

## CONSTITUTION BARS PROGRESS, BERGER SAYS

Revision, Rather Than  
Amendments, Needed,  
Socialist Congressman  
Tells House.

By MARX LEWIS

(Washington Correspondent)

Social legislation is impos-  
sible under the present Fed-  
eral Constitution, Congressman  
Victor L. Berger told the  
House last Saturday, in urging  
the necessity of a Constitu-  
tional Convention to frame a  
new Constitution. The Social-  
ist Congressman declared that  
the Constitution has always  
been used to retard the social,  
economic and political devel-  
opment of the nation.

In place of the present con-  
stitution, Berger suggested one  
that will remove the checks  
and balances by which its  
framers intended to prevent  
the people from exercising  
their political influence,—one  
that will abolish the Senate of  
the United States, shear the  
courts of their usurped pow-  
ers, and enable the people, by  
a majority vote, to amend the  
constitution any time they find  
it unworkable.

The speech was delivered dur-  
ing the discussion on the proposed  
amendment to the Constitution en-  
abling Congress to legislate with  
respect to child labor, a right the  
Supreme Court of the United States,  
in declaring unconstitutional two  
child labor acts, said Congress could  
not exercise. At the very outset,  
Berger called attention to the fact  
that the Socialists were the first to  
urge the abolition of child labor.

A Misfit Constitution  
Declaring that he would support  
the amendment, Berger said that  
was one more patch—the twentieth  
patch—to be put on the cloak of  
the body politic, a cloak which may  
have fitted the nation in infancy,  
but which cannot be made to fit  
today.

"I believe that we could just as  
easily rewrite the Constitution as  
amend it again," Berger stated after  
calling attention to the fact that an  
entire group of States—the South—  
will do all they can to defeat the  
amendment even if it should pass  
both the House and the Senate.

"Our present Constitution, he  
continued, "was adopted in 1789.  
At that time a great part of the  
country was one vast primeval for-  
est. The largest city, Philadelphia,  
had about 30,000 inhabitants. There  
were only a few towns with a popu-  
lation of from two to five thousand.  
Manufacturing in the United States  
was then in its childhood, mainly  
in Philadelphia. The uses of steam  
and electricity were unknown."

"Miserable Patchwork"  
"Corporations in the present sense  
were not known. There were no  
railroads, no telegraphs, no tele-  
phones, and, of course, no radios  
or airplanes. Public schools were  
few and far between. Capitalism in  
its present form and development  
was not even dreamt of."

"The Constitution adopted at that  
time, of course was made to suit  
those conditions. It was made to  
express the needs of a frontier  
State."

At the time of its adoption, Ber-  
ger continued, the Constitution was  
regarded as a miserable piece of  
patchwork, a stupid imitation of the  
English constitution, and it had to  
be amended ten times before the  
States would ratify it. After its  
adoption, the Southern slave barons  
(Continued on Page 2)

## FROM OUR FRENCH COM- RADES

By Jean Longuet

I want to tell our dear  
friends of the New York So-  
cialist and advanced Labor move-  
ment that my thoughts are al-  
ways with them in their strenu-  
ous battle for the immortal  
cause of International Social-  
ism. We expect, in spite of all  
the difficulties created by a most  
unfair electoral law, and by the  
unfortunate split in the French  
proletarian movement caused by  
Moscow, to achieve magnificent  
results in the elections to be  
held May 11. I am confident  
that you will receive the day af-  
ter the elections the message of  
hope, the inspiration and the  
urge to action and to victory  
that you expect from the France  
of 1793, from the France of the  
Paris Commune of 1871, the  
France of Jean Jaures. LONG  
LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL!

## COMMUNISTS LOSING GRIP IN ALL COUNTRIES

Whitewash Bombacci, Who  
Praised Mussolini's Revo-  
lution—Gloomy Prospects  
for Fifth World Congress.

Vienna.—That the Central Com-  
mittee of the Communist party of  
Italy was justified in taking severe  
steps towards former Deputy Bom-  
bacci for his over-enthusiastic  
speech in the Chamber lauding Dic-  
tator Mussolini and the Fascista  
Government last December because  
of the impending recognition of the  
Russian Government is admitted in  
the report of the commission of in-  
vestigation named by the Presidium  
of the Executive Committee of the  
Communist International made pub-  
lic here in the April 3 issue of the  
International Press Correspondence,  
the Communist information sheet.  
But the report goes on to excuse  
Bombacci on account of his long  
career of working class agitation  
and his "honest desire to hasten the  
recognition of the proletarian State,"  
and it declares that he "remains as  
before an honest, staunch Communist  
in the ranks of the Communist  
party and the Communist Interna-  
tional."

This means that, despite the in-  
dignation of the Italian Communist  
chiefs over their former leader's  
opportunistic tactics, they must take  
him back into the fold or face an  
open conflict with Moscow. In this  
connection the Berlin Vorwärts  
points out that it is common knowl-  
edge that the part of Bombacci's  
speech objected to by his comrades  
and applauded by the Fascisti was  
written by Tovaristch Yordansky,  
then official Soviet representative in  
Italy. But this display of opportu-  
nism was a little too open, so  
Yordansky did not become Russian  
Ambassador to Rome and Bombacci  
had to remain under a cloud for a  
few months until he could be partly  
whitewashed. Thus far there has  
been no report that Bombacci has  
returned to Italy from Russia.

According to statements quoted  
by German Socialist papers from the  
memoirs of a Russian Communist  
named Degot, recently published in  
Moscow, the Communist Interna-  
tional was directly responsible for  
blocking a republican uprising in  
Italy in 1920 planned by former  
Premier Nitti, with the aid of the  
Socialists and Communists. Degot,  
who says he represented the Third  
International at that time in Italy,  
averts that a number of pro-Moscow  
Socialist leaders told him that Nitti  
had them to join in his plan for set-  
ting up a democratic republic, but  
(Continued on Page 3)

## SOCIALIST PARTY READY--GERMAN ELECTIONS MAY 4

Berlin.—With its party machine  
functioning at high speed and run-  
ning smoothly, the Social Democra-  
cy is winding up the campaign for  
the Reichstag elections to be held  
Sunday, May 4, in a confident mood  
and with every prospect of main-  
taining its position as the strong-  
est single party in the German Re-  
public. During the last few days  
factional rows have been put aside  
to a great extent, and all efforts  
have been centered upon putting  
over the Socialist candidates.

While it is conceded that there  
will be losses to the Communists,  
largely because of despair of any  
real solution of the reparation prob-  
lem, it is also pointed out by party  
leaders that since the publication of  
the Dawes report and its practical  
adoption as an election plank by the  
so-called parties of the middle—the  
Social Democrats, the Centrists, the  
Democrats and the People's party—the  
chances of either the extreme  
Left or the extreme Right winning  
enough seats to block the function-  
ing of a coalition Government em-  
bracing these four parties are prac-  
tically nil.

Furthermore, the steady drop in  
unemployment and the occasional  
wage raises won by organized  
groups of workers have tended to  
make the German masses under-  
stand that, even under the heavy  
burden of reparations, there is a  
possibility of working their way  
out into something like liveable  
conditions in the not too distant future,  
provided their strongest defender in  
public life, the Social Democracy,  
receives their support and is in a  
position to exercise a deciding in-  
fluence upon the eventual carrying  
out of the plans of the Dawes com-  
mittee.

With the elections out of the way,  
the Social Democratic party can  
prepare for the work of organizing  
the German workers for the final  
fight for control of the nation.

Another sample of the way in  
which the reactionary German  
courts, which as a general thing  
don't seem to know anything about  
the political revolution of Novem-  
ber, 1918, use the so-called treason  
laws as weapons with which to at-  
tack Socialists or other radicals, is  
found in an action brought against  
Ernest Reuter, responsible editor  
of Vorwärts, on April 7, by the  
Supreme Federal District Attorney.  
For having printed a letter on Feb.  
3 from a former officer of the Hit-  
ler-Ludendorff forces, which tried to  
start a revolution against Berlin on  
Nov. 8 in a Munich beer cellar, tell-  
ing of his part in the near-revolt  
and implying that supplies had been  
had from regular army sources,  
Vorwärts is accused of violating the  
paragraph in the treason law aimed  
at persons or papers making public  
information that ought to be kept  
secret from other countries for the  
good of the nation. The Socialist  
organ laughs at this indictment and  
regards it as good campaign ma-  
terial. It was accused of treason  
early in February at the behest of  
Minister of Defense Gessler, but  
keeps right on with its fight against  
the reaction.

## FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FEARS SOCIALIST RULE IN PORTO RICO

### VETERAN UNION CHIEF



ABRAHAM BAROFF  
General Secretary-Treasurer of  
the International Ladies' Garment  
Workers' Union, which holds its  
quarter-century Jubilee Con-  
vention in Boston, May 5.

### SNOWDEN PRESENTS THE FIRST LABOR BUDGET

London.—Phillip Snowden, Social-  
ist Chancellor of the Exchequer, won  
a remarkable personal triumph when  
he presented his first Labor Budget  
in the House of Commons Tuesday.  
It was a free trade budget, a work-  
ingmen's budget, but because of  
Labor's minority in the House,  
Snowden could not introduce a So-  
cialist budget—yet.

The main features of the budget  
are the slashing reductions in taxes  
on the necessities of life, such as  
tea, sugar, coffee, cocoa, fruits, etc.,  
and the abolition of taxes on work-  
ing class luxuries, such as the lower  
priced tickets at theatres and  
movies. The tentative tariff duties  
on many manufactured articles in-  
troduced by Mr. McKenna during  
the war, that were considered the  
thin edge of the wedge of protection,  
are abolished.

The budget is bound to be popular  
with the masses, because it removes  
many galling and annoying taxes on  
things that come close to the lives  
of the people. At the same time,  
expenditures are cut so heavily that  
there will be a substantial surplus  
at the end of the year, amounting  
to about £40,000,000.

Snowden delivered his budget  
speech under great difficulties. He  
is far from a well man, and when  
he concluded his address of an hour  
and three quarters, he was nearly  
in a state of collapse. But his pre-  
sentation was so clear, so forceful  
and human that cheers swept the  
Chamber when he concluded.

The budget will be so popular with  
the masses that when he concluded,  
David Kirkwood, irrepressible Clyde-  
man shouted to the Tories, "Noo  
will ye gie us a general election?"  
The old parties would not dare turn  
Labor out now with this budget as  
an achievement to boast of.

## Statehood and Even Territorial Status With- held Because Washington Doesn't Want Socialist Governor—Secretary Weeks Spills Beans—Iglesias Fights for Workers—Old Parties Uniting "to Beat Socialists."

San Juan, Porto Rico.—This Island would go Socialist if  
given the right to govern itself. That is the reason that Porto  
Rico, twenty-six years after its conquest by the American  
troops, is still governed like a conquered province by a bureau  
chief of the War Department at Washington.

Secretary of War John W. Weeks, who is one of the insiders  
in the present national administration, one of Harding's "best  
minds," was incautious enough to admit the great strength of  
Socialism and of the Socialist Party, and to say openly that  
that strength is the reason for failure to grant independence,  
statehood or even territorial status.

## Solomon and Nearing Debate Party's Tactics

The Debs auditorium in the  
People's House was jammed to the  
doors Tuesday night by a crowd of  
Socialists who had come to hear  
Scott Nearing and Charles Solomon  
debate the position of the Socialist  
Party with respect to the Conference  
for Progressive Political Action.

Nearing upheld the position that  
the Party was jeopardizing its revo-  
lutionary position by continuing its  
affiliation with the Conference, while  
Solomon maintained that the Party  
was fulfilling that duty by remain-  
ing with the organization in which,  
he said, large masses of the Ameri-  
can workers are to be found.

Nearing began by defining the  
duty of a revolutionary party to  
keep its ideals pure to stay revolu-  
tionary, to refuse to compromise,  
to hold up the torch of its prin-  
ciples, and not to stray into byways  
in the alluring search for office, so  
that when the masses are swept by  
some revolutionary fervor, the Party  
will be there to lead them. "That  
mass movement hasn't begun," said  
Nearing, "It isn't even in sight.  
What we have is a few mad farm-  
ers in the middle West." He de-  
clared that the Conference had not  
declared for a class party of the  
workers, and had merely promul-  
gated a progressive platform. "That  
is when the Socialist Party should  
have walked out. What do we want  
—a progressive party, or a class  
party?"

Solomon, in opening, said that  
the Party has as its revolutionary  
duty the task of going to the masses  
where they are quoting the Commu-  
nist Manifesto of Marx and Engels,  
and Nicolai Lenin to back up his  
position. Then he said, "The masses  
are in the Conference. Do you want  
to create your own working class,  
or do you want to work with the  
working class that we have in ex-  
istence?" Nearing retorted that if  
the masses support Tammany Hall,  
as they do, we should not follow  
them there.

Solomon read from the statement  
adopted by the Socialist delegation  
at the Conference to the effect that  
the Party under no circumstances  
(Continued on Page 2)

The Socialists, organized in the  
Socialist Labor party, and the Free  
Federation of Workmen of Porto  
Rico, part of the A. F. of L., work  
together closely, and Santiago Ig-  
lesias, Socialist Senator, is presi-  
dent of both bodies. The two old  
parties, the Republicans and the  
Unionists, are fusing in order to  
present a united front against the  
Socialists.

It is admitted that the Socialists  
are growing fast, and that they will  
soon supplant the Republicans as sec-  
ond party. It is feared that soon  
they will be the first party. That  
is the reason for the fact that state-  
hood, and even decent territorial  
status is withheld, in spite of many  
pledges.

Secretary Weeks gave out a  
statement in Washington the  
other day in which he stated to  
the reporters that he "opposed  
to grant the Island the right to  
elect the Governor because of  
the growing strength of the So-  
cialist Labor party and the pos-  
sible that the Socialists  
Governor." Secretary Weeks  
added "that it is more than  
probably that the Socialists will  
will get the majority in the Is-  
land."

The statement has created the  
greatest excitement in the Island.  
Iglesias has asked Congress to  
pass a law limiting the right of ab-  
sentee owners of land to exploit  
Porto Rican plantations by placing  
a heavy progressive tax upon all  
estates over 500 acres and provid-  
ing for the forfeiture of lands by  
persons and corporations who violate  
the law.

The attack upon absentee land-  
lords has been so much to the point  
that Jose Tous Soto, President of  
the Republican party has joined  
hands with Mr. Barcelo of the Uni-  
onist party in a vain attempt to  
keep the taint of Socialism from  
the island.

So far as is known, this is the  
first time that the Federal Govern-  
ment, through a high cabinet of-  
ficial, has expressed fear of the suc-  
cess of a particular political party  
as the reason for withholding ele-  
mentary justice from a whole people.

Senator Iglesias is elected for the  
whole island, and is one of the most  
popular men in public life. He is  
a veteran Socialist and was dele-  
gate to the Unity Convention in  
1901 that organized the Socialist  
Party of the United States. He has  
done much to improve the status of  
plantation workers.

## COMING NEXT WEEK

Belgium is noted for its excellent type of labor soli-  
darity. For many years the Belgian workers have es-  
tablished intimate relations between three types of or-  
ganizations that cooperate with each other in the class  
struggle. These are the cooperatives, the trade unions  
and the Labor party. Last March there was a Cabinet  
crisis and the fall of the Theunis Ministry. Joseph  
Wauters, director of Le Peuple, the leading Belgian  
Socialist daily, wrote an article on "The Political Evo-  
lution of Belgium" which considers the contemporary  
political situation in that country as it affects the work-  
ing class. A translation of this article will appear in  
The New Leader next week.

George R. Kirkpatrick, Socialist Party candidate for  
Vice-president in 1916, was hounded by spies and many  
attempts were made by mobs to lynch him when the  
Wilson administration and its capitalist allies were guid-  
ing us into the World War. Kirkpatrick never flinched  
in his support of the Socialist philosophy. He is now  
serving the Socialist Party in the National Office in re-  
building the party organization. Kirkpatrick never did a  
finer piece of work than in his article, "Fall Out or  
Fall In." Next week.

These are two leading features of the next issue. No  
other publication in the United States is giving the ex-  
cellent news of the Labor and Socialist movement of  
the world. No Socialist can consider himself informed  
without The New Leader.

GET THAT SUBSCRIPTION FOR YOUR PAPER.  
IT IS YOUR PAPER. FIGHT FOR IT!

## Socialist City Convention Meets Saturday Afternoon

The adjourned session of the city  
convention whose first session was  
held April 12 will be held Satur-  
day afternoon, May 3.

The first session of the conven-  
tion voted in favor of a merger of  
the locals of the Socialist Party in  
Greater New York in principle, and  
appointed a committee to work out  
plans to carry the vote into effect.  
The committee will have its report  
ready, it is understood.

All delegates to the first conven-  
tion are expected to attend the ses-  
sion on Saturday. The Bronx dele-  
gates, who expressed strong dissent  
from the idea of a merger and who  
walked out when the vote in favor  
of a merger was taken, are urged  
to attend and express their views  
on the plans of the committee.

Delegates are urged to be in at-  
tendance at 2 P. M. sharp in order  
that the convention may be conclud-  
ed as expeditiously as possible

## PANKEN RETURNS FROM COAST TOUR

Judge Jacob Panken returned to  
New York Wednesday night from  
a tour of the United States that  
took him from coast to coast, and  
covered most of the important cities  
of the country. His tour had been  
undertaken under the auspices of  
the Socialist Party, and he ad-  
dressed meetings in many industrial  
and agricultural centers.

Panken was delighted with the  
results of his trip, and he said he  
expected much good to the Socialist  
organization would result from his  
meetings. He took part in the cam-  
paign that resulted in the reelec-  
tion of Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee,  
and addressed many large and en-  
thusiastic meetings in that city prior  
to April 1.

Judge Panken will give an in-  
terview to The New Leader on po-  
litical and industrial conditions in  
the country, as he saw them, which  
will appear in our next issue.

## Look Out For Fake State "Labor Party"

An attempt to muddy the political  
waters in New York, and to create  
confusion among those seeking the  
organization of a genuine party of  
the workers as opposed to the two  
old parties is seen in a mysterious  
circular that has just made its ap-  
pearance, calling for a "State  
Farmer-Labor party conference" to  
meet in Schenectady May 18.

The circular is accompanied by  
blank credentials, with the request  
that they be filled out by "all trade  
unions, labor and fraternal organi-  
zations, cooperatives and labor po-  
litical groups." They are to be sent  
to Frank Herzog, who is described  
as Secretary of the Buffalo Labor  
party. The call is likewise signed by  
W. J. Kelly, who describes himself  
as secretary of the "Federated Far-  
mer-Labor party of New York City."

Both so-called organizations are  
known to be fakes, being convenient  
aliases under which the enterprising  
Communists sometimes work when  
they want to fool people into think-  
ing that they are not Communists.

The sheet is headed with the  
words, "United Labor party of  
New York," and that is undoubtedly  
the alias under which the Com-  
munists of New York will march

upon St. Paul June 17 and try to  
bluff the Farmer-Labor party of  
Minnesota that they represent the  
toiling masses of the Empire State.  
Undoubtedly, also, the Federal Far-  
mer-Labor party, the Workers' party,  
the Communist party, the Com-  
munist singing societies, "hiking  
clubs, literary societies, cremation  
societies, sick and death benefit so-  
cieties, furniture fire insurance so-  
cieties, and other organizations,  
will also send delegates, all repre-  
senting the same handful of Com-  
munists. The only question is  
whether the Communists will have  
enough members to go around to  
represent all the organizations they  
are going to St. Paul with.

The managers of the St. Paul Con-  
vention have publicly declared that  
they fear no Communist domination  
June 17, because they have so  
few delegates who will be eligible.  
The multiplying of fake organiza-  
tions, all of them representing the  
same membership, is apparently  
counted upon by the Communists to  
get around that difficulty.

That the circular comes from  
Communist sources is made certain  
by the fact that it has a union label  
with the number of a local Com-  
munist printing plant.



## LIBERALS UNITE WITH TORIES FOR EVICTION OF UNEMPLOYED

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

London, April 16.—Yesterday was one of the most exciting and critical days since Labor took office. The situation arose on a bill to deal with evictions from their homes of men who are unable to pay rent owing to unemployment. The Conservative Government passed a measure last year which gave increased powers to the landlord to get possession of a house he owned. The housing shortage is very acute all over the country. Persons who are driven from their homes find it next to impossible to get other accommodations, and this leads to acute overcrowding.

Evictions are taking place to a considerable extent in the West of Scotland, and great popular indignation has been aroused. All the political parties profess great concern about this public scandal, and express their readiness to do something to put an end to it.

With that object the Government introduced a bill, but there was strong opposition to one of the clauses of it. This clause had been badly drafted, and in the form in which it stood it would have had an effect which the Government did not contemplate. It would have put the burden of unpaid rent wholly upon the house owner. When the bill was discussed last week the Government agreed to alter this clause in Committee so that the rent of an unemployed man would be placed upon public funds.

The bill came up for further discussion yesterday, and in the meantime the Government had drafted an alternative clause, which would have the effect of suspended eviction until the tenant had had an opportunity of applying to the local Poor Law authority for assistance. There were two other clauses in the bill dealing with evictions which all parties professed to favor. But when the resumed debate took place the Liberals and Conservatives opposed the new clause suggested by the Government. The debate was one of the most acrimonious I have heard in the House. The leaders of the two other parties demanded that the clause should be withdrawn and threatened if that were not done to oppose the bill altogether.

### Liberals Vote for Evictions

It was pointed out by the Government that there would be an opportunity in Committee, where the Lib-

erals and Conservatives are in a majority, to take out the offending clause, and to leave the other clauses which they professed to approve in the bill. But this suggestion was not accepted. Mr. Asquith, leader of the Liberals, took a dictatorial attitude and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the clause on pain of the Liberals voting against the bill. The Government refused to give way and the matter went to a division. The Government was defeated by nine votes.

The Liberals were put in a very embarrassing position. Forty-two voted with the Government; forty abstained, and twenty-five voted against the Government. It was at one time feared that the situation would be a very serious one for the Government, but as things have turned out it is the Liberals and not the Labor party which have lost in prestige by the incident.

The Liberal leaders protested that they had not been actuated by any hostility to the desire to protect the unemployed tenant from eviction, but simply desired to make a better bill. This excuse will not wash, for they would have had every opportunity to amend the bill in Committee. The Liberal press this morning does not mince matters in denouncing the bad tactics of their leaders. No doubt their action was due to the irritation with their subordinate position in the House of Commons. The bill is lost and cannot be introduced this session.

### Liberals in a Hole

The Government will not be thrown back on administrative action to deal with these evictions. Much may be done in this way. The debate and the defeat of the bill will

have done good in calling public attention so prominently to this evictions scandal, and the local authorities will no doubt now make provision to prevent an unemployed man from being evicted for arrears of rent.

It has been an extremely anxious time for the Government, but there is now general relief that the end has come in the way it has. It will help the Labor party in their propaganda in the country, and the Liberals will have a hard job to explain and justify their action in killing the bill.

### Labor's Own Legislation

The Government is now getting an opportunity of introducing some of its legislative measures. A bill has been introduced dealing with Unemployment Insurance. The purpose of the bill is to amend the existing acts in certain particulars and to give additional benefits. The abnormal unemployment which has existed during the last three years has destroyed the financial basis of the old act, and in order to give additional benefits, owing to the great increase in the cost of living since the scheme was originally started, the rates of contributions to both the employers, the insured workmen and the State have been considerably increased, and in addition the State has guaranteed a loan up to £18,000,000.

The bill which has been introduced today proposes to raise the weekly benefits for men from fifteen shillings to eighteen shillings, and the weekly allowances for children from a shilling to two shillings. This will involve an additional cost of about ten million pounds a year. It is also proposed to abolish the gap between periods of receiving benefits. An unemployed person will, under the new bill, be entitled to draw a continuous benefit for a period of forty-two weeks a year.

### Greater Benefits for Workers

Under the existing acts the age at which an employed person comes into the scheme is sixteen, but it is now proposed to bring into the scheme children of fourteen years when they begin to work for wages. A further provision relates to people who are thrown out of work owing to a trade dispute.

It is not known what fate this bill will have. It will probably encounter a good deal of opposition from the Liberals and Conservative parties, but the popularity of the bill among the workers will perhaps make these parties hesitate to destroy the measure. The bill will no doubt be criticized on the ground that it is not a solution of the unemployed problem. But it is not put forward as such. It is admittedly a palliative to give sustenance to men and women who are not able to get employment, and it will have to be supplemented by many other schemes for providing work.

Some such schemes we have already in hand, such as road making, land drainage, and the granting of credits to commercial enterprises to carry out shipbuilding, engineering and railway construction.

### Trouble Abroad

Meanwhile, all the reports from both France and Germany are ominous. M. Poincaré has re-formed his Government, and he appears to be in a more intransigent mood than ever. Reaction is gathering force in Germany and the impending elections seem likely to give a majority to the Right.

The results of the French elections are more uncertain. In some quarters it is believed that the new French Government has made the position of M. Poincaré stronger, and that the swing to the Left may not be so pronounced as appeared likely a few weeks ago. In view of the elections in both France and Germany, it does not seem likely that any negotiations on the Report of the Expert Committee can be begun until the end of May at the soonest.

### Labor Differences

The internal differences in the Labor party, to which I have several times referred, have not improved during the last week. A small dissentient element still try to make the position of the Government uncomfortable. This is due far more to the thoughtlessness than to anything else. These dissentients have no desire to turn the Government out of office.

(Next week, Comrade Snowden will tell the story of the Independent Labor party, the Socialist propaganda wing of the Labor party. The I. L. P. has just celebrated the conclusion of its most successful year at its Easter conference at York, and is off to even greater things. This is one of the best articles Snowden has written in the present series.)

### RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday, May 3, at 1:30 P. M., Scott Nearing will discuss the subject, "Can a Radical have an Open Mind?" in the Current Events Class at the Rand School.

At 3:30, Bertrand Russell will lecture on "Mechanism and Life" in the Rand School. Owing to the great success of the Russell lectures, the great English philosopher has been engaged for another lecture, Saturday, May 10, at the Rand School, on "How to Secure World Peace."

## 2,500,000 HOUSES IN 15 YRS., PLAN OF LABOR GOV'T

London.—The Housing Program of the Labor Government is taking shape. It provides for the building of 90,000 dwellings during the next year, and a total of two and a half million houses in the course of the next fifteen years. Of this program the National House Building Commission says: "There is no reason why, with the good will of all parties concerned, the housing needs of the country should not be successfully met."

There has been virtually no building in the United Kingdom since the beginning of the war, and the present program is designed to meet, not only the annual replacements needed in a country like Great Britain, but the arrears caused by the war, and the post-war depression.

Several serious problems confronted, and still do confront, the Labor Government in the formation and the execution, of its building plans. Among these the most vital are the shortage of materials and of labor. After discussions with the manufacturers of building materials, the Government is able to announce that the manufacturers are willing to extend their plants if they have reasonable prospect of an assured demand for a number of years. The program gives them this assurance.

In order not to throw out all the estimates of the Building Commission as to the cost of the program, the manufacturers give a pledge not to inflate prices. The Commission suggests that in addition the Building Committee, which is to be provided in the forthcoming Statute, to supervise the execution of the plans, should be empowered to prevent undue increases in price and to examine proposals to increase prices before the increase become operative.

The ministry of Labor reports that in 1913 there were 429,120 building workers, but that in January 1924, this number had shrunk to 367,010. The chief reason given for the decrease is the chaotic condition of employment in the building trades, and the drifting of workers into other industries. To remedy the situation it is suggested that one apprentice be employed for every three craftsmen engaged. This is to apply to bricklayers, masons, carpenters and joiners, slaters and tilers, plasterers and plumbers. These apprentices are to receive 40% of the journeyman's wage during the first six months, and to rise to 85% of the journeyman's wage in eight six month periods. It is to be unlawful to pay an apprentice more or less than this scale.

John Wheatley, Socialist Minister of Health, is consulting with the representatives of the local authorities as to the ratio of the subsidies they are willing to assume.

The whole program will cost the Government less than a couple of dreadnaughts.

## ILLINOIS F. L. P. TO MEET OTHER GROUPS

Chicago.—The Illinois branch of the Farmer-Labor party of the United States, at its state convention last Saturday, accepted an invitation from the Illinois Conference for Progressive Political Action to sit with them in a state conference.

Subjects before the conference will be to plan a campaign for La Follette for president and whether to run a state ticket independent of the two old parties.

A committee of twelve was appointed to represent the Party May 4, as follows:

David A. McVey, Thomas Curry, Gertrude Fitzgerald, J. G. Brown, Dora Nordboe, Charles F. Willis, Sam Finkel, Robert M. Buck, George E. Hocker, Hattie Hayman, Ben F. Parker and Glenn Campbell.

### Elect National Delegates

Since candidates and platform are to be before the May 4 Conference, nominations for state office were not made.

The following were elected as delegates to the national convention at Cleveland, O., July 4:

Parley Parker Christensen, John H. McGurty, Adolph Carazzo, G. F. Hall, Arthur Olson, Harry Winnick, Mrs. P. J. Carlson, Madge Argo, William Tracy, Lillian Herstein, Thomas Curry, George Buik, Christian M. Madsen, David Fitzgerald, Jennie W. Buck, Charles Hayman, Charles F. Willis, George E. Hooker, Robert M. Buck, Ed. McChrystal, Dora Nordboe, Glen Campbell, David McVey and Sam Finkel.

State officers of the Party were elected as follows:

John Fitzpatrick, state chairman; Mrs. P. J. Carlson and Mr. Fitzpatrick, members of national committee; State Executive Committee—Madge Argo, Joliet; J. G. Brown, national secretary; Robert M. Buck, Chicago; Adolph Carazzo, Taylor Springs; Mrs. P. J. Carlson, Rock Island; James Connors, switchmen's union; Gertrude Fitzgerald, Chicago; Hattie Hayman, Chicago; George E. Hooker, Chicago; Ed. McChrystal, Chicago; John H. McGurty, Hillsboro; David A. McVey, Chicago; Arthur Olson, Chicago; William Tracy, Lansing; and Charles F. Willis, Chicago.

## Constitution Bars Progress

(Continued from Page 1)  
discovered it could be used to defend chattel slavery, and thus they became its defenders. After the Civil War, the enthusiasm of the former slave barons cooled on account of the so-called Negro amendments, but the Northern industrialists found then that it could be made to serve their purposes.

### People Thwarted

Describing the schemes which the framers of the Constitution employed to prevent the people from exerting any influence, Berger said: "There were many leading men at the close of the American Revolution who were in favor of adopting the British constitution as they understood it. Only this being a Republic, they were very much more afraid of the people, of the mob, than they would have been in a monarchy. Therefore they wanted a strong Executive—one that could dare to execute his powers as Hamilton stated it. That is how we got our kind of a President for the United States. That is why we have the Senate. And also why we have the 'additional check' by the courts."

"With the exception of the Czar of Russia and the Mikado of Japan before the World War, there was not a monarch in the world who had as much power as the President of the United States. He is not only the Chief Executive, but also a part of the law-making machine—and what part? He counts as much as two-thirds of the House of Representatives and the Senate combined.

"Furthermore, his Cabinet is not dependent upon Congress at all and is not responsible to Congress. Neither Denby nor Daugherty could be ousted from office by Congress. The members of the Cabinet are simply the secretaries and the servants of the ruler in the White House whoever he may be—and he is also the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and appoints over a million office-holders."

### Protects Profiteers

Reviewing the reasons for the creation of an upper house, Berger showed that the wealthy class of that day, speculators in script and large land-owners, intended it to be the last refuge of every interest which preys upon the common people, and it has become the institution to which the oil trust, the railway trust, the sugar trust and the steel trust have looked for comfort.

"It is a notable fact," Berger said, "that while the founders of the American Constitution were taking up this relic of feudalism and clothing it with formidable powers, the English nation was already preparing the forces that were to reduce the House of Lords, after which the Senate was fashioned, to the secondary position it now occupies."

### The Referendum

"Let us abolish the clumsy two-chamber system, now used to furnish opportunities for political trading, for log rolling, for the activities of skilled lobbyists, and as a substitute for the Senate and as the best possible check upon whimsical and hasty legislation, or even crookedness of legislators, give us the referendum. The referendum in any country is stronger than all the Senates and houses of lords in the world."

"The Hamilton clique had created the Senate to take the place of the House of Lords. Yet it was still afraid of the common people. It wanted something in place of a King. They wanted the absolute king of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they got him. He is our American judge. And this king judge and his retinue of lawyers is now the most distinguishing mark between the American people and all others on earth. Only in our country we find the notion that unusual sanctity and infallibility surrounds and becomes the characteristic of the ordinary lawyer the moment he is elevated to the position of a judge."

"The Federal judge almost invariably is a corporation lawyer. He is appointed for life, and his very environment makes him part and parcel of the American plutocracy. Almost every Federal judge nowadays is an enemy of our democratic institutions and an adversary of the common people. It is usually laws involving economic problems that are in danger because our Constitution was framed at a time when such problems did not exist. The Federal judiciary of the United States is the last resort of the corporations, the railroads. There they can get help and comfort when the legislators become frightened at the anger of the people. There they can get injunctions galore, and these injunctions will be in full accordance with the wording and spirit of the Constitution."

"Advanced social legislation is impossible under our present Constitution," Berger concluded. The tremendous changes in our political and social conditions have brought along problems whose solution is impossible under the principles of law that seemed to be permanent to the leaders of the American ruling class of the eighteenth century. "Instead of asking three-fourths of the States to amend this eighteenth century Constitution to enable Congress to legislate on child labor let us ask the 48 States of our country to give Congress the right to call a constitutional convention to frame a new constitution."

## Lectures and Forums

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## STAUING OPENS DANISH DIET

Copenhagen.—At the opening of Parliament to-day, Premier Stauning read the King's speech without winding up with the traditional, "Long Live the King and Constitution!" Instead, another Socialist member shouted: "Long live Denmark!"

In outlining the Labor Government's Policy in the Folketing Stauning said that the Government would continue to cultivate friendly relations with all the Powers. The settlement of the Danish-German frontier, he said, would be completely respected, and the national and linguistic condition of the border districts dealt with in a fair and liberal spirit.

Efforts would be made to stabilize exchange and to remedy unemployment by developing Danish production and increasing exports.

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## MRS. BANG, DANISH EDUCATION MINISTER, LIFELONG SOCIALIST

Copenhagen.—The first all-Socialist cabinet in the world is distinguished by having as one of its members the first woman cabinet member in the world, Senator Nina Bang, who will be Minister of Education in the Government of Premier Theodor Stauning.

Mrs. Bang is the widow of Dr. Gustave Bang, one of the pioneers of Danish Socialism, who died in 1915. She is a noted scholar, and a tireless Socialist propagandist. She was a suffrage pioneer and was one of the first women elected to Parliament. She was elected to the lower House in 1913 and to the upper House in 1918, of which she is still a member. She has long been a member of the Executive of the Social Democratic party.

Mrs. Bang was born in 1866, and secured her A. M. in history at the

## IN DANISH CABINET



NINA BANG

University of Copenhagen. Among her published works are two volumes of statistical studies, "Karl Marx—His Life and Work," and two volumes of her late husband's writings.

## Honesty Not Enough

By W. M. Feigenbaum

The delectable stories of dishonesty, convenient friendships, deals and "loans" that have come out of Washington in recent months have been enough to stagger the imagination of a whole people.

Is anyone honest? Can any public officials be trusted? Can honesty ever be attained in public life?

Many persons think that these revelations have given a great impetus to the movement for a new party to sweep the crooked, bankrupt, corrupt, useless old parties out of public life for all time.

Many persons think that these revelations have made a "third" party inevitable. Maybe so. Maybe the hideousness and the implications of the revelations will drive the people away from the old parties and into a new party, just as the corruption of the Taft administration drove them into the Bull Moose party in 1912; just as the brutal impeachment of Governor Sulzer resulted in such a revulsion of feeling against Tammany that Sulzer was able to build up the largest "third" party vote New York ever saw up to that time for his "American party" in 1914.

But is that all? What sort of a revulsion is it going to be this time? Merely a protest against crookedness? That is good—but it is not enough.

### Honesty Insufficient

Mr. Hearst said that Daugherty was entitled to his day in court, that he should not be convicted without a trial. That is all true enough for ordinary citizens accused of crime. But not for high public officials. Honesty is not enough. Their honesty should be taken for granted; just as it should not be sufficient qualification for a President that he is not a murderer or a sneak thief.

And for a great political movement based upon disgust at what has been revealed in Washington, honesty is not enough. A protest against dishonesty is not enough.

The Bull Moose movement was a protest against the dishonest and reactionary control of the Republican party. It was negative, at least so far as its honest elements were concerned.

Those who voted for Sulzer in 1914 were voting against a dirty deal of Tammany Hall. But they voted for nothing else. Honesty was not enough. Their party became a trading concern for old party politicians on a small scale, just as Mr. Roosevelt's Bull Moose party became a trading concern for old party endorsements on a national scale, and shortly was reabsorbed into the most reactionary wing of the G. O. P.

We are against political crookedness. We are against thievery. We are against the spoliation of the natural resources of the country by private interests. We are against the looting of the public treasury by ship magnates and big

business in the shape of subsidies and huge gifts and guarantees to railroad magnates; and of the robbing of the masses in the interest of the wealthy in the shape of the reduction of the surtaxes, the removal of the excess profits tax, the exemption of stock dividends from taxation—and the loading of the expenses of government upon the backs of the producing masses.

### Principles Involved

But there are many persons who are opposed to all these things, but who don't know what they are for. Senator La Follette, as brave and honest a man ever sat in public office, wants no more guarantees to railroad magnates. But it is not on record that he wants the railroads to be owned by the people and be run in the interests of the people. Senator Borah is a brave, honest man; but if he has ever declared for the organization of a party of producers as producers as opposed to all other parties that represent the employers and bankers and business interests, no matter how honest they might be, we have never heard of it.

Senator Pepper was against the continued imprisonment of politicians. But he is a big business man, a corporation lawyer—and so far as we know, a thoroughly honest man.

Go down the line: Norris, Copeland, McAdoo, Brandeis, Borah, Wheeler, Walsh, Hiram, Brookhart—honest men, able men, public spirited men—with practically no exceptions, their sole claim to our attention is that they are not thieves and are opposed to thievery.

Not enough to build a movement upon!

### Our Program

As Socialists we have a program. As workers, we want something now. In our present endeavor to unite the working class politically, we have a minimum. That is, we take it for granted that our people are not pickpockets, wife beaters, horse thieves, murderers. Any discussion of that kind is ruled out at the start.

Our program is, first and foremost—the unity of the workers politically, opposed to the two old parties. Not because of any desire for the spoils, but because we realize that, as workers, we belong together, opposed to the parties that are the property and the mouthpiece of the employing class.

To unite the workers in that way; to get them into a party of their own opposed to the two old parties of big business—that is the immediate task. The fermenting out of the crooks may very well be left to the two parties so richly endowed with them. For the workers—honesty is not enough. Merely to oppose dishonesty is not the mission of the producers of America. To unite in their own party is their mission, and from that to go on.

## SOCIALIST MURDERED BY THE FASCISTI IS ELECTED TO CHAMBER

Milan.—The Fascisti heroes of Reggio Emilia, a large city and center of Socialist strength in Emilia, didn't like the activities of Antonio Piccinini, Socialist candidate for the Chamber of Deputies, and they murdered him. They took him from the printing shop in which he was employed, and stabbed him to death. They thought they could discourage the Socialists from their activities. They kept him out of the Chamber, but they didn't intimidate the Socialist voters, who elected him to the Chamber just the same, as a protest against Fascisti methods.

The vacancy in the Chamber will be filled by the next highest man on the Socialist list, who will speak for himself, as well as for the murdered man.

Avanti, the great Socialist daily of this city, has opened a fund for the family of Piccinini. To date 33,000 lire have been raised.

pink tulle hat and carried an ivory prayer book.

After these excruciating scenes of toil on the part of those who do the world's work (because they have the world's goods) the readers undoubtedly have no more heart for the details of the clear profit of the Republic steel company of \$2,080,809 for the first quarter of 1924; of the Illinois Central's profit for its real workers (those who fearlessly wield the shears and clip coupons) of \$15,485,073 for a year; of the \$8,474,720 earned by the terrible labors of the stockholders of the Seaboard Air Line; of the \$4,519,375 made by Mr. Schwab's Bethlehem Steel Corp.—his hard work seems to be giving advice to the world while his employees have a lovely time sweating their lives away—for three months of 1924; of the \$500,000 "made" by the owners of the stock of the International Mercantile Marine; of the \$355,747 "made" by Gulf States Steel for three months, or any other similar scenes of laborious endeavor.

The class will now be dismissed and will attend a lecture by some patriot or other, who will prove that Socialists, who want to end the exploitation of Labor, who want to conduct industry for use and not for profit, and who want everyone to do some useful work, are traitors, horse thieves, scoundrels, and should be deported to Chignik and Igvak.

## EUGENE V. DEBS ON THE JULY 4TH CONVENTION

"With reference to the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action on July 4, I am in hearty accord therewith and with the program and progress thus far reported, and if the convention is sufficiently advanced in recognizing that there can be no traffic with the two old capitalist parties, that there must be a complete and final break and that the working-class must strike out boldly for independent political action along the lines of its class interest—if a majority of the delegates are sufficiently class conscious and courageous to take such a stand and to plan their campaign accordingly, then I am most heartily in favor of joining issue with them and making common cause under a united banner in the coming campaign and in support of the same candidates, while at the same time preserving strictly the identity and integrity of the Socialist Party as a revolutionary working-class party which stands uncompromisingly for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

"Should the convention, however, fail to take such advanced grounds and proclaim such a working-class political program, I am opposed to unity or cooperation under any such circumstances and favor absolutely the party maintaining its former isolation and independence, adopting its own platform, nominating its own candidates and making its own issue as it has done in all previous years."

## Solomon-Nearing Debate Party Tactics

(Continued From Page 1.)

accepts the principle of "capturing" old party nominations.

"The fact that these masses of workers are ready to meet with us, even to consider the possibility of a Labor party, is evidence of great progress," he said.

The debate was under the direction of Free Youth, but to many it was a Socialist Old Home Week. Everyone seemed to be present. A hall twice as large would not have sufficed to hold the crowd that sought to hear the debate.

## A WHITE TONGUE

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## Communists Lose Their Grip

(Continued From Page 1.)

that Degot has informed them in the name of Moscow, that such action would only becloud the workers' class vision and constitute a betrayal of the interests of the working class. He declared it made no difference, under the prevailing circumstances, who sat on the Italian throne, King Victor or Nitti. Degot adds, "As I learned later, my answer was of decisive importance." Some Socialists here believe that in 1920, before the Italian workers had been all split to pieces by factional fights instigated by Moscow, there was a good chance to put over a republic and thus forestall Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship.

In France, according to reports received here, there is trouble among the Communists, due to the fact that the party's political bureau has removed Boris Souvarine from his post as Editor of the Bulletin Communiste and designated him as delegate in the Executive Committee in Moscow. Souvarine, a Franco-Russian counted as one of the best-posted writers of the Communist party, is understood to have fallen into disfavor because he supported the "democratic" campaign of Trotsky and Radek inside the Communist party of Russia, which was regarded almost as high treason to Communism by the French party potentates. In his farewell article in the Bulletin Communiste Souvarine asked his followers to raise a fund of 20,000 francs to enable him to publish a paper defending his ideas against those of the Executive Committee.

World Communist Congress  
When the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International meets in Vienna on June 5 the delegates are expected to take drastic action toward putting some vigor in the agitation for the organization of national units of the Communist Youth International. According to recent report by Bukharin, head of that international, quoted in the information sheet of the International Federation of Trade Unions, an immediate increase in financial help is needed, as the young Communists in both Europe and Asia are falling away from the organization. Up to Jan. 1, last, the decline in membership was 44 per cent in Norway, 27 in Germany, 40 in Finland and 22 in France. In Rumania the membership was 1,390, against 4,020 in 1922, in Japan there was a drop of 30 per cent and in China there were only 800 members left.

That the Bulgarian Government deliberately faked an alleged letter from Gregory Zinoviev, President of the Executive Committee of the Third International, to the Bulgarian Communists in order to justify its persecution of Bulgarian agitators, is charged in a recent issue of Pravda, the official organ of the Russian Communist party. The Executive Committee of the Communist International says the last letter sent by Zinoviev to the Bulgarian Communists was written last July, before the near-revolution, and that the alleged letter quoted in the Bulgarian official press never existed. Furthermore, the quotations from an appeal issued by the Communist Co-operatives are branded as mixtures of lies and distortions, evidently put out to justify the Government's confiscation of the Communist Co-operatives in Bulgaria.

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(ORGANIZED OCTOBER 19, 1884)

## Lo! The Poor Capitalist!

Herewith The New Leader continues its course of instruction in elementary political economy.

The lessons that have preceded have stressed the claim made by conventional economists, defenders of the present order, that there is economic justice in the world, that those who have the good things of life render service for the things they have while those who have not deserve what they get. That Capital is entitled to its profits because of the "risks" it takes in putting money in industrial enterprises, while the worker risks nothing, and is therefore entitled to what he gets for his nice, soft snap. That industry is carried on solely because the daring capitalists are willing to "risk" their money, and not to supply the world with its needs.

Upon no other theory can a claim be based for the justice of the present order, and it is upon that claim that defenders of capitalism assail Socialism, which would reward the unworthy workers—who risk nothing—and deprive the courageous capitalists of the opportunity to earn a return upon that which they risk—namely, their invested capital.

### 114 MINERS KILLED

The unworthiness of the workers to have more than a living wage and the chance of losing their jobs when the bosses think they can't make any more out of them, is accurately illustrated by the picnic of miners in the Benwood Mine of the Wheeling Steel Corporation, Benwood, West Va., April 28. At that mine, 114 miners were trapped in an explosion—which could easily have been avoided—and all of them believed to have been burned to death or buried alive. Not one escaped.

For risking their capital, the stockholders have the right to draw heavy dividends, to give the workers what wages they chose to pay, to compel them to live in company houses and trade in company stores, to drive out union organizers who strive to unite the workers to get better conditions, and to get the Government to employ injunctions, the police, militia, constabulary and soldiery to beat them down when they get restive. For having this nice soft snap that the bosses give them, the workers get—what they get.

The mine is located in McDowell County, a section of the State that is controlled by the Baldwin-Feltz detectives who are financed by anti-union coal owners. No one in this county can recall when a coal owner was punished for these explosions.

### NO ONE IS BLAMED FOR MINERS' DEATHS

Bluefield, W. Va.—A coroner's jury finds that no one is responsible for the death of 24 miners employed by the Yukon-Pocahontas Coal Company, March 17.

The jury said the explosion was

### Thaw's Social Service

(From "The Lantern," Don Marquis' Column in The Tribune.)

Mr. Harry Thaw has, apparently, triumphed in his long and arduous labors for the public good; after many years he has succeeded in showing the civilized society of America just where it Gets Off, Heads In and Comes Down.

It cannot execute him for murder because he is insane.

It cannot keep him cooped up on a charge of insanity because he is sane.

It has taken years and millions to establish these incontrovertible facts, to say nothing of the efforts of hundreds of eminent physicians and brilliant lawyers, but Mr. Thaw has never flagged in his great work.

Some striking reward should be his, for he has furnished us with a true measure of the ethics and sincerity of our contemporary social system; he has shown us what our elaborate conventions really amount to in that Last Analysis which we are always hearing so much about.

We call on both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions to nominate him for President of the United States.

caused "by powder detonations and assisted by coal dust." Under the State law the company is required to dampen this dust to prevent ignition.

### "TO HELL WITH DANGER!"

Crosby, Minn.—"To Hell with danger; it's ore we want!" is said to be the motto of the bosses of the iron mine here. The mine—non-union—is under the lake, and for years the miners have known that it is a death trap. Recently, the roof caved in and 41 miners lost their lives. The bosses risked their capital you understand. They are certain that Socialism, which would make human life and public welfare the sole object of industry, would interfere with the "incentive" of the bosses to "risk" their money in these mines, and would destroy America. No one asks the miners what incentive they have when they go into the death trap. They don't count.

### BLACK POWDER KILLS 857 MINE WORKERS

Washington.—The United States Bureau of Mines reports that the continued use of black blasting powder in coal mines is a menace to the miners. During the period 1908 to 1923, 857 miners were killed by explosions of such powder, and 173 were injured. But the use of that sort of powder saves money.

### NOW THE HARD WORKING BOSSES

Here are some examples of the hard work the other folks are doing. They Get It, and the capitalist economists want us to believe that in this eminently just system, only those who deserve the good things of life get those good things. Fair enough, isn't it?

Here is a story of people who must work fearfully hard, because they have such a lot.

### WEDDING PARTY DINES UNDER CIRCUS TENT

Mr. Harold Osgood Whitney, who will be an usher at the wedding of Miss Peggy Stout and Mr. Lawrence Copley Thaw at St. Thomas's, gave a dinner at the Plaza for all the members of the bridal party.

It was a "circus" dinner and later the guests, who numbered twenty-five, were taken to the real circus. The table was spread under a tent. There was sawdust on the floor and the decorations were miniature animals of all kinds. The waiters were dressed as clowns.

### SOME HEARTRENDING SCENES OF TOIL

And here is another tale of the sufferings of the people who suffer and pant and sweat; compare this with the right royal festivities when the sons and daughters of coal miners and steel puddlers and needle workers take unto themselves life companions.

The chapel of St. Bartholomew's church was crowded for the wedding of Mrs. Cordelia Biddle Duke, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony J. Drexel Biddle of Philadelphia, to Thomas Markoe Robertson of this city. Suffragan Bishop Shipman officiated.

The bride was given in marriage by her father, and her only attendants were her two small sons, Angier B. and Anthony Biddle Duke, who served as pages, and little Virginia Thaw, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Thaw 3d, who was flower girl. W. Reynold Hitt of Washington, D. C., was Mr. Robertson's best man. The ushers were Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., and Livingston L. Biddle 2d, brothers of the bride; Leonard M. Thomas, Courtlandt D. Barnes, Garrett B. Kip, Thomas G. Dunham, R. Burnside Potter and Henry T. Fleitmann.

After the ceremony, a small reception was held at the apartment in the Ritz Carlton of the bride's uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. William Thaw 3d. Mr. and Mrs. Robertson are booked to sail on the Majestic, and will remain about two months abroad. The bride's gown was of cream-colored lace over white satin, with blue taffeta sash trimmed with tiny pink rosebuds. She wore a pale



## GLORIOUS LOS ANGELES!

By Samuel Rappaport

The unemployment situation in Los Angeles is serious and critical. It is estimated that there are more than 50,000 men and women out of work in Los Angeles at the present time. The officials are placed in a desperate situation. As a result of the vast army of unemployed, crime has increased. The Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association have become alarmed. The feverish excitement and worry has affected some of the most "prominent" business people, and in this frenzy of alarm hundreds of men have been arrested and sent to prison simply because they are victims of capitalism and are out of work. For we have in this enlightened and civilized country what is called the Vagrancy Law. Under the meaning of this law, any person out of work can be railroaded to prison.

### Freedom for Crooks

The men who are out of employment by choice—the sharper and crook—still retain their freedom and are at liberty to ply their profession. But the unfortunate skilled or unskilled laborer or working-man is clamped into jail.

Meanwhile tremendous propaganda is spread throughout the country, particularly in the East, about the glorious and wonderful opportunities of California, especially Los Angeles. Many deluded souls are influenced to break up their homes and travel across the continent to land in Los Angeles only to find that there is no demand for workers. Horace Greeley advised the young man to "Go West," but that may have been sound advice many years ago.

### Land Swindlers

Today Los Angeles is in the biggest campaign ever dreamed of in the sale of land. Vast stretches of farm land have been subdivided and sold to the gullible with representation of earning huge profits in resale of said land. Many have lost thousands of dollars in such transactions. Whatever houses have been built on such land remain unsold and can not be sold for many years because of their inaccessibility and hard times confronted by the workers.

Mountains and knolls and valleys hills far out of the city are being sold for prices far in excess of lots in New York City or Washington. Of course the speculators or operators in these real estate deals are reaping a rich harvest of gold. But as one man grows rich, another becomes poor. That is the inevitable and immutable law of our economic life.

### Fake Oil Stocks

Thousands of men and women are employed with oil companies to fleece the innocent out of their savings by unloading fake oil stocks, many millions of dollars are obtained from the credulous by beautiful advertisements in the daily newspapers advising people to come in on the ground floor of the "Roosevelt Mausoleum Park" and other like ventures. Ingenious methods are pursued to mulct the people in one form or another. And still the campaign continues to increase the population of Los Angeles to 2,000,000 by 1926. Whether so many fools exist that will come to remain in this abominable city is a problematical question.

But the situation for the average family and the average man and woman in this city becomes more deplorable as the months go by.

### Army of Unemployed

What will the city officials do with regard to the unemployed? Nothing. Legislation may be passed to ameliorate some of the evils existing here. But it will be of the most harmless and ineffective kind. For after all, the great captains of industries in Los Angeles crave for a large army of unemployed in order to keep down the scale of wages. The open shop is what the capitalists covet.

Whether the men and women who toil in this community can be organized in a struggle to better their conditions is dubious. The people here are cowed. They have been intimidated in the past few years by most barbarous laws. Their spirit has been broken. Many of them have quit the noble fight. But the conditions that prevail necessarily breed the type that will rise up and continue the struggle for freedom and emancipation.

### Avoid California!

In the meantime the people in the East must be informed of the plain facts regarding the situation in California and the Southwest. You cannot live on climate alone, nor on scenery. If you come here be prepared to starve, to work for a minimum wage of eighteen or twenty dollars a week, to be suppressed in speech and thought, to fall in line with the unfortunates of the City of the Angels. For God's sake stay East.

## The Problem of Housing

By Samuel Orr

The Housing Problem throughout the civilized world arises out of the necessity for shelter. The more civilized a people become the greater the necessity for better housing facilities.

The demand for more and better housing existed in Europe and America even before the war. However, the last war has made the problem an acute one everywhere. The diversion of men and women from the production of building materials to the manufacture of war materials caused a shortage of building material. The conscription of men and women to the war industries caused a dearth of laborers in the building trades which resulted in a practically complete stoppage of home building. Added to this was the destruction of hundreds of thousands of buildings throughout the fighting regions. Belgium, Italy and France had 80,000, 200,000 and 600,000 buildings respectively destroyed as a result of the war. Earthquakes and floods have also destroyed hundreds of thousands of homes as in Japan.

### What Europe is Doing

What are the various countries of Europe doing in order to replace the thousands of buildings destroyed? Most of the European governments recognizing the need for housing have passed suitable legislation providing for loans of millions of dollars to municipalities and recognized societies for long periods of time and at very low rates of interest. The rebuilding of the war-torn territories and the replacement of houses that have become uninhabitable have not been left to private initiative and greed. The various governments of Europe, recognizing that homes are a public necessity, have tackled the problem as a public utility. Private profiteers and gougers have nothing to do with it.

Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, Italy, New Zealand, Belgium and many other countries have launched gigantic building schemes seeking to provide beautiful homes for their working classes.

### Labor Government's Plan

England in particular has wiped out a large number of slum areas and is building houses with all improvements in accordance with proper planning and assistance from the best architects.

The plans of the Labor Government recently announced to build four and a quarter million homes in the next fifteen years, which are to be rented out on the at cost system, is one of the most ambitious plans ever devised. The work of the Queensland Labor Government in the direction of providing thousands of the best houses to the working people is another example of what is being done by other countries to solve the housing problem abroad. It should be emphasized that the more Labor is interested in the politics of a country, the greater interest the government of that country takes in providing suitable houses for its workers. Government building in Europe was preceded by all forms of private endeavor which failed because commercial enterprise could not provide good homes for working people as there was no profit in it.

### Cost Basis Plan

The effort to eliminate profit which followed through philanthropic foundations, limited dividend housing societies, employers, cooperative associations proved little more successful.

The at cost basis proved to be the best method, through government credit, housing loans in large amounts at a low rate of interest and for long periods of repayment. The objections at first raised by the private housing interests were the usual ones. It was claimed that government loans would be expensive, bureaucratic and that it would be Socialistic. Great progress has been made in spite of all objections because experience had shown that government loans was the only way out for a sane solution of the problem.

Many of the European countries tried the tax exemption law but it was not extensively enacted because it did not prove productive of any good results.

### Backward America

In America how different the situation! Due to the low type of legislators sent to the city councils, State and Federal legislatures, very little progressive legislation of any kind is enacted. Labor does not yet see fit to go into politics as a class and enact Labor legislation. The cities of America have very acute housing situations. Most of the cities have large slum areas. The districts have unusually large death rates. Lung blocks, where pulmonary tuberculosis harvests its many victims; dark rooms without any windows for light and air; thousands of old-law tenements or private houses converted into dwellings through the medium of vent-holes and narrow airshafts.

In 1920, when the situation became very acute and a crisis developed, the New York State Legislature enacted so-called emergency housing laws which to a degree curbed landlord profiteering and wholesale evictions, but these laws accomplished nothing whatsoever in solving the housing problem which in the main is one of housing short-

age—a shortage of working class houses.

### Exemption Laws a Fraud

The enactment of municipalities under an enabling act of the New York Legislature of tax exemption laws resulted in the construction of many buildings which proved of no interest to the working classes. Builders were the only ones who profited by this tax exemption law. No limitation whatsoever was placed upon the rental to be charged in these tax exempt houses with the result that the rooms rented at \$20 per room and up. This made it impossible for workers to rent these rooms. Two and three families occupied rooms which could comfortably house only one family. The Health Commissioner stated that in the event of an epidemic of any kind, there will be a tremendous loss of life.

Most of the European countries have begun to solve the housing problem by recognizing the fact that private initiative has failed and that housing must become the concern of the various governments. Housing has become a public utility. In the American cities housing has been left to private initiative, real estate sharks, profiteers and gougers. Neither the cities, states or the Federal Government have taken any steps to take housing out of private hands. This would be Socialistic, paternalistic and destructive of individual and private initiative and consequently not to be thought of!

### A Labor Government Needed

The only time the housing problem will be solved is when Labor will be in control of the governing bodies of the cities, states and the nation. Only a Labor Government will really seek to solve the housing problem by taking the profit out of such a prime necessity.

Dr. Edith Elmer Wood in her book, "Housing Progress in Western Europe," concludes her very informative book with the following terse statement: "We have more automobiles, it is true, but which will profit a nation more in the long run—to have one hundred per cent of its people living in good, wholesome homes, or to have fifty per cent rushing up and down in Fords?"

## LEO AND SOCIALISM

By Nelson West

In a book, "Papacy, Democracy and Socialism," the author, Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, says that a follower of Saint Simon, named Pereire, wrote to Pope Leo XIII asking him to support "Socialism." This makes it clear why the Pope defined Socialism as he did and had good grounds for its condemnation.

The Pope used the word "Socialists" four times and the word "Socialism," once in the letter. I use a copy of the encyclical published by the "International Catholic Truth Society," of 407 Berggren street, New York City. The figures and quotations indicate the pages from which the quotations were taken.

### Interesting Quotations

"Socialists endeavor to destroy private property" (3); "to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community" (3 and 4); "setting aside the parent and introducing the providence of the State" (9); "to reduce human society to a level" (10); "thus it is clear that the main tenet of Socialism, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected" (9).

We can heartily agree with him in condemning that utopian system; and we can also endorse his picture of the condition of Labor.

"For the effect of change and revolution has been to divide society into TWO WIDELY DIFFERENT CASTES. On the one side is the party which holds power because it holds wealth . . . and is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering" (29-30). "A small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself" (3).

### "Chattels" and "Slaves"

He clearly saw the flaw in our boasted "freedom of contract," for "man's labor is necessary . . . if through necessity or fear of a worse evil the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice" (28-29). He saw men and women used as "chattels," slaves, "so much muscle," "mere instruments of making money" (12, 26). He saw children "in workshops and factories" before "their bodies and minds are

sufficiently mature," and "women" in "certain trades" not suited to them (27).

Class legislation did not seem so bad to him when "the general interest of any particular class suffers . . . the public authority must step in to meet" the evil.

The power of economics was such that he thought it an important "matter to provide these bodily and external commodities, the use of which is necessary to virtuous action" (22).

### Labor and Rewards

Here is another part of the letter where we can use his words. He gives "principles which truth and justice dictate for its (the condition of labor) settlement."

The right to work: He declares that "each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work" (28).

The reward of labor: He sees that by work a man gives to what he works on "the impress of his own personality . . . indistinguishable and inseparable from it" (6). Then he puts this question: "Is it just that the fruit of a man's sweat and labor should be owned and enjoyed by another?" And he puts down this definite reply. "As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labor should belong to him who has labored" (6).

### Socialism!!

Now—with the industries operated so that all have the opportunity to work, and get all of the net value of his or her work, who would desire to own capital? Who could afford to own capital? Who would tolerate the ownership of capital? But how would the Pope secure the social ownership of capital?

Turn to page 30 and we see that the use of private property can be controlled by the State in the interest of public good. That it may take private property by taxation—"not more than is just"—not "to abolish it altogether" (30). This can be easily interpreted in our favor.

### Conclusions

What then will be the result when the people have social ownership? "Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which is their own . . . which yields in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of the good things for themselves and those that are dear to them . . . no man would exchange his country for a foreign land" (30).

Here are a few of the strong words used by the Pope, and my claim that one who accepts the things in this noted encyclical, "Rerum Novarum," not only may be a Socialist, but must be a Socialist.

## Danish Socialists Lead by 107,448

Copenhagen.—The complete and corrected figures of the recent elections show the Socialist sweep to have been even greater than first imagined. The Socialists topped the poll, running 107,448 ahead of the next party, the Liberals. The Communists, who have what they call a "party" liberally supplied with funds by the Communist International, as well as a daily newspaper subsidized from the same source, managed to accumulate 6,204 votes. They had the advantage of being first on the official ballot, on which the parties are arranged alphabetically. They elected no members of the House.

The vote for the various parties was as follows:—

	Votes	Members
Socialists	469,845	55
Liberals	362,397	44
Conservatives	242,929	28
Radicals	166,269	20
Agrarians	19,532	1
Schleswig party	7,716	1
Communists	6,204	0

The Radicals, who are led by a brother of the great critic, George Brandes, accept most of the Socialist position, and will support the whole Socialist program when presented by the Stauning ministry. Together the two parties have 75 members out of 149, a clear majority.

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majority. There are no strings to the Radical support of the Socialist ministry.

### GOVERNMENT BY SPIES

Editor of The New Leader:

I just want to take a little space in your paper to call to the attention of your readers something which I believe may prove interesting.

Recently, Senator Hefflin, Democrat of Alabama, in a speech delivered on the floor of the Senate made some interesting statements. He said: (I quote from the Congressional Record, p. 6147):

"A serious situation confronts the Senate and the country. All sorts of reprehensible means are being employed by Republican officials and ex-officials to paralyze this arm of the Government. The Senate is hounded by secret service men. The offices of the Senators are being searched. Senators are being shadowed. There are more thugs in this city city now, strange men, than have ever been here since I have been in Washington, nearly 20 years. They have been imported for some criminal purpose."

Later in his speech he shouts in despair: "Oh, Mr. President, there are a great many things going on here about which the people in the States do not know. Every Senator in this body who is on investigating committees is in danger. In my judgment there are men now in this city, at the instance of the interests we are investigating, who would if they thought they could get away with it, murder any Senator who is daring to uncover the crookedness and corruption that have gone on under this administration. That is a strong statement, but it is as true as that I live and God reigns."

He reaches the climax when he says: "God knows it is a pitiful condition; but I thank God that the American people are awakening. They are not going to stand for this, Senators. When we can reach them, after this Congress shall have adjourned and can assemble the men and women of America and tell them the dangers that we endured as we sat here and fought for free institutions from the hands of those who would destroy them, they are going to rise up and be satisfied with nothing less than a genuine American house cleaning."

"My God! What are we coming to? The Secret Service of the Government which is supposed to be used in the name of the Government to ferret out crime and to apprehend and punish criminals is turned by the crooks upon those who fight for the Government. That is what we have under Republican rule. Why will the President not say something?"

So all through the rest of the speech the Senator from Alabama tries to show how crooked the Republicans are. I can sympathize with this Democratic Senator. But, really are the Democrats altogether clean? Did not a Democratic administration with a Democratic Attorney-General set the example?

### Was not the Secret Service of the Government under A. Mitchell Palmer, a good Wilsonian Democrat, used for hounding good American citizens because they disagreed with the administration's point of view, while war-profiteers, criminals and spies were not molested?

Was it not under Democratic rule that hundreds of innocent men and women were framed and sent to jail because they held unpopular views?

Senator Hefflin did not find it necessary to raise his voice in opposition to the Mooney and Billings frame-up. He kept quiet while several hundred workers and their families were driven out of Bisbee. All these things happened under a Democratic administration.

Yes, I agree that when all that there is to be known is known, the American people will rise and there will be a "genuine house cleaning." So genuine, that it will include all of the old party politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike. In their place, the American people will send their own representatives.

We can hasten the coming of that awakening by a little more work. Every reader of The New Leader, every Socialist Party member ought to do a little more work and help spread the truth. In fact I am beginning to think that instead of printing our own literature we ought to get reprints from the Congressional Record and show the American citizens what the Democrats and Republican representatives think of each other. All we would have to do is just say, "Amen." We agree with both of them.

I trust that I have not taken too much of your space. Yours for a "genuine American house cleaning," through an Independent Political Party of Labor.

HARRY N. BORDMAN.

Phoenix, N. Y.

### THAT A. L. P. MEETING

Editor of The New Leader:  
The very fine attendance and the good spirit of our April 7, Cooper Union meeting encouraged and strengthened us in our knowledge that with the proper spirit and co-operation we can draw the public to us.

The spirit was there and the work was done. The active cooperation of Joshua Lieberman, Joseph Viola, Patrick Murphy and Nathan Fine and the delegates of our affiliated groups all working toward one aim brought our people together. The ushers and collectors and all our fine comrades were on the job.

We expect this to be a good start for a continued campaign. A vote of thanks goes from the Executive Committee to our speakers Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Arthur Garfield Hayes, Charles Solomon, Jerome T. De Hunt and our workers who together made our meeting successful.

With thanks and greetings,  
MARIE B. MACDONALD,  
Organizer, American Labor Party.



## THE PRESENT ORDER CANNOT MAKE PEACE

By Norman Thomas

The most interesting thing about the Dawes report is the evidence it gives of the impossibility of a decent European settlement so long as three major ideas are dominant in the organization of the world. Those ideas are capitalism, nationalism and the myth of a guilty nation. The Dawes report may be the basis of negotiation. It is not the basis of a decent settlement.

In the first place, it is a thoroughgoing capitalist document. It assumes, as does our whole present civilization, that it is fit and proper for the workers to go on and on toiling to pay interest and mortgages and bonds held after age by absentee owners. In the case of Germany these absentee owners will be foreign governments and bankers. The Dawes report proposes turning over all the German railroads to a private corporation in which foreign governments will be interested. Before the war the German railroads were efficiently nationalized. Since the war the general confusion in Germany has been reflected in the management of the railroads. But instead of improving the management, the suggestion of the Dawes report is that the railroads must be turned over to a private corporation.

### Dawes a Reactionary

One can just see men like General Dawes with his anti-union, anti-public ownership record chuckling as he thinks that he has put one more nail in the coffin of public ownership and democratic control by making it impossible for the people and workers in Germany to assert such control over their own railroads. Moreover, it is to be observed that although the report talks piously about decent wages it is based on the notion of getting the maximum profits out of industry and out of the railroads. Already the effect of French occupation of the Ruhr has been to reduce wages, lengthen hours and break down the safeguards round the workers. The effect of foreign control by business interests will be to continue this effort to force down wages. (That may be why some German capitalists are so favorably inclined to the report). No Labor party or Labor government of any hue from the mildest pink to the deepest red can consistently regard such a proposal as just or advantageous to the workers anywhere in the world. Never forget that the competition of enslaved German workers makes it easier to enslave British, French and American workers. Their poverty is the world's poverty, as our own farmers have been learning.

### Nationalism and Allied Myth

The second notion that makes a really just settlement impossible is nationalism. Because we personify nations as individuals, we think calmly of sentencing the German workers and their children for an indefinite period of time to enforced toil to pay off national debts. We do not even stop to see whether the effect of this is good upon the creditor nations. We forget the brotherhood in work, aspiration, hope, that ought to exist between all those men and women by whose labor of hand or brain our complex civilization is carried on.

Closely allied to the notion of nationalism is the myth of the guilty nation. It cannot be too solemnly asserted that even if the German Government had been solely responsible for the war, the American nation was committed by President Wilson to the idea that we had no quarrel with the German people. But as we now know through the history of the last generation and especially the revelations of the secret archives of Germany, Austria and Russia, the fundamental cause of war was an economic imperialism backed by great armaments in which Germany was neither more nor less guilty than Russia, France, England, Italy. For the crooked diplomacy that immediately led to it, the overwhelming evidence of the documents is that the primary responsibility falls not on Germany but on Austria and Russia. It was the recalcitrant attitude of Austria and the mobilization of the Russian army that precipitated war. In this pre-war diplomacy we now know that Poincaré played as dangerous a role as the German statesmen. These are hard sayings but they are true sayings. The evidence on the subject has been admirably summarized by that very competent historian, himself once a believer in German guilt, Harry Elmer Barnes, in *The New Republic* for March 19.

### Break Chains of False Ideas

By all means Germany ought to have given reparation for damages to civilian populations, especially in Belgium and Northern France. To that and only to that was she pledged by the Armistice. That she was willing to do and could have done ere this, save for French politicians and imperialists who while they (or some of them) grafted on the restoration of Northern France adopted a policy toward Germany making payment well nigh impossible. The course of those politicians whether in France or elsewhere has only been made possible by the dominance of the ideas to which we have called attention. Workers on farms and in factories who would be free must first break the chains of the false ideas which bind them.

## RUSSELL-HILLQUIT DEBATE, MAY 5TH

Interest in the Bertrand Russell-Morris Hillquit Debate is growing daily. Such people as the John Haynes Holmes, Everett Dean Martin, college professors, members of the Labor Socialist movements, people of all points of view are anxious to hear the viewpoint of these two illustrious men on such a timely question as whether the British Labor party is revolutionary.

Before the war Bertrand Russell was known to the learned as the foremost of symbolic logicians and to readers of peerages as heir to an earldom. Since the war he has become known to far wider circles as a prisoner for conscience sake and the foremost of the liberals. Few families in England have taken a more conspicuous share in public affairs than the Russells, and under stress of the war this hereditary claim asserted its sway over the philosopher. He found that he cared more about human miseries than about the subtleties of logic. He made it his business to think out a way by which mankind could save itself from self-destruction. And when he issued his burning appeals to lead men from passion to reason, the stir of his words was felt throughout the Empire.

Above all, as Wesley C. Michell points out, "Bertrand Russell possesses extraordinary courage. He has the moral intensity of a martyr, the intellectual confidence of a great logician, and the calm assurance of an English aristocrat." The experiences with human nature in its least tolerant mood, which were thrust upon him during the war as one of an insignificant and most unpopular minority, merely confirmed his faith in his own version of truth. His successive books show no decline in his confidence, no cooling of his zeal, and no souring of his temper. On the other hand, they reveal a steady advance in the scope of his social knowledge.

The Debate will be held at Carnegie Hall, Monday evening, May 5, at 8 P. M. Russell will take the negative, Hillquit will take the affirmative. Many of the prominent unions have already taken boxes for the occasion, the Daily Forward, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers, the Ladies' Garment Cutters, No. 10, the Furriers' Union and others.

Rev. Percy Stickney Grant will act as chairman.

## TWO NEW LABOR PRIME MINISTERS

Melbourne.—There are six States in the Australian Commonwealth, and four of them have Socialist Governments. Two of them have taken office within the last few days, in Western Australia, Philip Collier succeeding James Mitchell as Premier and in South Australia, John Gunn succeeding Sir H. M. Barwell.

Mr. John Gunn is 39 years of age. When 25 he conducted a drivers' strike. He was elected to Parliament in 1915, and has made his name as a moderate Socialist.

Philip Collier, a miner, is 51 years of age and has been 19 years in Parliament. Of a striking presence, possessing a quick brain and ready tongue, with an infinite fund of humor, Mr. Collier is popular with all parties.

Victoria and New South Wales are now the only non-Labor States. Tasmania being already Labor, while Queensland's Socialist regime under E. G. Theodore has achievements to its credit that are known everywhere. Labor has not been in power in the Commonwealth Government since W. M. Hughes "rattled" during the war. The new victories give reason to hope for the early reconquest of New South Wales and perhaps of the Federal Government.

## THE LABOR PARTY

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

THERE ARE a few points in regard to a Labor party which are already clear.

The first is that the most influential Labor paper in the country, Labor the railroad brotherhood's organ, with nearly 1,000,000 circulation, is lined up for La Follette and boosting him as candidate for President on a third party ticket. The chances are very strong that he will be put into the field by the Conference for Progressive Political Action as a presidential candidate on a third party ticket. The same influential paper, Labor, which is backing La Follette has bitterly attacked the Communist convention, camouflaged as the Federated Farmer-Labor party, called for St. Paul on June 17, on the ground that this convention is an attempt, by a few persons representing only themselves to head off and prevent the formation of a real Labor party in this country. With La Follette's most influential backers denouncing the Communist convention it seems fairly certain that La Follette would not consent to be the candidate for the Communists as has been suggested in some quarters.

LA FOLLETTE has announced his personal platform, which may be described as an anti-monopoly platform. It does not go as far as we Socialists would like, naturally, but there is nothing in it that Socialists cannot accept. In fact, it is more radical than the platform of the Socialist Party in some local campaigns. There is no indication in it that La Follette would refuse to endorse the entire program of the Conference for Progressive Political Action adopted last February.

The second point which is clear is that if about one third of the present affiliated membership of the National Conference for Progressive Political Action launches a Farmer-Labor party on the La Follette program, that Farmer-Labor party would have a larger affiliated membership and in some respects a more radical platform than the British Labor Party when it was first formed. This fact is important. For our situation in one significant respect is much more like the British situation than the situation in other European countries. In Continental European countries it was Socialists in nearly every case who organized the trade unions, so that the question of getting union support for the Socialist Party never was a serious one. Only in Great Britain and the United States were the workers strongly organized industrially before they came to see the need for independent working class political action. If, therefore, our Labor party starts off with as radical a platform as our British comrades had and a larger affiliated membership, we have every reason to be proud of our progress.

A THIRD point to remember is that the Cleveland Convention of the National Conference for Progressive Political Action next July, being a national body only, cannot make nominations for state-wide Offices or Congress; its failure to do so cannot be used as an argument against it. It can only elect the national ticket and platform. The nominations for state offices and Congress, if there are to be any independent working class candidates for these offices, must be made by the Socialist Party or by local conferences for Progressive Political Action.

Some of these local conferences may prove more reactionary than the National Conference, and might refuse to put up a local Labor party ticket, or try to place some old party nominees on such a ticket. If there was a functioning Socialist organization in such localities, they would not doubt quite properly refuse to be bound by such action and would nominate their own Socialist candidate for local office. But

the reactionary character of some state or local Conferences for Progressive Political Action would hardly be a good reason for Socialists in those localities refusing to endorse the National Labor party platform and candidates. Locally, they could work for their own candidates, as they would be the only ones opposed to the Democratic-Republican bi-partisan boodle machines, while nationally they could support the Labor party.

JUST AS the Democratic and Republican parties are more corrupt and reactionary in some places than others, so we must expect some local Conferences for Progressive Political Action to be more reactionary than the National Conference. Our state and local organizations in such instances can support the National Labor party candidates and refuse to support the local candidates endorsed by the Local Conference for Progressive Political Action, just as we have remained affiliated with the National Conference for Progressive Political Action for three years without following its plan of working within the primaries of the two oil parties.

The National Conference for Progressive Political Action accepted our affiliation while we favored independent working class political action and they opposed it. If now the Conference adopts our principle nationally and launches a Labor party, we should not turn against it because some of the organizations affiliated with the National Labor party reserve their liberty of action to endorse oil party candidates locally, just as we formerly reserved our liberty of action to nominate our own candidates.

FINALLY, we are all agreed that we will continue our work for Socialism whether a Labor party is formed with which we are affiliated or not. In either case we will maintain our national office and our party press, and continue to distribute our leaflets and sell our pamphlets, just as the Independent Labor party, the Socialist wing of the British Labor party does in that country. At many times and places our members have distributed leaflets and carried on Socialist education where we had no candidates. It does not seem more contrary to our principles to urge a man to be a Socialist and vote this time for La Follette, than to urge a man to be a Socialist at a time or in a place where he cannot vote for Socialism.

If we do join a Farmer-Labor party it will be far easier to distribute leaflets, or sell pamphlets or get meetings for Socialists who in some cases will be candidates on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket in farmer or Labor organizations, than if we refuse to affiliate with such a party. Compared with the fact that it will be much easier for us to carry on our Socialist education among the workers of this country if we are affiliated with a Farmer-Labor party than if we are not, it is relatively immaterial whether or not the Farmer-Labor party's candidates and platform are thoroughly class-conscious in the year 1924 or not. For if Socialists are energetic in their educational work; if the Socialist program really meets the needs and solves the problems of the workers in town and country in this nation, we can be sure that a party which is controlled and financed by the organized workers and farmers will become more and more Socialist as time goes on.

### "LABOR" IN NEW HOME

Washington.—The current issue of Labor, the weekly national organ of the sixteen standard national rail labor unions, was printed on its new press in its new building opposite the House end of the Capitol. Legislative agents of many labor organizations have offices in the structure.

## GOVERNMENTS AND THE INTERESTS

By WILLIAM BLOOM

The Governments of most nations are capitalist Governments, which represent the interests of the capitalists who control them. If a Government is, however, under the control of a Labor party, as in England, it might still be capitalistic in character. Political control of the Government, without control of the social means of production and distribution, and particularly of the financial resources, is not sufficient to dislodge capitalism. Moreover, as long as there is a group of people who derive dividends, there will still be some form of capitalism, for modern institutions of capitalist society are adjuncts to the financial oligarchy.

Modern capitalist Governments rest firmly upon vested interest, that is, interests of long standing. People often oppose social legislation that interferes with vested interests because capitalism could not function on any other basis. The present system of private property rests upon planning business beforehand. The rules of the game of business enterprises can not be changed while the game is on. The essential part of capitalism is rooted in the past. If the past were wiped out, industry, in the modern sense, could not function. Business, therefore, has to rule from the past in order that it may run for the future.

Capitalist Governments are primarily created for the protection of property rights—property rights of big business. The small business man is continually fighting and struggling helplessly against the encroachment of big business men who often expropriate his wealth. Only occasionally does the "law" step in for the small business man; but the politicians who often speak up on his behalf are under the control of big business. Every time they raise a cry against the usurpation of big business the demonstration is intended for political purposes. Big business does not, of course, dare to disavow openly the rights of the small property holders. Such attitude would shatter the psychology of the people in respect to the sacredness of property. The essential object of "property rights" is to fortify the strategic position of the big capitalist. Human rights are, therefore, protected in terms of property rights.

The attitude of the Labor movement towards vested interests ought to be framed from another point of view than that of property rights. As an immediate position, the Labor movement ought not to hinder the growth and development of capitalism. It can not even if it so desires. If, however, it came to the question as to what should be the position of the Labor movement with regard to confiscation, the general welfare of society should be the guiding principle. No individual or group should be considered above the welfare of the community. Capitalist Governments give ample precedents where property rights were disregarded for the sake of the whole community.

It is sufficient to point out the billions of dollars in human property that have been nullified by the abolition of chattel slavery. The late prohibition law which destroyed billions of dollars in property and profits is another instance. Above all, in times of war, the property rights of the individual, including his own life, are brushed aside. The nation comes first. If the principle of disregarding property rights is just in war time, there is no valid reason why it should not be equally just in peace time. In fact, it is more just in peace times; it is not a question of preparing to kill human beings, but of preserving the human race and advancing it to a higher level.

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# THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## NEWS FROM OTHER LANDS

### SWITZERLAND

#### Greulich Hard At Work At 82

Herman Greulich, the veteran Swiss labor leader and Socialist parliamentarian, celebrated his 82d birthday on April 9 by making a speech in the National Council on the subject of unemployment insurance, the development of which in Switzerland is large due to his efforts. Congratulations by his fellow deputies were on the order of the day and Greulich's desk was decorated with a gigantic bouquet of red carnations. When the Zurich section of the First International was organized in 1867 Herman Greulich was its secretary. The older New York Socialists remember hearing Greulich speak with Emil Vandervelde of Belgium and Eugene V. Debs in a great campaign rally in Carnegie Hall in 1904.

#### Russian Socialist Barred

The Swiss Government has refused to issue the passport of the well-known Russian Socialist Democrat, Abramovich, who had been engaged for a series of lectures by the Zurich section of the Socialist Party. The Swiss authorities base their action upon the fact that most Swiss have not been persona gratae in Russia since the acquittal by a Swiss court of the murderer of Vorovsky, the Russian envoy to the Lausanne conference, and that no Swiss is allowed to enter Russia. In attacking this attitude of the Government, the Berner Tagwacht points out that several groups of Swiss emigrants have gone to Russia since the trial and have been admitted without question.

### ITALY

#### Turati Quoted As Satisfied

Filippo Turati, Unitarian Socialist Deputy from Milan, is quoted in the Paris Matin as expressing his satisfaction at the result of the April 6 elections, which brought the Socialist and Communist parties more than 1,300,000 out of a total of some 6,000,000 votes and gave them about sixty-five members in the Chamber of Deputies, despite Mussolini's one-sided election law. Deputy Turati said that the Socialist vote had exceeded his most optimistic expectations, especially in the big industrial centers like Milan, where the Government party polled fewer votes than the opposition. He said that the Unitarian Socialist Party was marking time for a little while and that probably its Deputies would not participate in the opening session of the new Chamber when the speech from the throne is read.

#### Fascisti Organ Talks Peace

What may be an indication that the Fascisti having learned by the election results that the political Labor movement in Italy is not going to be wiped out after all, are planning to adopt a policy of a certain amount of reconciliation is noted in an article in the Popolo d'Italia, the leading Mussolini organ, averring that the Fascisti really mean to run Italy in peace and quiet and that orders from above have been sent to all local groups to abstain from any kind of violence. It tells the Socialists that they ought to aid in the patriotic work of "enabling Italy to attain its most high destiny" if they are sincere in their love of peace. The article closes, however, with dire threats against all "provocative and subversive elements."

### FRANCE

#### Party Membership Grows

Not only is the Socialist Party of France carrying on an electoral campaign expected to result in big gains in the elections of May 11, but it is steadily increasing its dues-paying membership, according to data from the Party's central office summarized in Le Populaire of April 3. Following the "capture" of the Party by the Communists at Moscow's orders at the Tours convention in December, 1920, the old Socialist organization found itself without a press, without funds and without anything much except the faith of a group of old-timers who swore to reconstruct the Party from the ground up on a solid Socialist basis. And this has been done. At the first national convention after the split, held in 1921, fifty-six federations reported their complete reorganization. In the elections of April, 1922, the masses responded to the old rallying cry of the Socialists and gave them twice as many votes as were received by the Communists. These gains were increased in the partial elections last year, and since January 1, the pace has increased, resulting in the election of three Socialist senators, five general councilors, three district councilors and numerous local officials. The Party membership in 1921 was 39,000, in 1922 it reached 44,000, in 1923 it was 50,000, and judging by the requests for membership cards put in thus far since January 1, it will be far beyond 60,000 this year. This was the membership of the old Party in 1910. There are seventy-three federations, in eighty-three departments, and a 100 per cent organization in all the ninety departments of the republic and in the colonies is in sight.

In the meantime the "mass party" of some 130,000 members, which the Communists thought they had captured at Tours, is reported as reduced to perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 dues-paying members. The writer in Le Populaire says it is hard to fix the figures, as the Communist chiefs don't give out any exact data on membership.

#### Must Defend Socialist Program

At a meeting of the federal council of the Seine, the Party organiza-

tion covering Paris and its environs, held for the purpose of ratifying the candidacies in the various sections, notwithstanding the temporary election pacts concluded with the other parties of the Left in some districts, the Socialist candidates must carry on separate campaigns and must take special pains to defend the full Socialist program as laid down at the national convention of 1919. A resolution to that effect was unanimously adopted. Jean Longuet is a candidate in the Fourth Section, with good chances of election.

#### Victory in Hérault

At a special election for general councillor for the canton of Roujan in the Department of Hérault on April 6, M. Bousquet, Socialist Mayor of Pouzolles, was elected by 1,317 votes, against 711 for his opponent, a Socialistic Radical.

### YUGOSLAVIA

#### Socialist Leader Optimistic

That the reorganized Socialist Party of Yugoslavia is steadily regaining the ground lost through the mushroom post-war rise and fall of the Communists in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and will make a good showing in the elections to the Skupstina due in the near future because of the row between Premier Nicola Pashitch and the Croatian autonomists, headed by Stefan Raditch, is indicated in an interview with Dr. Zivko Topalovitch printed in the Brussels People of April 7. The Socialist leader is quoted as saying:

"A year ago the different groups of Serbian Socialists united with the Croatian organizations on the basis of a common political program. The unified Party decided to pass up for the time the question of participation in a bourgeois ministry, as it is not a matter of immediate importance and will not be until the Party represents quite a political power. Since union was effected the forces of Socialism in Yugoslavia have grown. The trade unions affiliated with Amsterdam have 50,000 members. The number of dues-paying Party members is not large as yet—about 6,000; but at the last elections the Socialists got about 50,000 votes and elected two deputies—Divits and Sekulitch. If Yugoslavia has proportional representation the Party would have ten deputies. The Socialist Party has five weekly papers, one printed in German.

"The Communist influence is clearly on the decline. The Communists agitate in Serbia under the name 'Workers Independent Party.' It has 3,000 members and got about 17,000 votes. The Communist unions are also going to pieces. But most important are the grave differences that are appearing among the Communists themselves. Those among them who belonged to the Socialist Party before the split are coming closer and closer to us. Only the post-war Communists persist in their Zinovievian intransigence."

### HOLLAND

#### Dutch Yipsels In Convention

In opening a national convention of the Workers' Young People's Council in Amsterdam on April 5, Kees Vorink drew attention to the rapid progress made by the organization during the last year and prophesied that it was destined to become the most valuable auxiliary of the Socialist Party and the Labor unions, both of which are supporting the organization. Speaking in the name of the Socialist Young People's Bureau, told of an encouraging growth of young folk's Socialist groups all over Europe and said that the breath of freedom and progress sweeping over the youth of the world was having a beneficial effect upon the bourgeois young people's organizations. R. Stenhuis, head of the Netherlands Federation of Labor, brought the greetings of his organization and voiced his approval of the work being done by the young Socialists. "Under the new rules of the organization, active membership is limited to boys and girls between the ages of 13 to 21, but older members may continue as honorary members, without voice or vote in business meetings, provided they are members either of the Socialist Party or of a union affiliated with the Netherlands Federation of Labor. The two-day convention was interrupted on Saturday evening by a banquet and ball given to the delegates by the Amsterdam group.

### LATVIA

#### Use Knives On Yipsels

If the Young Socialists of Riga want to continue their activities undisturbed by the so-called gilded youth of the Latvian capital they will have to organize and arm themselves for self-defense, judging from a report in the European papers of a raid upon one of their meetings on March 22. It appears that the Young Socialists had arranged a concert and lecture, with Frederick Weismann, Socialist President of Parliament, as the principal speaker. Hardly had the program been started when a band of about 100 "gilded youth," wielding huge knives, invaded the hall and drove out the audience, many of whom were badly slashed and had to be taken to the hospital. Calls for the police were of no avail, as the guardians of law and order did not show up until the damage had been done and the would-be Fascisti had got away in safety.

To Join Anti-War Demonstration That the world-wide anti-war

demonstrations being arranged for the third Sunday of September by the International Federation of Trade Unions are sure to prove successful seems indicated by the flood of letters pouring into the Federation's Amsterdam Bureau offering the collaboration of progressive organizations in all quarters of the globe. On April 3, the Bureau gave out excerpts from communications from sixteen organizations in seven countries, all of which expressed approval of the plan and most of which promised active support at once. Among the letters was one from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Washington which said that the question of participating in the anti-war demonstration would be put up to the board of directors at its next meeting. Germany is well represented on the list of adherents, and so is France. The communications referred to all came from non-labor groups. The active support of all the labor bodies affiliated with the International Federation is a matter of course, and it is expected that many labor organizations not yet affiliated will line up with Amsterdam for this demonstration.

## Party Notes

The New Leader, in requesting all Party officials to send in the news of their branches and local activities, again urges that all items intended for insertion in any issue be in this office not later than Tuesday. Party activities are usually planned long enough in advance to make it possible to include them in the next issue. Exceptions must be made, of course, for exceptional cases, but the New Leader cannot guarantee that any item that comes later than Tuesday will appear.

### WASHINGTON

The first meeting of the Washington State Committee, which was held in Seattle April 20, resulted in constructive action on several important Party matters. The Committee unanimously adopted the following resolutions on Party position:

Whereas, the Socialist Party is, primarily, an educational movement for the propagation and organization of revolutionary working class principles and education, and

Whereas, any merging of the identity of the Socialist Party with those of other organizations not of a clearly revolutionary character but serves to cloud the issue and confuse the minds of those whom we are seeking to educate, thereby minimizing the value of the organization to the working class; therefore, be it

Resolved—That we condemn the tendency evinced by the Party in certain sections to compromise our revolutionary program by forming coalitions with other political and semi-political organizations. And be it further

Resolved—That a copy of these resolutions be mailed to the National Executive Committee with request that they be presented to the National Convention on July 6, and that copies be given to the press.

The Educational Committee of Local Seattle is planning a series of street meetings for Comrade Esther Friedman when she comes to the city. Seattle is a good place for street meetings.

A big crowd is expected at the Labor Temple, Seattle, on May 4, to hear Comrade Emil Herman's address to the Seattle Labor College on "The Road to Freedom." These meetings are proving quite a drawing card for the College, and after having heard I. W. W. A. F. of L., and others—even the doughy Communists—see Socialists feel that it will be rather a relief to hear a really scientific presentation of the subject; so we expect to "turn out in full force" for the Herman meeting.

### MONTANA

A letter received at National Headquarters from the Secretary of State for Montana conveys the assurance that our ticket will appear on the primary ballot on May 27. In that State delegates to political conventions are selected in the primaries. State Secretary James D. Graham and James L. Wallace of Missoula, have filed as candidates for the Cleveland convention of the Party. We will have a full ticket, including presidential electors.

### OREGON

Another live town has been discovered in Oregon. Recently the Socialist Party reorganized at Umatilla. At the meeting held last week, they took in four new members, voted to put on a Ryan Walker lecture and to have social affairs regularly twice a month. Minnie McFarland, Secretary of the Local, writes that meetings are very enthusiastic, that "we all want to talk" and that they are strengthening their local work by assisting in the reorganization of other places. At one time, there was an imposing list of Oregon locals. That was before the war. The reconstruction period is on in earnest. Hermiston will be the next in line.

### IDAHO

Notice has been received of the death of Comrade Andrew Anton Nelson at his home on Lake Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, in Northern Idaho, April 17. Mr. and Mrs. Nelson maintained their membership in the Socialist Party through all the trying experiences of the World War and of the stormy days that followed.

At one time in 1922 they were the sole representatives of the dues-paying membership in the northern part of Idaho. Comrade Nelson and his wife have been very active in the work of rebuilding the Party in that State, giving time, money and hard work to the cause.

Comrade C. H. Cammans, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Idaho, is rounding up the old timers and new recruits, and promises to restore the State to its former position as the highest in the percentage of total votes cast by the Socialist Party. A State committee has been organized, consisting of T. J. Conrod, F. P. Kipp, S. K. Garrison, E. F. Wickman, T. J. O'Mahoney, George F. Hibner, and John Nuffer.

### CALIFORNIA

The Socialist Party has agreed to join with a Farmer-Labor convention in nominating candidates and making a common campaign. All such candidates will have to appear as Socialist candidates and "independents." The Farmer-Labor party cannot get an official party standing in this State. The State Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods organized as a "Conference for Progressive Political Action" (without the Socialist Party) may or may not support the joint Socialist-Farmer-Labor candidates. They will support the presidential ticket if headed by La Follette, but will scatter "non-partisanly" on other offices.

#### An Important Convention

The Socialist Party of California will hold one of the most important conventions ever called, beginning May 30 in San Francisco. That convention will have to decide what degree of cooperation it will enter into with the Farmer-Labor convention called for the same time. The joint committee of the State Executive of the Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor party and the Non-Partisan League will lay before the Socialist convention a series of proposals on platform, resolutions, organization and nominations that will be of the very highest importance.

In many respects the action proposed is a serious departure from the practice of the past. There is a possibility that with the assistance of the Farmer-Labor party and the California State Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party will leap into a position of tremendous influence contesting with the Democratic and Republican parties for leadership.

Shall we send delegates to St. Paul, June 17, as well as to Cleveland July 4th? Will La Follette be acceptable as a Presidential candidate on a joint Farmer-Labor-Socialist ticket? What is the minimum program we can properly accept as a concession to the more conservative elements of the proposed Labor party? These questions will come up May 30.

### INDIANA

State Organizer M. M. Confer, formerly of Marion but now located at Warsaw, reports upon extensive organization plans and work already under way in his State. A general campaign for Party building has been begun and will be pushed vigorously in preparation for the political campaign this year.

### MICHIGAN

The Party members in Detroit have conveyed the unusual information to the National Office that they have ample funds on hand to finance an organization campaign and intend to begin at once. Andrew Lafin, one of the most efficient field workers ever sent out by the National Office, will direct the campaign.

### MASSACHUSETTS

The New England District convention of the Party will be held in Boston May 10 and 11. The delegates will take up the attitude of the Party toward the Cleveland conference, and instruct the delegates from the district to the Conference and the Party convention that will immediately follow.

### NEW JERSEY

Now that spring is definitely here, Local Hudson County's outdoor activities are getting under way. On Saturday evening, May 3, the first outdoor meeting of the season will be held at Washington and 3rd streets, Hoboken, with Henry Jager as the speaker. Meetings will continue on this corner every Saturday night until Election.

On the following Saturday, May 10, meetings will be held in Union Hill, West New York and Bayonne as well as Hoboken. The speakers will be announced in next Saturday's New Leader.

During June, the meetings will be extended into Jersey City, West Hoboken and North Bergen, and by the beginning of July meetings will be held every Saturday night at at least nine corners in various parts of the county.

All Socialist Party speakers who are open for Saturday night engagements between now and Election Day, are asked to communicate with the secretary of the Hudson County Campaign Committee, Robert Lee-mans, 602 Malone street, West Hoboken, N. J.

### LOCAL NEW YORK

Mary E. Maguire's Funeral Services were held over the body of Comrade Mary E. Maguire at the funeral parlor, 881 Tenth avenue, N. Y. C., Saturday April 19. Comrade Maguire had been a member of the Socialist Party for 30 years and many comrades attended the services to show their respect to the old member. The Rev. Leon R.

Land, of the Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, conducted the services, Comrade Leonard C. Kaye saying a few words of affection and farewell for the Socialist Party.

### LOCAL BRONX

The new Executive Committee met at Local Headquarters April 28 with Comrade Paulitsch, Chairman, and A. Kanassy, Secretary. All branches reported the election of their quota. Both branches of the Verband were also represented by Delegates S. Wechsler and Malikin.

The Executive Secretary reported that he had secured estimates for renovating the Local headquarters. The various branches with the exception of Branch One decided to hold indoor rallies on May 1 to celebrate Labor's International holiday. Branch One decided to hold an outdoor meeting.

The Executive Secretary reported a net profit on ball journal of \$360. By unanimous vote it was decided to hold a general Party meeting May 23 to elect 3 delegates to the unofficial State Convention July 18-19. The delegates to the National Convention will be given instructions at this meeting and also the delegates to the recent City Convention will submit their report.

It being reported that the adjourned City Convention would meet Saturday May 3, and delegates to said body were invited to be present. On motion it was decided that Local Bronx take no further interest in the City Convention and that the delegates elected by the Local be so notified.

Acting on the suggestion of Comrade Paulitsch the Executive Committee organized itself for constructive work. The following were elected:

Committee on Organization and Membership: Comrades Paulitsch, Betz, Friedman, Kaut and Grossman.

Committee on Social Affairs: Sarah Volovick, Mrs. Kaut, Wm. Gottlieb, L. Schwartz and Malikin. Publicity, Murphy and S. Wechsler.

Regarding the voluntary assessment stamps to aid the National Office, it was decided to purchase one book of stamps and that a further donation of \$5 be forwarded to the National Office to help defend Comrade Esther Friedman in the Kansas City free speech fight.

### KINGS COUNTY

A concert will be held Sunday morning, May 4, at the Amalgamated Temple, Arion Place, to raise funds to help defray the expenses of the Brooklyn delegates to the Cleveland convention. A. I. Shipplacoff will preside. There will be a child violinist, vocal soloists and members of the Actors' Union. The affair will begin at 10 a. m.

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

### Progress In Brooklyn

At the recent meeting of the Central Committee of Local Kings County, Secretary J. F. Viola reported a general improvement in the organization throughout the county. Several branches that have not functioned since the split now meet regularly. Some of the older branches, such as the 13-19th A. D. and the Coney Island branch are now carrying on extensive propaganda. The work of William Shapiro in the 13-19th is bearing fruit and this organization promises to be one of the most active.

With the addition of the Wolf family and William Marks the Coney Island branch is preparing to open headquarters. Another newcomer in the branch, Comrade Spitzer, has already organized a Yipsel group.

The new branch recently organized in the Kings Highway section of the 2nd A. D. under the guidance of Comrade Feigenbaum is carrying on educational work that promises to bear fruit.

Arrangements are now being made to reorganize the branch in the 12th A. D. This section borders on Prospect Park. The 17-18th was recently reorganized with headquarters at 1336 Lincoln place and is being guided by Comrade Zicht. It also promises to become an important link in the county organization. The 23rd A. D., Branch 2, Jewish-speaking branch of Brownsville, re-

cently reorganized, is meeting regularly and with the good work of Mrs. Weisberg promises to become the strongest in the section. Local Kings County now has a total of 18 active branches.

### Delegates to Cleveland

The following comrades were declared elected as delegates to the Cleveland National Convention of the Party, July 6: James Oneal, A. I. Shipplacoff, J. A. Whitehorn, W. W. Passage and J. F. Viola.

### YIPSELDOM

"Resolved—That world-wide capitalism has already outlived its usefulness," will be the subject of a debate to be held by Circle 8 of Young Peoples' Socialist League, at their headquarters, 73 St. Marks place, on Friday evening May 2, at 8:30 p. m. S. S. Chambers will uphold the affirmative while Irving Newman will uphold the negative.

(Continued on Page 7)

## THE Workmen's Circle

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RUSSELL

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3:30 P. M.

BERTRAND

RUSSELL

May 10—"How to Secure World Peace."

3:30 P. M.

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CAN THE SOVIET IDEA TAKE HOLD OF AMERICA, ENGLAND AND FRANCE?

BERTRAND RUSSELL vs. SCOTT NEARING

Chairman: SAMUEL UNTERMYER

SUBJECT:

Resolved: "That the Soviet form of government is applicable to Western civilization."

MR. RUSSELL, Negative MR. NEARING, Affirmative

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THE FORUM  
CALENDAR

**FRIDAY, MAY 2**  
Schenectady, N. Y.  
**AUGUST CLAESSENS.** "Oil, Graft and Corruption." Red Men's Hall. Auspices, Socialist Party.

**SATURDAY, MAY 3**  
Manhattan  
**CHARLES C. WEBER.** "Education, The Workers' Way Out." Harlem Forum, 37 East 125th street.  
Albany, N. Y.  
**AUGUST CLAESSENS.** "Oil, Graft and Corruption." Street Meeting, Pearl and State. Auspices, Socialist Party.

**SUNDAY**  
**VERNE DE WITT ROWELL.** "Tolstoi versus Nietzsche—How Reconcile Them?" Harlem Forum, 37 East 125th street.  
**WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM.** "Religion and Socialism." 79 Delancey street, Room 12, 2 p. m. Auspices, Workmen's Circle, Branch 535.

**MONDAY**  
Brooklyn  
**AUGUST CLAESSENS.** Douglas street and Pitkin avenue. Street meeting.

**TUESDAY**  
The Bronx  
**WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM.** "Oil and Its Implications." 1167 Boston Road. Auspices, 2nd, 4th and 5th A. D., Local Bronx.

Brooklyn  
**MORRIS BERMAN.** "The Third Party." 167 Tompkins avenue. Auspices, 6th A. D., Socialist Party.

Brooklyn  
**AUGUST CLAESSENS.** Debevoise and Grand streets. Street meeting.

**WEDNESDAY**  
Brooklyn  
**MORRIS PARIS.** "Psychology." 1709 Pitkin avenue. Auspices 23rd A. D., Socialist Party.

**THURSDAY**  
Brooklyn  
**AUGUST CLAESSENS.** Tompkins avenue and Hart street. Street meeting.

## Giralomo Valenti's Tour

For the Italian Socialist Federation  
Wednesday, May 7, Bridgeport; Thursday, New Haven; Friday, Shelton; Saturday, Naugatuck; Sunday, 2 p. m., Hartford; 8 p. m., New Britain; Monday, Meriden; Tuesday, Stafford Springs, Conn.; Wednesday, Springfield, Mass.; Friday, Worcester; Saturday, Winchendon, Mass.; Sunday, Leominster, Mass.

(Continued From Page 6)

Circle 6, Brooklyn, of the Young Peoples' Socialist League will inaugurate an open air campaign Friday May 2, 1924. This will be an effort to introduce the Youth Movement in the 6th Assembly District, Brooklyn.

It is expected that many members will be added to our fold. Among the speakers who will address this meeting, are Morris Stamen, Harry Tuvin, Bernard Friedman, Julius Weinberg and others. All yipels interested will be present at the headquarters of the circle, 167 Tompkins avenue, promptly at 7:30 p. m. on Friday. Comrade Bernard Friedman, Educational Director of the circle, is chairman of this open-air drive for youth and education.

MERRILL NAILS  
COMMUNIST LIE

Albany.—A particularly impertinent lie peddled by the Communists in their attempt to discredit the Socialist Party and weaken its influence has been nailed by Herbert M. Merrill, Socialist state secretary.

In a recent issue of the Daily Worker, Chicago Communist organ, a story is featured to the effect that the organizer of the Socialist Party local in Utica, M. Herman, is scabbing in a local strike. After stating that "fact," the inspired author of the item proceeds to draw the usual Communist deductions about the rottenness of the Socialist Party and the fact that they are "agents of the bourgeoisie," and the rest of the well known blah-blah.

Merrill states that the organizer of Local Utica for several years has been Charles L. Letson—a name that cannot be mistaken for M. Herman, except by one with a disordered Communist brain. There is an Anton J. Hermann, who is an official of the local, but he is (1) not M. Herman, (2) not organizer, but financial secretary, and (3) he couldn't very well scab, because he is in the trucking business, and is not a worker in any shop. Outside of that, the Communist yarn is all right. Anton J. Hermann is the only Hermann or Herman on the list of enrolled Socialists, or in the local.

But to have told the truth in this case would hardly have been helpful in the Communist attempt to discredit the Socialists, and it would have been decent and fair. And the Communists would not stoop to such bourgeois prejudices as decency and fairness.

## EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!

Chicago.—In a mock election the class in United States History at the Medill High School cast the first ballot for president as follows: Coolidge 7, McAdoo 6, La Follette 1 and Seymour Stedman 13. The teacher, not being satisfied with this, insisted that no candidate could be considered elected unless he had a majority. Therefore the election must be held again, this time by States. One of the youthful politicians, aping the tactics of his elders, changed from Republican to Independent in an effort to defeat the Socialists, which resulted in making the State of New York a tie between La Follette and Stedman! Even this did not save the country and Stedman won the election against the field.

## The Labor Movement Abroad

By Bertha H. Maily

My stay in almost all of the cities of Europe was very brief and my survey of the Socialist and Trades Union movement often consisted in a visit to headquarters. My chief aim was to gain an insight into the workers' educational movements in the future soundness of which, in my opinion, lies much of the answer to the agonizing questions of the world today.

I spent almost four weeks in London, and a few days each in the large cities of the following countries, in the order named: France, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. During this survey, the one thing that gripped my mind and gave me encouragement was the feeling that the Labor movements of Europe are alive and in terrible earnest. They may be suffering, they may be making political blunders—bankruptcy has overtaken some, the flood of dissension and reaction may have almost submerged others—but they are facing their problems without flinching.

## The Aftermath of War

All of these countries have suffered from war results; unemployment, lack of housing facilities, burdensome taxes, deflation of currency and a rise in the cost of living. In each country the masters have taken advantage of the weakened and overburdened condition of the workers to try to defeat the advances made by fifty years of organized effort. In every country the Communists have carried on their increasing determination to tear asunder the existing Labor organizations. But under the stress of all these blows and burdens the organized Labor movement and its political expression, Socialist Party (under whatever name), are rallying their forces to save the achievements already gained, to develop a better, more thorough and wiser plan of action and to clear away the obstructions of hate, suspicion and misunderstanding between the working people of Europe.

The bottom of the down-grade would seem to have been reached last summer and fall, and the beginning of the climb was signalled by the unexpected victory of the British Labor party in the election of December 6 when 192 men and women were elected to the House of Commons. The effect of this victory on the movements of Europe and the events of the world can only be estimated in the light of history.

One has but to step inside of any of the headquarters of the British Labor party or the Independent Labor party to realize that he is in the presence of real organization. Back of the splendid enthusiasm of an Albert Hall gathering there is a feeling of a machine that has been assembled with great care and that is kept well and ready for action at any moment. When a strike breaks in Great Britain it is there and it is complete. London without tram cars or busses is something to see.

## Labor Party Work

An election campaign can be organized in three weeks' time. A division of the Labor party for special work among women organizes its canvassing squads. The Independent Labor Party Information Committee sends daily bulletins of instruction and information to all party speakers and workers. Dozens of speakers cover the important districts. Campaigning rises to a climax. Election day comes and an honest count is sure.

The British Labor party assumed the responsibility of forming a Cabinet, knowing well that they received therewith a fearful heritage of accumulated wrongs and blunders of former parties. During January, before the division came, this was the uppermost feeling. They didn't want the job, but they had to take it. They faced the task, realizing perfectly well that they had not power and that the moment would come when the Liberals and Tories would unite to dislodge them. They urged the electors not to expect too much, that they could not possibly make even a motion toward inaugurating a revolution of any kind whatsoever. This was the understanding pretty well all through the movement. That they saw clearly the difficult road before them events now following fast upon one another prove.

On the continent the never ending wonder is that the peoples of the adjoining countries can be impelled to move against one another in war. It is easier to understand how the people of the United States could be misled by a slogan of "war to end war" than how the friendly peoples of Europe, separated by such slight physical boundaries can be forced to stand behind barriers of race and language stronger than steel and murder one another.

## The French Movement

In France the spirit of militarism is everywhere apparent. A sight-seeing bus for half a day's trip in Paris lands one before at least half a dozen military museums. The working people of France have the fear of Germany's starting a war upon them firm in their minds and this feeling has of course been intensified by the deliberate efforts of the Nationalist press. The terrific task of the Socialists and the Radical Lefts with whom they are

working is to substitute for this fear an understanding of the powerful forces which, animated by ambition, hatred, jealousy or fear, are striving for ascendancy in the world market game, regardless of the welfare of the workers.

I was present at the convention of the French Socialist Party in Marseilles and the dominant feeling was that the only hope for France, Germany, and the whole of Europe is staked on the defeat of the militarists of France in the coming election. "The National Bloc must be defeated" was the cry and it is my opinion that this defiant attitude on the part of the Socialist Party followed by the accession to the Cabinet of the British Labor party affected in some degree the black hopelessness of the impasse. It was with a high enthusiasm that the convention unanimously passed the resolution providing for joint action with the left parties in the coming campaign wherever it should be necessary in order to elect opponents of the Poincaré Bloc. For those who may be inclined to criticize this joint action, let it be said that the resolution expressly stated that there should be no coalition of forces on platform or principles. The wisdom of the step remains to be seen after the elections in various countries are over and the real business of the discussion of the reparations questions swings into foremost place. It is for us to remember, in pronouncing conclusions on political steps taken in various countries, that the way is not so clear and simple as before the war and that each country faces a different set of problems from the other.

## In Mussolini's Land

Stirred by the emotional eloquence of our French comrades, I left for Italy. My first stop was in Milan where I made a brief visit to Socialist Party headquarters. This I found in rather an agitated and upset condition owing to a call the afternoon before of a group of Fascists who had taken a dislike to some recent article in the Socialist paper and called to protest. This they did by brandishing revolvers, throwing inkwells around the room and upsetting things generally. This, I understand, is a not uncommon occurrence.

Undoubtedly Italy was quiet. The followers of Mussolini said that it was the quiet of satisfaction with order restored; his opponents, that

it was the quiet of fear and patient endurance until opportunity should once more be given for free political expression and the Labor movement once more reestablish its shattered organization. The recent election certainly indicates that a very considerable opposition to Mussolini and Fascism is finding expression. The Italian people are showing friendliness toward the German people and are helping much in relief work.

## The Austrian Movement

In Austria the condition and organization of the Labor movement are most encouraging. Brave Austrian people! At the close of the war Austria was probably the lowest in the scale of those injured by the war. But through all the crushing destruction of the war chaos, the currency fluctuation, unemployment, especially hunger, somehow it has emerged since the revolution of 1918 with one of the best organized working class movements on the continent, helping Germany with relief funds and steadily building up its press and its educational work. Splendid cooperation exists between the Trades Unions, the Social-Democratic Party and the Cooperatives. In Parliament a great struggle is going on against the reaction of the industrial and financial masters, especially on the eight-hour day and welfare legislation. In the City Council of Vienna a Socialist majority has established reforms in the elementary schools that are attracting world-wide attention and so far as funds permit, have introduced excellent reforms in city administration.

As an instance of the strength of the Labor movement in Vienna imagine a strike of 25,000 bank employees lasting for two weeks. I visited one strike meeting composed of fifteen hundred men and women, all from one bank, bank clerks, assistants, porters and even stenographers. These workers, whom we term "white collar slaves," greeted with the greatest enthusiasm the stirring address of Otto Bauer, member of Parliament. It seemed to me worth the trip to Europe just to witness so significant an event as this protest of a group we have believed would never rebel.

## In Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia the movement has two chief streams, the German speaking groups and the Czechs,

with several minor language groups. The Czechs have developed very strong political and material resources, a wonderful People's House, filled with publishing groups, cooperative stores, a fine hotel and Labor and party headquarters. They are now working on plans for an enlargement of their Workers' Academy field, and are building a home for it, in which plans they anticipate financial assistance from Masaryk, President of the Republic. They have a finely developed athletic movement, one of the best in Europe. The German section is working with great emphasis and clearness on the educational side, and is holding its own politically.

A week spent in Berlin at this time is like witnessing in a dream a tragedy that one can neither help nor hinder. Everywhere one sees eyes whose sadness haunts, one hears appalling facts of daily suicides. One visits schools where the thin frames and dull eyes of little children tell the story of the world crime against Germany. With masses of unemployed, high taxes, overcrowding in the workers' tenements, tuberculosis spreading fast, the profiteers investing all capital in safe foreign securities, the Labor and Socialist movements bankrupt in money, torn by dissensions within and goaded by the reaction of the Nationalists without, what hope of progress? None—until the reparations question is settled and Germany is once more given control of her industrial resources, so that the nation may at least have bread.

## In Germany

What the Socialists can accomplish in the coming election is uncertain, for they are made the scapegoats for all the evils of the day. Both extremes to right and left may gain by this and it may be several years before the movement regains its strength. That it will do this is certain and looking forward to this end the Youth movement is preparing its members. Thorough plans for educating the working class are being laid, larger in scope and more definite in aim than ever before, so that when the cloud lifts, the intensive, patient work of underpaid and devoted Party servants will count for its full strength.

If we in America kept closer touch with the movements in Europe, we should find encouragement in many places. The language is a barrier and hence many of our movements in Europe are advocating wholeheartedly the use of Esperanto. My journey took me from Germany to Denmark, where sunshine, abundant food and absence of evidences of poverty made it seem like a day in the country.

## In Denmark

My first objective in Copenhagen was the Social Democratic party, following it up with the Trades Union headquarters and the Cooperative Central Association. In all of these I found courage, plans and great hopes for the coming election. Denmark was out of the war zone and had pretty good business in serving as a line of travel and as a field for various industries which ceased after the war. Since the war it has suffered from currency deflation and considerable unemployment.

Denmark is a farming country and has a conservative peasant population. Nevertheless the party expected to gain several seats in Parliament, to become the largest political party in Denmark, and hoped that this anticipated victory would have some influence on the French elections. This expectation is realized. The Socialist Party is now the dominating one. The Party organization in Denmark is very thorough.

## TALKS TO PARTY MEMBERS

By AN OLD TIMER

## 2. SHALL OUR OLD PARTY BE REBUILT?

The question implies that the Socialist Party stands in urgent need of rebuilding. We need not shrink from admitting the fact. Throughout the last four or five years the Party membership has fluctuated, now growing and now declining, but never coming nearly up to its previous level. A large number of locals have gone out of existence. The national office, some of the State organizations, and many locals are burdened with debt. Worst of all, comparatively little real Party work is being done.

The causes of this state of affairs are well known—official persecution and mob terrorism from 1917 till 1922 or later; internal dissension reaching its climax in 1919-20; a severe industrial depression from 1920 to 1922; more destructive yet, a general tone of cynical disillusionment in the whole population, which came as a natural reaction from the exaggerated and perverted idealism of the war time.

These causes have to a great extent ceased to operate—all except the last, which has still to be overcome. But, if the actual decline of the Party has been checked, there is yet no real recovery. We have not so far been able to rebuild what was broken down during and after the war.

Can it be done? Some of us are sure it can, and we think we have reason for our confidence.

There is one significant fact, which is often overlooked by those who take a more pessimistic view. Deeply as the war and its sequels have injured our Party as an organized body, they have not in anything like

ough and has for years steadily built up its local centers. There are but few farming districts not permeated with Socialist groups.

In Holland and Belgium the chief struggle is against reactionary attempts to deprive the workers of advanced legislation and the eight-hour day. In Holland the fight was centering on an attempt in Parliament to reduce the number of years of schooling by one, making the age of entering seven instead of six years. The movements themselves, however, are virile and planning for years of expected growth.

## Workers Educational Movement

To me the intensive thought being applied to the problem of workers' education was the most significant thing I encountered. The political struggles in the Parliaments concern themselves with the remnants, the odds and ends, of the chaos left by the war and this is the difficult task of the political movement. But side by side with this effort to hold the fruits of the last fifty years of effort, and to bring some kind of a sane understanding among the working class movements of different countries, is a young vital stream of new educational enterprise, seeking to train and prepare the workers for future crises, for increasing industrial control, for an intelligent revolution. This work, if encouraged by the International Socialist movement and if not overwhelmed by a too early catastrophe, will have great influence in the progress of the next few decades.

This work and the bright light of the Youth movement which in varying form and degree is found flourishing in all European countries are the hope of the future. In a sense they are one and the same, for the youth of all countries and especially of the former central empires have since the revolution of 1918 come to the realization that it is upon them that the task of building a new world will devolve. During the last ten years they have gone without work, have hungered and have been deprived of opportunities for education. They have seen that the old standards of measurement have many times failed and have realized ways of applying Socialist principles to the problems of the rapidly changing world.

## Women in the Labor Movement

Before closing, let me make brief mention of another element which is sure to figure largely in events of the next few years. In all countries of Europe except in France and Italy, women are political realities. When the news was cabled last December that there were eight women in the British Parliament, three of them Labor party women, it roused great enthusiasm over here. But it was only duplicating what has happened in continental Europe. Every Parliament has women deputies, some of them Socialists. In every party headquarters they are to be met and it is incredible to them that no Labor women are sent to Congress. Every Socialist movement has its propaganda organization for appeal to women, with press and special education.

Let me then emphasize that the brightest spots in the European Labor movements are the educational work being planned and carried out and the brave, earnest Young People's movement.

And let me finally ask whether it is not possible for the Labor and Socialist movements in the United States to undertake a big comprehensive consideration of educational problems? Or will they wait until a catastrophe overwhelms the Western world, too, and annihilates all of their hard won advances?

measure affected the mass of its unorganized adherents.

Some hundreds of our members seceded to the right, some thousands seceded to the left, a third element quit us for what they believed to be a more practical line of political action, and the largest number of all simply sank into despondent inaction. Yet the attempt to launch a Nationalist-Pacifist party was a comical fiasco. The Communist party, under its various names, has remained a general staff without an army. The Farmer-Labor party mustered in 1920 half a million votes which otherwise might, or perhaps might not, have come to us. But in that year we polled a million votes, and the state and congressional elections held since then clearly indicate that not only the rest bulk of those who were with us before the war, but also a large proportion of those who flocked to our standard in 1917, still have unshaken faith in the Socialist Party as the political expression of working-class interests.

In spite of all intimidation, in spite of obloquy from all capitalist sources, in spite of Communist slander, in spite of patronizing "radical" success—yes, in spite of our own culpable neglect—140,000 men and women in New York State, probably eight or ten times that number throughout the country, are calling upon us to speak for them, to represent them, to inspire them, to be again the aggressive, tireless, self-confident party we were but a few years ago.

In face of that big fact, how can any of us have the face to say that the Socialist Party has no future, or that the time has not yet come to close our ranks, raise our banners high, and resume our forced march?



## THE LABOR YEAR BOOK

A Review by James Oneal

**THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, 1923-24.** New York: The Rand School of Social Science. \$3.00.

This is the fifth volume of this publication which began in 1916. The first volume contained 374 pages and the work has continued to expand until this one carries 532 pages. It was originally planned to make it an annual publication but the entrance of the United States into the World War, the reaction which followed, the raids upon the Rand School and the demoralization which internal dissensions brought into the Socialist Party made it necessary to bring out one volume for 1917-18, one for 1919-20, one for 1921-22 and this one, also covering two years. We are glad to note, however, in the Foreword to the present issue that the school expects to make this an annual publication in the future.

Of the new features included in this volume we note a list of Labor Conventions to be held in the United States and abroad this year, an International Labor Diary for the past two years in which is recorded a brief mention of important events in the Labor movement in all countries, a new section devoted to Workers' education, a new one devoted to the rise of Labor Banking in the United States, and a valuable directory of trade unions, labor political parties, workers' educational institutions, co-operatives, and labor papers and magazines in the United States and abroad.

One notable fact is revealed by comparing this issue with the previous volume. The reactionary fever is dying so far as interference with publications and meetings and institutions is concerned. The previous volume carried 40 pages reporting this type of reaction. The present book carries only three.

When we turn to the sections which consider the Socialist and Communist movements in their relations with other organizations, their membership, vote, programs and policies, we come to a subject which tests the judgment of contributors and editors because of the tense divisions of opinion that have developed since 1918. On the whole this section of the work bears evidence of careful handling despite

what appears to be a few discrepancies. In 1920, the Socialist Party of Argentina had seven members of Parliament but no members are reported in this volume. So far as I know no word has come from that country of a setback to the movement and it is probable that this is an error. Information regarding the South American countries is generally scanty and aside from Argentina the movement is generally in its beginnings.

Owing to the languages of the Scandinavian countries data regarding their movements are not easily digested. We also believe that the comrades of those countries have not been careful to inform their comrades abroad. This may account for the unbalanced proportion of space given to the Socialist and Communist parties in Denmark. The Communist party is given more space than the Socialist Party, although the former has only 1,200 members. The book was in press at the time of the recent elections in Denmark which showed that the Socialist Party is the first party in the nation while the Communist movement is still the small minority that was reported in the previous volume. Aside from these two items it appears that those responsible for the contents of the book have acquitted themselves of a difficult task in a satisfactory way. On the whole the data regarding the two movements show that the Communist movement has suffered a decrease in prestige, influence and membership and with a few exceptions its main following is in countries where capitalism is still in an early stage of development and in other countries where capitalism has hardly appeared at all.

Other sections of the volume deal, as the others did, with industrial and social conditions, trade union organizations, labor disputes, labor politics, labor legislation, court decisions affecting labor, cooperation, international relations of the workers' political and economic organizations and other subjects. The American Labor Year Book is the most serviceable publication of its kind issued. It is indispensable to students, writers, speakers, organizers, executives and others active in the Labor movement. It is a treasure house of facts and information.

## A UNIQUE NOVEL

**CRAZY MAN.** By Maxwell Bodenheim. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

In this remarkable story the most commonplace characters and situation are presented with such realism as to make them stand out like stars in a clear night-sky. The author, recognizing the value of clothing attractively the skeleton of his novel, presents to us a work of literary skill and beauty unrivalled by any other novelist of the day. Throughout the story the characters pulsate with vital life, which is built up of immorality, virtue, selfishness, cruelty, charity, hope, despair, crime. Almost at once the reader is introduced to Selma, who "twice every week gave herself to the same pair of men, Pete Ravanni and Max Liscence, and if you had asked her why she would have responded with insulting slang words, as though you had requested her to undress herself."

It is this same Selma who plays a leading role in the story, and plays it with vivacious strength and finesse. She dances at night in "The Dancing Academy," a place that is "as sordid as a harlot's scream." To the Academy come all kinds and conditions of men who pay the proprietors for the privilege of dancing with the girls they keep for that purpose—"Jewish youths from the neighboring East Side, dapper rascals with smooth oily hair and no occupations, lonely and elderly busi-

ness-men who craved belated release for their limbs, foreign laborers intent upon blending their sensual version of America, visitors from small towns, who are grasping the rare chance to be devilish, and young Chinese who tipped the girls liberally to cross the racial boundaries."

And through this life of harsh colors and black shadows the Crazy Man weaves in and out, a thief, a philanthropist, a whore-monger and a saint, a man with superb mental activity who flounders in the mire which to others spells degradation.

But each time that he lifts himself up from the mire is as though his soul had gone through refining fire. At times he succeeds in carrying others up giddy heights, but they always regain their flesh-strength and fall back again. That he is insane his associates—even Selma—have no doubt. It is to her that he says (at the end of the story): "I will be arrested again, and when that happens they will undoubtedly keep me in an asylum for the rest of my life, as an incurable case of intelligence. To me there is little difference between the bars of iron and those of the mind, except that iron bars are more apparently ferocious, but their ferocity can be killed by every indifference of thought. In an asylum cell I can think and write without making the innumerable and leaden concessions that men call sanity."

To say that "Crazy Man" is the most unique and original novel of the hour is not putting it too strongly.

MAUD DAVIS WALKER.

## SURVEYING TEXAS

**RURAL TEXAS.** By William Bennett Bizzell, Ph. D., LL. D., New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

This is the fourth volume in the Rural State and Province Series Library, the preceding volumes being devoted to New York, Michigan and California. It would be difficult to imagine a writer including more in a single volume on the rural aspects of a state than Professor Bizzell has included in this book. It is a methodical survey of the climate, geology, soil, timber, mineral, water and other resources and features of the State; its crops and animals, its transportation and rural communications, its rural manufactures and educational facilities, its rural living conditions and problems. One chapter is devoted to the history of agriculture in Texas in which Coman's standard "Economic Beginnings of the Far West" is liberally drawn upon for the earlier period.

This series of books have a two-fold value. Each volume has a special value for the rural inhabitant of the State considered while the whole series, when completed, should serve as a rich mine for those investigating the agricultural problems of the United States. Agricultural economics has been neglected by the professional economists in this and other countries because economics has been first a factory owner's philosophy and later a philosophy of the greater industry and its owners.

## THE NEW LARNED

The New Larned History for Ready Reference Reading and Research. Volumes five and six cover at great length German literature and history while that of Greece receives equal attention. History and the great historians get careful attention. Of especial interest to our readers is the study of the Industrial Revolution.

Inventions, Ireland, Italy, Japan. Labor organizations, Labor legislation, Labor strikes and boycotts all come in for lengthy articles.

Volumes seven and eight were recently noticed in these columns. Volume nine covers Rome, Russia, science, Scotland, Serbia, serfdom, single tax, Spain, steam navigation, suffrage, etc. There are also twenty-four pages devoted to Socialism and its history. The Larned History is invaluable to the student and writer as well as the general reader.

RYAN WALKER.

The rural workers have always been subordinate to the interests of the commercial centers and although constituting a majority of the population the economics of their industry has been neglected.

Eleven illustrations and twelve plates illustrative of the text round out a very serviceable volume, one to which the student of rural life in the Southwest will have to turn for information and guidance.

J. O.

## AMONG THE MAGAZINES

## CURRENT HISTORY

Probably the most important article in any May periodical is that of Professor Harry Elmer Barnes in Current History on "Assessing the Blame for the World War." He does not ignore the economic and other impersonal causes of the conflict when seeking to apportion responsibility so far as human agents shared it. His article is the most complete summary of all the evidence that has yet appeared in a serious periodical. It is based upon the documents which the foreign office archives of Germany, Austria, Russia and other countries yielded because of conquest or revolution. As the author points out, we generally have to wait two or three generations before these documents are available. This time some of them were available before the war ended, notably the secret treaties of the holy Allies which the Bolsheviks revealed to the world. The article is documented with ample references to the sources. The myth of a "guilty Germany" is exploded. The relative degree of responsibility of the ruling classes of the powers is placed in the following order: Austria, Russia, France, Germany and England. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University is selected to present the other side. His is a lame and impotent effort of less than two pages. Among his contentions is the statement that Barnes "makes the American people a set of fools who could not penetrate the secret conspiracy between France and Russia to wreck Europe." Barnes does nothing of the kind. He does not attempt to prove that we are fools but that we were fooled. Barnes himself has admitted in another periodical that he was also fooled during the war and wrote some silly stuff regarding it. If Barnes were to treat Hart's "Slavery and Abolition" as Hart treats Barnes' article the latter would be laughed out of court. Two other articles of exceptional value are contributed by Emir Cheikh Arsan and Abdul R. Shahbender on French rule in Syria. Charles T. Kelly asks, "Are Radicals Insane?" and implies that they are. If so alienists should examine Anatole France, H. G.

## THE TRANSATLANTIC REVIEW

With its fourth issue this remarkably live magazine, in addition to its generally high literary standard, accomplished a most unusual feat and established a most unusual department. The feat is to present something by Gertrude Stein so that more persons than Sherwood Anderson (who has written an essay about her) can understand her. It must be stated, to all who might have been inclined to scoff at the lady, that the quality of this "history" of hers will make them treat her with respect. The new department is headed "From Work In Progress By—" and presents selections from the current efforts and experiments of the writers of today. It is always of interest, and of possible value, to see what the leaders in contemporary literature are turning toward, and how they are meeting their problems. The present group comprises James Joyce, with a tale like the opening of Ulysses—it takes him seven years and three hundred pages to get under sail, these days; Tristan Tzara with three French fragments, and Ernest Hemingway with a gruesome picture of an Indian childbirth witnessed by a white lad—apparently an extract from a novel. Of the regular features, A. E. Coppard's poems seem exquisitely delicate, and Chaucer's comments on critics cleverly caustic. Kenneth Jewett, having reached the goal for which he pictures everyone else in America, pathetically sighing (Paris—Paris!), writes with bland condescension or kindly scorn of America as he thinks it was when he left it. He may add to his list of glories that "Down There" has been published—withdrawn from circulation, that the American Mercury has been followed by the Transatlantic Review.

Wells, George Bernard Shaw and a few others. Other articles consider political bosses of other days, the new Greek republic and a large section is taken up with the official text of the report of the Reparations Experts. Contemporary history all over the world is amply covered by the Current History Associates in their usual informing manner.

## THE LABOR GOVERNMENT

By J. R. Smallwood

The swelling interest being aroused in the United States among all kinds of people by the successes of the British Labor Government is vividly reflected, among other things, by the fact that the current issues of all the national magazines—Century, Atlantic, Current History, Harper's—carry variously written articles about the Labor Government and the Socialist Prime Minister, the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald. All of these articles are expressive of generous praise and admiration, and go to justify the words of those who describe MacDonald as the outstanding constructive and reconstructive statesman in the world today.

In a recent issue of The New Leader (England) appears a letter from Miss Rose Rosenberg, private secretary to the Prime Minister, repudiating, in behalf of Mr. MacDonald, an interview alleged to have been given by William H. Crawford, an American journalist, and printed in Collier's Weekly. Speaking for the Prime Minister, Miss Rosenberg stated that not alone did Mr. Crawford not have the interview, but that as written up it contained certain inaccuracies, among which was a statement, attributed to Mr. MacDonald, in which he referred to "the Communists"—meaning, by alleged imputation, the Glasgow Labor members—"within the party." The Glasgow members are not Communists.

In an exclusive interview given a few days ago to a New Leader (English) representative, and copyrighted in America by the New York World, Mr. MacDonald complained of having been inaccurately reported and quoted on a number of occasions.

Shortly before her death, Sarah Bernhardt sanctioned the publication of a biography of her by her intimate friend, Mme. Pierre Berton, whose husband had been one of Sarah's lovers. She permitted the appearance in its pages of certain facts of her life which were omitted from her autobiography, and had been kept from public knowledge during her entire lifetime. Agreeing with Mme. Berton that a complete account was necessary to achieve a clear and true portrait of this truly remarkable woman, Mme. Bernhardt consented to the revelations which at last clear up the mysteries in the life of Sarah Bernhardt. The result is a full length portrait, the only complete biography of one of the most remarkable and written about women of the last hundred years. Mme. Berton's style is direct, simple and intimate, and through her very artlessness—she is never aware that she has turned author—she has produced an undoubted work of art which The London Times ranks as fit to stand with Boswell's immortal portrait of Samuel Johnson.

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

## THE CAMBRIDGE "SAGE"

A Review by James Oneal

**A LATE HARVEST.** Miscellaneous Papers Written Between Eighty and Ninety. By Charles W. Eliot. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. \$3.

That this book has received a generally favorable reception cannot be disputed. Gleanings from the late writings of Professor Eliot, they were issued in recognition of the author's ninetieth birthday. The themes are autobiographical and reminiscent, on human society, education, Labor problems, the public health, religion and other topics. Those who are interested in the Labor movement will naturally turn to the two chapters where Dr. Eliot considers Labor problems. Here they will find a scholastic old gentleman happy in his case, a Brahmin of Brahmins, looking upon the world and on the whole finding it good.

But it is not all happiness. Consider the law enacted by Congress at the request of the railroad brotherhoods. It was a "discreditable submission to selfish and insolent demands of trades-unions." (By the way, "trade-unions" belong to the period of the thirties.) The old parties are also guilty of the shocking abuse of using the union label on their printed matter! One may thus surmise what the world is coming to, at least this part of the world where perfect old gentlemen are appreciated by well-bred people. Unfortunately, we have no laws prohibiting strikes in "industries which produce or transport foods and fuel" and working people really seem to forget the place which Providence has assigned them.

Consider another aspect of the working classes. Their extravagance is notorious. Many of them simply will indulge in jewelry, pianos, phonographs, gowns, footwear and furs; they indulge in movies, theatres, candies, drinks and dear fruits. "It cannot be," writes this sage of Cambridge, "that people who spend their money in this way are in need of higher wages." Not at all. Higher wages only demoralize the working classes and unfit them for making life more comfortable for their betters. It is not surprising that people are coming more and more to understand that "trades-unions" are dangerous institutions and that strikes are offenses a little lower in the moral scale than treason. The "national interests" are the

interests of the ruling classes who admire Eliot. The workers who feed, house and clothe him do not constitute an interest, or if they do, it is not worth considering. They are at best necessary nuisances and "capital" must find some way of "cooperating" with "labor." Just the same the old gentleman must also pay homage to "democracy." Who does not? It is an abstract democracy, a wraith, that exists in some twilight zone between sentiment and drive. It has no concrete existence, takes no institutional form, and has no place whatever in industry. In the latter field it is the feudal and the Junker who bulks in bold and clear outline. Nothing abstract about this.

We are not surprised that William Howard Taft and some of our leading financial princes and grand dukes gladly paid homage to this charming old gentleman. There is not an original thought in this collection of papers nor the slightest human sympathy displayed for the great human struggle of the masses in any country for a better world. Platitudes there are, platitudes that strike no higher note than that struck by the average political broker of the hustings. One feels that a real human being would be chilled in the presence of this icy shaft maintained for the glory of Things as They Are. Closeted within the conservative precincts of the hire learning, one gets the impression that the best modern thought of the world has swept by this old man and left him marooned. Just as material progress has swept around the "pocketed Americans" in the Southern Appalachians, leaving them isolated from the machine, the Ford, the newspaper and the radio, so Eliot has been pocketed in Cambridge and survives as a contemporary of the age of Van Buren and Marcy.

Dr. Eliot has earned his reputation as the darling of a capital-owning plutocracy. We imagine that a few hundreds years hence a historian of this period will use these collected papers of this "learned man" as source material in showing how many of our university men were merely trained pleaders for a class and a regime that were barriers to the progress of human society to a more advanced stage. At any rate, this is the net impression left upon one who cannot think in terms of capitalism that is eternal.

## WHERE "ULYSSES" LEADS

**JAMES JOYCE.** By Herbert S. Gorman, New York: Huebsch. \$2.00

"The Portrait of an Artist" is the voyage of discovery and "Ulysses" the new continent of Twentieth Century literature. Mr. Gorman may talk learnedly of "Chamber Music" and "Dubliners" and "Exiles"; it is true that Columbus spent several years travelling from court to court of Europe; yet what are these drug-journeys beside that far-flung fearful venturing through uncharted seas to the New World? Let us therefore admit that what the critics delve to unearth in these earlier works might have remained forever buried ore, had not the later product bid them mine, and let us turn without further lingering to the creation.

Mr. Gorman seems almost to concur with the man who reads "Ulysses" as his Bible; he quotes and hastens to accord with superlative praise. Curiously enough, the author of the survey speaks in deprecatory tone of one of the book's best hours, that of the successive parodies of English prose style, one breaking upon the other like great waves of an endless ocean. With two other of Mr. Gorman's points we might also venture disagreement. In his discussion of the great "Walpurgisnacht" scene, the frenzied fantastic phantasmagoric revel through Dublin's night town, the critic declares of the style: "It is certainly not romanticism nor symbolism nor reticent naturalism. . . this chapter is essentially realistic in spite of the monstrous perversions of thoughts which raise the chapter to such astonishing madness." Yet the term realism is so definitely linked with a specific approach that to extend it to Joyce is unnecessarily misleading; a new term must be applied. Joyce's method in this passage is very distinctly to pour forth on the pages a complete record of what his characters accept through the senses, what they think, what they feel, what they imagine, to empty their minds completely, as fantastically as purpose may dictate; since Joyce's method is distinctly cerebral, and since what he presents, "any total consciousness at a given moment," is the definition of psychosis, his method may appropriately be called "psychosis."

Mr. Gorman's second charge is that Joyce can have no successors, that no second "Ulysses" can be written. Probably Mr. Gorman meant only the latter, to deny which would be as irrational as to maintain the first idea. Joyce has crossed the Atlantic to a new literary world, but he has merely touched the Eastern coast, perhaps not even the mainland; who knows how far the journey to the Pacific? The use of the Odyssey as a form-guide will no more invalidate the book than the use of a ruler Picabia's angles; or its contemporary application, Gulliver's Travels; yet even this element of the technique may have its imitators.

and Aeneas come, and King Arthur, and Charlemagne, as guides to our modernists. Of the running stream of consciousness, the interior monologue, Joyce points out his French source; any theme may be as many actually will be—developed in this form. In the use of parody, Joyce has not troubled to match manner and mood; in pure word delight he is thick in the dust of Gertrude Stein; in anticipatory sentences (chosen from a chapter and placed together at the head in a sort of free verse arrangement) he has not achieved a mosaic, or a thematic treatment such as an operative prelude sustains; his use of what Mr. Gorman calls the "examination paper" device, but that more closely resembles a catechism, is well done yet by no means precludes further experiment. Indeed, one of the chief glories of the book is that, far from being a brilliant tour-de-force, a tremendous pose at the end of a blind alley, it opens many widening roads on any one of which a dozen novelists may wander through fruitful land.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

## THE HUSSY.

By Boine Grainger. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.

Running all through this book is the subtle concept of a moral standard not determined by the arbitrary rulings of man growing out of material interests; but rather a morality based on inherent qualities of self-respect and the ideals of mutual love and honor.

The proverbial attitude of the male creature, instinctively damning the girl who has lived and loved contrary to his standards, is finely contrasted with the ideals and character of the girl herself, quite to the advantage of the heroine of the story. There may be those who differ with this but in so doing they only betray the narrowness of their own souls. As the author describes him, possessed of a "nasty mind."

The second edition appeared just two months after the first printing, which may or may not indicate a first class standard novel. One is impressed with the way in which the author brings the various personalities through the tangled mesh of life's experiences, and in the end unites those who really belong to each other. There are several unusual characters in the book. The mother-in-law, appreciating with sincere devotion the woman who divorced her son; Steve, her youth-time lover who finally came back to her—"a woman like you and a man like me—We don't have to talk about it, we understand each other. We've both tried it with someone else and failed. I'm your man, I understand your character and I can appreciate your talents, too."

The story has a romantic touch that will fascinate the ordinary novel fan, while those who read between the lines will find soul values and standards that will command attention and possibly acceptance.

LENA MORROW LEWIS.

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## LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

**Belgian Government Scared**  
With the fear of another possible Cabinet crisis entailing general elections to the Chamber of Deputies which might put the Socialists in control of the situation hovering over its head, the new Theunis Government, through its Minister of Labor, M. Tschoffen, has hastened to assure the workers that it will see to it that the eight-hour day is maintained and that more social legislation is enacted. The unions, however, are somewhat suspicious of the Government's intentions, and will insist upon actions rather than promises. M. Tschoffen says there will be an immediate reexamination of a decree issued by his predecessor just before the fall of the old Cabinet depriving the unions of a voice in the allocation of trade union benefits to the unemployed and making it a purely State affair.

**French Labor Leader Acquitted**  
According to a Havas dispatch of April 9 from Nimes, the Court of Assizes has acquitted the French railroad labor leader, Midol, who was being prosecuted by the Government in connection with his part in the general railroad strike of 1920.

**Norwegian Unions Celebrate**  
In the midst of the conflicts involving some 70,000 of its members in strikes and lockouts, the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation on March 30. During 1923, the unions gained 5,057 members, bringing the total up to 88,697. The matter of international affiliation is still in suspense and will be settled by a referendum.

**Luxemburg Unions Militant**  
The trade unions of the tiny Grand Duchy of Luxemburg have been forced to fight the fall in the purchasing value of the franc by repeated demands for more wages and thus far have been fairly successful. They got a raise of 6 1/2 per cent last October and recently won another of 13 per cent. But the employers are trying to couple the wage raises with an increase in the number of working hours and one big metal-working concern, with the aid of the Government, has put through a "temporary" suspension of the eight-hour day. Now the Luxemburg Federation of Trade Unions declares it will fight to the limit to win back the lost ground.

**Pan American Meet in December**  
It is announced that the fourth congress of the Pan American Federation of Labor will be held in Mexico City next December. President Samuel Gompers will preside. It is planned to have the delegates make a trip to Guatemala.

**Belgian Sailors Get Raise**  
At a recent meeting of the Belgian Shipowners' Association, it was decided to raise the sailors' wages 5 per cent, because of the advance in the cost of living, due largely to the fall in the value of the franc. The officers are also to get a raise in pay.

**Spanish Hotel Workers Reviving**  
The Spanish Hotel and Coffee House Employees' Union has been re-

vived and has joined the General Workers' Union, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

**Poles Fight Danzig Unions**  
The Polish Railway Board, which controls a certain amount of the railway traffic in the Free City of Danzig, has prohibited all propaganda in favor of a railroad men's union. The local branch of the German Railwaymen's Union, will fight this order.

**SIGN WRITERS STRIKE CONTINUES**  
Over seventy-five per cent of the sign writers who went on strike April 1, are already back on their jobs victorious in their demands. The union demands include a minimum scale of \$13.20 for 8 hours a day and forty hour week.

A statement issued by George B. Howell, president of the union, points out that the few die-hard open-shop employers who are fighting the union are conceding their inability to replace the strikers. In their desperation some of the leading open-shop employers have spent thousands of dollars in advertising to prejudice the cause of the workers. These employers have tried to intimidate that the strikers were resorting to mutilation and destruction of signs such as billboards and posters. The union officials when interviewed on this matter declared that this was simply a trick on the part of the employers to deceive the public and break down their sympathy for the strikers. The fact of the matter is that sign writing is a most skilled profession and requires many years of apprenticeship and training. Many are skilled artists who have graduated at academies here and abroad. Owing to the high quality of workmanship required the union feels secure in its position with the workers lined up 100 per cent in the organization.

The union has placed itself in a position of vantage by establishing a cooperative shop in its large headquarters at 106 Seventh avenue, and it has been able to make a dent in the open shopper's business by making a strong bid for commercial business.

The sign writers union is receiving full support and backing from the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers District Council No. 9, with whom it is affiliated as Local No. 230.

**THE CLEANERS AND DYERS PREPARE FOR STRIKE**  
All preparations have been made for the strike of the Cleaners and Dyers' Union of Greater New York. The ground work of the campaign to organize an effective 100 per cent organization in the industry has been going on for a number of weeks with good results.

A mass meeting has been called for this Sunday, at Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway, where the decision to declare the strike on May 5 may be carried through. A number of good speakers will be on hand to address the meeting. All those who are not yet members of the union will have ample opportunity to join at this meeting according to D. Hoffman, secretary of the union.

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Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.  
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Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office  
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LOCAL 15  
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LOCAL 10  
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LOCAL 1  
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LOCAL 5  
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**Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76**  
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Meets Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at Arlington Hall  
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**U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers**  
LOCAL UNION NO. 463 OF NEW YORK CITY  
Meeting Room, 243 East 84th St., New York City  
EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8 P. M.  
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2 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 1618  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, Pres. N. ULLMAN, Rec. Sec'y.  
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LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.  
7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082  
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UNION LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.  
2 East 12th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3657  
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M. M. ESSENFIELD, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

**SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORTFOLIO MAKERS' UNION**  
62 University Place Stuyvesant 6538  
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N.Y.  
Chas. Garfinkel, Org'r. H. Kaplan, Sec.

**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
130 East 23rd St. Madison Square 1934  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

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Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arion Pl., Bkn., N. Y.  
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LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.  
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D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

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UNION, Local 63, I. H. C. & C. L. of A.  
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Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
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Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 8TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
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Office: Telephone: 62 East 104th Street. University 2828  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
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**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—4100-5116. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America**  
LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE, 304 EAST 150TH ST., ROOM 2. Telephone Melrose 5674  
THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent.  
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and Joiners of America**  
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Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.  
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**Carpenters & Joiners of America**  
Local Union 366  
4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.  
Regular meetings every Monday evening.  
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# --- D R A M A ---

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"PEG O' MY DREAMS," the musical version of J. HARTLEY MANNERS' famous play, "Peg O' My Heart," opens on Monday night at JOLSON'S 59TH STREET Theatre, under the direction of RICHARD HERNDON. Mr. Manners has written the book, the music has been composed by HUGO FELIX, Anne Caldwell has contributed the lyrics, and the entire production has been staged under the direction of Hassard Short, of the Music Box.

While the central story of the original play has been preserved, there have been many embellishments added and several entirely new characters introduced. There are more than twenty numbers in the score.

The role of Peg will be sung by Suzanne Keener, a member of the Metropolitan Opera Company. G. P. Huntley, the well-known English comedian, will have the role of Alaric and Roy Royston, who has been playing leading juvenile roles in London, will be the Jerry. Others prominent in the cast will be Robert Beatty, Oscar Figman, Albertina Vitak, Lowey Lee, Paul Kleeman, Gilberta Faust, Chester Hale, Joseph McCallion and William Ladd.

The musical accompaniment will be rendered by an orchestra of thirty pieces under the direction of Gus Salzer.

"THE BRIDE," a new comedy by STUART OLIVER, with PEGGY WOOD in the title role, will be presented by JEWETT AND BRENNAN, at the 39TH STREET Theatre, on Monday evening. This will be Miss Wood's first appearance in many seasons in a play without music. The supporting cast includes Isabel Irving, Ferdinand Gottschalk, Donald Cameron, George Pauncefort, George Henry Trader, Robert Pemberton, Robert Harrison and Jefferson Lloyd. The play has been staged by Frederick Stanhope.

### TUESDAY

"CATSKILL DUTCH," a new genre play dealing with life in the "seventies" in a quaint Dutch-American settlement in the foothills of the Catskill mountains, will be presented by RICHARD HERNDON at the BELMONT Theatre on Tuesday night.

The play was written by ROSCOE W. BRINK, a graduate of the Harvard 47 Workshop and the preliminary announcements set forth that "it deals with religious fanaticism in an intensely dramatic way."

The cast will include Frank McGlynn, (creator of the title role in Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln"); Louis Wolheim, (creator of Eugene O'Neill's "Hairy Ape"); Ann Davis, Minnie Dupree, Kenneth McKenna and Frederick Burt.

Robert Milton is responsible for the production and staging end.



ANN DAVIS

## "NEW WORLDS FOR OLD"

"The Admiral," by Charles Rann Kennedy, a play of Poetic beauty and Dramatic power, at special matinees—48th Street Theatre.

In his new play, Charles Rann Kennedy reaches heights of poetic beauty and dramatic power, probes depths of human character, with a deftness and a sureness he has never attained before. There are but three persons, in an action that unfolds continuously, one act beginning where the last left off, the action requiring not three hours' time; yet in the brief period and within those straight limits the ultimate conflict eternally fought between man and woman is pictured, and a second war of mastery within the man is waged.

The three characters are Columbus, his wife, and Isabella of Spain; they are, however, eternal figures, as the program shadows by calling them merely "a queen, a girl, a sailor." The pictured struggle is that of the nature of man and woman, as always opposed in life. The queen, imagining the New World that the sailor dreams, sees it dominated by the same passions, devoted to the satisfaction of the same lusts and greeds as had poisoned the old world—through man. The sailor cries that it is not woman alone who knows the pangs of birth; the new world was born in him, as all projects of man's mind are born, in anguish of travail; his is a suffering and his is likewise a creation. To this the woman responds that man goes always forward, looking ever ahead for new activity and new adventure; woman must always linger to meet the problems and the burdens he leaves along his way. The nearest approach to peace in this eternal conflict is through a love that is compounded of passion, understanding, and faith; such a love may leave both the man and the woman free and still more subtly bound.

Balanced against this struggle of the sexes is the other great conflict of life, the war of the ego. Within the sailor ambition swells to a pride that assumes lofty airs, claims high reward, speaks of predestination—as though the New World were but a device of God's for granting Columbus glory. In this pride he meets the conference of the king, and comes forth beaten; yet he rises to a greater victory, the conquest of himself; for he sees that his failure was rooted in his pride. Sufficiently humbled to be exalted, he is raised again by the queen's gift of the manned ships, and stands forth to launch the voyage of discovery that is to realize his dream.

## Justice to Joan of Arc

George Bernard Shaw, whose dialogue with Archibald Henderson appears in the May Harpers, replied to the question why he had chosen Joan of Arc as the subject of his play:

"Why not? Joan is a first-class dramatic subject ready-made. You have a heroic character, caught between 'the fell incensed points' of the Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire, between Feudalism and Nationalism, between Protestantism and Ecclesiasticism, and driven by her virtues and her innocence of the world to a tragic death which has secured her immortality. What more do you want for a tragedy as great as that of Prometheus? All the forces that bring about the catastrophe are on the grandest scale; and the individual soul on

which they press is of the most indomitable force and temper. The amazing thing is that the chance has never been jumped at by any dramatic poet of the requisite caliber. The pseudo-Shakespearean Joan ends in mere jingo acridity. Voltaire's mock-Homeric epic is an uproarious joke. Schiller's play is romantic floundering. All the modern attempts known to me are second-rate opera books. I felt personally called on by Joan to do her dramatic justice; and I don't think I have botched the job."

## "TIME IS A DREAM" TO CONTINUE AT NEIGHBORHOOD

"The Intelligent Minority" has shown such appreciation of H. R. Leonard's play "Time is a Dream," now playing at the Neighborhood Playhouse, that it has been decided to give three more performances—Friday, Saturday and Sunday evening of this week. The Einstein film on Relativity will be continued with the play.

## Eve Was the Snake

"COBRA," BY MARTIN BROWN, AT THE HUDSON THEATRE

A recent edition of the city's largest morning daily asked of five representative citizens, whose pictures and responses were published, the following soul-searching question: "Which is more faithful to a man, a wife, a friend, or a dog?" As I remember, the dog won the decision. Certainly the omission of a dog from the play "Cobra," is the only reason this play does not teach the same lesson. Yet it serves one further purpose, one of economy, than which nothing can be more desirable in this workaday world. In "The World We Live In," a similar great economy is achieved, but on a smaller scale: the industrious driver of the ants, counting time for the workers, 1, 2, 3, 4, 1, 2, 3, 4, suddenly counts 1, 2, 4, 1, 2, 4—and the world moves more swiftly. But "Cobra" teaches an even more fundamental saving; in the eternal triangle of evil: Eve, Adam, and the snake, it eliminates one step in the process by identifying Eve and the serpent—thus rendering much more rapid the road to hell.

In the second act, Judith Anderson gives a flesh-stirring demonstration of the snake-woman, leading the hero, a handsome athlete whose passion she needed, out like a bull dazed by a cobra, until she could wind him in her coils. The winding took place off-stage, which was perhaps just as well, for somehow—and on the stage it would have been hard to make us believe—the hero escapes from those fateful coils, and leaves the woman in the hotel alone. This act of his makes the friend more faithful than the wife, for the snake-woman is the wife of the hero's pal. But the next morning produces one of the tensest moments of recent drama: Dornier, who believes his wife to be a saint, returns to town, and finds no trace of her; the horrified friend reads in the early paper that the hotel in which she slept was burned down, no one on her floor escaping, all burned beyond possibility of identification. How can he tell his friend of his and the wife's deceit? Even though he was technically unstained, he felt responsible for her presence in the hotel.

For a year he says nothing; then the husband reads some old letters, and discovers that his wife had gone with several men to that hotel; he realizes how she had died. Among the letters was one from his pal, rebuking the woman for making advances to him; this sign of the pal's good faith helps the husband fight his new knowledge, and come out victor over himself, to go on with life. Still the friend says nothing about his part in the story; they continue as partners, with the lived lie as a wedge between them, to part them more and more as the years go by.

J. T. S.



DOROTHY JARDON is staying over another week at the Hippodrome, singing a group of new songs

## REVIVALS

"Leah Kleschna," melodrama of the old school with all-star cast, at the Lyric Theatre.

The word "revival" implies a degree of death. It would be impossible to speak of reviving the Greek dramatists or Shakespeare, to speak of a revival of "The Devil's Disciple" or of "Hedda Gabler." These are living things, part of the continuous life of art; whether as old as the Ptolemies or as young as a butterfly, they endure; they are everlasting the same age. It may be, of course, that a bit of them gets chipped off, as time passes, like the arms of Victory; it may even be that we wish certain little parts were missing. But of such plays as these we may give new performances; we may dress them up or trick them out in primitive simplicity or decorative brilliancy or expressionistic fantasy; we cannot "revive" them.

Other plays are more susceptible to the revivification process. Plays two generations old (in style not in age) are likely by the rule of the pendulum's swing to be pleasing to us, with the addition of a faint amusing flavor, the scent of lavender and the flutter of old lace. Danger lies, however, when the revivalists bring out of the closet of the past the skeleton or the mummy of a play an odd number of moods ago; those are the periods of antipathies. It was the classical period in England that translated Chaucer and wrote "Spenser Redivivus"; the same epoch in Germany that produced "The Merchant of Venice, Enlarged and Improved"; it is such a period that seems, like the Sophomores to the Freshmen, most hateful, most faulty to its immediate successors.

Therein lay the error of the producer who revived "Leah Kleschna." Its faults are too close to win the smile that "Fashion" winks from us; because our own playwrights have just learned to overcome those very faults, and possibly still dread them; because our audiences have just been educated beyond those devices and still scorn them. As an illustration of an early "crook"

# --- T H E A T R E S ---

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

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## JULIA SANDERSON

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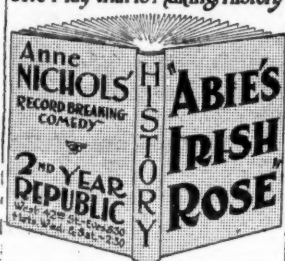
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Will not be shown in any other N. Y. theatre this year.

\*\*\*\*\*

## Moscow Art Returns

### FINAL PERFORMANCES IN AMERICA

The Russians will play on another stage than the Jolson's when, under Morris Gest's direction, they return, never to appear again in America, the week beginning Monday. For this farewell engagement the Imperial Theatre in West 15th street has been chosen.

The entire company will sail for home on the Majestic, Saturday, May 17.

Six plays will be presented in the course of the farewell engagement.

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## 'PEG O' MY DREAMS'

MUSICAL VERSION of

"PEG O' MY HEART"

Book by J. Hartley Manners Music by Hugo Felix

Lyrics by Anne Caldwell Staged by Hassard Short

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By J. P. McEvoy

The PLAY with 1000 LAUGHS

Plymouth Theatre

45th St. - Evgs. 8:30

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OPENING TUESDAY, MAY 6

## CATSKILL DUTCH

A NEW PLAY BY ROSCOE W. BRINK

FRANK MCGLYNN ANN DAVIS MINNIE DUPREE

LOUIS WOLHEIM KENNETH MCKENNA FREDERICK BURT

Belmont Theatre

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MATS. THURS. & SAT. 2:30

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181st TO 191st

PERFORMANCE:

MAIL ORDERS 1 WEEKS AHEAD.

Cyrano

Notes

THE THRESHOLD PLAYERS will give Walter Hackett's play, "Captain Applejack," at the Children's Theatre, 1230 Fifth Avenue, opening Monday afternoon.

The enormous audience that filled the Metropolitan Opera House Sunday night at the Equity Annual Show contributed no less than \$22,000. Some benefit!

LEON VOLTERRA, director-general of the Casino de Paris, reached this country yesterday on the Leviathan. He came for a conference with J. J. Shubert concerning the latter's importation of the current Casino de Paris revue with the original French cast and chorus.

A singing trio has been added to the cast of "Vogues," the Shubert Theatre

revue.



## --: DRAMA --:

## DUSE THE ARTIST

All the world extols the art of Eleanora Duse, whose death, midway in her triumphant farewell tour of America, put such a dramatically tragic end to her career of greatness. "The Incomparable Duse," she is called by Robert Underwood Johnson, former ambassador to Italy and editor of the Century Magazine for many years, in his "Remembered Yesterdays," published by Little, Brown & Company, Mr. Johnson says:

"One evening in 1892, having seen the announcement that a company of Italian actors would appear at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, Mrs. Johnson and I, for want of anything better to do, decided to see them on the first night. The company had not been heralded by the usual commercial exploitation, and the theatre was not more than one-third full except in the top gallery, which was crowded with Italians; but the performance proved to be a memorable event, for it was the first American appearance of Eleanora Duse, and, if I remember aright, in 'La Dame aux Camélias.' At the moment of her first coming upon the scene, we recognized a dramatic talent of the first order, and from that evening we became devoted admirers of her beautiful art. Two nights later when we went again, we found the theatre packed with a distinguished audience."

"Was there ever any one who could indicate the changes of age more effectively than she? Only as Camille, but in other characters, she could shift from the girlhood of eighteen to the seriousness of fifty. It was not merely by a new aspect of countenance or by a new tone of voice, but by the poise and movement of her figure, or by the droop and gesture of her beautiful dark head. She has a natural intelligence that goes to the

depths of the philosophy of her characters. She has the sympathy and simplicity of a frank and sincere nature and those qualities suffuse her interpretations.

"Duse's art is profound as well as sincere. When she was playing her first engagement in New York, Mrs. Johnson said to a friend, 'Let us go once more to see her Camille and get front seats and see if we can discover how she does it, and test in a cold-blooded way whether she can still move us.' They got along very well in their critical study of the first scene, but in the one with Armand's father, they broke down completely and sobbed aloud. It was not the situation in itself that was so compelling, as the reflection of it in the visible ageing of the heroine in the twinkling of an eye—one moment a beautiful and sensitive young woman and the next a colorless woman of middle age."

"In her first tour in America, speaking no English, Signora Duse was obliged to avail herself, in shopping and correspondence, of friends who spoke French. She was much sought socially, but was too devoted to her exacting art to indulge herself in such pleasures. Probably no foreign actress who ever came to us was so little dependent upon a theatrical wardrobe, or cared less for it. No one ever went to her representations to study European fashions and she seemed to know how diverting from the real business of the actress is the art of the courtiere, however harmonious or well executed. With Duse, one simply was absorbed in the play, not only in her own part, but in those of her company, to whom she succeeded in imparting the importance of ensemble. We all had librettos and the obstacle of a foreign language was forgotten."

## MARY PICKFORD IN "DOROTHY VERNON OF HADDON HALL"

Mary Pickford brings her newest picture, "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall," to the Criterion Theatre, Monday evening. In this picturization of Charles Major's popular novel, Miss Pickford creates for the screen the hoydenish, romantic daughter of the House of Haddon Hall, a role replete with all the charm and fascination of girlhood. The production bears the stamp of direction of Marshall Neilan. Waldemar Young made the adaptation of the story.

The opening night audience will see an entirely reconstructed building, for the Criterion is to be transformed into an exact reproduction of Haddon Hall of the Tudor period with all the gray and griminess of the castle, with turrets and battlements. In place of the lobby, the audience will enter the house through a miniature garden of the old English type, and all other environment will be in keeping.

Others in the cast include Marc McDermott, Anders Randolph, Wilfred Lucas, Clare Eames, Estelle Taylor, Courtenay Foote, Mmc. Carrie Daumery, Lottie Pickford Forrest, Malcolm Waite, Howard Gaye, Colin Kenny, Eric Mayne, Jack Fowler and Olaf Skavlan.



LESLIE HOWARD gives a most realistic performance of the suicide lover in Sutton Vane's play "Outward Bound," which just passed its 150th performance at the Ritz

## Vaudeville Theatres

## HIPPODROME

Ralph Riggs and Katherine Witchie; Dorothy Jordon, Yvette and her New York Syncopators; Ted and Betty Healy in "A Flapper and a Philosopher"; Gordon Dooley and Martha Morton; Robinson's Herd of Performing Elephants; the Novelty Clintons; Bob Anderson and his Polo Pony; Russell and Marconi; an Acro's Fable, Pathe News, and new features in "Toy-town."

## PALACE

Grace La Rue in a song recital, Mr. and Mrs. Hale Hamilton in "Dangerous Advice," a one-act domestic drama; Russian Art Company featuring Vlasta Maslova, Phillip Pelz; Imperial Symphonists and Olga Kazanskaya; Charles and Louis Mosconi assisted by Verna and Willie Mosconi, Marcelle and his Comedy Seal, Runaway Four, Jack McLellan and "Sarah," Les Grohs, Schicht's Royal Marionettes, the Golden Vision.

## RIVERSIDE

S. S. Leviathan Band; Morris and Campbell, Grace Hayes, Ted Claire and Co., Watts and Hawley, Shriner and Fitzsimmons, Lytell and Fant, Bob Anderson and Pony.

## B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

The high spots on the bill at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre for next week will include Valerie Bergere and her company, in "Judgment," a dramatic playlet by Victor Smalley. Ben Boroff is assisted by his Symphonic band and Frank and Milt Britton. Joe Browning, Charles Harrison and Sylvia Dakin, Billy Hogue, William Ebler and John Olsen, The Dancing Hurratons and other acts.

The screen will have a new feature picture, "Pal of Mine," with Irene Rich, Willard Louis and Pauline Garon. Charlie Chaplin in "The Count," will be an added attraction.

## LOEW'S PALACE

"The Dawn of a Tomorrow," based on Frances Hodgson Burnett's novel, will be the main film offering Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the coming week at Loew's Palace Theatre. Jacqueline Logan, David Torrence and Raymond Griffith head the cast. An added comedy feature is Larry Semon in "Horseshoes."

Marshall Montgomery will head the vaudeville bill. Others will be Bobbe and Stark, Jack Ryan and Company, Dance Rays and the Geraldine Miller Trio.

"The Unknown Purple," from the mystery play by Roland West, who directed this screen version, will be shown the last half of the week. Henry B. Walthall, Alice Lake, Stuart Holmes and Ethel Grey Terry are among the chief players.

"The Wedding Ring," a domestic comedy, Nada Norzaine and the Cromwells, will be among the features on the vaudeville end of the bill beginning Thursday.

## Reviving Oscar Wilde

The news that Norman Trevor, (at present appearing in "The Goose Hangs High," will revive OSCAR WILDE'S "AN IDEAL HUSBAND," for the benefit of the Inez Milholland Memorial Fund, is not without interest. The performance is announced for the Hudson Theatre for Sunday evening, May 4. Mr. Trevor playing his original role of Lord Goring, which he created in the initial London production of the play.

"An Ideal Husband" was first produced in 1895 at the St. James Theatre, London, and really established Wilde with the British playing public. It followed closely on the success of "Lady Windermere's Fan" and "The Importance of Being Earnest." The dramatic and literary genius shown in these three plays, all of which were hastily published in book form, was as pronounced and undoubted as their direction and ideas were paradoxical. All



NORMAN TREVOR

will revive Oscar Wilde's "An Ideal Husband" Sunday night at the Hudson for the Inez Milholland Memorial Fund, playing the role of Lord Goring. Monday night Mr. Trevor will be back at his regular duty—as the Father of the new generation—in "The Goose Hangs High," at the Bijou.

of them helped mightily to place Wilde on the very pinnacle of success.

Mr. Trevor's enterprise in reviving "An Ideal Husband" includes the gathering together of as many players as can be found who have previously been identified with the play, either in London or New York. In addition to acting in it, Mr. Trevor will direct the production. Among the players will be Merle Maddern, Elizabeth Patterson, Hubert Druce, Louis Willoughby, John Seymour, Myrtle Bauer, Anne Buzzard and Marjorie Hughes.

WILL PHILBRICK and RONALD FAILES joined the cast of "Vogues," the revue at the Shubert Theatre.

## --: MUSIC --:

## Anne Pavlova's Farewell Performance

Anna Pavlova will say farewell Sunday night at the Metropolitan Opera House in a special program for the benefit of her home for Russian children which she established some years ago in Paris.

In addition to Pavlova and her company, the program will be enhanced by the appearance of Efrem Zimbalist, violinist; Rashaanara, in dances of India, and Ina Bourakaya, mezzo-soprano of the Metropolitan Opera.

The two ballets will be "Snowflakes" and "Autumn Leaves," and the diversifications will include the Hungarian Rhapsody, "The Swan," "Bolero," "Scene Dansante," "Pas de Trois" by Strauss, "Gopak" and "Serenade."

## Goldman Band Concerts

ORATORIO SOCIETY ONE OF MANY FEATURES

The schedule for the Goldman Band Concerts in Central Park under the direction of Edwin Franko Goldman has been definitely arranged, and many new features have been added to the program for this summer.

The Oratorio Society is to appear on the evening of June 14, giving Mendelssohn's "Elijah" in its entirety. Last season Rossini's "Stabat Mater" was rendered. Later in the season another choral society will appear in Gounod's "Gallia."

Among the new soloists who will be heard are Genia Fonarova, the Russian soprano, who has been engaged for eleven concerts. Another newcomer is Walno Kauppi, a young cornet virtuoso only twenty-four years of age, a protégé of Mr. Goldman's who is being trained by the conductor, who himself was a famous cornetist.

The Goldman Band will again number sixty musicians and the personnel remains practically the same as last year.

The old bandstand in Central Park has been removed and workmen are at work daily making numerous improvements on the Mall. The entire section is being concreted, remodeled and enlarged. All seats will be free and no tickets will be required. Program schedules of the entire season have been printed and free copies may be secured by addressing request to "The Goldman Band," 202 Riverside Drive, New York City, after May 1, the only requirement being that a self-addressed, stamped envelope be enclosed with request.

## Music at the Cinemas

## CAPITOL

As a feature of Music Week, S. L. Rothafel will present at the Capitol Theatre next week, for the first time, "Wagneriana," a new overture composed by Herman Hand, first horn player of the Capitol Orchestra. It is a fantastic arrangement in symphonic form of the principal themes of all the Wagner operas and this is its first performance anywhere.

Mr. Hand is a graduate of the Vienna Conservatory of Music, and the composer of a number of orchestral works, his first opera being performed when he was twenty-one. He has held solo positions with Oscar Hammerstein's opera company, the New York Symphony Orchestra and other symphony organizations.

Impressions of "THE PIRATES OF PENZANCE," the second of the Gilbert and Sullivan revivals instituted several weeks ago, forms the major part of the musical entertainment. The presentation will see a reunion of some of the best known delineators of Gilbert and Sullivan characters, the company having been augmented by Herbert Waterous and Sarah Edwards, formerly prominent members of the American Society of Singers and J. Humbird Duffy, who participated in De Wolf Hopper's last revival of Gilbert and Sullivan. Miss Edwards will play the part of Ruth, the Pirate maid-of-all-work; Mr. Waterous will appear as the Pirate King; Mr. Duffy as Frederick; Frank Moulan will play the Sergeant of Police; Frederick Wheeler as Major General Stanley, and Miss Helen Brett as Mabel, the General's youngest daughter. The Ballot Corps will appear in a Pirate Ballet.

## RIVOLI

The music program at the Rivoli has been chosen with special thought for Music Week. The overture will be "Selections From Faust," by Gounod, played by the orchestra, with Irvin Talbot and Emanuel Baer conducting. Ruth Urban, soprano, will sing three selections, with Jacques Pintel at the piano. There will be a dance diversification by Lorelei Kendler and Nella Hillhouse, with setting by John Wenger.

## RIALTO

A special program has been prepared by Hugo Reisenfeld in collaboration of Music Week, headed by the overture "Les Preludes," by Liszt, played by the Rialto Orchestra, under the direction of Hugo Reisenfeld and Willy Stahl. There will be a selection from Tschakowsky, "Andante Cantabile," by the Rialto String Quartet, and "Ragtime," will be the week's Reisenfeld's Classical Jazz. In connection with the Franz Schubert picture, Miriam Lax and Adrian da Silva will sing an accompaniment.

## Music Notes

RICHARD SINGER will give his first public recital in this country at Aeolian Hall, Sunday afternoon. Mr. Singer was born in Budapest and studied as a child with Max Fiedler, known in America as conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

DUSOLINA GIANNINI, the soprano, will sing at two festivals in May, at Syracuse on May 7 and at Ann Arbor on the 24th.

MARIA IVOGUN, who sailed Tuesday, is appearing as "Zerbinetta" in Richard Strauss' "Ariadne auf Naxos" on May 23, opening the first Royal Opera Season at Covent Garden since 1914. Bruno Walter will be the conductor.

## --: THEATRES --:

## THEATRES

## New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

## THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

BERNARD SHAW'S Latest and Greatest Play

## SAINT JOAN

Young back to GARRICK, May 12 Seats at Garrick Monday  
EMPIRE THEATRE  
Broadway at 40th. Evs. 8:20. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:20.

## MOLINAR'S ROYAL SPRING TONIC



## The SWAN

With EVA LE GALLIENNE  
Basil Rathbone, Philip Merrivale, Milda Spont, Allan Sainsworth, Halliwell Hoopes, Richie Ling  
CORT West 48th St. Evs. 8:20. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:20.

## The DRAMATIC SENSATION MARTIN BROWN'S

## COBRA

"IT WENT OVER SO BIG THAT IT LEFT THE FIRST NIGHT AUDIENCE WHISPERING LONG AFTER FINAL CURTAIN FELL."  
—N. Y. American  
THEATRE, W. 44th St. Evs. 8:30. Mat. Wed. Sat. 2:30. Mgt. Mrs. H. B. HARRIS

## HUDSON

## PREMIERE MONDAY NIGHT

## MARY PICKFORD

## DOROTHY VERNON of HADDON HALL

from the romantic novel by Charles Major  
A MARSHALL NEILAN PRODUCTION  
CRITERION THEATRE, W. 44th St. Evs. 8:30. Mat. Wed. Sat. 2:30. Twice Daily Thereafter 2:30-8:30

## MAN AND THE MASSES

(Masse Mensch)  
A PLAY OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION  
By ERNST TOLLER  
LAST WEEK!  
SAINT JOAN Moves  
Here May 12—Seats Monday.  
GARRICK THEATRE  
65 W. 35th St. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 2:30.

## 48th ST.

THEATRE  
Evs. at 8:30. Mats. Tues. & Sat., 2:30.

## "EXPRESSING WILLIE"

By RACHEL CROTHERS  
"As close an approach to the perfect comedy as an audience can hope to see. Three utterly delightful acts."—Evening World.  
SEATS 8 WEEKS AHEAD.

## CAPITOL BROADWAY AT 51st ST.

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

## "The Rejected Woman"

with ALMA RUBENS, CONRAD NAGEL and WYNNDHAM STANDING  
IMPRESSIONS OF "PIRATES OF PENZANCE"  
FRANK MOULAN  
—CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA—  
DAVID MENDOZA Conducting.  
CAPITOL BALLET CORPS  
Presentation by ROTHAFEL.

## B.S. MOSS' B'WAY AT 45th

"Where the crowds all go"  
ALL NEXT WEEK  
A NEW FEATURE PICTURE  
"PAL OF MINE"

with Irene Rich, Willard Louis and Pauline Garon.  
CHARLES CHAPLIN in "THE COUNT."  
Ben Meroff and Band, Valerie Bergere and Co., Joe Browning, Charles Harrison and Sylvia Dakin, AND OTHERS  
B. F. KEITH ACTS



PEGGY WOOD

will be seen in non-singing role—the first in many seasons—"The Bride," a new comedy by Stuart Olivier which comes to the 39th Street Monday night.

## "THANK-U," at the Bronx Opera House

"Thank-U," by Winchell Smith (co-author of "Lightnin'" and "Turn to the Right") and Tom Cushing, comes to the Bronx Opera House for the week beginning Monday.

The cast includes: Harry Davenport, Frank Monroe, George Schiller, Remy Carpen, Robert Keith, Phil Bishop, Phyllis Rankin, Nancy Lee, Edward Crandall, Will Chatterton, Helen Judson, Eleanor Post, Herbert Saunders, Leslie Palmer, Frederick Malcolm, Albert Hyde and Elisha Cook.

"IN THE NEXT ROOM" will be the following attraction.

## WILLIAM HODGE IN "FOR ALL OF US," AT THE SHUBERT-RIVIERA.

William Hodge in "For All of Us" will be the attraction at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre for the week beginning Monday evening. The entire original cast is included.

## NOTES

Robert Edmond Jones is directing the players for "HEDDA GABLER," which Equity Players will present at the 48th Street Theatre at special matinees beginning Friday, May 16, and continuing for six performances to be given Monday and Friday of each week thereafter. In the cast are Clare Eames, Margola Gillmore, Dudley Digges, Basil Sinsley, Roland Young, Helen Van Housen and Augusta Haviland. Woodman Thompson is designing the scenery.

ODETTE MYRTIL, featured player in "Vogues," was the guest of honor at the French Fashion Show at the Grand Central Palace Thursday afternoon.

The premier of "DANCING MOTHERS," the new play by Edgar Selwyn, written in collaboration with Edmund Goulding, took place in Washington, D. C., Tuesday night under the personal direction of Edgar Selwyn.



MARY PICKFORD

in "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall," the romantic tale of Charles Major, opening at the Criterion Monday night.

## Notes

The CARLSON SISTERS are to appear at Starlight Park, in their mid-air evolution acts all next week. Daisy Edwards' Comedy Circus, owing to the success it has met, have been retained. Baretta's band and Miss Gertrude Van Deine continue the free concerts at the Park.

## Notes

Two road companies of "The Goose Hangs High," are being organized by the Dramatists' Theatre, Inc. for next season. The present New York cast will remain at the Bijou Theatre.

ALYS DE TREVILLE, pantomimic artist of the "Follies Bergere," has been engaged for the Third Edition, of the Winter Garden revue, "Artists and Models." Her appearance there will be her American debut. Miss De Treville presents a pantomime with seventeen characters, fourteen of which are acted by herself.

"CAIN AND MABEL," L. Lawrence Weber's next musical production with book by William Le Baron and music and lyrics by William B. Friedlander, based on an original story of the same name by H. C. Witwer, is a possibility for early summer production.

This producer not satisfied with three productions now running in this city—and these doing very well, thank you!—is planning for next season: a new comedy by William Le Baron "My Man," and a comedy drama titled "Mildgrim's Progress," written by B. Harrison Orkwo.

Well known paintings, depicting famous scenes in American history, are to be duplicated with living figures in the Third Edition of the Winter Garden revue, "Artists and Models." These living pictures are now being worked out in detail under the direction of Watson Barratt of the Society of Illustrators.

## The New Pictures

ASTOR—"Secrets," with Norma Talmadge.

BROADWAY—"PAL OF MINE" and CHARLES CHAPLIN in "The Count."

CAMEO—"The World Struggle for Oil" and "Second Youth," with Alfred Lunt and Minni Palmeri.

CAPITOL—"THE REJECTED WOMAN," by John Lynch, with Alma Rubens, Conrad Nagel and Wyndham Standing.

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

CRITERION—MARY PICKFORD in "DOROTHY VERNON OF HADDON HALL," from the romantic story of Charles Major.

44TH STREET—"America," D. W. Griffith's Story of the Revolutionary War.

LIBERTY—Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad."

RIALTO—"MEN," P. O. L. A. NEGRI'S latest starring vehicle.

RIVOLI—"THE LONE WOLF," from the story by LOUIS JOSEPH VANCE, with Dorothy Dalton and Jack Holt.

STRAND—Harold Lloyd in "Girl Shy."



## THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association  
Room 507, People's House, 7 East 15th Street  
New York City  
Telephone, Stuyvesant 6885.

### Subscription Rates

United States	
One Year . . . . .	\$2.00
Six Months . . . . .	1.25
Three Months . . . . .	.75
Single Copy . . . . .	.05
To Foreign Countries	
One Year . . . . .	\$3.00
Six Months . . . . .	1.50
Three Months . . . . .	.75

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Assistant Editor . . . . . WM. M. FEIGENBAUM  
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Saturday, May 3, 1924

### THE PASSING OF A CHIEF

TAMMANY has always been a synonym for public plunder. Vulgar men of no social or intellectual significance have served Tammany a few years and by some magic have acquired fortunes. Associated with the criminal and semi-criminal classes, the keepers of dives and shady houses, Tammany has also served the ruling classes. In elections the thug and the pimp find lucrative employment in beating voters and stealing elections. In office its agents are largely typical of the Tammany official who, some fifteen years ago, punished an undertaker by instructing an under official to allow him but one dead body each month until he got right "with the boys."

The passing of the chief of this brokerage house in legislation, contracts and offices brought messages of sympathy from many respectable persons. The Tammany members of Congress from New York adopted resolutions couched in words of religious fervor, affirming that Murphy "has gone from this temporal life to a higher life and naught can disturb the eternal Sabbath of his rest."

Having consigned him to the company of the saints, the candidate of the Democrats for President in 1920 offered a tribute. Ogden L. Mills, Republican Representative of the "silk-stocking" district of New York, offered his "regrets" and observed that the chief was "a very real and powerful character." Senator Copeland, addressing the Diet of capital and finance, told the party lords that the passing of the chief "brings a great loss" to the city, State and nation. Space does not permit mention of the numerous tributes paid by many other godly men in politics, finance and industry.

We do not think that this could occur in any other country. It provides a background for the type of education, honor and decency which our ruling classes represent. Not that we think that an individual is the chief figure in this episode. Not at all. Tammany is an institution that flourishes in capitalist society and its agents are creatures of the system. The tributes paid last week are evidence of this. Socialists can well afford to remember this episode of contemporary history and throw it in the faces of the "patriotic" representatives of a rotting social order.

### MORE OF MOSCOW'S WORK

IF there had not been a revolution in Russia, Harry Daugherty would have no defense to make. To a large audience last week he asserted that the investigation that disclosed his associations with dope vendors, bootleggers and con men is the fruit of a "conspiracy" hatched in Moscow. The "hellish designs" of Moscow were planned when Wheeler and Brookhart were in Russia and met "their Soviet friends."

We presume that Lenin invited the Senators to an exclusive cafe and began: "We are after Harry Daugherty's goat and you will have to get it. No ifs and buts—get him. He is the one obstacle to a revolution in the United States. With Harry out of the way you can plan with us for landing the Red Army some night on the Atlantic coast. We'll join with the American detachments we are organizing, march on to Washington, and seize it. As your reward we will make you both Commissars of the Soviet Republic of the United States. Go to it."

But Lenin, Wheeler and Brookhart could not fool Harry. The latter ferreted out the "hellish designs." Not even the pleasant

hours with the bootleggers and dopesters prevented the Ohio political auctioneer from unearthing the "conspiracy." Harry made only one mistake. He did not disclose the "hellish designs" while he was in office. Only after he was booted out of office did he state that "within the files of the Department of Justice and elsewhere in the Government abundant proof of the plans, purposes and hellish designs of the Communist Internationale can be found."

Poor Harry! He feels like a pompous gentleman in a World cartoon who is presented with a pair of twins by the nurse and exclaims, "Some more of Moscow's dirty work!"

### THE CASE OF THE COONEYS

FOR two weeks the "bobbed hair" bandit and her husband have been in the limelight. All evidence in the case indicates that the pair ventured on their career of banditry because of the poverty which a wage of \$30 a week for the husband consigned them. With the coming of a baby they grew desperate and decided to increase their income by robbery.

A few weeks before, Judge McIntyre sentenced two aged men to Sing Sing. They admitted that they stole in order to obtain a home. Society guaranteed them nothing unless they stole. "Now that I'm caught," said one, "I've got a home anyway in jail. I've been in them all, but I like Sing Sing best of the lot." The other told the Court: "I want to go to Sing Sing because you can see a show there once in a while, and the meals are good."

Will the Court consider the significance of the economic background in the lives of the Cooneys? Not at all. "The law must take its course." Economic law will also take its course and bring more of these unfortunates into court to travel the same route to cement cells and steel bars.

In the case of the Cooneys the stern administrators of the law face the fact that they had the customary religious instruction in "respect for law" and veneration of the institutions of modern society. They also face the fact that parenthood and economic needs broke down the ethical and religious sanctions of private property. They must also know that if this couple had been in receipt of an income that would have permitted them to live in decency and provide for their baby when it entered the world they would never have been dragged into court.

The Cooneys may be on trial, but so is capitalist society. The latter will be merciless in dealing with them. They have no large funds to fight their way through the tortuous mazes of motions and appeals. That is a luxury of the Thaws. The Cooneys will be caged by a capitalist society that is black with the guilt of social and economic neglect of parenthood and childhood. Their case provides a Socialist sermon on the need of abolishing an anti-social system that immures its victims for years in prison cells.

### THE POLITICAL DRIFT IN ENGLAND

TENDENCIES in British politics indicate that the Labor party is forcing the two capitalist parties into one organization. The Liberals object to the Labor party putting up rival candidates in the constituencies, as though the Labor Party could have any more affection for Liberal capitalism than for Tory capitalism.

Last week Captain Frederick Guest went over to the Conservatives. In an open letter to ex-Premier Asquith, Captain Guest observed that the Liberals should preserve their principles and identity, but they should also cooperate with the Conservatives "for the definite purpose of defeating the Socialist Party." This program would be an attempt to preserve Liberal independence, but for all practical purposes it would eventually mean the union of the two old parties.

Lloyd George has also threatened to unite with the Conservatives for the purpose of overthrowing the Labor Government. This can be done at any time that the two capitalist parties decide to do it, but they cannot agree on a division of the spoils as long as the two parties do not actually merge. This merger is inevitable in the end and it will restore the two-party system in England.

But the restoration of the two-party system will be a new alignment. It will be a party of the workers facing a party of the possessing classes instead of two parties serving different sections of the possessing classes. This is all to the good. There will be real issues. If a powerful party of the working class developed in the United States and forced the two oil parties to unite we would have a similar situation.

We hope that the two capitalist firms of British politics will unite. We hope for the same thing here. It would be the beginning of the final conflict that will end in the con-

quest of capitalism itself by the working class.

### HE WAS "UNGRATEFUL"

D R. O'SHEA succeeds Dr. Ettinger as Superintendent of Schools. Neither Ettinger nor O'Shea were appointed because of his fitness, although both are fit. Ettinger was picked because it was believed that he would serve Tammany Hall. He failed to satisfy the gang and O'Shea was picked to serve it. Tammany regards the position as a place, not as an opportunity to educate children.

Our schools are maintained not to foster education but to reward Tammany agents with jobs. The sister of a Tammany boss was made associate superintendent of schools. Another associate's "\$8,000 job" went to a woman whose "educational" services consisted of lining up votes for Tammany. Principals are appointed for political, racial and religious reasons, not because of their fitness.

Ettinger was "ungrateful." Dr. O'Shea must be "grateful" if he wants to retain his position. The school system is honeycombed with "grateful" sycophants of Hylan and his clown, Hirshfield. It is a place for soft berths, servile creatures, and often of grafters.

At the same time, schools are starved for lack of money; there isn't room—the classrooms are overcrowded. Thought is strangled. Reactionaries are able to start hysteria against any teacher who thinks for himself. Back of all this is the rule of big business and political henchmen.

This is "education" in the largest city in the Western Hemisphere! The children of the working class are the chief sufferers. Only the end of capitalist politics can end these crimes against decency and against our children. Only an ever larger participation of Socialism in municipal affairs can protect the public schools.

### THE HOLY LEAGUE AT WORK

MODERN SYRIA is an example of the imperialist character of the League of Nations. The Council of the League is controlled by the leading powers. It can make decisions without consulting the League although its actions are taken in the name of the League. The Syrians carried a protest to the Assembly of the League against French rule in Syria, only to be told that the Assembly could not act on matters which the Council did not submit to it.

Thus the Assembly in which many nations are represented serves as a camouflage for the aggressions of the leading imperialist powers through the Council. The Assembly is a talkfest. The Council is the real thing.

Two articles in the May number of Current History are devoted to this theme. France was given a mandate over Syria. France organized legislative bodies with consultative powers only. A French High Commissioner was vested with all civil and military powers and with legislative and executive powers. In other words, a dictator was placed over Syria. Then followed the usual graft and plunder which follow colonial rule.

Espionage, a swarm of spies, and control of the press are employed to suppress any opposition to French rule. What happens to native Syrians who attempt to bring their grievances to the peoples of other countries may be surmised by the experience of certain members of the Lebanon Assembly. They decided to send a mission to Paris, London, and Rome. This is what happened:

The members of the Assembly who signed this decision were all arrested and arraigned before a court-martial. Other notables, including the Emir Amin Arslan and Said Bey Boustany, were also arrested. The court-martial condemned them to fifteen years' imprisonment, to ten years of deportation and to heavy fines.

It is hardly necessary to observe that France and England, which, like all imperialist powers, glorify "solemn promises," have broken their own many times in dealing with the Syrians. And it is the League of Nations which many sentimentalists believe is to lead the peoples of the world into peace, security and "democracy"!

### SOME CROSSED WIRES

OUR old friend, Alexander Trachtenberg, is making a tour of the country for the "Workers' party," and in Milwaukee he assured his audience that "your Socialists will betray you in the same way that Socialist (sic) democrats betrayed the German workers" (Daily Worker, April 23). The gentleman is at last getting a sense of humor, making that statement in Milwaukee, where the workers know and respect and trust the Socialist Party. But doesn't Alexander know that the "Workers' party" officially supported the "traitorous"

Socialists this year and threw their two votes to Dan Hoan, in spite of which Dan won? These noble Communists are getting their wires a bit crossed, supporting a party and then denouncing them as "traitors."

Dan Hoan's election has thrilled the entire Socialist movement. But he couldn't have been elected without organization, nor could there have been any candidates for Aldermen to be elected with him if there were no party to develop the men and nominate them and get them on the ballot and campaign for them and elect them. Join the party and become active at once. Don't leave it to a few—and then use the hammer on them if they don't do what suits you.

In Milan, the Fascist election officials threw out 30,000 Socialist votes, and in Lombardy, the black-shirted heroes declared 91,714 ballots void. In Apulia, all the non-Fascist parties united in a solemn protest against being completely disfranchised. Tammany Hall is looking for a new leader—they might make an attractive offer to Benito Mussolini, if the exploiting class of Italy are willing to release him.

Coolidge is our platform, says Hughes. He is our Rock of Gibraltar, declares "Judge" Gary. We now await word from other admiring followers to the effect that he is a hitching post, a swimming hole, a rouge pot, a frying pan, and a coal scuttle.

"Truth and Science Lauded by Coolidge"—headline in Evening Post. If this man doesn't curb his wild impetuosity, he is likely to up and declare himself as opposed to smallpox some day regardless of the political consequences.

## THE Chatter-Box

### TO A PILLAR OF FINANCE

"Work and Shut Up," Is Banker's Advice.—News Headline.

Friend, I admire your bland address;  
I sit with proper reverence, Neighbor,  
What time you sing the sacredness  
Of useful Labor.

A clarion call to serve you sound;  
"Work and shut up!" you've learned to be a  
Doctrines divine; in toil you've found  
The panacea.

With zeal you urge on us your code—  
Righteous your mood, though crude your diction—  
And plead with us to shun the road  
Of dereliction.

"Work and shut up!"—such is the task  
You set us. Well, we'll not deny it  
Is good advice. We only ask—  
Why don't you try it?

APOSTROPHE.

### YEA! ANNOUNCEMENT

The judges of our Monthly Poetry Contest have decided after due and careful consideration that the best poem submitted and published in our column during the month of April was the one, entitled "Chocolate Dippers," by Miss (or Mrs.) Floria Renaud. This appeared in the May Day issue last week. So, Floria Renaud, if you will kindly call at The Leader office at your convenience, your cheque for \$10 awaits you.

N.B. Honorable Mention.—Most honorable has been awarded to Mr. Reynard and Miss Pearce. Mr. Louis F. Edwards has been awarded consolation.

Note.—The Contest for May is on in full swing—and we trust to be honored with immortal epics.

### TO MOST WIVES (OF BAD HUSBANDS)

There is no virtue in your constancy—  
To pen the vagrant fancies in  
And find a fireplace and a wheel to spin  
Dull cloth to cloak the Sons of Romany.

### PHILOSOPHY

(to be recited after any marital fracas)

Let us agree, then, that no end is met  
In life—and there no purpose lies—  
Save we are separate clockworks idly set  
To run the measure of a blind surmise.

Note.—The above verses are most effective when either of the pugnacious parties attempts to explain to the other—what it all means.

Plausible explanations sent on request. . . .

A little publicity goes a long way with Emperor Frank—our elevator elf. . . . "Everybody notices me now and asks me questions—and treats me like I was a real person. . . ." We remarked to Frank what an elevating influence he has even among radicals. Particularly among those who must go to the fifth floor, now and then. . . .

For want of something more savage to do, we will tell this about our much criticized young ladies. . . . After dancing with one the other evening, we very clumsily tripped over her fantastic toe, and have since learned—that hell hath no fury like a flapper's corn.

All of which sounds so Bronx Home Newsy . . . so to improve the tone of our persiflage let us return to verse:

Venus sent us down a maid,  
Mirrored in her splendor;  
We sent the lady back prepaid—  
And thanked the gracious sender.  
We sent the lady back because  
She stirred our sense of pity—  
Beside her brain and sundry flaws,  
She knew that she was pretty. . . .

You will pardon these seasonal outbursts over the fairer divisions of humanity. . . . In the Spring a young man's thoughts turn to ridiculous things. . . .

Last night we wrote our 1256th ode to the moon. . . .  
S. A. DE WITT