy & Pearl Magley, Ross & Edwards, the "Two Bulgarians" and other acts. The screen will reflect "Daughters of Today," a story of our younger generation, that reveals the escapades of our modern reckless youth. Patsy Ruth Miller and Ralph Graves, Zazu Pitts, Phil McCullough, Edna Murphy and Gertrude Claire are in the cast.

LOEW'S PALACE "THE FOOL'S AWAKENING" based on WILLIAM J. LOCKE's story "The Tale of Triona" will be shown at Loew's Palace Theatre Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the coming week. Mack Sennett's "Picking Peaches" will be the comedy feature.

FRANCES ARMS, musical comedy favorite, late star of "Shirley," Wheeler & Potter, Gulpport & Brown and Ray & Edna Tracey are the vaudeville features.

REX INGRAM'S production "SCARAMOUCHE" will be the attraction the last half of the week. Ramon Novarro, Lewis Stone and Alice Terry are featured. The picture will be shown in ten reels, exactly as at the 44th Street Theatre.

The Lander Brothers, eccentric comedians, and Janet and the Norman Brothers will be among the vaudeville attractions.

The New Pictures

BROADWAY—"Daughters of Today," with Patsy Ruth Miller and Ralph Graves.

CAMEO—"His Darker Self," with Lloyd Hamilton.

CAPITOL—"The Unknown Purple."

COHAN—"The Ten Commandments," Directed by Cecil B. De Mille.

COSMOPOLITAN—"Yolande," Victor Herbert and his orchestra.

CRITERION—"The Covered Wagon."

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ALL NEXT WEEK

"DAUGHTERS OF TODAY"

A Story of our younger generation.

THE BLOSSOM HEATH ENTERTAINERS and Others.

B. F. KEITH ACTS

Direction of Hugo Riesenfeld

RIVOLI BROADWAY AT 49th ST.

BEGINNING SUNDAY

ADOLPH ZUKOR and JESSE L. LASKY Present

A George Melford Production

"THE DAWN OF A TOMORROW"

with JACQUELINE LOGAN, DAVID TORRENCE and RAYMOND GRIFFITH

A Paramount Picture

Famous Players-Lasky Corp.

Rivoli Concert Orchestra

RIALTO BROADWAY AT 42d ST.

BEGINNING SUNDAY

ADOLPH ZUKOR and JESSE L. LASKY Present

WILLIAM S. HART

in **"SINGER JIM MCKEE"**

A William S. Hart Production

A Paramount Picture

Famous Players-Lasky Corp.

Riesenfeld's Classical Jazz.

CAPITOL BROADWAY AT 31st ST.

World's Largest and Foremost Motion Picture Palace—Edw. Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

TRUART Presents

"THE UNKNOWN PURPLE"

GRIPPING—THRILLING—UNUSUAL

TYPICAL CAPITOL PROGRAM

CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA

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New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

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With EVA LE GALLIENNE

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CORT West 48th St. Even. 8:30.

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Directed by James Cruze

Novel by Emerson Hough

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Twice Daily, 2:30, 8:30. Sun. Mats. at 2

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JAMES K. HACKETT in "MACBETH"

A GREAT ARTISTIC TRIUMPH!

"Clara Farnes was regal in her interpretation of the role of Lady Macbeth."—Journal of Commerce.

"Mr. Hackett's advance is amazing. The very soul of Macbeth is revealed. The supporting cast is surprisingly able."—John Corbin, Times.

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MESSRS SHUBERT Present

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IN

"THE DANCERS"

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WEEK OF MARCH 31ST

GRANT MITCHELL

in "The Whole Town's Talking"

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LOEW'S PALACE

EAST N.Y. AVE. AND DOUGLAS ST. (BROOKLYN)

MON., TUES., WED.

Metro presents

"THE FOOL'S AWAKENING"

with ENID BENNETT HARRISON FORD (Based on Locke's "The Tale of Triona")

FRANCES ARMS (Late Star of "Shirley")

Other Acts

Mack Sennett Comedy

THURS., FRI., SAT., SUN.

Metro presents

"SCARAMOUCHE"

By Rafael Sabatini with RAMON NOVARRO ALICE TERRY LEWIS STONE

Lander Brothers, and others

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

N. Y. SYMPHONY

WALTER DAMROSCH CONDUCTOR

AEOLIAN HALL, Next Sun. Aft., at 3.

SOLOISTS

NADIA REISENBERG, Piano

MARCEL GRANDJANY, Harp

Francis Roger-Ducasse, Faure; Piano Concerto, Rimsky-Korsakoff (first time in N. Y.), Marche Americaine, Widor (first time).

CARNegie HALL Thurs. Aft., Mar. 27, 3.

Fri. Ev., Mar. 28, 8:15

Soloists

FELIX SALMOND, Violoncello

PAUL KOCHANSKI, Violin

Stravinsky "Le Chant du Rossignol" (Repeated by request)

Brahms Concerto for Violin and Cello

Scriabine "Poeme de l'Extase"

GEORGE ENOLES, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

Wolfeham Musical Bureau, Inc., Announces

Carnegie Hall, Sat. Aft., Mar. 29, at 2:30.

MORITZ

ROSENTHAL

Last Piano Recital This Season. Knabe Piano

Carnegie Hall, Sun. Aft., March 30, at 2.

SONG RECITAL. (Steinway Piano)

Carnegie Hall, Sun. Aft., April 6, at 3.

HEIFETZ

Last Recital This Season. (Steinway Piano)

Carnegie Hall, Sun. Aft., April 6, at 3.

Richard Bennett in "The Dancers" at the Bronx Opera House.

The theatregoer who has seen Richard Bennett in "Beyond the Horizon" and in "He Who Gets Slapped," will have an opportunity to see him in "The Dancers," which comes to the Bronx Opera House Monday.

"The Dancers" is runnings simultaneously in London with Sir Gerald du Maurier, one of its authors in the Bennett role.

In the large cast are Joan McLean and Kathlene MacDonell, as the two dancers, and among others, Donald

PHILHARMONIC

WILHELM MENDELBERG, Conductor

CARNegie HALL, SUN AFT., at 3

MISCHA LEVITZKI

Schumann Piano Concerto

Smetana, Overture to "The Bartered Bride"

Metropolitan Opera House, Tues. Ev., 8:30

LEVITZKI, Saint-Saens Piano Concerto 4.

Brahm's Symphony No. 1

Arthur Judson, Mgr. Steinway Piano

Concert Manager Arthur Judson Presents

SIGISMUND

STOJOWSKI

PIANO RECITAL. Steinway Piano

AEOLIAN HALL, Wed. Eve., Mar. 26, 8:15

AMERICAN DEBUT of

JEAN NOLAN

Irish Mezzo-Soprano

Elmer Zoller at the Piano, (Mason-Hamlin)

TOWN HALL, Sun. Aft., March 30, at 2.

SASCHA

CULBERTSON

VIOLIN RECITAL. (Steinway Piano)

AEOLIAN HALL, Sat. Aft., Apr. 5, at 3.

AEOLIAN HALL, Wednesday Aft'n.

March 26, at 3.

Piano Recital by FRANK

WATSON

Mgt. GEORGE ENOLES. (Baldwin Piano)

Ward, U. Temple Powell, H. Langdon

Bruce, Daisy Belmont, Vera Mellish,

Wilfred Noy and Barbara Bennett.

GRANT MITCHELL in "The Whole Town's Talking" will be the next attraction.

Notes

Next season the Theatre Guild will produce two American plays, EUGENE O'NEILL'S "THE FOUNTAIN," and "PROCESSIONAL," by JOHN HOWARD LAWSON.

BLANCHE YURKA will have the leading role in Ernest Toller's drama, "Man and the Masses," which the Theatre Guild put into rehearsal today.

WHAT'S PLAYING!

REPUBLIC	EMPIRE
Aide's Irish Rose.....May 23, '22	Saint Joan.....Dec. 28
Seventh Heaven.....Oct. 30	The Song and Dance Man.....Dec. 31
MAXINE ELLIOTT'S.....Nov. 7	Kid Boots.....Dec. 31
CASINO	FRANZ
Wildflower.....Feb. 7, '22	Hell-Bent for Heaven.....Jan. 4, '24
Sun Up.....May 24	Outward Bound.....Jan. 8
LITTLE	TIMES SQUARE
Little Jessie James.....Aug. 15	Charlot's Revue of 1924.....Jan. 9
WINTER GARDEN	CENTURY
Artists and Models.....Aug. 20	The Miracle.....Jan. 15
Poppy.....Sep. 3	Merry Wives of Gotham.....Jan. 16
MUSIC BOX	KNICKERBOCKER
Music Box Revue.....Sep. 23	Lollipop.....Jan. 21
BELMONT	CENTRAL
Tarnish.....Oct. 1	Sweet Little Devil.....Jan. 21
Mr. Battling Butler.....Oct. 8	Mister Pitt.....Jan. 22
SAM HARRIS	MOORCO
The Nervous Wreck.....Oct. 9	The Goose Hangs High.....Jan. 29
AMBASSADOR	LONGACRE
For All of Us.....Oct. 15	Moonlight.....Jan. 30
THE SHAME WOMAN.....Oct. 16	SEND STREET
NEW AMSTERDAM	PROVINCETOWN
Ziegfeld Follies of 1923.....Oct. 20	Fashion.....Feb. 3
CORT	PLAYHOUSE
The Swan.....Oct. 23	The Show Off.....Feb. 5
Runnin' Wild.....Oct. 29	The Wonderful Visit.....Feb. 12
Cyrano de Bergerac.....Nov. 1	Beggar on Horseback.....Feb. 12
DALY'S 63rd	JOLSON'S
White Cargo.....Nov. 5	The Chiffon Girl.....Feb. 19
Stepping Stones.....Nov. 6	The Moon Flower.....Feb. 25
SPRING	THE OUTSIDER
Spring Cleaning.....Nov. 9	GARRICK
Meet the Wife.....Nov. 26	FATA MORGANA
IN THE NEXT ROOM.....Nov. 27	NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE
Laugh, Clown, Laugh.....Nov. 28	Buffon & An Arab Fantasia.....Mar. 6
PLYMOUTH	GAITY
The Follies.....Dec. 8	We Moderns.....Mar. 11
HURRICANE.....Dec. 25	Macbeth.....Mar. 15
IMPERIAL	WELDED
Mary Jane McKee.....Dec. 25	LYCEUM
	Sweet Seventeen.....Mar. 17

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, March 22, 1924

SOME "PRACTICAL POLITICS"

THE Washington correspondent of the Evening Post recently outlined what he claims to be the plans of Senator La Follette and his friends. His withdrawal of his name for the nomination on the Republican ticket in several Western States is in accord with this program.

According to this story he will accept the nomination on a third party ticket, but that action in the various States will be confined to obtaining the nomination of candidates in the capitalist parties and supporting them in the election. It is pointed out that this policy was followed by the Bull Moose party in 1912.

This would not be a third party. It would be the establishment of a trading concern bargaining for votes and offices in all the States. It may be "practical politics," but it is the sort of politics that can be of no service to the working class. It would end as the Bull Moose experiment ended. It would end in the final bargaining of what was left of it to professional brokers. This is always the culmination of the "practical politics" of bargaining.

The organizations of the workers who want to mobilize their political power so that it will serve them in a party of their own will have nothing to do with such an adventure. Others who want to try it are entitled to their experience if they want it. It comes at a big price, but if anybody wants to pay it they have the privilege of doing so.

There are enough organizations of the working class, political and economic, to insure that the workers of the nation will be represented by a party of their own in the coming elections. No "practical politics" will swerve them from their determination.

KICKING SOLDIERS IN THE FACE

A PARTICULARLY atrocious piece of ingratitude is exhibited by the Wall Street Journal toward the soldiers in a recent editorial. Writing of the demand for a soldiers' bonus the Journal observes "that to grant these panhandlers their unearned and indefensible dole would settle nothing." The demand is a "sordid prostitution of American citizenship."

Among the soldiers are many who endured the fatigue of forced marches. Others who crawled into the bloody muck and vermin-infested trenches. Still others whose lives have been shortened because of their hardships. They were heroes in the days when the ruling classes remained at home and urged these men to go to the front to "rescue civilization." Now the soldiers are "panhandlers." They ask for "unearned" compensation.

This is reminiscent of the period following the American Revolution when the ruling classes threw thousands of revolutionary soldiers into debtors' prisons when they returned from the front. The Wall Street Journal speaks for the higher aristocracy of American capitalism. This class, after having used the soldiers as cannon fodder, has nothing but contempt for them.

This attitude is all the more glaring when we observe in the background a host of great capitalists and bankers who got their bonus when the getting was good. They got it when the soldiers were abroad. Clutching their dirty profiteering gains, these insolent masters provoked the returned soldiers to attack those who turned the spotlight upon these masters. Now that this higher aristocracy has no more use for the soldiers, now that it has its war plunder safely planted, it turns around and kicks the soldier in the face as a "panhandler."

Will the Wall Street Journal now favor us with a special soldiers' edition to impress the ex-service men that Socialists in opposing the war "stabbed the soldiers in the back?" Really this theme is timely now.

CONCENTRATION OF NEWSPAPER OWNERSHIP

THE merging of the Herald with the Tribune is another incident in the process of gathering the great metropolitan dailies into the hands of a few powerful millionaires. Newspaper publication is a business that comes under the economic law of capitalist concentration, like steel, textiles, pork and coal.

But there is another aspect of concentration in this field that makes it of particular interest to the masses. We have reached a stage where the great agencies of information and shaping opinion are in the hands of powerful corporations. The capitalist proprietors have a power of intellectual coercion through their papers that no other ruling class in history ever possessed.

What this means in politics, industry, commerce, finance and foreign affairs may be imagined. Munsey, for example, speaking as an individual on public affairs at a public meeting, is recognized as Munsey the millionaire. We know that he will speak for himself and his class. He wears no mask. What is true of Munsey is true of other millionaire owners of newspapers.

But the Tribune, the Herald, the American and other publications are masks which conceal the corporate interests they represent. Through these papers are filtered the world's news. Through them the opinions of millions are formed and the ideas formed are masked as "public opinion." Yet they are simply products of powerful corporations. News and opinions are produced and sold as other corporations produce and sell steel, soap and coal.

What's the answer? The working class must build up its press and give it the widest circulation possible. These corporate publications of the ruling classes will always be our enemy. They cannot be anything else.

MUSCLE SHOALS

WHILE oil is baptizing the republic a proposal to turn other rich natural resources over to private exploitation is being discussed as a highly desirable thing. The only difference between this proposal and the racy deal in Teapot Dome is that it does not carry the taint of scandal.

Mr. Ford, flivver magnate and Jew-baiter, wants Muscle Shoals. He would like to have it for a hundred years and would likely have his corporation renew the lease at the end of this period. Muscle Shoals is an immensely valuable super power site that is capable of producing a king's ransom in profits. Super power residing in the water falls of the nation is one of the remaining natural assets which our plutocracy intends to capitalize for private profits.

Despite the oil deal, this proposal is being carefully considered. It appears perfectly reasonable to many people that this transfer should be made. It is reasonable in a regime which accepts the mastership of capitalist investors as necessary to human progress.

But it means a further increase in servitude for present and future generations. It vests capitalist power in another resource that has potential blessings for humanity when we have intelligence enough to take over the industries and resources and administer them for human welfare. We will be fortunate if our oligarchs leave us with shirts to wear if this policy of capitalist "development" is not checked by an informed working class party represented in Washington.

We would expect greater benefits from the Teapot Dome exposures if there were not so many ivory domes.

THE UNATTACHED SOCIALISTS

FOR nearly a quarter century the Socialist Party has held aloft the banner of an independent party of the working class. It has been tested by assaults of the ruling classes and their agents. It has survived a storm of internal dissensions. At least 150,000 voters in New York State by their support of Socialist Party candidates show that they want a Socialist organization to serve them. Over 900,000 voters in the nation by their support make the same request.

Politically the Socialist Party is the one party organization of the workers that exhibits vitality. Our quarter century of educational work has had considerable influence in the present drift of sections of the organized workers toward independent political action. Post-war conditions have also provided a situation that is favorable to our aims.

In view of our opportunities this year there is one matter that should be stressed. Whether the Socialist Party gets together with other organizations of the working class and they establish a labor party or not, the Socialist Party will continue. If this labor party is not formed we will carry on just the same. If it is formed the Socialist Party will also continue. The only change will be our affiliation with the labor party on the same basis that other organizations will affiliate.

Therefore, any Socialists who are waiting for the outcome of present tendencies before joining the Socialist Party make a mistake as well as waste time. If they want to help the labor party they can do so by being members of the Socialist Party. They contribute nothing whatever to the Socialist Party or the proposed labor party by not joining us now. We need them. They need us. If they want to share in the privilege of shaping the future their place is in the Socialist Party NOW. Otherwise they will contribute nothing and later on will look back to the present period with regret as one of lost opportunities. Are you with us? Then sign up NOW!

CRITICS OF THE LABOR PARTY

THE British Labor Ministry has its "revolutionary" critics and we will hear much from them while it is in office. Out of office these critics are immune. They bear no responsibility for meeting current questions as they arise.

It is well to keep in mind that the Labor Ministry can be overthrown by a combination in Parliament at any time. It is in office but it has little power. It would only have power if it rested on a majority in Parliament. This it does not have. It is therefore in the position of a man with one arm tied. It can only do part of what it would like to do and do even that imperfectly owing to the possibility of being ousted at any moment.

The professional "revolutionary" theoreticians do not take these facts into account. Facts count for nothing with them. Theory alone is important in their view. Many of them argue on the assumption that the British Labor party should carry or attempt to carry out its full program. It is on this basis that much of the criticism is aimed at the party. The theoreticians know. We also know the theoreticians.

Our own point of view is that the rise of the British Labor party is significant evidence of a slow and steady reaching for power by the British working class. It proceeds no faster than the masses that compose it want it to. It has no illusions regarding its slender possession of office. It does not overestimate its precarious power or underestimate the power of its enemies. It knows the value of facing facts.

In other words, it does not live in a dream-world. It is functioning in a world of capitalism that is drifting through an uncertain period of its history. Its responsible spokes-

men also know that for more than twenty years the party has developed slowly through mistakes, disappointments, victories and valuable experience. This whole period shows a gradual rise of the working class to power, and that it will eventually realize its full aims despite more mistakes and through more experience there need be little doubt. The "revolutionary" theoreticians will then be remembered only for the insufferable bores they were.

Anyone who will take the time and trouble to go back and read the utterances of the socialists twenty years ago, and then note how clearly their predictions of that time have come true, may well wonder if there is to be any staying of the tide of radicalism which appears gaining strength and force each year.—Fred R. Marvin in the New York Commercial. Well, it is our job to anticipate coming events and avoid being led to the shambles. That's why we are socialists.

One of the products of our blessed democracy, lynching, declined in the past year according to the Federal Council of Churches. However, of the 28 victims lynched 26 were Negroes. Thirty-nine States had no lynchings in 1923. If the decline continues we may yet become civilized.

Rumor has it that some of our 100 percenters will introduce a bill in Congress compelling the inhabitants of the United States to be inoculated with a serum that will change the color of the blood on the ground that red is too suggestive of revolution.

In the excitement provoked by the oil investigation it should not be forgotten that even Coolidge, as though in anticipation of coming events, was sworn into office in the light of an oil lamp.

Renewed efforts are being made to obtain the release of Harry K. Thaw from the insane asylum. He should be permitted to go out into the world where he will feel at home.

The Chatter-Box

LET US PLAY

Let us play,
Let us lift our feet from the cloying street,
And scamper away.

Let the sun burn into the brain
And cleanse it of pain;
And the wind sweep the dust of the dung
Out of throat, out of lung;
Let his fingers of air
Stroke a harp in our hair.

Let us play
While philosophers fritter their kingdoms away;
Not an atom of worth in a thing that they say;
Let us play . . .

The effect of the Italian Renaissance is still on us here in America. Italy has had her Raphael, Da Vinci, Rubens, to give unto our day the portraits of the celebrities of their Dark Ages. We have our Dohenys and Sinclairs leaving to posterity America's greatest patriots done splendidly in Oil . . .

Honest, doesn't this petroleum business wear on you by now? So let's cry quits, dear contrabands. Send us no more pomes, or wheezes about it. Let's stick to our fundamental philosophy and the woes of the working class.

PARADOXES

"Strong" decadent governments.
Weak "fundamentalists."
Wet "prohibition."
"Oil" that causes friction.
"Dead" political movements forging ahead.
"Live" organizations in their death throes.
"Contented" NATIVES rebelling.
Toppling "men of power."
"Generals" bringing up the rear.
Nonentities who "go ahead."

BLANCHE WATSON.

We wish to thank Lou Weil and Kadanoff for their splendid efforts to break into this column. If Lou Weil will stop calling us sweet names such as "genius," and Lou Kadanoff will forget Dostoevski long enough to effuse on pleasanter subjects than "DEATH THE DEMOCRAT," we will yield. Thanks kindly, however.

We are endeavoring through private agencies to discover who the lifer in Northern California Prison may be, whose excellent lyric appeared in this column last week. In our humble opinion it is by far the best contribution in verse received so far. We have received many inquiries as to his identity from other than purely Socialist sources. We shall know, we hope, by the next issue.

SPRING HITS OUR DAVID AGAIN

FUROR POETICUS

In every corner of the earth
The boobs are writing verse.
Helping the Muse give painful birth
In every corner of the earth
To children of most doubtful worth,
To stop it would be worse!
In every corner of the earth
The boobs are writing verse.

—D. P. Berenberg.

That ten-dollar bill has not as yet induced a new Shelley, Swinburne, or Irving Berlin to contribute a death-defying masterpiece.

Has the high cost of living made the poets so class-conscious that they refuse to be exploited by the Robber-Columbists?

A-ha—The Light is breaking. The New Day is coming on . . .

S. A. DE WITT.

Government by Oil

