

## CONGRESS PIGEONHOLES LABOR'S RAILROAD BILL

BY MARX LEWIS

(Washington Correspondent of The New Leader)

Progressives in both houses of Congress will probably list the present week as the one in which they achieved their greatest victories: in the House they succeeded in having the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged from further consideration of the Howell-Barkley Bill desired by the Railroad Brotherhoods, which brings the bill out of the committee and places it on the calendar; in the Senate the Progressives defeated the Mellon tax rates on incomes and substituted the rates proposed by the Democrats.

These victories will be hailed as a vindication of the insurgent movement to which they are supposed to give expression. Yet, it is in the completeness of the victory that the failure of the fight the Progressives made is most readily seen.

In the House the great reform in the rules accomplished at the outset of the session was put to the test. The rules, as reformed, provide that 150 members of the House may, by petition, bring before the House the question whether the House shall discharge from further consideration of a bill a committee which fails to report the bill. This petition, signed by 150 members, does not bring the bill before the House, but makes it possible for the House to decide whether it cares to take the bill out of the Committee. If a majority of the members of the House decide to discharge the committee, it then takes its place on the calendar.

### Barren Rules Reform

It was this reform of the Progressives which received its first trial last Monday. A petition bearing the signatures of 154 Representatives petitioning for the consideration of the Howell-Barkley Bill was presented to the House. From noon until midnight the insurgents, aided by the Democrats, battled. More than sixteen roll calls were had. Machine Republicans staged a filibuster in order to prevent consideration of the measure.

### Bill Likely to Fail

When, at midnight, the battle was over, the victory won, the committee discharged, the Progressives had the Howell-Barkley Bill on the calendar to be considered two weeks hence, maybe.

Now, it is not at all certain the bill will be considered by the House in two weeks. Clever Parliamentary tactics may prevent consideration then. Or it may not be passed before adjournment the first week in June. And if the bill is considered, it is not at all certain that it will pass. On the final vote the Democrats may be found as solidly united with the Republican machine as they always were united in their determination to prevent beneficial legislation from passing the House.

But if all the obstacles are overcome what will have been won?

### What it Provides

By its provisions the bill sets up a number of boards to deal with disputes between the workers and the railroad owners, these boards to take the place of the Railroad Labor Board. Some of the more flagrant evils which flow from the present board will probably be eliminated, with just a possibility that other evils will be brought into existence with these new boards. Possibly the greatest advantage of the change, from the point of view of the workers, is that the company unions will be prevented from participating, but it is this provision that may nullify the law when the Supreme Court comes to pass upon it.

So that the Progressive may have obtained a piece of legislation which, whatever its advantages over the legislation it is to replace, can hardly be considered worthy of the heroic effort made to obtain it. The mountain will have labored to bring forth a mouse.

### Bogus Tax Reform

In the Senate the victory of the Progressives is not much more satisfactory. The Democratic tax rates are somewhat better than those proposed by Secretary Mellon, but neither the Democratic proposal nor the Mellon proposal can affect more than a small part of the American people—that part which pays an income tax, and, as was shown by Representative Berger in the House when the House considered the tax bill, out of about 23,000,000 families in the United States, the heads of only 4,000,000 earn enough to pay any tax at all.

Thus the Progressives, despite their intentions to do well, their readiness to desert party standards when they feel their duty demands it, are unable to make more than a dent in the armor of the Republican-Democratic coalition.

The failure is all the more deplorable when it is realized that the conditions for insurgent success were particularly favorable in this Congress. The division in the old party ranks was so even that it was possible for a few Progressives to wield the balance of power, and they did, but without success—because that balance of power could

## FURRIERS' UNION AND A. C. W. OF A. MEET MONDAY

Two important labor conventions will be called to order Monday, May 12, of particular interest to the radical section of the Labor movement.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union will hold its biennial convention in Philadelphia under the chairmanship of President Sidney Hillman, and the International Fur Workers' Union will meet in the Morrison Hotel, Chicago, with President Morris Kaufman in the chair.

Both conventions will report progress in organization and conditions of the workers in their respective trades, and both will take a stand in favor of independent political action.

The delegates to both conventions will hear addresses by leading members of the Labor and Socialist movement, and will then tackle important organization problems. Both conventions will be reported in The New Leader.

## SOCIALIST CITY CONVENTION ENDS IMPORTANT SESSIONS

Plans for making the merger of the locals of New York City effective were adopted at the adjourned session of the Socialist city convention last Saturday at the People's House. The first session of the convention, three weeks earlier, had voted in principle in favor of a merger and appointed a committee to draw up definite plans to carry out the terms of the motion.

The committee, through Joshua Lieberman, late secretary of Local New York, presented a plan for a central office for the city, and a central committee was elected to draft the plans as a report of the convention to present to the State Executive Committee for submission to a referendum. The committee consists of Julius Gerber, William M. Feigenbaum and Herman Volk.

While the Bronx delegates did not attend, there was a large representation from four counties, and considerable enthusiasm developed. Several of the delegates declared that as the Party's work grows, funds to carry it on will find themselves, and the lack of funds need not trouble the organization. The main thing is to get to work, they said.

Algernon Lee presided over the convention and Joshua Lieberman was secretary.

### Antwerp Dockers Get Wage Raise

Since April 1, the Antwerp dockers have been getting one franc more per day, based on the rise in the cost of living. For the first time this increase applies to the men discharging ore.

produce results only when attached to one of the old parties.

### Need of a Labor Party

The situation would have been different had the Progressives, representing a third party, made a fight for a constructive and radical program. It's immediate effect, from the standpoint of practical accomplishments, would not perhaps be to secure really progressive legislation, although the fear that such a third party's growth would inspire in the hearts of the reactionaries would probably compel more serious consideration and more favorable action than any number of reforms in House rules. But it would, in any event, expose more thoroughly than has thus far been possible the rule of the few, and hastened the day when a political party of the farmers and workers would assume control.

To the extent that the failure of the Progressives will hasten that third party movement it will be a victory and not a failure.

## PANKEN FINDS WORKERS WANT LABOR PARTY

Holds Big Meeting on Coast-to-Coast Tour—Socialist Party in Good Shape.

The farmers and workers of the Northwest who have carried Minnesota twice for Farmer-Labor party candidates for United States Senator are determined to go into the Presidential campaign of 1924 in an independent party of the workers and farmers.

That is the message that is brought home by Judge Panken, who returned last week from a coast-to-coast tour of the country for the Jewish Socialist Verband. "The Farmer-Laborites," said Panken, "have set their hearts on drafting Senator La Follette for President, but they are insistent that it should not be merely a 'third' candidacy, but rather the beginnings of a genuine and a permanent party. There is much sentiment, also, for James H. Maurer for Vice-President on such a party ticket, because Maurer represents the organized Labor point of view, as well as the million Socialist votes of the country."

"The leaders of the Minnesota movement are beginning to see the meaning of the Communist attempt to 'capture' their convention, and there is much sentiment against sitting in a gathering with them. Up to now they have believed that the July 4 conference was to be held solely to ratify the nomination of Mr. McAdoo."

Panken not only spoke in Minneapolis and St. Paul but he was in conference with the leaders of the Farmer-Labor party, meeting all sections of the movement in the Twin Cities.

In Los Angeles, Job Harriman came out of his retirement (because of illness) to preside at Panken's meeting. "Our old friend Adolph Gerber was there," said Panken, "and our New York comrades will be glad to hear that he is doing well. Germer went to work in the oil fields, became active in the Oil Workers' Union, and is now candidate for International President."

"In Los Angeles, there was a registration for voters to vote at the next month's primary, and over six thousand went to the polls and enrolled themselves as members of the Socialist Party. In San Francisco we are equally strong."

"In every place, I emphasized the need of organizing a Labor party, and I everywhere stressed planks for a very brief platform. I told my audiences that a Labor party should

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## LABOR POLLS BIG VOTE IN ST. PAUL

St. Paul, Minn.—Mayor Arthur E. Nelson defeated George L. Siegel, Labor candidate in Tuesday's municipal election.

With only three precincts missing out of a total of 216 in the city, the figures were: Nelson, 37,734; Siegel, 32,523. Labor, however, captured one major city office and returned its two candidates to the City Council. This is the best showing Labor has ever made in St. Paul municipal elections.

## COMING NEXT WEEK

The most important Parliamentary election held in Europe this year will be held in France next Sunday. It is even more important than the recent German election. French imperialism is the gendarme of Europe. It is represented in the notorious "National Bloc" in the French Parliament. It is necessary to break this reactionary coalition before peace is possible in Europe. Jean Longuet, the leading Socialist of France, writes of the "French Electoral System" in The New Leader. To understand the handicaps which the Socialists face in the French elections you will have to read this article.

What is meant by the word "revolutionary"? Some people translate it into street barricades, marching of armed hosts, conspiracy and blood-letting. Morris Hillquit, in his recent debate with Bertrand Russell, was required to define what is meant by this word. The New Leader is fortunate in having obtained a stenographic report of Comrade Hillquit's opening speech in this debate. It will appear next week.

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## GERMAN SOCIALIST POLL OVER SIX MILLION VOTES; LEAD ALL OTHER PARTIES

REICHSTAG LEADER



RUDOLPH HILFERDING  
Will lead the Socialists, largest party in German Parliament.

## ELECTIONS FOR FRENCH HOUSE SUNDAY, MAY 11

Socialists Hope For Big Gains to Fight Poincaré's Reaction—Party in Fighting Trim.

Paris.—Leaders of the Socialist Party are confident that their organization will make a good showing in the general elections to be held Sunday, May 11, and that it will occupy a strong position in the Left Bloc which is expected to win enough ground to make Premier Poincaré's job depend upon the exercise of much tact and a material modification of his fire-eating policy toward Germany. Since the acceptance of the Dawes reparation report by the majority parties of Germany and the victory of those parties in last Sunday's Reichstag election, despite the gains of the German Nationalists and Communists, the prospects of the Left Bloc have improved rapidly, and while the opposition may not win seats enough to enable it to turn M. Poincaré out, it is sure to be powerful enough to put him on his good behavior.

If the Nationalist Bloc of M. Poincaré is beaten it will not be for lack of campaign funds and clever propaganda, as Senator Billiet, manager of the Poincaré machine, is said to have raised about 300,000,000 francs in industrial circles for the purpose of putting the National Bloc over. Senator Billiet is President of the

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Communists Make Heaviest Gains and Elect Sixty-Two to Socialists' 100 or More—Social Democracy Faced Its Greatest Crisis and Leaders Are Content With Results—Republic Is Deemed Safe.

Berlin.—The Social-Democratic party of Germany, after having fought the most desperate electoral battle of its long career, has reaffirmed its position as the strongest single party in the republic and the one without whose collaboration or benevolent toleration no functioning German Government is possible. With the official results of last Sunday's election not likely to be available before May 16, the latest figures give the Social Democracy a minimum of 100 seats in the Reichstag, with the probability that the final counting of the "surplus votes" from the local and combination election districts will add several to the number elected on the "national list."

Out of a total vote of some 28,000,000, the Social Democrats polled about 6,500,000, a percentage of approximately twenty-three, against 5,616,164 in the elections of June 6, 1920, a percentage of 21.6. In the elections to the National Assembly in January, 1919, the Social Democrats cast 11,509,048 votes, or 37.9 per cent of the total. In 1919 the Independent Social Democrats cast 2,317,200 votes, while in 1920 they got 4,896,095.

The Communists, who were not on the political map in 1919, polled 441,793 votes in 1920, so their vote of about 3,750,000 last Sunday indicates that they fell heirs to the big majority of the supporters of the Independent Social Democracy, following the latter's fusion with the Social-Democratic party in September, 1922. Of course the Independent Social Democracy which united with the old party was not the organization of 1920, as it had been split at the Halle convention when it refused to accept the famous "twenty-one points" of the Moscow program and a large number of delegates bolted. Consequently, Socialist leaders here are satisfied with the actual gains registered by the Social-Democratic party last Sunday and feel that the desperate onslaughts from the Communists on one hand and the extreme Nationalists on the other have really tended to quiet the dissension within the party's ranks and to unite the members in a solid, campaign-tried organization that will now proceed to lay plans for its future activities on a firm base.

Referring to the big jump by the Communist party, which will have at least sixty-two deputies against seventeen in the old Reichstag, Socialist leaders point out that the biggest Communist gains were made in the occupied territory and opine that French terrorism had much to do with driving great masses of the workers temporarily into the arms of Moscow. With the Left Wing

Russell, who said that the Labor Government is the best that England had had, and the most advanced that the people are prepared for, denied that it is revolutionary, and he mentioned the fact that the members of the Government are largely right wing trade unionists, moderate Socialists and former Liberals. Hillquit, on the other hand, insisted that a party based upon Socialism in its philosophy must of necessity be revolutionary regardless of the personnel of the Cabinet.

Russell said that the Government was composed of men who were honest and decent, and Hillquit retorted that in these days that was revolutionary. This sally brought down the house.

Russell was critical of the Labor Ministry, and once Hillquit asked him to define his position toward it. "I think it is the best Government and much better than the Lloyd

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## COMMUNISTS WANT LABOR PARTY ONLY TO SPLIT IT

That the Communists, who are busily engaged in creating fake organizations to flood the St. Paul Convention of June 17 with delegates representing their small membership over and over again, are under instructions to go there not to cooperate in the organization of a Labor party, but to "unmask," to "expose" and "pitilessly," "mercilessly" and "ruthlessly" to criticize, is made clear by the instructions that have been issued to them by the Communist International. The document is in the form of an article in the International Press Correspondence, the official sheet of the Communist International published in Vienna, and is by one Israel Amter, "American" representative on the executive of the Moscow organization through whom instructions to the faithful in America are issued. The instructions read in part:

"The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party, which sent two United States Senators to Washington, has called a convention to take place in St. Paul on May 30 (the date has been changed to June 17), the Federated party signing the call for the convention. This convention will probably be attended by delegates representing two or three million organized workers and farmers. In the Minnesota party are a number of petty-bourgeois elements such as tradesmen, small country bankers, lawyers, etc."

"This convention will be a sign of the revolt of the workers, farmers and some sections of the petty-bourgeoisie against the domination of the capitalist political parties. It will be the first call to action on a mass scale that the Communists have been able to issue, for the Workers' party will be present at the convention, possibly by direct representation, or through the Federated Farmer-Labor party of which it is an integral part."

"The farmers of the Middle West and large sections of the working class still believe that they can secure help from some form of a bourgeois party, not built up on class lines. They are in open rebellion against the big trusts and trust to a good leader to conduct them out of their desert. This leader is La Follette."

"The petty bourgeois party will be formed with us or without us. To support it might result in its victory. Then alone would the workers and farmers realize that petty bourgeois reformism is fruitless. All preaching and education has no effect; the workers, and especially the farmers, must see it in action."

"The campaign will allow us to enter the third party wherever opportunity presents itself, to form a left wing within it, and split it away from the third party. By ruthless, merciless criticism of the third party, the Communists will unmask its character."

"Unquestionably, there are serious dangers involved in this policy. To carry it out successfully, the party members must observe strict discipline. Above all, they must understand the policy and be able to carry it out like Communists. They must understand that it is a strategy and not an end in itself. They must recognize that it is an unmasking policy and a mobilization of the workers and farmers for action. Though supporting the third party, they must be able to criticize it pitilessly. This is a strategy that the parties of Europe and America are just learning to apply. It is a hard course, it will involve many blunders—but that is the path of the Revolution."



## SNOWDEN TELLS HOW I. L. P. BUILT UP THE LABOR PARTY

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

London, April 27.—There would have been no Labor party in Great Britain if there had been no Independent Labor party. The I. L. P. was formed thirty-one years ago, and ever since it has carried on an unceasing propaganda for Socialism. It is affiliated to the Labor party, but it maintains its identity and carries on its own special work, emphasizing Socialism as the objective of the working-class movement. As the Labor party grew in numbers and influence it was thought that the necessity for the continued separate existence of the I. L. P. would disappear. But that has not been the case.

Notwithstanding the rise of local branches of the Labor party, which do in a large measure the work which formerly was the monopoly of the I. L. P., the activities of the latter have been in no way diminished. Never in its history has the I. L. P. been more active, and never has its influence on the political life of the country been greater than it is today.

The Annual Conference of the I. L. P. assembled at York during the Easter week-end. In preparation for that conference the National Council has just published the report of the past year's work of the party, and it is indeed a striking record of "something attempted, something done."

The control and management of the I. L. P. has in recent years passed into the hands of new and younger men. The pioneers of the I. L. P. have passed away by death or have become absorbed in Parliamentary work.

Keir Hardie and Bruce Glasier, the two men who beyond all others helped to make the I. L. P., are dead, but their works follow them. Comrade Ramsay MacDonald relinquished his office on the National Council to assume the position of Prime Minister. For twenty years I sat upon the council of the party, and for six years was the national chairman. I am now too fully occupied in dealing with the national finances of Great Britain to give any time to the work of the I. L. P.

The I. L. P. is the Government.

No less than twenty-seven members of the present Government are members of the I. L. P. All of these have been active propagandists of the party. No less than 129 of the 192 members



Snowden

of the Parliamentary Labor party are members of the I. L. P. When the I. L. P. Conference last met in York twenty years ago the party had only one member in Parliament. The history of the world Labor movement provides no other example of such wonderful progress. And the credit for this undoubtedly belongs to the I. L. P.

The young men who now control the I. L. P. are doing wonderfully well. When we older men relinquished the administration of the party to their hands two years ago we were somewhat alarmed at the audacity of their ambitions. They embarked on schemes of expenditure which we doubted they would be able to finance and carry through; but they have so far succeeded beyond all expectations. They removed the offices to larger premises and greatly increased the staff. They transferred the old Labor Leader from Manchester to London and remodeled it altogether. This journal has now a weekly circulation of over 60,000 copies and is the only Labor or Socialist journal in England which is paying its way. The literature department of the party has been reorganized and is likely to become a financial asset rather than a liability. The party owns its own printing works, and these are within sight of becoming a source of income to the party.

### 135 New Branches

A year ago there were 637 branches of the I. L. P. in Great Britain. At present there are 772 branches, and since December of

last year 131 new branches have been formed. The best index of the progress of the party is given by the affiliation fees sent by the branches to head office. In the previous year these fees amounted to £1,997, and last year to £2,587. The income from this source has only once before reached this figure. In addition to this income sent by the branches in affiliation fees, the branches contributed during the year a sum of £1,856 to the Special Effort Fund. These sums represent only a small part of the money raised by the local branches for the work of the party. The whole of the expenses of local propaganda are paid from the branch funds, as well as the cost of local elections. The total income of the head office from all sources during the last year has amounted to £21,500.

The I. L. P. is looking ahead and making preparations for the next general election. The National Council has already endorsed twenty-four new candidatures, in addition of course, to the forty-six members of the present Parliament for which the I. L. P. is financially responsible. Many of the Labor M. P.'s who are members of the I. L. P. are run by trade union organizations.

During the year Comrade Francis Johnson resigned his office as General Secretary of the party. Comrade Johnson had been an unostentatious but very useful official. He continues in the service of the party as financial secretary and director of the literature department. He has special aptitude for the latter work, and already has succeeded in thoroughly organizing the department. I have been intimately associated with Comrade Johnson during all the years he has been General Secretary of the I. L. P., and I can bear testimony to the earnest and able and devoted service he has rendered to the movement.

### The Conference Agenda

There are few original features in the agenda of the annual conference. Most of the resolutions fall into the category of hardy annuals. The resolutions propose to lay down a policy for the party on such questions as unemployment, disarmament, foreign policy, housing, education, agriculture, land, the liquor traffic, and nationalization. On the whole the resolutions are more practical than is sometimes the case, and there is quite an unusual absence of resolutions of a critical and censorious character.

The members of the I. L. P. are evidently realizing that the movement is passing out of the phase of being a mere propagandist organization into the position of a party with responsibilities for practical statesmanship. This fact is also illustrated by the presentation to the annual conference of two exhaustive reports, one on an agricultural policy and one on a general land policy, which have been prepared during the year by expert committees set up by the National Council. Reports will be submitted to the conference for consideration and approval.

### The Russian Delegation

Yesterday the Russian delegation which has come to this country to discuss the economic and financial problems arising from the *de jure* recognition of Russia was received at the Foreign Office by the Prime Minister. This was the formal opening of the conference. The Russians have brought about a dozen of their experts with them, at the head of whom is Christian Rakovsky, who has been the Trade Commissioner in London since Krassin left. Rakovsky has been in Moscow for the last few weeks consulting with the Soviet Government in regard to the problems to be discussed. The principal matters which will have to be considered by the conference are the Russian debts to British nationals and the counter-claims put forward by the Soviet Government on account of the Allied support of the White campaigns against the Bolsheviks. The Russians are bound to raise the question of credits to Russia, and it is on that matter that the chief difficulty may arise.

The delegation were entertained by the Prime Minister at luncheon at No. 10 Downing street.

This gathering was a striking expression of the wonderful changes which have taken place in the political conditions of both countries in the last few years. Who could have believed ten years ago that a Labor Prime Minister would entertain the delegates of a Russian Socialist State in the official residence of the head of the British Government? And it all seemed so ordinary. An onlooker would never have suspected that it was anything but an ordinary luncheon party. Perhaps the Russian delegates were the most bourgeois looking of all the guests present.

### British Labor Does Not Like D. Lloyd George

London.—"There can be no understanding with the Liberals, who have no right to keep Labor in power by supporting things they do not believe in," said Robert Smillie, M. P., Chairman of the Executive of the Parliamentary Labor party, opening his vacation campaign in the Morpeth constituency.

## Sees MacDonald as Britain's Biggest Man

By J. R. Smallwood.

The Labor party will be swept back into power at the next elections with a majority over all others combined. That is the word brought to these shores from Britain by a man who has long been a member of the British Labor party, one of its candidates, and who is intimately acquainted with J. Ramsay MacDonald and the other leaders of the party—the Rev. Dr. Rhonda Williams, pastor of Union Church, Brighton, England.

The Liberal party, having been shouldered aside by the Labor party, which represents everything that was good in the party of Gladstone and Russell, as well as a new and fresh idealism and a new grasp on the problems of the people, is doomed to extinction. It will split right and left, the right gravitating to the Tories, the left to Labor.

The British people, millions of them hitherto kept in ignorance of the real character of the Labor party by means of a concerted press boycott, have in a trice awakened to a surprised realization of the fact that in the Labor party and in its leaders they have a movement that is sounder and sincerer and more energetic, and inestimably better equipped to govern their country than any other party in existence.

Ramsay MacDonald is coming rapidly to occupy the position held in the minds and affections of British people by Lloyd George, and Lloyd George is rapidly being seen as a man of no integrity, no reliability, a man who has squandered his moral qualities. The Socialist Prime Minister is recognized by all, Liberals included, as the "biggest" statesman moving in Britain today. Such is the word brought here by Dr. Williams, who is a man appar-

ently about sixty, one of the most widely-known non-conformist clergymen in Britain, is in a peculiarly good position to know what he's talking about. He has for many years been a member of the I. L. P., the Socialist propaganda group of the Labor party, and is intimately acquainted with every leader of the Labor party, as well as the leaders of the other parties, Lloyd George included. In 1918 he was Labor party candidate against Sir Eric Geddes in the district of Cambridge. He was a personal friend of the late below: Keir Hardie, founder of the Labor party, and had the honor of campaigning in behalf of Hardie in an election. Dr. Williams is here to lecture and preach.

Dr. Williams is the bearer of a special message of greetings to the American people from MacDonald, which he will read to every audience which he addresses while here. The letter is as follows:

"10 Downing Street, London.

"My dear Rhonda Williams:

"I am very glad to take the opportunity of your visit to America to commission you to assure your audiences that nothing would please the Labor party more than that, when it leaves office, it has drawn the American people closer to the British people, not for the purpose of sharing in the wealth of the world, but as partners in establishing peace and good will upon earth, and of teaching men by experience that moral categories are more powerful in government than their more pushful mundane rivals.

"I hope you are to have a good time, and that as the result of your interpretation of us America will both understand and like us better. "Yours very sincerely, "Ramsay MacDonald."

### JEWISH SOCIALISTS HOLD CONVENTION

Philadelphia.—The Jewish Socialist Verband, the Jewish section of the Socialist Party of the United States, has just concluded its third national convention here. There were 114 delegates from every part of the United States, and every one of them reported excellent progress in Socialist propaganda and organization.

A feature of the convention was the appearance of the leaders of the Jewish labor movement as delegates, addresses being made by Morris Sigman, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Israel Feinberg, manager of the Cloak Makers' Union, Morris Kaufman, President of the International Fur Workers' Union, Ossip Walinsky of the Fancy Leather Workers' Union, and other leaders of the important sections of the Labor movement. In addition, there was a remarkable address by Abraham Cahane, Editor of the Jewish Daily Forward.

The main debates of the convention were on the question of the relation of the Socialist Party to the Labor party that is expected this year, several delegates expressing the fear that the Party might be swallowed up and its integrity lost. The convention as a whole, however, took the position that the Socialist Party's place is in the political labor movement and in the coming Labor party.

Excellent reports of progress in all parts of the country were made. New branches are being organized in every part of the country and propaganda is carried on incessantly. The convention voted to send loving greetings to Comrades Eugene V. Debs and Benjamin Feigenbaum, the latter a pioneer of the Jewish Socialist movement and a founder of the Verband. Neither was able to attend the convention because of the state of their health.

"Labor is out to deal with root causes, not palliatives," he added, "and if defeated it would prefer it should be on some great social question."

Labor had done good work, but if only it had been a hundred stronger much more could have been accomplished.

"It is a pathetic spectacle to watch Mr. Lloyd George bemoaning his political fate," said Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Mines, addressing his constituents at Whitburn, Scotland.

Labor welcomed helpful criticism, but did not lie down under the venomous and carping criticism of Mr. Lloyd George, who wanted Labor to take him into consultation. It was not a condition of Labor accepting office that there should be cooperation with Liberals. Mr. Lloyd George had said that himself and Mr. Asquith had more years in office than Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had weeks. It was precisely because Mr. George had so many years in office that the country had so many social evils to deal with. Probably Mr. George would find his true spiritual home, along with Mr. Winston Churchill, in the Tory camp.

"He had betrayed Liberalism and was responsible for its decline. He had destroyed the Coalition, and was now indignant because he was not allowed to poke his nose in Labor affairs."

### Danish Socialist Ministers Won't Wear Short Pants

Copenhagen.—Theodor Stauning, head of the new Danish Socialist Cabinet, in an interview, said that the Government would neither accept nor participate in distributing honors, a question which would be left exclusively to the King.

No Minister would wear any uniform, except the Foreign Minister, nor accept the title of "Excellency". And the Government organ states that the King has agreed to allow the question of his prerogative even in the matter of titles to be raised.

The Government, stated the Premier, would act in accordance with the declared principles of the Social Democratic party. The summer session of Parliament would be a short one, and, apart from certain routine questions, it would only take up currency measures, and these would probably involve import regulation in some form or other.

The Cabinet is constituted as follows:

Theodor Stauning, Premier and Minister of Commerce; Count Carl Moltke, Foreign Minister; F. J. Borgbjerg, Minister for Social Affairs; N. Hauge, Home Minister; L. Rasmussen, Minister of Defence; Rev. D. Dahl, Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs; J. Frus Skotte, Minister of Public Works; Mrs. Nina Bang, Minister of Education; C. V. Bramsna, Minister of Finance; K. K. Steincke, Minister of Justice; K. Bording, Agricultural Minister.

Messrs. Stauning, Borgbjerg, Hauge, Rasmussen, Skotte, and Bording are all members of the Folketing (Lower House); Count Moltke is a professional diplomat, and was Danish Minister in Washington from 1908 to 1912, and since then was Danish Minister in Berlin.

The other Cabinet Ministers, including Mrs. Bang, are members of the Landsting (Upper House).

### Panken Ends Speaking Tour

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demand the nationalization of railroads and coal mines, and the national development of a system of super-power to be publicly owned; while the political demands should be the election of the Federal judiciary, and their recall, and the responsibility of Cabinet officials to Congress. These planks were everywhere cordially cheered, and in several cities they were made the subject of long editorials in local newspapers.

Panken's tour was a complete success. There were successful meetings in Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Detroit and Cleveland. In Milwaukee he took part in the wind-up of the victorious campaign to re-elect Mayor Dan Horan, speaking at a number of big meetings, from which hundreds were turned away.

The nation is yours when there is debt to pay, it is yours when there is blood to shed; but if you attempt to rule it, you are told you are interfering with what does not belong to you.—Keir Hardie.

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## I. L. G. W. U. MEETS IN BOSTON IN QUARTER CENTURY CONVENTION

Boston.—The quarter century jubilee convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was called to order at Convention Hall on St. Botolph street, Monday morning by President Morris Sigman with over 200 delegates from every part of the country in attendance.

The convention marks twenty-five years of almost unbelievable progress for the needle workers, who in the last decade of the nineteenth century were sweatshop slaves working under conditions that are indescribable. There had been some sporadic cloak makers' strikes, and a bit of organization of the most oppressed of the needle workers. But until the Philadelphia convention of 1899 there was no real union of the makers of women's clothing.

The union was built up by the unremitting efforts of pioneer Socialists, who gave their time and energies to the Labor movement. The great strikes of the waist and dress makers in 1909, and of the cloak makers in 1910, brought the struggle against the sweatshop into the public eye, and the result was a great spur of organization in the needle trades.

At the Cleveland convention in 1914, the International was taken over by its present leadership, Benjamin Schlesinger being elected president and Morris Sigman secretary-treasurer. Later Sigman retired and Abraham Baroff took his place. Schlesinger led the union for nine years, retiring last year, when Sigman was elected to his place.

The union has grown to over 100,000, with locals from coast to coast, and with buildings, a great bank, and many other institutions. It has never lost a major strike, and its influence for the good of the workers is growing daily.

During the present convention there will be discussions of many important organization problems, as well as addresses by Morris Hillquit, Judge Panken, Abraham Cahan, James Oneal, Bertha H. Mailly, George E. Roemer, Jr., and many other prominent figures in the Socialist and Labor movement.

## Socialists Elect 100 to Reichstag

(Continued From Page 1.)

of the Communist party in control since the recent "secret" national conference of Communist leaders which resulted in Ruth Fischer and Peter Maslow, backed by the Communist International's Executive Committee, seizing the party machinery and relegating Clara Zetkin, Brandler and Thalheimer into comparative obscurity, the Communist deputies are committed to a policy of Parliamentary sabotage.

Nevertheless, as Chairman Zinoviev of the Moscow Executive remarked last winter in condemning the failure of the Saxon Communist chiefs to start an armed revolt last fall, German Communists are apt to act like other Parliamentarians when they are put to the test, so the Reichstag Communists may be counted upon to stand by the Social Democrats, Centrists and People's party in support of the republic should the monarchist groups attempt anything like a reactionary "putsch."

Under the German system of proportional representation, a deputy is supposed to be elected for every 60,000 voters, but there are always many thousands of votes wasted upon little groups which can't get 60,000 votes in an electoral district, and, consequently, are not entitled to any deputies, even if their combined votes in the nation total 60,000. It is likely that the number of deputies elected was about 470, against 459 in the Reichstag dissolved last March.

### The Parties' Strength

The present strength of the various parties, compared with that in the old Reichstag, may be estimated as follows:

|                       | Formerly | Now |
|-----------------------|----------|-----|
| Social Democrats      | 100      | 171 |
| Nationalists          | 96       | 67  |
| Communists            | 62       | 17  |
| Centrists             | 62       | 68  |
| People's party        | 44       | 66  |
| Democrats             | 25       | 39  |
| Popular Freedom party | 32       | 3   |
| Bavarian Peo. par.    | 16       | 20  |
| Hanoverians           | 5        | 2   |
| Bavarian Agrar. Lea.  | 10       | 4   |

There were two so-called independent deputies in the old Reichstag, Georg Ledebour and a comrade who refused to accept the decision of the Independent Social Democracy to merge with the parent organization and maintained their independence. They ran in Sunday's election classified as the Socialist League, but apparently were not elected. Among the new parties not represented in the old Reichstag are the German Social party, a violently reactionary and anti-Semitic group headed by the notorious "Club Kunze" which won four seats, and the Rhineland Agrarian League, another reactionary group, which elected nine deputies.

Dawes Report Carries At all events, the putting through of the legislation necessary to carry the Dawes' reparation plan into effect seems assured, despite the pre-

## Capital Hard At Work

A terrible blight has struck all our Best Places. Newport is being dismantled; there won't be any doings there this summer. The big steamship companies are taking off their liners from the Mediterranean and Caribbean cruises. Palm Beach and California are deserted, and Society Ladies will not be photographed in negligible bathing suits, walking on the sands with elderly gentlemen much to the disgust of the editors of the rotogravures. No more sport model cars are to be made. The receptions, balls, dinners, dances and entertainments are all off. Our best people are hard at work, and play time is over.

Instead of the usual scenes of laughter and innocent gaiety; of tennis matches and gladsome dancing and whizzing automobiles, we will have scenes of toil. The wealthy gentlemen will wield the hammer upon the anvil; the society girls will sew clothing and bang on typewriters; sweat will pour down the classic features of the leaders of thought and patriotism. Yessssir; they're going to be at work!

These predictions are made in all seriousness by one who has always taken his economics seriously. He has learned at the feet of our best economists that (1) This is the best and most just industrial system that the world has ever seen; (2) That with justice reigning, those who have the good things of life deserve what they get, because they have earned it; and (3) Those who have not, are deprived of the good things of life because they have earned what they get—which is just about enough to live on, and put something to pay the doctor's bills when they get sick, and maybe save enough to go to the movies occasionally. Furthermore, he reads every day in the financial papers (published for Our Best People) that anyone who attempts to disturb this excellent system is a Red and should be reported to William J. Burns.

And these things being so, it is plain that when people are well off, when they have much money, it is because they have been working oh! so hard; that's logical, isn't it? Well, here are some bits of information culled from a few days' newspapers that show how hard stockholders, bondholders, mortgage holders, and other proletarians are working.

### PROFITS CONTINUE; ALL RECORDS BROKEN

Recent financial reports indicate the tremendous profits made by corporations that plead poverty in their campaign for tax reductions. At the close of last year twenty-one industrial corporations alone had inventories of \$944,087,895, and combined cash and investment securities of \$809,065,293. The cash equaled more than 85 per cent of inventories.

Stripped of its financial lingo, this means that these twenty-one cor-

porations had raw material and finished products valued at \$944,087,895, and for every dollar's worth of this material they had eighty-five cents in cash or its equivalent. The value of these inventories increased \$133,000,000 over the previous year. Never before has such a condition existed.

Only recently the Secretary of the Treasury stated that more than \$2,328,000,000 in stock dividends were issued in 1922. This means that increased values and profits in excess of normal, amounting to more than \$2,328,000,000, was put back in the business and stock issued against it.

Railroads are reporting record earnings last year. During that period the railroad managers cracked their throats in protest against what they termed "strangling of railroads by government." The same policy is being used now by those who want taxes on wealth reduced.

Senator Jones of New Mexico has stated that the actuary of the treasury told him that for the year 1923 profits of corporations will probably amount to more than \$8,500,000,000, "if not as much as \$9,000,000,000."

This profit is \$4,000,000,000 more than in 1921, and is more than one-third the total amount of all Liberty bonds bought by the people.

(By the way, can you see the folks who get that \$944,087,895 stripped to the waist and sweating in front of blast furnaces, or swinging a pick in a mine, or a lamp on a railroad track?)

### CHILE COPPER SHOWS BIG GAIN

Here's where a lot of Guggenheims and Clarks and other folks have quit their idleness on the park benches, and have shipped to South America to work in the copper mines. Because they made \$17,410,773 last year, and how could they make that much money if they didn't do a lot of working in the mines high up in the Andes?

### AND A FEW MORE

Here are some more ladies and gentlemen who did a lot of hard, hard work.

Youngstown Steel and Tube made \$4,863,522 in the first quarter of 1924; needless to say, the men and women who got that sum did the tough work in earning it. Fair enough, isn't it?

Anacoda Copper made \$22,412,863 in 1923. We haven't seen pictures of the men and women who got the twenty-two million actually doing the work, but no doubt we missed that issue of the rotogravures.

### AND THERE'S A LOT MORE

Yes; it's very sad how hard the men and women who get these millions must work to produce all that copper and steel and tubing and wires and ever so many other things.

## BALABANOVA EXPELLED FROM RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Vienna.—Angelica Balabanova, for many years a prominent figure in the Italian and international Labor and Socialist movements, has been solemnly excommunicated by the pope of the Communist party of Russia and thrown out of its ranks, according to a report found in the Moscow Pravda of April 8. In the explanation given out by the Central Control Commission of the Communist party of Russia it is stated that Balabanova was expelled because of her return to her old Menshevik attitude and because she "actively supported the counter-revolutionary Italian Social Democracy which carries on a malicious campaign against the Communist International and has expelled from its ranks thousands of Italian proletarians on account of their sympathies for the Communist International."

The "counter-revolutionary" organization referred to in the Moscow statement is the Maximalist Socialist Party of Italy, which is counted as extremely "red" and which tried to cooperate with the Communist party of Italy, but found it impossible to work with the 100 per centers leading that body. Angelica Balabanova, after having worked in the Italian Socialist movement for many years, returned to Russia shortly after the first Russian revolution of 1917 and joined the Communists just before the Bolshevik revolution. She left Russia about two years ago and has been acting as the Vienna correspondent of the Avanti, the Maximalist paper printed in Milan. An article written by her and printed February 19, attacking the disturbers in the party, is reported to have furnished the pretext for her expulsion by Moscow.

Clara Zetkin was elected on the Communist ticket and is expected to return to Germany from Russia soon, protected by her Parliamentary immunity from the writ of arrest for treason issued against her last winter by the Marx Government.

### BUFFALO CARPENTERS WIN STRIKE

Buffalo.—The May Day strike of 500 Buffalo carpenters was declared at an end today by union officials. The demand for a \$9 wage for an eight-hour day had been met, they said. The previous wage was \$8 a day.

## BUFFALO NOTES

By PATRICK L. QUINLAN

Last week and part of this week have been as lively as any experienced in this, the second city in the Empire State, since the great exposition twenty-three years ago. Among the factors that kept Buffalo on the front pages of the big papers of the country were several non-political and political conventions of societies with nation-wide connections. A visit to any of them would call forth the cynic's remark on another occasion: "Just another convention."

One exception must be made to this generalization. I refer to the League of Women Voters' convocation. The women's convention was, in a sense, the most commonplace and at the same time the most remarkable gathering I have ever attended. There was not one new idea evolved or discussed, no new policy was formulated or proposed. The discussions lacked force and brilliancy although there were several women of capacity on the list. Still the gathering had a significance all its own.

One found a sincere attempt to grapple with certain great industrial and social evils. Child labor and shorter hours for women in business and industry were handled ably by some speakers. One could not fail to detect a note that sounded more like the rapid voice of the diletante rather than that of the heart throbs of the woman of experience who suffered and endured tortures in the industrial and commercial hells of the country.

It was a well-dressed and a highly-represented gathering of the women of the upper middle class. There was not one solitary representative of the slums to be seen. It had Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, Ritchie of Maryland, and Senator Walsh of Montana. The Rocky Mountain solon talked innocently of a "world court" to settle all international disputes and left the more dynamic Teapot Dome to brew for another day. Pinchot talked about prohibition and said nothing new. Other masculine speakers added to the superficial residuum. An intelligent English woman police officer told of her experiences as an officer.

The League of Nations, always a pet hobby of the League of Women Voters, was blessed once more. This is an annual sacramental affair. In this as at last year's convention there was deplorable lack of tact. The only flag of a League of Nations member exhibited was that of the British Union Jack. Why the other flags were not exhibited the chairmen failed to explain. Perhaps the critics are right after all, the League of Nations is a British affair.

Courtesy to Mexico and to our sister nations of the Latin stripe called for some recognition, but the women evidently did not consider their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or the League of Nations.

One of the most significant demonstrations occurred during a mass meeting one evening. A New Republic editor was talking about the press and Teapot Dome. He happened to mention the name of Senator La Follette as one who blazed the way for the investigators. The applause was most remarkable, as significant as it was spontaneous.

A Democratic politician tinted with a Labor hue named Senator Robert Lacy of this city has pleaded guilty to perjury. Bob was fined \$500 and served one day (actually two hours in jail). There is no talk of expelling Bob from the Albany Legislature. You see it is a different matter when Socialists are up to walk the plank. And they did not plead guilty to perjury. We shall wait and see.

We are not anxious to see the scalp of Bob Lacy. He is not a bad fellow when judged according to his lights. He has many excellent qualities to commend him to the average man. What we are calling attention to is the leniency shown Lacy, the Democrat, and the brutality shown the Socialists when they were in the State Assembly.

The carpenters of Buffalo and vicinity struck work for one dollar a day more wages. They were on strike but a few days when the contractors gave in. Most of the men went back to work on May 6. The Cleveland and New York wage scales are, even taking the present advance into account, higher.

Miss Elizabeth G. Flynn of New York has been here for several days addressing meetings under the auspices of the Civil Liberties Union, the Anti-Fascist Alliance and other organizations. Miss Flynn concluded her work in the Buffalo district with a mass meeting for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union on May 6. She reports that her meetings were well attended.

This number of The New Leader takes the place of the Buffalo New Age. Readers are asked to co-operate with Comrade Thomas Flynn who is agent for The New Leader and filling in the subscriptions of the New Age.

War is not to be put down by preparation for war, nor by peace societies, nor by treaties, but by the nations of the earth realizing the oneness of their interests.—Keir Hardie.

## Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

# EX-LAX

### The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

## French Elections Next Sunday

(Continued From Page 1.)

powerful union of Economic Interests of France and is the head center of the political activities of the big banks, insurance companies and industrialists in general. One of the election placards put out by M. Billiet shows a wild-eyed working man, with a knife between his teeth, apparently lusting for the blood of the bourgeoisie and personifying the little French business man's idea of Socialism or Communism. Among the free movie films distributed by M. Billiet to such movie houses as will accept them is one called "The Threat," illustrating the "danger of a capital levy," while another, called "Line's Busy," purports to show the inefficiency of the telephone service under Government ownership.

Billiet and his friends are not satisfied with having got control of the State's monopoly in matches and owning all sorts of mines, oil refineries, etc., but they plan to grab the State tobacco monopoly and the telegraphs, telephones and Government owned railroads, if the National Bloc can be held together next Sunday.

It is pointed out, however, that Billiet and his crowd have lost considerable prestige lately among the smaller members of the Union of Economic Interests due to the exposures by Socialist deputies in the Chamber of the huge graft in war restoration work appropriated by a number of the big industrial concerns. Recently organizations of retailers in different parts of France totalling about 52,000 members declared against Billiet and his policies, averring that the Union of Economic Interests was being run entirely in the interests of the big capitalists.

The Socialists are closing their campaign with plenty of mass meetings and wholesale distributions of leaflets emphasizing the need of international reconciliation and the necessity for a domestic policy favoring the interests of the masses as against those of the bourgeoisie. The Communists are denouncing Poincaré and seeking to draw inspiration from the gains made by their brethren on the other side of the Rhine.

## Jos. Cohen, Phila. Socialist, Is Dead

Philadelphia.—Socialists everywhere will be grieved to hear of the death of Comrade Joseph Cohen, veteran trade unionist and Socialist, who passed away last Friday at the age of sixty-three.

Comrade Cohen was a cigar maker and for thirty years he was active in the progressive wing of the Cigar Makers' Union, and for over twenty years he was an active worker in the Socialist Party.

He was known to all Philadelphia comrades as a devoted soul and a delightful gentleman. He was the father of Joseph E. Cohen, one of the foremost of the Socialist writers in the United States, and Philadelphia correspondent of The New Leader, and of George N. Cohen of New York, active in the Rand School. He is also survived by two daughters, Anna and Sarah.

## Hillquit and Russell Debate

(Continued From Page 1.)

George Government. For these chaps will tell you what they are up to. They work in the open and you can believe them. They are honest and decent people.

"You must criticize a Government to keep it going. When I criticize this Government, it is not that I prefer the other ones to it, but that they'll get criticism anyway, and they might as well have it from the right side. This will help them to keep straight."

Hillquit drew loud applause when he said that if by "revolutionary" was meant violence and bloodshed, then not only the British Labor par-

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ty but Socialism throughout the world was not revolutionary, since no normal person believed in inflicting suffering and hardship on fellow men. But he read the declaration of principles of the British party, and showed that it constituted a definition of Socialism, and was therefore revolutionary.

(Comrade Hillquit's opening address at the debate will be printed in full in next week's New Leader.)

In closing, Hillquit asked Russell to convey the revolutionary greetings of the audience to their comrades in England, with good cheer and enthusiastic good wishes for continued success, and the assurance that a Labor party in the near future will be America's response to the work of the British Labor movement.



## Berger Moves Repeal Of the Espionage Act

Repeal of the Espionage Act, enacted shortly after the United States entered the European war, is provided in a bill introduced in the House of Representatives on May 6 by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, of Wisconsin. The notorious Espionage Act provides that whoever, while the United States is at war, shall attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military forces shall be punished by a fine not to exceed \$10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both. Comrade Berger issued the following statement regarding his bill.

On the face of it, Section 3 of this act would seem to apply to those who engage in espionage during war. As a matter of fact, however, it was used in the last war, and it will be used in the next war, not to punish espionage, but to punish and to silence those who venture any criticism of those responsible for war.

The Espionage act was a clumsy imitation of the Alien and Sedition acts passed at the end of the 18th century during the administration of John Adams by the Federalist party. The alien and sedition acts cost the Federalist party its existence. It was wiped out completely, and the Democratic party was born as a result of the opposition to those acts.

### Alien and Sedition Act

There is this difference between the Espionage Act and the Alien and the Sedition acts, however, although otherwise it is a true copy. In the sedition act of the 18th century the maximum penalty was three years imprisonment, while under the espionage act it was 20 years in the penitentiary. In the sedition act of the 18th century, the truth of a statement was admissible as a defense in the court. In the espionage act, so-called, not only was the truth of a statement not admitted as a defense but it actually made the crime worse.

Under this so-called Espionage Act, according to the report of the Attorney General, not a single man or woman in the United States was ever convicted of being a German spy, that is, of trying to find out

military secrets or having communication with the enemy.

### Crime to Write or Speak

American citizens, however, many thousands of them, have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, some of them as long as 20 years in the penitentiary, for remarks made in private conversation about this war.

It was a crime to say or to write that the world war was caused by commercial rivalry. To doubt that this was "an idealistic war" meant that the doubting Thomas was immediately arrested as a pro-German, or at least as a Socialist. Spokesmen of the Republican party in the United States Senate, however, now admit frankly that it was a war for commercial supremacy between Great Britain and Germany, and a war for revenge on the part of France and nationalistic aggrandizement on the part of the Czar.

Of the many who were convicted and imprisoned during the last war, the number who were even charged with actual espionage was almost negligible. In practically all cases, the crimes of those convicted consisted of telling in private conversations and in public speeches and articles why the ruling interests of this nation plunged the people into a war for the private gain of those interests.

### Grafters Alone Favored

It was a crime during the war to point out that grafters and profiteers were cleaning up huge fortunes while the sons of the plain people

were being led to slaughter. It was a crime, because the effect of conveying such information, now conceded to have been true in every particular, would be, perhaps, to cause disloyalty, certainly a disaffection for the war.

By this purpose, those who called attention to crime which Congressional committees have since proven to have been committed during the war, were imprisoned, while those who committed the crimes continued to rob and plunder undisturbed, with their critics in jail.

In permitting this law to remain on the statute books, Congress, which made possible most of the frauds that were perpetrated during the war by enacting the law, shows an intention to follow the same procedure, that of permitting the grafters to become enriched and of imprisoning those who dare tell the truth, in the event of another war.

## I. L. P. Elects New Executive at York

London.—J. Ramsay MacDonald, for many years member of the Executive of the Independent Labor party (corresponding to the Socialist Party of the United States) regrettably declined to stand for a re-election at the Easter conference that was held at York, because of the press of official duties.

There are two members of the Cabinet in the Executive however, John Wheatley, Minister of Health, and Fred W. Jowett (one of the founders of the I. L. P.) who is First Commissioner of Works.

Clifford Allen was re-elected Chairman by a heavy majority over E. Sandham. C. Roden Buxton was chosen as treasurer, while in addition to Wheatley and Jowett, James Maxton, M. P., and Richard C. Wallhead, M. P., were elected National members of the Executive, with the following Divisional members; P. J. Dollan, Fred Tait, Ben Riley, Fred Longden, P. F. Pollard, E. E. Hunter, W. H. Ayles, M. P., Henry Davies and E. Sandham.

A feature of the conference was the presentation of a gold medal and £100 to Francis Johnson who recently retired as secretary after twenty years' service.

Comrade MacDonald was in attendance and participated in the debates. The city was in gala array for the gathering of the Socialist clans. The Conference was officially welcomed by the Lord Mayor of York, who is a member of the party.

A special conference agreed to form an I. L. P. Guild of Youth, and a provisional committee of nine members, with Frank Rouse as secretary, was appointed.

It was stated fourteen guilds had already been formed and others were contemplated.

Bailie Dollan, who presided, said the Guild would form a counter-attraction to militarist bodies for youths, and as far as possible would be self-governing.

A. Fenner Brockway outlined a probable policy, and explained that the main motive was to encourage Socialist youth to combine for social and recreative needs.

Mrs. Snowden for Parliament Penryn and Falmouth Divisional Labor party has invited Mrs. Philip Snowden to contest the division as Labor candidate at the next general election. Speaking at a crowded meeting at Falmouth Mr. F. Waterson, chairman of the local Labor party, in making the announcement, said Mrs. Snowden would be the first woman to contest a Cornwall division, and he felt sure the electors would carry on the Cornish motto of "One and All."

## The New Leader Forum

### THE FOUR-HOUR DAY

Editor of The New Leader: The unemployment situation in this country is getting to be a serious proposition. Thousands of people are unemployed in various trades. This situation prompts the spread of crime and the downfall of a great many people. We know that the unemployment situation is the product of our present system of society.

The question before us now is to give every man a job. I would suggest a four-hour work day. The four-hour work day will give everybody a job, because it will take twice as many to do the work, if no one will work more than four hours a day.

Unemployment will stop when the bosses will not be able to find any one to work more than four hours a day. Therefore, there will be no one to take your job in case you quit or are fired.

The four-hour day will make it easier for the worker to get a living wage, because the boss will not be able to get anyone to take your place. It will force the production of new machinery. It will increase efficiency. How can this be? Because the four-hour day will leave the boss with no profit at all, unless he introduces new labor-saving devices. With higher wages for the short day than he ever paid for the long day, the only way he can save himself will be to increase production.

Under the four-hour day plan, twice as many workers will be needed as is needed under the eight-hour system. With the four-hour day and new labor-saving machinery, the

output will not be decreased; millions of people will produce more than one million men working eight hours a day. They will be fresh, keen and eager.

With no unemployed the immense losses due to strikes will no longer occur. Uninterrupted production will be possible.

A. B. NATHANS.

### CAN ANY READER HELP?

Editor of The New Leader: Is there any possible chance of having you inquire of or find a Mrs. Nellie Grady who was last reported to be living within six doors of 321 54th street, Brooklyn?

This Mrs. Nellie Grady that I wish to locate had lived in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and was last heard from there in the year of 1912. She was at that time Miss Nellie McCarthy and had a sister, Julia, who was also in Roxbury. The address of Nellie at that time was 6 Warren street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Recently I advertised in the Adventure Magazine, April, 1923, and was informed by a reader that he knew of a party by this name that lived four doors from him and would be able to further enlighten me later as he was to stop at this port in July. His address was 321 54th street, Brooklyn, N. Y., but the ship he was on failed to arrive.

I am a sister of Mrs. Grady whose former address I have given and I have hope that the party on 54th street is the same.

MRS. MARY A. SNYDER.  
P. O. Box 822,  
San Pedro, Calif.

## A RIDICULOUS ACCUSATION

The International Transport Workers with headquarters at Amsterdam sends out a statement in answer to the criticisms made by Mr. Samuel Gompers of a speech by Oudegeest at the International Socialist Congress in Hamburg last May. He spoke there as the representative of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Mr. Gompers' attacks received widespread publicity in the press. The following statement of the International Transport Workers is an official reply to Mr. Gompers' criticisms:

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, sees fit to vary his somewhat platonic affection for the principle of international solidarity by an attack on the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The December number of the "Federationist" contains an article of his which declares that the breach between the A. F. L. and the I. F. T. U. "appears to have grown wider instead of narrower." He draws this dismal conclusion after reading a speech by Oudegeest, as representative of the I. F. T. U., at the International Socialist Congress at Hamburg in May last. "The dictators of Moscow," says Mr. Gompers, "have issued no more uncompromising declaration for world revolution than is here voiced by the moderate Oudegeest, of Amsterdam." By way of proof he dishes up to his indulgent readers a hash of words picked here and there from Oudegeest's speech, and entirely divorced from their context or purpose.

Anybody who heard or has read Oudegeest's Hamburg speech will remember that, far from being a plea for a world revolution, it was an unceasing declaration of the attachment and unbreakable fidelity of the I. F. T. U. to the democratic idea. Not only does Gompers carefully hide this fact, but he actually takes words spoken by Oudegeest in praise of Democracy, and perverts them into an attack on it. He resorts to the most unbelievable sophistication. Oudegeest said, for example:

"We rejoice at the unity which has been effected on the basis of democracy. I do not know whether national and international Labor policy, parliamentary action, and the proletarian educational work of social democracy is possible on any other basis. It is not my work to enquire into this, and to reach a decision on the subject. I only know that no other bases and methods are suitable for the trade union movement and that, if other methods are adopted, the trade union movement must inevitably perish. The trade union movement cannot thrive if it is under the guardianship of a political party, nor if it is handed over to the dictatorship of individuals. The democratic principle is the essential condition and basis of all successful trade union work and conflict."

This is how Gompers reviews this part of Oudegeest's speech, which was published in the July-October, 1923 number of the I. F. T. U. journal:

"He 'rejoices' at the 'unity (with the socialists)' which has been effected" and said that he did not know 'whether national and international Labor policy, parliamentary action and the proletarian educational work of social democracy is possible on any other basis.' He concluded that 'no other bases and methods are suitable for the trade union movement and that if other methods are adopted, the trade union movement must inevitably perish.'"

ion movement must inevitably perish."

We have taken the liberty of underlining a few passages both in Oudegeest's speech and in Gompers' review, not that it, or any comment, is necessary. Oudegeest claims that democracy is the beginning and the end of trade unionism. Gompers lead his faithful followers to believe that Oudegeest regarded unity with social democracy as a prior and essential condition for the existence, activity and development of the trade union movement.

It is a great pity that misrepresentations of this kind should be used to build an imaginary barrier between the European workers and their fellows in America. The insinuation that the leaders of the trade union movement in Europe cherish ideas of a world revolution is a false one. That Mr. Gompers should deliberately use Oudegeest's speech at the International Socialist Congress to support such an insinuation, that he should distort what was one long oath of fidelity to democracy into a revolutionary threat, is worse than false. It is ridiculous.

## LUDLOW TENT COLONY BURNED 10 YEARS AGO

Denver.—The anniversary of the Ludlow massacre on April 20, 1914, was observed by 5,000 miners on the spot where striking miners, women and children were shot and burned to death by coal company guards in the uniform of the State militia.

Representatives of miners' locals throughout southern Colorado were present and recalled events of 10 years ago when they suspended work against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Rockefeller subsidiary. The strikers maintained a tent colony at Ludlow on land controlled by them. Without warning the colony was fired upon.

Those who were not killed by bullets perished in the flames when the tents caught fire.

The union miners bought the 40-acre field on which the tent colony was located and erected a handsome monument to commemorate the deaths of these union miners, their wives and babes.

The State was so completely in the grasp of this corporation that the State Legislature created a special judicial district to try the strikers. The newly-appointed judge was an attorney for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. The strike caused such adverse comment on the company's union-smashing policy, and the Rockefeller were subjected to such criticism, that the company claimed it would establish a "new" Labor policy. It organized a company "union," which was the beginning of similar organizations now maintained by corporations whose attitude toward Labor has been similar to that of the C. F. and I.

## Rand School Notes

On Saturday afternoon, May 10, at 1:30, Scott Nearing will discuss "Where is Civilization Going?" in his Current Events lecture at the Rand School.

At 3:30 p. m. Bertrand Russell will lecture on "How to Secure World Peace" in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. All those desiring to attend are urged to secure tickets in advance or else to arrive early.

On Tuesday afternoon, May 6, the Woman's Committee of the Rand School held its third meeting in the studio at 7 East 15th street. A business meeting preceded the serving of tea and cake, and an informal address concerning Max Reinhardt's "Miracle" given by Mr. George Zorn, assistant stage manager to Morris Gest at the Century time.

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Theatre. Mr. Zorn will also be Social Director at Camp Tamiment this summer. At the business meeting Mrs. Adolph Held was elected permanent chairman and Mrs. George Ross was elected secretary of the Woman's Committee. The object of the organization is to promote the welfare of the school. Teas will be held on the first and third Monday of each month in the Rand School studio and some interesting speaker will be secured each



YIPSEL WEEK  
AT TAMIMENT

June 15 to June 21 will be the Yipsel week at Camp Tamiment this year, according to plans just announced by the Rand School. It is intended to get a select group of twenty or thirty Y. P. S. L. members from various parts of the East to come together and spend seven days partly in outdoor fun, partly in intensive study of social problems, with special reference to the standpoint of the young. This will be under the auspices of the Rand School with the cooperation of the Y. P. S. L. organization.

What is planned is not a course of lectures, but a conference with ten or twelve two-hour sessions in the course of the week. Three Rand School instructors will be present, one or another of whom will open each session with a twenty minute talk, but beyond that they are to participate in discussion on the same basis as the student members. Algernon Lee, Director of the Rand School, in outlining the plan, expressed the opinion that this method of study is destined largely to displace the lecture method in the field of workers' education.

The Board of Directors of the camp has made an exceptionally low rate and besides this a scholarship fund has been contributed by several friends, with the result that the Yipsels who attend will not have to pay more than \$17.50 and perhaps less, for their week's vacation including tuition, with plenty of time and opportunity for bathing, boating, tennis, and other outdoor sports as well as for the conference sessions.

Only members of the Y. P. S. L. will be admitted and the number is limited to thirty. Application must be made in writing to the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, and those who apply earliest will have the best chance of getting in.

Camp Tamiment announces an especially rich program of social recreation and sports for the coming season. Fifteen tennis courts will be in splendid working shape, twenty-five new sleeping cabins have been added to accommodate more comfortably the camp's growing host of guests, and a new swimming pool will be ready.

Many old friends will be back in the family bungalow colony at Sandville and among the new ones will be David Pinski, the celebrated Jewish writer and lecturer. Among the announced lecturers are Heywood Browne, Willy Pogany, Scott Nearing, Margaret Daniels, Harry Dana, Clement Wood, A. A. Goldenweiser, and Herman Epstein.

RAND STUDENTS GIVE  
TO GERMAN CHILDREN

At the Bertrand Russell lecture at the Rand School Saturday, May 3, a collection was taken for the relief of German children, amounting, to \$206. The money is to be sent through the Amalgamated Bank to the German Children's Relief Fund of the Social Democratic party, 3 Lindenstrasse, Berlin.

## Political Evolution in Belgium

By Joseph Wauters

The following resume of the political situation in Belgium was written following the March Cabinet crisis which kept the political prophets guessing for a while and resulted in Georges Theunis again trying his hand at running the Government with a Clerical-Liberal coalition. Joseph Wauters is director of *Le Peuple*, the leading Belgian Socialist daily, former Minister of Labor, and one of the best informed leaders of the Belgian Socialists.

At last the Government crisis has been temporarily conjured away. Next Tuesday the reconstructed Theunis Cabinet, the third of that name in two and a half years, will present itself to Parliament. The general opinion is that it will have a hard, and perhaps short, life. Many persons think that within a few months we may have the general elections due in the regular course of events in May, 1925, but the Socialists are the only ones who are wishing for this and working for it enthusiastically.

The Belgian Chamber is composed of 186 deputies, of whom sixty-eight are Socialists, thirty-three Liberals, eighty Catholics and five ex-Soldiers, four of whom were elected by the Flamigant (extremely pro-Flemish) Front party. But, although the Socialists form a solid block, the Liberals, who have become more and more the supporters of capitalism, still have some elements in their ranks which have preserved radical and anti-Clerical tendencies. These elements support with bad grace the entente concluded by their chiefs with the Catholics in order to constitute the Government in which they are in the minority.

## Catholic Influence

Among the Catholics, outside the very strong religious ties, there is a constantly increasing lack of cohesion among the interests and aspirations they represent. Alongside the forty deputies of the nobility and of the big conservative bourgeoisie there is a group of forty deputies owing their mandates to the laboring and democratic classes, petit bourgeois, small farmers, office employees and workers still held in the ranks of the Catholic party by their faith. But even among these forty deputies of Democratic tendencies, there are two kinds—alongside of those who long ago toned down their reformist activities and lined up with the Conservatives, there are those who have been forced upon the Catholic ticket by the influence of groups of workmen and there are also about twenty who have been elected on independent tickets in Antwerp, Flanders and Brussels, even fighting squarely against the traditional Catholic tickets even where they had taken in some elements more or less democratic.

We must not forget, finally, to point out that, all the parties being divided over the language question, the Flamigant elements in the Catholic party generally identify themselves with the most active democratic elements. It is in this political constellation, very complicated

and always threatened, that the Governmental crisis exists in a sort of endemic state.

## The Theunis Cabinet

The first Cabinet of M. Theunis, formed after the elections of November, 1921, was supported by the Catholics and the Liberals and it corresponded pretty well to the expression of public opinion at that time. The Socialists had left the Government, after having succeeded in forcing through a goodly part of the immediate program of the working class; insurance against unemployment, free pensions, the eight-hour day, well endowed children's funds, equally balanced wage commissions, the well subsidized organization of child welfare work and of the medical and pharmaceutical service for the workers' cooperatives, reduction of military service to ten months, etc. The worried capitalist interests, aided by the blindness of the middle classes, had sounded the charge against the Socialists, who re-entered Parliament with a loss of two seats. And besides we were yet in the midst of an industrial crisis. There came to be 300,000 out of work among the 800,000 members of the trade unions. The unions were subjected to counter-attacks and, paralleling the political giving way by the party, there came a slackening in the activities of the unions, whose effective membership dropped from 780,000 to 600,000.

## Sabotaging Socialist Conquests

In spite of this, the first Theunis Cabinet took office affirming its desire to follow a democratic policy, it even said that it would continue the policy of the Cabinet in which the Socialists had exercised such a powerful influence. In fact it didn't do anything openly against the reforms that had been won; it limited itself to, and counted upon, nibbling at them and sabotaging them in an administrative way, most frequently under the pretext of carrying out imperative economies. In fact, M. Theunis came into office with the reputation of being the "competent financier" capable of re-establishing the equilibrium of public finances and of making Germany pay up.

Little by little, the reactionary character of the new Government became accentuated. In financial matters it had no energetic vision and confined itself to economies, often of a sordid sort. No important reform saw the light of day and above all it saw itself facing a grave political problem—the Flemishizing of the University of Ghent, where instruction had been in French for a century. The battle of the parties was fought over this question. In the Cabinet there was no agreement between those who wished to Flemishize the whole University and those who wished to preserve at Ghent, alongside instruction given in Flemish, instruction given in French. A compromise agreement which passed the Chamber was rejected by the Senate; the Government resigned—and reconstructed itself after having agreed upon a compromise formula; and Belgium had its second Theunis Cabinet, composed almost like the first, but sup-

ported by groups whose democratic elements had been treated roughly.

## Occupation of the Ruhr

But the financial difficulties continued, the audacity of the bosses increased, very active reactionary campaigns were carried on against the labor reforms, and the Government quite naturally yielded to them. Then came the occupation of the Ruhr; the Theunis Cabinet lined up with Poincaré. Only the Socialists protested; the Christian Democrats, although not at all enthusiastic about it, kept quiet; furthermore, nationalism was apparently triumphant among the public. There was even some hesitation in the Socialist ranks, explainable by the memories of the war and the bankruptcy of Germany trying to dodge reparations.

With the occupation of the Ruhr the country's economic condition became worse; finances were not saved; the franc that was worth eight cents two years ago gradually dropped to four cents; the cost of living rose; the State employees became uneasy and the demands of the railroad personnel collided with a "non-possumus" of the Government, resulting in a strike, admirably conducted, but which was opposed by all parties except the Socialists. More than 200 railroad men were discharged, including many who had distinguished themselves in the war. This battle left much bitterness in the hearts of the workers and was the beginning of a proletarian revival.

Once caught in the policy of force, the Cabinet was led, in connection with the discussion of the military reform, to propose the prolongation of the term of army service by four months during the occupation of the Ruhr; it succeeded in having the term of normal service lengthened from ten to twelve months, to which are added two months while the Ruhr adventure continues. Some of the members of the majority had to vote for this reactionary project against their convictions. We must not forget that some of the Christian Democratic deputies were elected on their promise to work, like the Socialists, for a service term of six months.

## Defeat of the Ministry

Then came more open attacks upon the Labor reforms. Finally, the former Liberal Minister of National Defense, responsible for the 14-month service term, dared to offer a plan to revise the eight-hour law, in the restrictive sense, in reality he wished to return to the normal working day of nine hours; and immediately afterwards the Catholic Minister of Labor offered a plan along the same lines, although somewhat more moderate. A big Catholic newspaper says that he had first reached an agreement with the Christian Democrats, but the Socialist Party and the unions made such a campaign that, having got in touch with the Christian trade unions, some deputies supporting the Government voted with the Socialists against the two plans. The Ministry's plan, the more moderate, was beaten in Parliament by a vote of 90 to 66.

This fresh wound inflicted upon the aspirations of the Christian workers, the accentuation of the high cost of living, the fact that everybody was becoming aware of the mistake made in going into the Ruhr, created a state of mind, more and more hostile to the Theunis Cabinet, which was supposed to save everything and which, in fact, merely played reactionary politics. At this time came the discussion of the Franco-Belgian economic treaty. Always difficult to effect, a commercial treaty between protectionist France and free-trade Belgium was an especially delicate matter after the war. Belgium expected to see France give a more generous share to Belgian commerce and industry. But these hopes did not materialize and besides, through a special article, France tried to tie Belgium's political economy up with that of France against Germany.

## The New Theunis Ministry

This was the occasion that produced the revolt of all the preceding festering elements. The Socialists formed a bloc; the Cabinet was overthrown by fifteen votes of the Democratic majority. And nevertheless, on the morrow after the vote which, (nobody failed to see this) had condemned the greater part of the actions of M. Theunis in military matters, in domestic policy and in the field of social welfare this same M. Theunis was charged with reconstructing the Government. It was above all the influence of capitalism and of the Liberals, combined with that of the Conservative Catholics, that worked out this way.

The personnel has been changed a little; there has been a great deal of bargaining and dealing in order to balance the Flemish and Walloon, the Liberal and Clerical influences. No doubt they will be a little more careful on the field of social legislation, but from now on the Democratic Christian Flemings are sulky over the third Theunis Ministry. There is great confusion in all parties. The foreign policy will doubtless be put in accord with that of England. The internal program will doubtless be very vague and above all be intended to effect financial rehabilitation.

Only the Socialist Party presents a solid front. Events have acted like a blow with a whip. The unions are recruiting large numbers of new members. The fighting spirit of the

THE LABOR  
PARTY PUZZLE

By James Oneal

While the drift toward a national Labor party continues, there are also certain phases that produce general uncertainty regarding the outcome. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party has acquired great prestige because of its victories and is leading one section of the forces favoring such a party.

But the Minnesota organization represents a regional, not a national movement. Its chief supporters outside of Minnesota are Farmer-Labor parties of North and South Dakota and similar parties in a few other States that exist mainly on paper. The only other element back of it is the Communists. In the northwest the Farmer-Labor parties do not understand the wide destruction which the Communists have caused in the East, especially in the powerful trades unions, and that there is no hope of getting these unions to cooperate with the northwest if the Communists have anything to do with it.

This leaves the Minnesota organization a regional movement with a sprinkling of a few Eastern local unions and Communist cremation societies, gymnastic clubs and other organizations which they are adept in forming. The great industrial East is essential to a national Labor party and it will not go with a northwest linked up with Communists. The railroad organizations and the big Jewish trades unions will not. Neither will the many anti-Communist local unions favoring an independent Labor party.

Labor, the Washington organ of the railroad brotherhoods, has definitely announced its opposition to the St. Paul convention to be held June 17. "This movement has been launched under most unfortunate auspices," reads an editorial in Labor. "A small but very active band of Communists is in control of the arrangements, and, of course, that means that the recognized Labor movement will have nothing to do with the affair."

While largely true, the above is an overstatement. The Communists do not control the arrangements. They share control with the other elements that have called the convention, including the committee of 48. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that this editorial represents the opinion of the great mass of railroad unions and other trades unions of the country, especially in the East, where Communists have carried on intrigues and disruption for nearly five years. The farmer organizations of the northwest are sincere in their desire to cooperate with all other organizations, but they have no idea of the experience of organizations in the East with an element with which they are allied.

This conflict between the northwest movement and the national movement will have to be solved. One thing is sure, the northwest cannot of itself found a national movement, no matter what action it takes in St. Paul. On the other hand, the Cleveland convention of July 4 can found a national movement even without the northwest. Both should be together to organize a national movement and they would be together if the northwest had not agreed to cooperate with an element that has a record of wrecking for nearly five years. This element can add no strength to the northwest and it is capable of as much harm as it has been in the East.

This is the Labor party puzzle of 1924. The big advantage lies with the Cleveland convention because its forces are not confined to a special region. It has its supporters North and South, East and West, and especially in the East. The East is the powerful industrial section of the United States. East of the Mississippi river will be found the great bulk of the organized workers of the nation. Unless we have the willing support of a big part of these organized workers no Labor party is possible. The northwest does not have them and cannot get them alone, so its prospects are impossible.

On the other hand, the Socialist Party vote is nearly 1,000,000 in the nation. Cast in favor of the Cleveland movement as this force will be, it will also give a national character to a Labor party if organized in Cleveland, and what remains of a puzzle will have to be solved by the northwest, for it will be at a disadvantage with its regional movement.

troops is magnificent; they are eager for a great electoral battle as soon as possible. The public looks for Socialist victories in the near future. The Christian Democrats are bound to move toward a clearer stand imposed upon them by their voters. The new Theunis Ministry can only be transitory. Belgium is again marching toward a Government of Democracy, of international peace and of social progress.

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

BERTRAND RUSSELL VERSUS SCOTT NEARING

Chairman, SAMUEL UNTERMYER

SUBJECT:

RESOLVED: THAT THE SOVIET FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS  
APPLICABLE TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

Mr. Russell Says NO!

Mr. Nearing Says YES!

CARNEGIE HALL

Sunday, May 25, 1924, at 3 P. M.

TICKETS: \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50, \$3.00.

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# THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## NEWS FROM OTHER LANDS

### INTERNATIONAL

#### Many Meetings in Vienna

The Business Committee of the Socialists and Labor International will hold its next meeting in Vienna on June 5. The Executive of the Socialist Young People's International will also hold a meeting in Vienna during the International Trade Union Congress there, and the officers of the Socialist Educational International are planning to do likewise.

### GREAT BRITAIN

#### The I. L. P. International Conference Resolution

In the cable reports of the Easter Conference of the Independent Labor party at York, it was stated that the party had voted in favor of an international conference of all countries, "including Moscow." The implication was that the party had initiated a move for another attempt to unite the Labor and Socialist International and the Communist International, the latter with its expressed program of splitting the Socialist movement of the various countries still not disavowed. Copies of Socialist and Labor papers have arrived from England that show that there was no such resolution. Upon motion of Fred W. Jowett, who is a member of the Government, it was voted that the party favors the calling of a conference of all nations—including Russia—as the first step toward a program of disarmament on the part of all countries. The fact that Jowett and John Wheatley, another member of the Government, are members of the Executive of the party; that Premier MacDonald and several other members of the Government are delegates to the conference, while 27 members of the Government are members of the party, and 126 out of the 192 members of the Labor party are likewise members of the I. L. P., makes the resolution a State paper of tremendous significance.

### HUNGARY

#### Lively Scenes at Convention

There was plenty of excitement at the national convention of the Hungarian Social Democratic party, held in Budapest during the Easter holidays, judging from reports in the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung. When the convention opened in the old Parliament building, the place was surrounded by a small army of police, as though the Horthy administration thought another revolution was likely to break unless the cops were on hand.

Immediately after the election of Deputy Karl Peyer as chairman he announced that there were police spies in the hall. A great shout of indignation arose from the delegates, who declared they would not go on with their work until the detectives were removed. Inspection revealed thirty men present without party cards and they were escorted to the door in no gentle manner. A little later two more spies were discovered and speedily kicked out. The police inspector seated on the platform had to witness the rough usage of his fellow cops without making a protest.

Following the reading of the reports of the Executive Committee and the Parliamentary group, presented by Stephen Farkas and Johann Vanczak, respectively, a hot debate broke loose over the recent activities of the twenty-four Socialist deputies, especially in connection with their dropping their opposition to the League of Nations rehabilitation plan merely because Premier Bethlen had made a few vague promises implying that the notorious internment camps would be gradually abolished and some of the political refugees allowed to return home. Critics of the Parliamentary group and of the Executive Committee, led by Stephen Vagi, Secretary of the Building Workers, averred that the rank and file of the Party had no chance to control its policy, being always confronted with accomplished acts. Some of the critics were for parliamentary abstention and others demanded the passing of a resolution affirming the Party's solidarity with both Hungarian revolutions, the Republican one of Count Karolyi and the Communist one of Bela Kun.

Defending the Party administration, Deputy Proper declared that the opposition seemed to have forgotten the lessons of the last ten years and said that, while steps had already been taken toward bringing the emigres back, there was a certain group among them that would not admit its past mistakes in the Labor movement and was ready to repeat said mistakes if a chance presented itself. Consequently, nobody in the Socialist Party ought to identify himself with these persons, presumably hard-boiled Communists.

When the conflict came to a vote, the administration was sustained, the opposition candidates for Party offices, headed by Aurel Stromfeld, once a General Staff officer of the Bela Kun army, being defeated. One of the nominees on the administration list refused to accept office because he did not agree with the administration's policy.

The congress was attended by C. T. Cramp, representing the Socialist and Labor International, and representatives from the Socialist parties in several Central European countries.

### BELGIUM

#### Prepared for Next Elections

Preparedness for possible general elections at any time before the scheduled time next year was the slogan of the delegates to the Easter convention of the Belgian Labor party held in Brussels. The main points of the program presented by Emile Vandervelde and approved by the convention call for economy in army expenditures and reduction of the service period to six months, defense of constitutional rights against incipient Fascism or other aggressors, increase in taxes on big income and reduction of the National debt through a capital levy bringing in at least 5,000,000,000 francs in ten years, the beginning of the Socialization of the mines by State operation of those not yet turned over to private enterprise, revision of war loss compensation when the amount involved is more than 500,000 francs, maintenance of the eight-hour day and protection of tenants.

As has been reported in The New Leader, the dues-paying membership of the Belgian Labor party is at its high water mark, with 632,307 on the lists. The report of the Party's activities during 1923 filled a book of nearly 800 pages, which the delegates to this thirty-fifth convention considered very interesting reading. The yearly circulation of the Party's seven daily papers was 72,000,000 in 1923 and that of the weeklies 18,000,000.

In order to encourage propaganda work among women, the convention decided to allow them to organize political groups alongside the men's party organizations. It was emphasized that something must be done to loosen the grip of the Clericals upon the Belgian women. The convention sent telegrams of cheer to the Socialist Parties in Germany and France in which the hope was expressed that they would make a good showing in the elections of May 4 and 11.

## Party Notes

The New Leader, in requesting all Party officials to send in the news of their branches and locals, 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 the notes in time. 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.

### NATIONAL OFFICE

#### To Get Across We Must "Come Across"

One way the National Office knows the first of the month is at hand is the receipt—the unfailing receipt—of a letter from a comrade living in Chesterfield, Missouri. It always contains a gift of five dollars, but now and then it contains more than that. This is the latest message from him:

"I can spare a little money this month, and I send you herewith \$30.00—\$5.00 for office expenses and \$25.00 on account of your traveling expenses to Cleveland."

"I noticed in the paper that you

are one of the National delegates to the convention on July 4th. This may be the most memorable day in the history of the United States since the Declaration of Independence, or as there has been war between patricians and plebeians since immemorial times it may be the greatest year for the advancement of mankind since Pharaoh Tut. I hope that America will not be behind England, South and West Australia and Denmark."

"EUGENE MUEHELMANN."

### COLORADO

#### Wm. H. Henry's Dates in Colorado

William H. Henry began work under the direction of the National Office on April 29, when he held a very successful meeting at Denver, Illinois. He was the Socialist Party speaker at a general May Day celebration held in Kansas City on May first. His succeeding dates during the month of May are in Colorado and Wyoming, as follows: Holyoke, 3rd; Morgan, 4th; Greeley, 5th; Cheyenne, 6th and 7th; Ft. Collins, 8th; Loveland, 9th; Berthoud, 10th; Longmont, 11th and 12th; Denver, 13th and 14th; Colorado Springs, 15th and 16th; Pueblo, 17th and 18th; Canon City, 19th; Salida, 20th; Glenwood Springs, 21st; Grand Junction, 22nd.

### VALENTI IN NEW ENGLAND

Giralmo Valenti, national organizer of the Italian Socialist Federation, has started his intensive propaganda and organization tour of the New England district. He is receiving cooperation from the New England District of the Socialist Party, 64 Pemberton square, Boston, which is circularizing all locals to arrange meetings for him. The first part of his itinerary is as follows:

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. Valenti will speak in Boston and vicinity, Plymouth, Everett, Lawrence, Brockton, Mass., and from there go to Vermont.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Hillquit at State Convention

Morris Hillquit will address the convention of the New England District of the Socialist Party Saturday, May 10, at 3 p. m. The convention is to be held at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street.

#### Oneal and Bertha Mailli Speak for Party

James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, and Bertha H. Mailli, executive secretary of the Rand School, will speak at a meeting of Socialist Party members, sympathizers and New Leader subscribers at 15 Essex street, Friday night, May 9.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Mrs. Lewis Continues Fine Work

Lena Morrow Lewis continues her good work in Pennsylvania, having held meetings during the past week at Sunbury, Northumberland, Williamsport, Hawk Run, Phillipsburg, DuBois and Falls Creek. On May 9th she speaks at Reynoldsville, May 10th at Punksutawney, May 11th, Brockwayville, May 12th, Brookville, May 13th, Oakland.

She is emphasizing the importance of organization work and instructing the comrades everywhere the way to carry on the work.

The local recently organized in Sunbury as a result of work in Northumberland County is composed more than two-thirds of young men under 30 years of age. The significant things about many of Mrs. Lewis' meetings are the number of young people in the audiences. She is spending a limited amount of energy and time to bring old-time comrades back to life and activity, but the better portion of her activity is devoted to interesting new and younger people.

#### Hillquit's Pittsburg Meeting

Morris Hillquit's Pittsburg meeting two weeks ago was a big success. The hall was filled, and the audience enjoyed a remarkable address. Over 500 new subscribers to The New Leader were the result of the meeting.

### NEW JERSEY

The regular monthly meeting of the State Committee, will be held on Sunday afternoon, May 11, at 3 o'clock, at the State Headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, N. J. A special order of business will be the resolution that was passed by the State Committee to elect a committee of one or more to route speakers throughout the State. The election of a delegate to the National Convention to take the place of Com. J. Klinc who resigned.

### NEW YORK

Pending the selection of a permanent executive secretary, the affairs of Local New York have been put in charge of a committee of three, composed of Julius Gerber, Algonron Lee, and Herman Volk. The committee has issued the following statement to the branches and the membership:

"Comrades, we shall do our best to serve you until the affairs of the local can again be put on the ordinary basis and a regular executive officer employed. But we cannot do much unless you help."

"Branch officers must make an extra effort to get the members out to branch meetings. Members must pay up their dues, and financial secretaries must get busy collecting from those who are in arrears. Every branch should

make at least a small donation to the local at this time, to get things started anew."

"The office on the fifth floor of the People's House will be open from noon till eight in the evening every week day except Saturday, when it will close at three. Some member of the committee will be present from six to eight each day."

"We plan to build up a corps of street speakers as fast as possible, and to promote other activity."

"On Saturday, May 10, at three o'clock, the organizers and financial secretaries of the 1st and 2nd A. D., the 3rd, 5th and 10th, and the 4th are called to meet with the committee. Next week other branches will be called in."

#### Delegates to the State Convention

State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill has announced the election of the following delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party to be held in Cleveland July 6:

Delegates at large, Charles Solomon and May Harris Mainland. Alternates at large, Marie L. Steele and William Nolan.

Delegates to the National Convention County, Morris Hillquit, Algonron Lee, August Claessens, William Karlin, Jacob Panken, Morris Berman, Joseph D. Cannon, Julius Gerber, Louis Waldman, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Joshua Lieberman, S. John Block and Simon Berlin. The alternates are Alexander Kahn, S. P. Kramer, Morris Novik, Wilho Hedman, I. Silverman, Jessie Wallace Hughan and Hyman Waldman.

Kings, James Oneal, A. I. Shiplacoff, J. A. Whitehorn, W. W. Passage, Joseph F. Viola. Alternates, Jacob Axelrad, B. J. Riley, Louis Weil, Morris Ant and Samuel H. Weidman. The Bronx, Joseph Karlin, Jacob Bernstein and Patrick J. Murphy. Up-State, Joseph Kooperman, Woodridge, Harold Hasbrouck, Poughkeepsie; Herbert M. Merrill, Schenectady; Warren Atkinson, Rochester; Irving M. Weiss, Buffalo; Alternates, Harold G. Anderson, Queens, Edward H. MacDonald, Poughkeepsie; Theresa B. Wiley, Schenectady; William Hilsdorf, Jr., Rochester; and H. D. Wilcox, Elmira.

#### New York County

The Central Committee will meet Tuesday, May 13, at 8:30 p. m., at the Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street. Several matters of importance are to be considered including the report of the Managing Committee, elected at the last meeting of the Central Committee, to manage and supervise the affairs of the office of Local New York. The result of the referendum and election of delegates and members to the State Committee will be given. All delegates are requested to be present and be on hand on time.

ALGERNON LEE,  
HERMAN VOLK,  
JULIUS GERBER,  
Managing Committee.

#### Branches of Local New York

The call for nomination of ten candidates to act as delegates to represent Local New York at an unofficial State Convention by the Party, to be held in New York City at the end of July, was sent to all branches of Local New York. Branches are requested to make the nominations and send same to the office of Local New York as soon as made. Nominations close on May 24 and none will be accepted after that date.

ALGERNON LEE,  
HERMAN VOLK,  
JULIUS GERBER,  
For the Management Committee.

#### 15th-16th Branch

The regular meeting of the 15th-16th A. D. Branch will be held on Thursday, May 15, at 8:30 p. m., at the headquarters, 227 East 84th street. Business of importance to be transacted. All members are requested to attend.

#### 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D.

The 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D. branch will meet Monday night at 350 West 31st street. Leonard C. Kaye will speak on "What can an American Labor Party Do?" Members of this branch are informed that during the summer, notices of meetings will not be sent by mail.

#### 8th A. D.

The indoor activities of the 8th A. D. have ended with definite accomplished results. Thirteen consecutive lectures were conducted and each one proved to be highly successful. Weekly letters were sent out to the citizens in the district. As a result of this the membership of the branch has increased considerably. Our regular Thursday night meetings have been very instructive and interesting. This was due to the fact that we turned our business meetings into interesting discussions on economic, social and philosophic questions.

We also wish to announce that the branch has moved from 73 St. Mark's place to 214 East Fifth street, annex to Beethoven Hall. This Center is owned by the Cap and Millinery Workers' Union. It is expected that scores of active trade union workers will join our branch. Already a considerable group have visited our branch and expressed their approval of the work that we are doing. It is also quite pertinent to say that our new place is cozy and inviting. The atmosphere is such that it makes the place a real Labor Center. The open air educational activities for summer will begin with a series of four lectures on Seventh street corner Second avenue. The first lecture will take place this Friday, May 9, at 8 p. m. A grand opening is planned in the form of a banquet, entertainment and dance to take place within a week or so. The date will be announced in the next issue of The New Leader.

### BRONX

Branch 7 held a large and well-attended May-Day celebration at its headquarters, 4215 Third avenue. Comrade Seidel was master of ceremonies and Comrade Sarah Volovick had charge of the refreshments. Several of the lady members presented the Committee with home-made cakes. Comrade Joseph Denenberg gave a Russian dance and was loudly applauded. The old standby, Comrade Claessens, spoke on the meaning of the International Labor Day to the working class the world over. Comrade Claessens also gave several sketches in pantomime which evoked much merriment. The affair wound up by all present rising and singing the "International" and the "Marseillaise" under the leadership of Comrade Mrs. Marfdin.

The Sub-Committee on Entertainment elected by the Local Executive Committee met Monday at local headquarters and arranged several social affairs for the Local. The first will be held the first week in June and will take the shape of a strawberry and cream festival. Comrade Sarah Volovick will have charge and arrange this affair. The meeting of the organization and membership sub-committee under the chairmanship of Comrade Paulitsch was scheduled to meet Wednesday, May 7, at Local Headquarters. Units of this Committee have already started a membership drive in the territory of Branches 4 and 5 with good results.

Branch 4 held a well-attended meeting on its regular meeting night at Local Headquarters, Tuesday, May 6, the attraction being a speech by Comrade Wm. M. Feigenbaum, his subject being: "Oil and Its Implications." This meeting was voted the best that Branch Four has held within the past two years.

At the business meeting Paulitsch was chairman and Kanasy secretary. The canvassers on membership being given the opportunity to report on their work showed the feasibility of this work, several of those interviewed being present and promising all possible support to the organization.

Branch 7 during the past year has done remarkable work in the matter of lectures and entertainments, and the members and sympathizers have shown their appreciation of the work done, but the Branch has yet one more treat in store for its friends, Comrade Bertha H. Mailli has consented to speak at the Branch meeting to be held at its headquarters, 4215 Third avenue, on Thursday, May 22, 1924.

#### Coming Events

The membership and our sympathizers are urged to hold the following dates open:

May 22, 8:30 p. m., at 4215 Third avenue. Speech by Comrade Bertha H. Mailli. Subject will be announced later.

The Local festival scheduled for the first week in June, the exact date will be set by the Executive Committee at its session, Monday, May 12, 1924. The Bronx might be dead in the opinion of some wise men, but we are still a pretty lively corpse.

#### Brooklyn Business Meetings

The following is the schedule of branch meetings:

Every Monday: 22d A. D., Branches 2 and 3 at 218 Van Sicken avenue; 23rd A. D., Branch 2 at 219 Sackman street; Coney Island Branch, 3019 West 22d street, Coney Island.

Every Tuesday: 4th and 14th A. D., 319 Grand street; 6th A. D., 167 Tompkins avenue; 17th and 18th A. D., 1336 Lincoln place. 1st, 3rd and 8th A. D., 122 Pierrepont street.

Every Thursday: 13th and 19th A. D., Amalgamated Temple.

Every Friday: 2d A. D., Branch 1, 420 Hindsdale street; 23d A. D., Branch 1, 1709 Pitkin avenue.

First Monday: 21st A. D., 480 East 26th street.

2nd and 4th Sunday: 5th A. D., 14 Howard avenue.

2nd and 4th Tuesday: 2nd A. D., Branch 2, 1602 Avenue F.

2nd and 4th Friday: 9th and 16th A. D., 43rd street and 14th avenue.

Last Wednesday: 22nd A. D., Branch 1, 415 Ridgewood avenue.

#### CONEY ISLAND

The Coney Island Branch is making progress in its drive to establish a club-house, where comrades of the city can come and enjoy themselves during the summer. We need some more active members to help us raise the necessary funds. Communicate with Wm. Marks, 2862 West 29th street, Coney Island.

#### YIPSELS

Circle Six, Y. P. S. L. Comrade Nettie Zittrn, organizer of Circle Six, reports that the circle is getting along nicely. Meetings are well attended. The circle is waging a membership drive in which it hopes to get the old members of Circle Six to rejoin. George Fields, the Educational Director of the circle, announces that the educational meetings of the circle have proven successful. On Friday, May 9th, Circle Six will hold a joint Educational meeting with Circle Six Juniors. This meeting has been carefully arranged by the Executive Committees of both circles and have arranged a fine program. N. B. Appel, Athletic Director, and Sylvia Berent, Social Director of the circle are arranging a fine program for the coming season. Circle Six Juniors and Circle Six Seniors are forming a baseball team for the coming inter-circle tournaments.

## SOCIALIST MEETINGS

### STREET MEETINGS THIS WEEK

#### SATURDAY, MAY 10

##### Hudson County, N. J.

HOBOKEN — Washington and Third streets. Speaker: Henry Jager.

WEST NEW YORK — Bergenline avenue and Fourteenth street. Speaker: August Claessens.

BAYONNE — Broadway and Twenty-third street. Speaker: Frederick Kraft.

The Secretary of the Hudson County Campaign Committee would like to hear from Party speakers who have Saturday nights open between now and Election Day. Address: Robert Leemans, 602 Malone street, West Hoboken, N. J.

#### MONDAY

BROOKLYN — St. Mark's and Saratoga avenue. Speaker: Jacob Axelrod.

#### TUESDAY

BROOKLYN — Graham avenue and Varet street. Speaker: Morris Stamen.

#### THURSDAY

BROOKLYN — Sumner avenue and Floyd street. Speaker: August Claessens.

#### INDOORS

Tuesday evening at 17th-18th A. D. BROOKLYN — 1336 Lincoln place. Speaker: S. A. DeWitt. Lecture, "Poetry of Rebellion."

Tuesday, 2nd A. D., Branch 2. Speaker: W. M. Feigenbaum, "The British Labor Party."

#### Garage Workers

The Garage Workers' Union, Local 17,347, has secured a larger headquarters to accommodate its increasing membership, at 240 East 46th street, New York, according to George W. Card, secretary of the union. A new garage workers' local has been organized in Brooklyn, due to the untiring efforts of Alexander Marks, organizer of the A. F. of L. The new local will be chartered as a federal local of the A. F. of L.

## FAREWELL LECTURE

BY

Hon. BERTRAND RUSSELL

ON

'How to Be Free & Happy'

### COOPER UNION

Wednesday, May 28th

at 8:15 P. M.

NORMAN HAFGOOD, Chairman.

Farewell Committee headed by

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES and HEYWOOD BRON.

Tickets—75c and \$1.00

ALL SEATS RESERVED.

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### Rand School of Social Science

7 EAST 15th STREET

Saturday, May 10, 1:30 P. M.

SCOTT

NEARING

"Where is Civilization Going?"

3:30 P. M.

BERTRAND

RUSSELL

"How to Secure World Peace"

## The New Leader Publishing Association

7 East 15th Street, New York City

A General Meeting of the members of The New Leader Association will take place on Wednesday, May 14, at 8:15 p. m., in Room 508, 7 East 15th Street.

The purpose of the meeting will be to adopt by-laws, elect officers and members of the Board of Directors and transact such other business as may properly come before the meeting.

Membership in the Association is limited to members in good standing of the Socialist Party. Any one desiring to become a member can do so by filing his application with the Secretary and the payment of two dollars, one dollar of which will cover the initiation fee and the remaining one dollar for a year's dues.

ALEXANDER KAHN, President  
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## TALKS TO PARTY THE TENETS MEMBERS OF TENANTRY

By AN OLD TIMER

### 3. HOW CAN THE JOB BE DONE?

In the days after the Civil War, when the question of resuming specie payment was the theme of seemingly endless controversy, Horace Greeley said a wise word—"The way to resume is to resume." We may apply that saying to our own problem of rebuilding the Party. It is time we quit discussing whether it can be rebuilt, when it should be rebuilt, why it needs rebuilding, and go to work rebuilding it. We shall best learn just how to do the job in the process of doing it. No doubt we shall make mistakes. The only men who make no mistakes are dead men. Mistakes are not fatal. Inaction is.

The first thing is to realize that the task of organization is not something apart from and independent of the task of propaganda. In the field of mechanics, it is true, we first construct a machine and then set it to work. It is not so with what we call party machinery. An organization cannot grow except when it is functioning. If we wish to increase the Party's membership and strengthen its finances, we must begin by doing the kind of work for which the Party exists—doing it as well as our present forces permit, and thereby gaining power to do it ever better.

For at least seven years we have greatly neglected our primary function—that of making direct and general Socialist propaganda. During a part of that time we were, indeed, intensely active. Much of what we did was right and necessary. We were busy combatting militarism, defending civil and political liberties, interpreting the war and the revolutionary events in Europe. All this had to be done. But unfortunately, while doing these things, we gave but very little attention to expounding the basic ideas of Socialism. As it is said in Scripture, "This ought ye to have done, and not left the other undone." For if the masses do not understand our fundamental principles, they will hardly understand our application of those principles to current national and international issues.

Since 1922 the exceptional conditions which had diverted our energies have largely passed away. But we had got out of the habit of teaching the A B C of Socialism. It is high time for us to take up this every-day elementary work, and do it with double energy, to make up for lost time. The sooner we do this, the sooner we shall begin to get new members and keep them. As for funds, all experience teaches that the Party can always get the needed money if it deserves to, and seldom otherwise.

P. S.: My second article was made almost unintelligible by typographical errors. Where I wrote "Nationalist-Socialist," there was printed "Nationalist-Pacifist," which is a contradiction in terms. Where I wrote "patronizing 'radical' sneers," it was printed "patronizing 'radical' success," which made no sense. Where I wrote "forward march," it was printed "forced march." The guilty compositor and his proof-reading accomplice will have to do overtime in purgatory to pay for this.

### ROAD BLAMED FOR WRECK

Washington.—In a sizzling report to the Interstate Commerce Commission, W. P. Borland, Director of the Commission's Bureau of Safety, blamed the Union Traction Company of Indiana for a wreck on its line, near Ingalls, Indiana, last February, resulting in the death of 16 passengers and the injury of 36 others.

The accident was a head-on collision between two interurban cars on a single track. The block system was not in operation.

General Manager Nicholl of the road was scored for his inexcusable attitude, which was reflected by other officials and employees, said the report.

The commission's investigator declared that "if an adequate and properly maintained automatic train-control device had been installed and in operation upon this road, this accident would in all probability have been prevented."

Mr. Thomas Flynn, 732 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y., the Subscription Agent of The New Age will continue in the same capacity for The New Leader, and is duly authorized to solicit subscriptions, make collections, receipt for money paid to him, and act as the Business Representative of The New Leader for the entire territory heretofore covered by The Buffalo New Age.

The New Leader Management.

By ADAM COALDIGGER

Once upon a time there was a poor but honest young farmer who decided to farm for a living. But alas he had no farm to farm. Hence he rented a farm from a city man who owned many farms but who wouldn't farm on a bet.

The farm procured by the good young man was badly run down. The soil had not been manured for many years. The house looked as woe-begotten as a discarded umbrella in an ash can. The outhouses leaned away from the wind and the barn was so full of chinks, cracks and yawning openings where clapboards and shingles used to be that the animals begged to be left on the outside for the sake of keeping warm.

But the poor young farmer was thrifty and ambitious, so he set about with hammer, saw and paint brush until the place knew hardly itself any more. His good housewife also put flower pots in the windows, planted rose vines on the little porch and spaded up a tulip bed in the front yard.

### Collecting the Rent

At the end of the year when the landlord came from the city to collect the rent he marveled greatly over the improvements and he slapped the young man on the back and wrung his horny hands and said he was the best tenant he ever had, and if all tenants were like him it would be a pleasure to be a landlord. And when he got through complimenting him he raised his rent 30 per cent for business is business, and everybody knows that a well improved place is worth more than a neglected one.

It pained the young man greatly to be punished for improving and beautifying the place. However, he reckoned he could recuperate his loss by improving the productivity of the soil. So all that winter, while his neighbors were hibernating, he hauled loads and loads of manure from the nearby town. And when the crops were harvested it was even as he had expected for where one blade of grass grew before there were two, and where two ears of grain grew before there were four.

### Landlord's Joy

When the landlord came again and he beheld the bumper crop raised by his tenant his eyes filled with tears of joy and he was so overcome with emotion and gratitude that he boosted the rent another 10 per cent.

Thus it went on from year to year. The young man kept on improving the productivity of the soil through the knowledge gained from experience, the study of scientific farming, animal husbandry, horticulture and a number of other well meaning but misguided sciences.

He also joined cooperatives and marketing associations which enabled him to procure better prices for his product.

Thanks to these efforts he trebled the income from the place in the course of time, but as the landlord trebled the rent also the result was not so you could notice it as far as the net income of the good tenant was concerned and he gradually resigned himself to the fate of remaining a tenant for the balance of his life.

### Gold to the Rescue

One night when the poor but honest young farmer returned from the sick-bed of his seventh grandchild he saw a fairy standing in the middle of the road. Just then a big touring car came rushing down and if the farmer had not quickly grabbed the fairy and pulled her in the ditch she would have been killed.

When the fairy had recovered from her scare she said to the farmer: "You have saved my life, therefore make one wish and it shall be granted."

The farmer pondered long about what he should ask but finally he spoke up and said: "I have slaved diligently all my life to increase the fruit of my toil and the income from my labor. But all I succeeded in doing was raising my rent. Therefore I pray you to let gold nuggets rain on my place that I may procure enough wealth to escape my landlord before my days are done."

Farmer Bumped and Bruised  
And it happened even so. But while the good tenant was still busy gathering the gold nuggets in the field the landlord came along and ordered him to haul them to the railroad. Thus the good man got nothing from the golden blessing but the bumps and bruises inflicted by the falling nuggets. For just as the increase of the cow belongs to him who owns the cow and not him who feeds the cow so the increase in the productivity of land belongs to him who owns the land.

P. S.—Persons who know of any method of helping tenant farmers without disturbing tenantry are requested to mail their solution to this paper. For the best solution we offer a silver plated bale of hay with lace trimmings as first prize. The second prize consists of a barbed wire sofa pillow ornamented with sand burrs. Get busy.

## FALL IN OR FALL OUT

By George R. Kirkpatrick

WE were right.  
We are scientifically correct.

And we are right now.  
In our analysis of capitalist society, even in anticipating the great capitalist World War—and in foreseeing the death of faith and the rise of deadening hatreds and the mountains of lies that now weigh down the world wearing the proud name "diplomacy"—right in foreseeing the present world-wide drift of capitalism staggering to its collapse and self-destruction—in all this we were right and we are right.

You see, comrade, we have a philosophy, a really sound social philosophy. With this philosophy we can and we do explain Social Development. We are not surprised and we are not now surprised—because, using a sound philosophy, we could foresee and we now foresee. "To see is to foresee."

SOCIALISTS, in fact, stand before the world today jealously acknowledged to be the most studious and the best informed international group in all the hundreds of millions of the world's working class. The working class of the civilized world now begins to understand the outlines of the workers' past, the fundamentals of the workers' present problems and tasks, and begins to intelligently read the warnings and guide-posts for the workers' safe, sound and swift development and self-protection for the thrilling years looming vast and deep with meaning, with freedom with inspiring increase of justice—right ahead of us. Now, therefore, at last, the working class begins to guide itself and protect itself—not in confusing anger and blinding rage, but by the star of reason, fact, knowledge; and hence now:

A new era dawns.  
No longer are the workers helpless in hopeless ignorance.

No longer are the workers tongueless in voiceless despair.

No longer are the workers lightless, sightless, guideless, leaderless in the dismal swamp of ignorance. They have found knowledge.

AND the Socialists of the world have developed that knowledge, the Socialists have interpreted that knowledge, and the Socialists have spread that knowledge which is now urging and guiding the workers of the world to vast new policies, new programs and new achievements in the present splendid dawn of the new era for the workers, the era of knowledge. It is the truth. This has been the work of the Socialists. Industrial freedom for the goal and knowledge for the guide—these are the supreme contributions of the Socialists for the new era.

Three-quarters of a hundred years ago the crowned and the gold-lined tyrants of all Europe instantly sensed the Socialists as the enemy, armed then (as armed now) with knowledge of the workers by the workers for the workers. And today by tyrants we are more hotly hated than ever before. And now, at last, at last, we, the Socialists, are also increasingly appreciated—by the workers of the whole world.

And now, in this thrilling present, in this dawn of the new Era, what shall we, the Socialists, do? Sit down and rock ourselves to sleep in dull and dangerous pride and vanity?—chloroform ourselves with flattering self-compliment? and ignorantly think: "Our work—it is finished?"

Never!  
THAT—precisely that—would keenly please every dollar-lusting looter on earth. The rocking chair for us? Now?—just now when Labor needs and seeks more light? Now when Labor begins to get up off his knees and look boldly into his master's cruel eyes, not flinching, not afraid, not meekly, not even respectfully, but glaring into those hate-filled eyes with infinitely more courage than at any other time since, seventy-three years before Christ, the heroic Thracian slave, Spartacus, organized a mighty army of the proletariat and for two years defied and defeated the masters and defeated the armies of the vast Roman Empire! Sleep now?—just when the great day opens for which we have dreamed and toiled for long, long years? Now?—when we are needed more, even more, than ever before?

The working class of America—now about to enter the political arena as a class! That's new—new, dangerous and disastrous for the capitalist class. For well the masters know that with their vast numbers, welded together with consciousness of class, with freedom as their goal, guided, not by a fad, not by a fallacy, but by a sound philosophy—they, the workers, can sweep the field and triumphantly demand justice.

Therefore every cunning seduction, every artful confusion, every resource known to tyrants, scoundrels and prostitutes will be stealthily used to wreck the ranks and plans of the workers' new army now about to march upon the political field of battle.

THE situation amounts to a crisis. The situation is most extraordinary. And only extraordinary diligence, courage and tact, extraordinary clearness of vision, clearness of purpose, and clearness and cleanness of methods—will save the workers' new inspiring effort from disaster—utter disaster—in this country.

The new effort is inevitable. Disaster is also inevitable—unless the new effort is steadily penetrated and pervaded with understanding, understanding wide and deep, not simply a mere child's understanding that "something is wrong," but an understanding that something fundamental is wrong, wrong with the dominant purpose of the present order—an understanding of what is wrong and what fundamental means and fundamental sound leadership are necessary in this crisis in American politics.

The Socialists? "What shall we do now?" Every Socialist on guard!—busy and glad that the working class begins to move and that our work, our Party, our guiding philosophy are pricelessly necessary—now.

## FRANKNESS IN POLITICS

By Joseph E. Cohen

Writing his portion of political revelations, Senator Pepper declares that neither old party stands for what it says or says for what it stands. This is a charge made and stereotyped by the Socialist Party. It is kindness indeed for the senator to confess so completely.

The senator delivered the "key-note" speech to the Maine Republicans. It was to the effect that his party had been guilty of some grave mistakes, that some of its leaders were tainted by oil and other contraband commodities, and that a good physis would not hurt the old body at all. This was not the first time the senator played doctor. He will probably have lots of chances to continue so to play.

### Pepper and Coolidge

Going hand in hand with Mr. Pepper is Mr. Coolidge. When Mr. Coolidge speaks it is hard to tell whether it is as the recent vice-president, the acting president or the would-be president. He blurted out a whole raft of charges against the old parties, which the Socialists made before we went to war, while we were at war and since the glorious war was declared over. But in what capacity is Mr. Coolidge speaking?

Hadly as the vice-president who was. For sitting in as a member of the cabinet, he was surely not so simple-minded as to fail to see the dirty work his conferees put over. Seeing it, he should have demurred right then and there. To wait until the stench was such as to compel him to drive his friends out of office cannot carry favor with any one. So, if Mr. Coolidge is talking as the prospective candidate of the Republican party, he must expect to be judged by his record in the cabinet. What he now says he may consider as sage to himself for entirely private use in the hereafter.

### Empty Words

What more then of the utterances of Senator Pepper? Are they other than so many empty words?

Intelligent readers will readily admit the validity of his accusations against the two old parties. But what about it?

Will he go so far as to say, inasmuch as that is the case, the parties shall now turn about face and put into their platforms what they have done against the nation? Will he urge that they boast of what they intend to do against the people?

For, as parties, the two old birds are in business for prey. That is why they have never put into their platforms what they expect to do. That is why they have always done entirely different from what they professed when they made their appeals for the suffrage of the citizens.

### If They Were Frank

Just imagine how the platforms of the Republicans and Democrats would read if they said what they

really intended to do! Imagine the man who was expected to be secretary of the navy writing the plank to the effect that the nation's oil reserve was to be sold to an unscrupulous friend. Imagine the aspirant for the secretaryship of the interior telling that he planned to squander the public domain to the most selfish private interests. Imagine the would-be attorney general declaring that he proposed to use the worst detective-crooks as spies against honest men, that he was going to make what plunder he could out of letting his friends break the law, that all manner of justice had a price and that he was especially concerned in smashing the constitutional rights and legal safeguards of organized labor.

### If Old Parties Are Returned

Best of all is the opportunity for the prospective secretary of the treasury to admit that he has been picked to save his multi-millionaire associates as much of their unearned swag as possible. Being as thoroughly unpatriotic as the rest, he has no use for the men who went to war to risk their lives that he might pile up his enormous fortune. He can brag that he intends to loot the federal funds as they have never been looted before. Would not that sound inviting?

Senator Pepper's mild confession will hardly inspire his Republican friends to be quite so frank. And, of course, the Democrats are equally modest about announcing that they have similar designs.

Even so, this much is rather in the category of past activities. It is hardly a hint of what the old parties may be expected to do, should they be returned to power next November, and not a scintilla of which intentions will creep into their platforms.

They assume that the openings for exploitation at home and abroad are to be multiplied manifold. Where they today make their millions, they count on reaping billions. They have made large investments in candidates for office, judges for life and public service commissions for the corporations. They expect the snowball of their wealth to become an avalanche.

### Annexing the World

Particularly do they look forward to annexing the rest of the world to their domains. They already have a stranglehold on Mexico, Central and South America. Austria is their chattel. They have mortgaged France. They are about to indenture Germany for a long apprenticeship of servitude. And they are eager to contest with England or Japan for world-scattered possessions.

This is their actual plan of iniquity. No one doubts it, who knows what is going on. But no one assumes either party will acknowledge it. And no one expects Senator Pepper to draft it into a platform for presentation to the Republican convention. Hardly.

Any time Senator Pepper wants to start something, let him offer to tell what his party and the Democratic party are bent upon doing to this nation if they can, without interference, get their fingers on its throat.

## LABOR SWEEPING ALL AUSTRALIA

Melbourne.—Four out of the six Australian States are now governed by Labor. The recent elections in South and West Australia have both resulted in Labor victories. In Tasmania, Labor has been in power since the beginning of the year, while the Queensland Labor Government is now in its tenth year of office.

Even in Victoria, which has never had a Labor Government, except for a few days, and probably never will have until there is a redistricting, there are signs of a change. In February the Labor party won at a by-election a seat which has hitherto been consistently anti-Labor, largely owing to the growing split between the Country party and the so-called Liberals or Nationalists.

The same tendency is apparent in New South Wales, where a Nationalist Government has been in power for two years with the support of the Country party.

In the Federal arena, S. M. Bruce, the present Nationalist Prime Minister, has so far managed to hold his composite Government together. But at the next election, due in 1926—if not before—Labor, which is already the strongest single party in the House of Representatives, is pretty certain to regain power.

In Australia, of course, Labor Governments are no new thing, but during and since the war Labor, ex-

cept in Queensland, has gone through a period of depression. Many of its most prominent leaders, including the late Prime Minister, "Billy" Hughes, were expelled from the Labor party for their advocacy of Conscription. The "rats," as they were called, were received by the opposition with open arms and helped to form the Nationalist Coalition, which obtained majorities in the Commonwealth and most of the States.

The rise of the Country party was also a serious blow to Labor, which had hitherto had the support of the small farmers or "cockies" owing to their violent dislike of the big landowners or "squatters." Unfortunately the Labor party, hampered by its predominantly industrial connections, has somewhat neglected the interests of the farmer.

The farmer is now again in revolt against the interests and, as the Labor party, at any rate in the States, is now awake to the necessity of drastic land legislation, is likely to resume his support of Labor.

The land policy of Labor is based first on the effective organization of the primary producer for the purpose of marketing his produce without the intervention of the middleman, and secondly, on progressive and value taxation with the object of expropriating the big landowners.

## FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

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

## IF WE ARE TO PREVENT THE NEXT WAR

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

In the Century Magazine.

THE trouble springs from the interlocking of two evils. On the one hand, mankind have a proneness to group-feeling, that is, to the formation of rival herds, each of which believes that the destruction of the other would be to its advantage. The disposition to form herds is, in a loose sense, instinctive, but their rivalry need not take the form of war, and is capable of taking forms that are beneficent when a superior authority makes war impossible.

Unfortunately, the national herds are utilized by ruthless and blood-thirsty business interests in their contests; this is praised under the name of competition. If the existing system of production for profit were superseded, at least as regards fundamental raw materials, by a system of production for use, there would no longer be so much money spent on bribing newspapers, schoolmasters, professors and parsons to extol bloodshed under the name of patriotism. In that case public opinion might be changed by the operation of reason. It might come to be understood that patriotism is the blackest crime of which a man in our age can be guilty.

A man who murders one man with his own hands is executed by the law, but a man who, by preaching patriotism, causes millions to kill millions is universally respected and has statues put up to him when he dies. Those of us who do not wish to see our whole civilization go down in red ruin have a great and difficult duty to perform—to guard the door of our minds against patriotism. I mean, that we should view impartially any dispute between our own country and another, that we should teach ourselves not to believe our own country morally superior to others, and that even in time of war we should view the whole matter as a neutral might view it. This is part of the larger duty of pursuing truth; nationalism cannot survive without false beliefs.

If we can learn to serve truth, to be truthful in our thoughts, to avoid the flattering myths in which we like to disguise our passions, we shall have done what we can to save our world from disaster. For this creed it is worth while to suffer, and indeed those who have it must suffer, for persecution is as bitter as in the days of the Spanish inquisition. But in the very suffering there is happiness and a promise of better things in the time to come.

## RADIO Paul Helper

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## LENIN AND RUSSIA

A Review by James Oneal

**THE MAN LENIN.** By Isaac Don Levine. New York: Thomas Seltzer. \$2.50.

**THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY.** Two Years of Russia's New Life. By Anna Louise Strong. New York: Boni and Liveright. \$2.00.

Those interested in the literature regarding the Russia of revolution may be inclined to think that little that is new or informing could be added to what is already known. These two books, however, are worth while. Mr. Levine gives us a readable biography of Lenin although in no sense a complete or final one. It is the work of a journalist, sketchy, yet of more than ordinary interest. Only twelve pages are devoted to Lenin's childhood and youth and the rest of the book deals with the activities of the exile and revolutionary.

The net impression left with the reader is that here is one of the most extraordinary men in all history. Capable of tremendous sacrifices and enormous work in behalf of his ideas of proletarian emancipation, the real Lenin bears no relation to the monstrous imp conjured by allied press and propaganda for years. A man of fertile brain, keen and caustic in controversy, persistent in his aims and never discouraged by reverses, a weakness for fondling cats and a lover of children, the master of the Kremlin emerges from this book as a unique human being.

At the same time Lenin has always puzzled the Socialists of all countries on one matter which Levine deals with inadequately. Why did Lenin, with all his knowledge of the writings of Marx, attempt a complete social revolution in Russia? Before leaving Switzerland for Russia Lenin wrote a letter to his Swiss comrades in which he rebuked the Gutchkov-Miliukov-Kerensky Government for continuing the war on the grounds that "the Germans must overthrow the Kaiser" and that the war was in defense of the republic. Lenin was right in pointing out that there was little difference between the German and British-French-Italian ruling classes.

But he also had no illusions in 1917 about the possibility of Socialism in Russia. In this same letter to the Swiss he wrote:

"Russia is a country of peasants, one of the most backward in Europe. Socialism cannot be immediately victorious in it, but the peasant character of the country, given the enormous reserves of the land resources of the nobility, . . . can give a gigantic impetus to a bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia and make of it a prologue, a step upward, a universal Socialist revolution. . . ."

Here was a Marxist recognition of the limitations to a Socialist revolution in Russia. With a backward form of production and backward intellectual conditions corresponding to it, Lenin conceded that the utmost to be expected by Russia was "a bourgeois democratic revolution." But in power he tried to push the revolution on to Socialist production and with what consequences we know. The Communists had to execute a "strategic retreat" and the "new economic policy" was the result.

Noting the failure to organize Socialism in Russia Levine concludes that "Marxism is bankrupt." The final chapter is devoted to this theme and it is written as though the author had planned the biography in order to write this final chapter. A high school boy knows that if Russia had developed the high industrial technique of the United States and then had her revolution the Allies would not even have tried to overthrow a Socialist Russia. Moreover, Russia would have also had her Socialism, for she would have inherited the economic and technical structure for Socialism from the old regime. The new economic policy is intended to develop this structure. Lenin's flying in the face of all of Marx's warnings strengthens Marxism rather than renders it "bankrupt." Levine's last chapter is founded upon a fundamental inversion of logic and it is the most unsatisfactory one in the book.

When we turn to Miss Strong's

book we have the latest report on Russia by a sympathetic observer who spent two years in that country investigating its economic and political institutions, helping the sick and starving, and traveling in many parts of the country. It is about the best balanced account of revolutionary Russia since the appearance of Professor Ross's volume. Miss Strong presents neither "an angel-blessed or a goblin damned." It is simply Russia, a nation of millions struggling out of famine, war, disease, economic prostration and disillusionment, with the Bolsheviks retaining their dictatorship and determined to hold their exclusive power.

Of the new economic policy she writes:

"In all the details of life, Russia has made a great stride towards capitalism. Wages are paid in money instead of rations, industry must support itself without drawing from the Government funds, shops of private trade are open everywhere, newspapers are full of advertisements, saffles and diamonds of 'speculators' appear in theatres and cafes, and the new-rich secure apartments of several rooms, while ordinary folk crowd into small bare quarters."

Leon Trotsky writes an introduction to the book and it is evident that the candor of Miss Strong is not objectionable to him. She even goes on to mention the "rotten inefficiency of the heating system in winter" and the "crudities of every kind" that "profiteers and gamblers and bootleg whiskey and every rotten thing there is anywhere in the world" may be found in Russia. But she also adds that Russia

"is the only place in the world where I get a feeling of hope and a plan. With hundreds of thousands of people living for that plan and dying for it, and wasting themselves in inefficient work for it, and finally bringing a little order out of chaos for it. America seems cheerful and inconsequential after it. Europe—the insane nightmare of Europe—seems impossible to endure."

Few of us realize that what she writes of Russia is what could have been written of the American colonies after the revolution. Economic desolation, chaotic relations between the states, widespread misery, yet—"a feeling of hope." The Communists have not realized their ideal of a Socialist society but conditions have improved for the masses. Industry is organized in three forms: cooperatives, private capitalism and State capitalism. The theory appears to be to let capitalist forces take their course in developing the technique of a Socialist society while the Communists remain in power ready to socialize each industry as it becomes ripe for socialization.

Miss Strong writes informative chapters on the organization of industry and its problems in Russia, on the power of money, the housing problem, the war on alcohol, the condition of the Jews, the church and education. The chapter on Russian oil gives some idea of the destruction wrought by bandit and reactionary leaders as well as by the intrigues of the capitalist powers. The almost superhuman sacrifices made by the Russian workers to save Russia's rich oil deposits is one of the most pathetic stories ever recorded in any book.

Miss Strong writes little of the dictatorship. She attended some election meetings but does not give us any intimate information of how the votes are cast or counted for Soviet officials. She refers to the creative forces in Russia as "Common Consciousness in action," but does not let us know just how much non-Communist yet revolutionary organizations of workers are included in this phrase. Certainly there are revolutionary in Soviet Russia who spent years in czarist prisons and in exile whose creative contributions are suppressed and who are today immured in Soviet jails or vegetate in the icy wastes of the North.

Nevertheless, Miss Strong has written a book that is essential to every man and woman who would understand the Russia of today and it is heartily commended to our readers.

as he is and also as he desires to be. I shall die. Men live. I believe in them. Their adventure will come to an end only with the adventure of the earth, and when the earth is dead, it will perhaps continue elsewhere. It is only a moment of it that I have recounted in this book. But every living moment contains the whole of life. Whoever participates with confidence in the adventure of men has his portion of immortality."

The beautiful printing and illustrations serve as a gorgeous frame for the word painting of a master artist in writing.

## Another Napoleon Book

A new addition to the Napoleonicana, "The Diplomacy of Napoleon," by R. B. Mowat, will be published shortly by Longmans, Green & Company. The author's wide study of original sources has brought to light much important information, which has been incorporated in this volume.

## AMONG THE MAGAZINES

## THE FORUM

The New York Call, established as a Socialist Party paper, existed for over 15 years in spite of unbelievable difficulties. After more than a decade and a half, a plan was evolved to finance the paper by a number of Labor organizations and make it merely a Labor paper with no "factional" slant. The result was the New York Leader that lasted just six weeks. What was the reason for the failure? Comrade Norman Thomas, who was editor of The Leader, gives his impressions of "Labor and the Press" in the May Forum, and he finds that it was because of the terrific fight waged between the Communists and the Socialists and trade unions that the paper failed. "This bitterness of factionalism was too weak to kill the Leader in open battle; it was strong enough to hold back that support in circulation, in finances and in spirit, which might have made it live." Norman Thomas played his part in the brief tragic-comedy sincerely and honestly, and forces beyond his control killed the paper. There are many who believe that there is another side to the story, but Thomas' story is here told simply and honestly. The article concludes with a description of what a Labor daily is likely to be—when the time comes for the establishment of one.

Griffin Barry writes of "The British Soviet," a story of the leaders of the Labor party at play last summer at the Countess of Warwick's country place. It is a delightful human story. George

## THE AMERICAN MERCURY

The May number of The American Mercury does not measure up to the preceding issues. We can not, however, expect an acrobat to always do triple somersaults. The opening article by Virgil Jordan, entitled "The Peace Myth," is worthy of thoughtful reading not only by pacifists but also by warriors. The writer says: "The current peace programs . . . devote themselves to cutting the finger nails of Mars and teaching him manners." Frank Harris has a fine bit of "fiction" entitled, "John Ruskin." Ruskin being very dead at the present moment, we cannot have his side of the story. This is unfortunate for him. Paul Tanaquil contributes a story. Carl Avery Werner gives a dull article on "The American Cigar." John Owens writes of "Watson of Indiana." G. Hartley Grattan in his "Lowell," tells how Whittier, the poet, burned Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" in the fireplace because it was a vile book. "The South Takes the Offensive" is by Gerald W. Johnson. Mencken and Nathan are deadly dull. In fact, a few issues without their editorial, literary and theatre comments would be welcomed. The section devoted to The American Mercury Authors is quite readable.

Wharton Pepper debates with Jackson H. Ralston in "Shall we Curb the Supreme Court?" Needless to say, Pepper would not disturb the Court at all. There are other excellent articles on literature, politics and art.

## DEEP AS ETERNITY

**MRS. PHELPS' HUSBAND.** By Adriana Spadoni. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. \$2.00.

"Always an individual and not a tame cat, he makes a fight to be himself. But he marries an irresistible woman, a lovely one, and an ideal wife—for some other man. And yet their life together is neither futile nor is it commonplace."

So we are told in the blurb, and after reading the story we find the brief summing-up of Stuart Phelps' character to be correct. He does fight to be himself, fights with all the weapons nature endowed him with; but his struggle not to be tamed is of little avail when his antagonist (whose weapon is love) stands before him. Indeed, Elinor Harrison, the pretty school-teacher, who has no thought of falling in love and therefore falls in love behind her gentle charm, a frame-work of steel beneath her outward softness. For a time she absorbs Stuart, and he thinks he desires it, only to find out later that he is in a domestic net from which he cannot extricate himself.

There are perfectly divine hours during their courtship, and after they are married too, but running through is a deep current of discontent, of secret struggle in the hearts and minds of both. The pictures of the Harrison family, smug, well-to-do, conventional, are masterfully painted. Their perfectly proper world is vastly different from the world which Stuart emerges from when he comes into their sphere through sheer forces of circumstances. They tolerate Elinor's fiancé, and attempts to make him feel that he may become one of them: he despises them and wishes only to be spared their boresome society.

Space prevents our saying all we should like to say about Mrs. Phelps' husband and Mr. Phelps' wife. Adriana Spadoni reveals a deep knowledge of the various social phases, striking a strictly modern note in this book. Her characters are of today and tomorrow and expound a philosophy as broad as life and as deep as eternity for it is a philosophy of men's and women's souls as well as of their bodies.

MAUD DAVIS WALKER.

**WHAT THE BUTLER WINKED AT.** By Eric Horne (Butler). New York: Seltzer. \$3.

In this book you get the psychology of the flunkie—his likes, his hates and his sorrows. What he thinks of the "Gentry" while not in the least complimentary makes good reading. The book is valuable in showing the gradual change that is taking place now in Social England. At the end of the book there is a touch of pathos—the cry of the man who having served others all of his life—has nothing at the finish but old age and poverty. The book is a contribution from Downstairs.

## WHAT SHAW THINKS OF LONGEVITY

In "A Dialogue on Things in General" between George Bernard Shaw and Archibald Henderson which appears in Harper's Magazine for May, Shaw replied to the question, "What is Longevity?"

"If I knew I should not be what I am. How often must I repeat that such a discovery as the secret of longevity would change the character and conduct of the man who discovered it to such an extent that

## JOSEPH CONRAD'S FAIRY TALES FOR GROWN-UPS

In Joseph Conrad, one finds the three chief elements of the three fiction stages through which the reader passes, the romantic, to which the young reader is introduced in the entrancing fairy realm of Andersen, Grimm, Perrault and Andrew Lang; the adventurous age of Captain Marryat, Ballantyne, and Stevenson and finally the severer realm of the psychological novelists in the remote interior of which Henry James performs his endless and exquisitely subtle dance with feet that scarcely touch the earth. This is the summary of the essence of Joseph Conrad's genius as Martin Armstrong, the English poet, sees it in the London Bookman.

"In Conrad the passion for adventure and the passion for humanity and human psychology are almost in equipoise. Adventure is the very substance of his novels, yet in all of them physical stress has its full equivalent of psychological stress."

"The romantic, the adventurous, and the psychological; he presents all three elements with a very unusual actuality, an actuality which, springing as it does from both sharpness of visualization and intensity of feeling, can be derived only from actual experience, for as a matter of fact Conrad is in the fortunate position—somewhat rare for a modern man of letters before the outbreak of the war—of possessing a mind richly stored with the memories of arduous living—a mass of material ready to hand for his imagination to mould into artistic form. But it takes an artist to record experience: the most thrilling experiences in the world will not make a great writer."

"Conrad combines, in the form of fine literature, the adventure dear to boyhood and healthy manhood with the psychological problem which the mature and active mind demands. And he does more. He includes also, by his pictures of strange happenings among strange folk in beautiful and inaccessible lands, something of the romantic stuff of the fairy tale, and he gives it to us with a wealth of enchanting and vividly seen detail such as the devotee of the fairy tale always demands."

he would be in effect a different man. Louis XV. said: 'Après moi, le déluge'; I said, in the appendix to 'Man and Superman': 'Every man over forty is a scoundrel.' Take your Louis XV. and your man just turned forty, and convince him that he has another century or two to live. Would Louis have let things slide and provoked 1789? Would the man of forty bank on his being over military age and hound on his juniors to war? It is the time ahead of a man that controls him, not the time behind him. When the secret of longevity is discovered, or, as is more probable, when the thing occurs without being less a secret than it is at present (I am sixty-seven, but I can't tell you the secret of being sixty-seven any more than you can tell me the secret of being forty-six), the human race will become quite different to our present short-lived mob."

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

## TOM MANN—STURDY PIONEER

A Review by William M. Feigenbaum

**TOM MANN'S MEMOIRS.** Labor Publishing Company, London. Price, in the United States, \$1.00.

Today, when the British Labor movement is in charge of the Government of the nation, when the eyes of the whole world are on the Labor party and its founders and leaders, it is refreshing to read this frank and wholesome book by that wholesome and delightful person, Tom Mann.

How did this great movement come about, this movement that is in many ways the most significant in the world? There are histories that will tell us; for example, Max Beer's reliable "History of British Socialism" and the Webbs' monumental work go into the origins of the movement that has become the Labor party. But these are only the scaffolding; the human story is the story of the men and women who gave their lives to the movement.

Within recent years we have had Hyndman's two volumes of autobiography, completed by his wife's story of his last years; Belford Bax's autobiography; the biographies of Keir Hardie, J. Ramsay MacDonald and of Margaret Ethel MacDonald, and Edward Bernstein's memoirs, have given us much valuable material. Recently, George Nicoll Barnes, who "rattled"—as they say in England—during the war, told his story.

But none of the books of reminiscence has the delightful charm of the memoirs of Tom Mann, largely because there is no man in the British Labor movement that has Mann's virile charm.

Tom Mann was one of the pioneers of the Labor movement, and it is interesting that one who was in at the very birth of the present phase of the movement should still be active and hale and hearty today. First a trade unionist, then an active member of the movement for the "New Unionism," then a Socialist propagandist and organization worker, Mann lost all faith in the efficacy of political action more than a decade ago. He became a Syndicalist, and now he is a thoroughgoing Communist. But his services to the movement have been so valuable, his personality so clean, and the mutual respect and trust so great, that in these days, when bitterness between Communist and Socialist is greater than between revolutionist and bourgeois, everyone loves Tom Mann and respects and honors him, no matter what his position.

Tom Mann is a workman. He never "rose" in the world. He was born April 15, 1856, of a working-class family. He put in three years of schooling, and was considered ready to earn his living at nine. His mother had died when he was two and a half; his father was clerk in a colliery, "so it was counted as fitting that I should make a start as a boy on the colliery farm. A year as an ordinary kiddie doing odd jobs in the fields—bird scaring, leading the horse at the plough, stone-picking, harvesting, and so on, and I was ready to tackle a job down the mine."

His whole life has been proletarian. His education was picked up in the only way a worker can pick up an education—reading at night, listening to lectures, and thinking. He was an ardent temperance man, and he soon became a temperance preacher. He was interested in oratory for its own sake and listened to all the great orators of his day.

Tom became an engineer (a machinist, we would call it in this country), and he knocked about the country working at one place and

another. He joined the A. S. E. (Amalgamated Society of Engineers) and took part in an early strike. He read "Progress and Poverty," and for a while was an ardent disciple of Henry George; but when Henry M. Hyndman and his friends founded the Social Democratic Federation, Mann had found his place. He was one of its most tireless propagandists and took part in every one of its activities. He was at all of its big demonstrations, and he battled with the police when marchers in an unemployed demonstration were clubbed. So also did Hyndman, William Morris, John Burns, and Ramsay MacDonald.

But he differed with Hyndman, as everyone did in time. "He criticized me severely for my championship of the trade unions. What were these precious unions? By whom were they led? By the most stodgy-brained, dull-witted and slow-going time-servers in the country. Mann refers to the matter 'because at this early stage I felt the tactics were not of the best. Now, some thirty-seven years later, I am still of the opinion that Hyndman failed to realize what should have been the attitude . . . toward industrial organizations. It was a serious disservice to the cause; this policy antagonized trade unionists without drawing over any considerable percentage to the Socialist position.'

Then came the fight for the eight-hour day and the ever historic dock strike of London, out of which the "new unionism" grew. These gallant men (no longer boys; Tom was already thirty-three), did not "smash" the unions; they did not denounce leaders as "fakers." They went out and built up the unions, and furnished the leadership. Out of this "new unionism" have come the real Socialist movement and the Labor party. The S. D. F., with its lecturing down to the masses, played its part, but the real proletarian movement was to come after.

Little by little, Mann's influence as a sincere and earnest worker in the Labor movement grew. Associated with Ben Tillett, Bob Smillie, George N. Barnes, Will Thorne, Pete Curran, John Burns, and others, he occupied a conspicuous position in the public mind. Then came the I. B. P., Keir Hardie's creation, and he served as its secretary for two years. He contested Colne Valley, the constituency now represented by Philip Snowden, in 1896, and got the largest vote ever polled up to that time (outside of South-West Ham) by a Socialist, namely, 1,200 votes.

Then came his removal to Australia, where he carried on for over a decade as a Socialist agitator. He returned to England, and made several trips to outlying sections of the globe, including America, where he lectured on Syndicalism under I. W. W. auspices.

The book is written with crystal-clear sincerity—just like his life and work. There is no self-glorification, but only his simple story, simply told. Tom has changed his opinions, but he honors his comrades, no matter what position they hold now.

The book is a historical document as well as a human document. One cannot help but honor the man who writes it. He is now sixty-eight years old, and one is led to hope that he will live long and receive the respect and honors to which he is entitled. These memoirs are a genuine contribution to the literature of the British Labor movement. Reading the book, one begins to understand how that movement has come to be the power that it is in the country and in the hearts and minds of the people of Great Britain.

## A WATCH IN THE NIGHT

By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

Watchman, what of the night?  
Storm and thunder and rain,  
Lights that waver and wane,  
Leaving the watchfires unlit,  
Only the balefires are bright.  
And the flash of the lamps now and then  
From a palace where spoilers sit,  
Trampling the children of men.

Mourners, what of the night?  
All night through without sleep  
We weep, and we weep, and we weep.  
Who shall give us our sons?  
Beaks of raven and kite,  
Mouths of wolf and of hound,  
Give us them back whom the guns  
Shot for you dead on the ground.

Captives, what of the night?  
It rains outside, overhead,  
Always a rain that is red,  
And our faces are soiled with the rain.  
Here is the season's despoise;  
Day-time and night-time are one  
Till the curse of the kings and the chain  
Break, and their toils be undone.

Liberty, what of the night?  
I feel not the red rain fall,  
Hear not the tempest at all,  
Nor thunder in heaven any more.  
All the distance is white  
With the soundless feet of the sun:  
Night, with the woes that it wore,  
Night is over and done.



## LABOR NEWS

STEAM ENGINEERS PRESENT  
NEW DEMANDS TO  
EMPLOYERS

About 3,000 members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers in this city of Locals 20, 56 and 670 have presented demands to the owners of refrigerating plants for a nine-dollar day and eight hours a day for six days a week.

According to Fred Raucher who is secretary of Local 56 in Brooklyn, the engineers are among the most underpaid and overworked mechanics of all the skilled workers in the city. None of the workers in the building trades get less than \$10.50 a day and many get more. Yet the engineers who must be highly skilled are asking for a meager living wage at a time when their employers are charging top-notch prices for their products.

The union is making preparations for a vigorous strike if necessary to enforce its just demands.

## Waiters' Union Makes New Demands

The Waiters' and Waitresses' Union, Local 1, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, has sent its new demands to the New York Restaurant Keepers' Association as its present agreement expires May 31. Within a few days the independent restaurant establishments will also receive the union's new terms.

Among the waiters' new demands are the following: a fifteen per cent increase in wages, a 100 per cent unionized restaurant with all other help employed besides the waiters, such as countermen, and all kitchen help, and a cash security from employers to enforce the carrying out of the agreement.

According to William Lehman, secretary of the union, vigorous action will be taken against those establishments that do not sign an agreement with the union by June 1st by declaring strikes against them.

## Bakers Strike Against Six Shops

Nearly all the bakery shops having worked under an agreement with the New York locals of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International, have renewed their agreements with the exception of the following six shops: Plakowitz, 893 Intervale avenue; Shorr, 151 St. Ann's avenue; R. & G., 262 East 109th street, Wilner, 1074 Second avenue; Schwartz, 1567 First avenue and Spector, 27 Rivington street. The Bakers' Union appeals to the public to help in their struggle to induce the above shops to become unionized.

**Knee Pants Union Secretary**  
Morris Rosenfeld, who has held a number of important offices in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, has been elected secretary of the Knee Pants' Union, Local 19. The union has moved to larger quarters and is now located at 2 Stuyvesant place, where other locals of the Amalgamated are located.

## INJUNCTION FOR SIMONS

Supreme Court Justice Giegerich has granted an injunction to David Simons, former president of the dissolved local union of printing pressmen, restraining Major George L. Berry, as president of the international union, from stating to anyone that Simons is not a member of the union in good standing, from interfering with him in any employment and from calling out any members of the union where Simons may be employed.

Justice Giegerich, in his opinion, said: "The plaintiff is being deprived of his right to earn his livelihood, and the means provided within the organization, if any, for an appeal or review of the action which prevents his securing employment are so expensive to pursue, and involve such a lapse of time, that to relegate him to those remedies would be a substantial denial of justice."

LABOR JOTTINGS  
FROM ABROAD

## Radio in Anti-War Campaign

The Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions announces that it intends to make free use of the radio in connection with the Anti-War demonstrations on September 21.

## Printers To Meet in September

The General Council of the International Secretariat of Printers has decided to hold the ninth international printers' congress in Hamburg immediately following the German printers' convention. It will open on September 8.

## Paris Midnettes Win Raise

Due to the strengthening of their union and their threat of a strike, the girl millinery workers of Paris recently won an immediate wage increase of 7 per cent, to be followed by a readjustment of wages to the cost of living based on the index figure of the first quarter of this year, and fourteen paid holidays annually. While negotiations with the employers' association was under way a deadlock was reached. The union secretary reported this to the girls at a masked ball they were giving. The dancing stopped for a few minutes to allow the modistes to vote for a strike in case of necessity. Then the music struck up and the ball went on.

## COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. H. C. & C. L. of A.  
Office, 227 E. 84th St. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day.  
Lenox 7629.  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
JOHN McQUINN, President. JAMES MORAN, Sec'y.  
PETER FINNAN, Vice-Pres. JOHN McPARTLAN, Fin. Sec'y.  
MAT. J. HANNON, Bus. Agent.

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.  
JOHN PEARL, Vice-Pres. THOMAS SHEPARD, Fin. Sec'y.  
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Sec. Sec'y. JOHN LEAVY, JOSEPH LeMONTE, JOHN DOOLEY.

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 106th Street. Telephone: University 2525.  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNEFIELD, Financial Secretary, Recording Treasurer.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America,  
District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters &amp; Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 5674.  
THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent.  
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y. CHAS. CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF  
Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL 355  
Office and Headquarters, 12 St. Mark's Place. Dry Dock—4866  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.  
V. J. CASTELLI, President. WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary.  
MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres. CHARLES FIESLER, Fin. Secretary.  
N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent.

United Brotherhood of  
Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 366  
Regular meetings every Monday evening  
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Duikman, Fin. Sec'y  
Victor Sault, Vice President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas. Nobis, Business Agent  
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Giew

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1456, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS  
OF AMERICA.  
Office: 12 St. Mark's Place. Orchard 6861  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.  
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President. Ludwig Benson  
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olson, Fin. Sec'y. Ray Clark  
Christopher Gulbrandson, Charles Johnson, Sr., Treasurer Business Agents  
Recording Secretary

## Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10,  
A. C. W. of A.  
Office 355 Bushwick Av., Bkn. Stage 10180  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.  
J. Berowitz, L. Feitelson,  
Chairman, Rec. Sec'y.  
J. Fortney, A. Kaufman, Bus. Agent, Fin. Sec'y.

## Waiters' Union

Local 219, W. & R.E.A. & B.L. of A.  
Office & Headquarters 170 E. 89 St., N.Y.  
LENOX 1874  
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 3 P. M.  
Meyer Schacter, Chas. S. Lowy, President, Bus. Agent & Sec.

## UNION DIRECTORY

HERE'S YOUR UNION, WHEN IT MEETS, AND WHERE

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**Ladies' Waistmakers' Union**  
Local 25 I. L. G. W. U.  
16 W. 21st St. Watkins 7957  
Pauline Morgenstern, Manager  
Ada Rosenfeld, Secretary-Treasurer  
Pauline Gellman, Chairman Ex. Bd.

**See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of**  
**The Milk Drivers' Union**  
Local 584, I. B. of T.  
Office: 563 Hudson St., City.  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ANTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 3.  
F. J. STERNINSKY, Pres. & Bus. Agent.  
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

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

**New York Clothing Cutters' Union**  
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5566.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIEGL, Sec'y-Treas.

**CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION**  
Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office and Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., B'klyn. Dickens 0882  
Local meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.  
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCER, Secretary.

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

**Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers**  
Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4340  
Office, 231 E. 14th Street.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—221 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.  
Bronx—12 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
B'klyn—102 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—75 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

**CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
299 Broadway, New York City. Telephones: Stuyvesant 4330, 9510, 9511  
JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

**NEW YORK JOINT BOARD**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephones: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4  
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

**CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416  
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 19 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.  
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.  
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

**DRESSMAKERS' UNION**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office, 16 West 21st St. Watkins 7950  
The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.  
MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

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

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

**JEWELRY WORKERS**  
UNION, LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office: 63 Park Row. Phone: Beckman 4934  
Room 713.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday in the office at 6 P. M. Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday, Room 606, 63 Park Row, New York City.  
S. E. BEARDSLEY, LEON WILLIAMS, Organizer Sec'y-Treas.

**CAP MAKERS**  
OF THE U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.  
Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9860-1-2  
Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday  
Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, I. Bachr, Manager Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.  
Local 1 (Operators)  
Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.  
MORRIS GELLER, Organizer  
Local 2 (Cutters)  
Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday  
Executive Board Every Monday  
G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASLAVSKY, President, Vice-Pres.  
SOL HANDMAN, L. BAER, Rec. Sec'y, Fin. Sec'y.  
All meetings are held in the Head-gear Workers Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 21 East 5th St.

**HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION**  
Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.  
175 E. 9th St. Orchard 6236  
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday  
AL GRABAL, President  
I. KORN, Manager. S. JACOBI, Sec'y.

**United Hebrew Trades**  
175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon.  
R. GUSKIN, MAX PINE, Chairman, Secretary  
H. ABRAHAMSON, M. FEINSTEIN, Vice-Chairman Asst. Secretary

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BUY BREADLOOK  
FOR  
THIS  
LABELDEMAND  
THIS  
LABELUNION MADE BREAD DOES  
NOT COST YOU MORE AND  
IS MADE IN SANITARY SHOPSBakery & Confectionery Workers' Int. Union of America  
Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 163, 169 and 305The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union  
3 West 16th Street, New York CityTelephone Chelsea 2148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

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

**FUR FINISHERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 15  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
A. SOIFER, Chairman.  
S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.  
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

**FUR CUTTERS UNION**  
LOCAL 1  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
WILLIAM CHERNIAK, Chairman.  
L. GOLDWORTH, Vice-Chairman.  
N. FISHPROFF, Secretary.

**FUR NAILERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 10  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
I. RUBINSTEIN, Chairman.  
C. ZORENBERG, Vice-Chairman.  
N. LUTZKY, Secretary.

**FUR OPERATORS' UNION**  
LOCAL 5  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
H. BEGOON, Chairman  
M. GOLDFELD, Vice-Chairman  
N. LUTZKY, Secretary

**The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union**  
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY at the OFFICE of the UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager JOSEPH FISH, General Secretary

**Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76**  
Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283  
Meets Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at Arlington Hall  
23 ST. MARKS PLACE at 6:30 SHARP  
JOSEPH HARKOW, Secretary-Treasurer J. ROTTER, President WOLF ALPER, Business Agent

**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.  
2033 Fifth Ave. Phone Harlem 4878

**PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD**  
OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1357  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOB, Sec'y-Treasurer.

**Children's Jacket Makers**  
of Gr. N. Y., Loc 10, Sec. A., A.C.W.A.  
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387  
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
MAX B. BOYARSKY, Chairman.  
A. LEVINE, Rec. Sec'y.  
SAM COHEN, Fin. Sec'y.

**Lapel Makers & Pairers'**  
Local 141, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman.  
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary.  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

**Journeyman Plumbers**  
Local Union 418  
Of Queens County, New York  
Meets Every Tuesday Evening at 8:15 at 519 Jackson Ave., Long Island City  
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President, WM. PIPOTA, Fin. Sec'y, JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Rec. Sec'y, CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Bus. Asst.

**Neckwear Cutters**  
Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7678  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, N. ULLMAN, Pres., Rec. Sec'y.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Raznow, Vice-Pres. LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent

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

**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.

**Pressers' Union**  
Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
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# --- D R A M A ---

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"THE MELODY MAN," a new comedy by HERBERT RICHARD LORENZE, will bring LEW FIELDS back on Broadway. The play opens MONDAY night at the RITZ Theatre. In his present vehicle he plays the part of an old musician who early in his career won an international reputation as a composer of note. Richard Herbert Lorenze stands for the first names of Lew Fields' three sons, Richard, Herbert and Lorenze Fields, the co-authors of their father's play. The cast includes Sam White and Eva Puck, Betty Weston, Jules Jordan, Frederic March, Renee Noel, Eleanor Rowe, Louise Kelly and Jerry Devine.

"PLAIN JANE," a new musical comedy with the book by Phil Cook and McElbert Moore. Lyrics by Phil Cook. Music by Tom Johnstone and staged by Walter Brooks will be presented by Louis I. Jesuit and Walter Brooks at the NEW AMSTERDAM, Monday night. The big cast includes Joe Laurie, Jr., Lorraine Manville, Jay Gould, Marion Saki, Charles McNaughton, Helen Carrington, Lester O'Keefe, Alma Chester, Dan Healey, May Cory Kitchen, Ralph Locke, Lew Christie.

### WEDNESDAY

"THE KREUTZER SONATA," will be revived by LEE SHUBERT on WEDNESDAY evening at the FRAZEE Theatre, with MME. BERTHA KALICH in her old role.

"The Kreutzer Sonata" was written by Jacob Gordin and adapted by Langdon Mitchell. It has, by the way, no connection with Tolstoy's novel of the same name, but both received their inspiration from the same source, Beethoven's "Kreutzer Sonata." It was staged by Harrison Grey Fiske, Kalich's original sponsor. The cast includes Edwin Maxwell, Manart Kippen, Clelia Benjamin, Engle Sumner, Burt Chapman, Ferike Boros, Graham Lucas, Charles Kraus, Myra Brooks, Helen Jackson, Francis Sadtler, Jeanne Wardley, Robert Hutchinson, John Rogers, Daisy Lucas.

### FRIDAY MATINEE

"HEDDA GABLER," Ibsen's classical drama, will be put on by the EQUITY PLAYERS, at a series of six special matinees, beginning FRIDAY, May 10th, at the 48TH STREET THEATRE.

The part of Hedda will be played by Clare Eames, Margallo Gillmore as Mrs. Elvsted, and Dudley Digges as Tesman. Roland Young (starring in "The Beggar on Horseback"), will play Judge Brack, and Fritz Leiber (now playing in "Two Strangers from Nowhere"), is cast for Elbert Lorborg.

The staging and direction of "Hedda" is by Robert Edmond Jones, and the scenes are designed by Woodman Thompson.

### BREAKING IN

"THE OUTSIDER," at the Ambassador, with Katherine Cornell. Pleasantly Poignant and Lionell Atwill Agreeably Domineering.

Do actions speak louder than words? So says the ancient law; but civilization today is so hurried that perhaps in the rush men have little time to



LIONELL ATWILL

Plays "The Outsider" in the play of that name at the Ambassador.

observe their fellows, and judge a man by what he shouts about himself as they scramble by. Applied psychology in the form of propaganda, especially its more emphatic forms, the news columns and the radio, broadside and broadcast words, words, words, so long and large that he who runs may read. Hearing a thing so often, without opportunity to contradict or to verify, brings belief.

At least, this seems to be the theory of Dorothy Brandon, author of "The Outsider." She presents a hero who acts like a bear, a butcher, a brawler, and a bully—and who tells us he's merely a genius. She shows us a man treating a beautiful patient; with that patient strapped to her bed; he sends everyone else out of the house, presses a passionate kiss upon her protesting lips and stills her agony into a hypnotic sleep—on which the curtain falls. Then we are told everything is quite respectable and admirable, because on waking six hours later the patient is cured of her lameness, and tells the hero she loves him. Incidentally, the hero was escaping, thinking her still lame; she proved her cure by running after him. In the excitement of the cure (more easily imagined, I fear, on the stage than in life) and in the triumph of "the outsider" over the ineffective physicians, we are expected to take the hero for a big-hearted miracle-worker whose eccentricities add to his charm. The peculiarity of the play is that the characters are so balanced, the antipathies and sympathies so played upon, that it succeeds in making us believe—and even like this outsider who forces his way in.

J. T. S.

### GILBERT AND SULLIVAN REVIVAL PLANNED

Gilbert Miller is planning a Gilbert and Sullivan revival next season.

The Miller revival is listed with a big cast. Five years ago Mr. Miller revived the operas successfully at the St. James, London.

New York's last Gilbert and Sullivan revival was at the Park Theatre in 1920, when the American Society of Singers had a 200 night run.

### Vaudeville Theatres

#### B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

The program at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre for next week will have as the principal screen feature, the first New York showing of a new Universal Jewel production, entitled "The Fighting American." Mary Astor, Pat O'Malley, Raymond Hatton and Warner Oland have the principal roles. Another attraction for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday only, will be the official fight pictures of the Floyd Johnson vs. Quintin Romero and the Harry Martone vs. Morrie Schlaifer bouts. The B. F. Keith acts will include J. Francis Dooley and Corinne Sales in "Will yer Jim"; Frank Hurst and Eddie Vogt, La Bernicia, Murray and Allan, John Barry and Company, and other B. F. Keith acts. Beginning Thursday the Broadway will have the exclusive New York presentation of the official fight pictures of the Bartley Madden vs. Harry Wills bout.

#### HIPPODROME

Jack Donahue; Vivian Holt and Myrtle Leonard; the Ringling Circus troupe of performing lions; Clyde Cook; Ralph Riggs and Katherine Witche; Yvette and her New York Syncopaters; Robinson's herd of performing elephants; Hayden, Dunbar and Hayden; the Foster Girls.

#### PALACE

McIntyre and Heath; Mosconi Bros.; Neville Flescon and Ann Greenway; "Thank You Doctor"; Margaret Irving and George Moore; Dave Seed and Ralph Austin; McCarthy Sisters; Mulroy, McNece and Ridge; Lloyd Nevada and Company.

#### RIVERSIDE

Yarmark, Margie Coate; Ibach's Entertainers; Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Barry; Georges Dufranne; Claude and Marion; Coscia and Verdi; Willie Rells.

#### LOEW'S PALACE

Joseph Hergesheimer's "Wild Oranges," with Frank Mayo, Virginia Valli, Ford Sterling, Charles Post and Nigel de Blulier, will be the attraction Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next week at Loew's Palace Theatre.

The Volga Four, Russian singers. Archer and Belford, Bob Archer, Burns and Kissen, Fred Whitehouse and Lillian's Dogs, will be among the vaudeville attractions.

Jackie Coogan in "A Boy of Flanders," based on Ouida's "Dog of Flanders" will be shown beginning Thursday.

Frances Arms, late star of "Shirley," will head the vaudeville end of the bill.

### "In the Next Room," at the Bronx Opera House

The Bronx Opera House has for its attraction beginning Monday night, Winthrop Ames' and Guthrie McClintic's production of "In the Next Room," written by Eleanor Robson and Harriet Ford.

The play is founded upon a novel by Burton Stevenson, writer of mystery stories.

The cast includes Claude King, Mary Kennedy, George Riddell, Cornelia Otis Skinner, Arthur Albertson, Olive Valerie, Morris W. Ankrum, Leighton Stark, Edward Butler and others.

OLGA PETROVA in "Hurricane" will be the following attraction.

OLGA PETROVA IN "THE HURRICANE" AT THE SHUBERT-RIVIERA

Olga Petrova in "The Hurricane," will be the attraction at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre for the week beginning Monday evening.



OLIVE VALERIE

At the Bronx Opera House next week in the mystery play, "In the Next Room."

### THE NEW SCENERY

#### LEE SIMONSON DISCUSSES THE ADVANCE IN STAGE-CRAFT

Lee Simonson, in an interesting informal talk at the Garrick, discussed the methods of the new director and scenic artist, employing the sets of "Man and the Masses" to illustrate his points. The new type of scenery, Mr. Simonson revealed, consists in as little artificial scenery as possible; the performers themselves are this setting. Beginning with a bare stage, the director goes through the action of the act; he considers the climactic moment, the forces that are then in opposition, and the background of wall, furniture and light that will most emphatically contrast these forces. From that moment the scene is built up; every detail being provided for, every action considered, every movement measured.

Two brief examples may make this method clearer. In Act III there is a mob, of 32 persons. They must suggest MASS. They obtain this impression of solidarity and power by an almost motionless tension. Throughout the scene every movement of the mass is effected by a turning or swaying of the body; not a foot moves until the climactic moment when they all swing around and up the stairs on which they are massed. A more striking illustration of the new scenic preparation is in Act I, where the main conflict is between the woman (representing the people) and her husband (representing the State). When the woman starts disappointed back, after hoping for a pleasant greeting, a chair is ready to receive her; in this she sits while the dominant man towers above. Between them is a table, an ordinary table, yet potent in its suggestions; for across a table a treaty may be arranged, an understanding arrived at; or the woman may brace herself against one edge for strength in her fight against the man, while he stands with all the confidence of a director pounding out his ultimatum with his fist. All this is not physically performed, but is suggested in the attitudes of the two, and in the table between them. This table and chair, with a window high in the rear, are all the scenery added to the actors. . . . By such devices as these, Lee Simonson and the others of the new school concentrate attention on the performers and on the conflicting emotions of the play, and produce the chief effects of a background through the absence of scenery.

J. T. S.



CLARE EAMES

Will play the title role in the special matinee performances of Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler," put on by the Equity Players at the 48th Street Theatre, beginning Friday afternoon.

In "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall," Mary Pickford's new picture at the Criterion, Clare Eames may be seen as Queen Elizabeth—a role she played on the speaking stage.

### NEW MANAGERS' BODY INCORPORATES

On the application of Attorney William Klein, Judge Phillip J. McCook, Justice of the Supreme Court at the court-house Tuesday, approved of the certificate of incorporation of the Managers' Protective Association, Inc. The subscribers of the certificate are Lee Shubert, Arthur Hammerstein, F. Ray Costello, L. Lawrence Weber, Crosby Gaige and A. H. Woods.

### DEBUT OF MISTINGUETT IN "INNOCENT EYES," AT WINTER GARDEN, MAY 19

The New York debut of Mistinguett, star of the Casino de Paris in "Innocent Eyes," takes place at the Winter Garden, on Monday evening, May 19. "Artists and Models" will be moved to another theatre.

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

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

RITZ THEATRE, 48th St., W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30; Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

OPENING MON. NIGHT, MAY 12

## LEW FIELDS

In a New Three-Act Comedy

## THE MELODY MAN

By HERBERT RICHARD LORENZE with a Cast of Unusual Merit

Including

SAM WHITE & EVA PUCK

## ELEANOR PAINTER

In THE

## CHIFFON GIRL

4th MONTH

All who have seen this most musical of musical comedies say it is one of the four best shows in town!

NOW AT

CENTRAL Theatre, 47 & B'way, Evs. 8:30

Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:15

31st WEEK

## "THE SHAME WOMAN"

"MOST GRIPPING PLAY OF SEASON"

By LULA VOLLMER, Author of "Sun-Up"

## COMEDY THEATRE

1st St., East of B'way. Evenings, 8:30

Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30

## JULIA SANDERSON

In

## MOONLIGHT

A MUSICAL COMEDY GEM

LONGACRE THEATRE, W. 14th St.

Evns. 8:30. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30



LIONELL ATWILL

Plays "The Outsider" at the Ambassador

SEATS AT \$100 UP

AMBASSADOR Theatre, 49th St. - W. 5th St.

## D. W. GRIFFITH'S

"Greatest play ever staged."

—World

## AMERICA

By Robert W. Chambers

14th STREET THEATRE

Twice Daily, 2:30, 8:30

Prices: 50c, \$1, \$1.50

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

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## VOGUES

THE 1924 MUSICAL MASTERPIECE

ODETTE MYRTIL

J. HAROLD MURRAY

A GREAT CAST

and

ROGER WOLFE'S ORCHESTRA

SHUBERT Theatre, 44th St., West of B'way.

Evns. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

SEATS NOW ON SALE FOR CONVENTION WEEK AND 4TH OF JULY.

## ARTISTS & MODELS

OF 1923.

WINTER GARDEN

B'way & 50 St. Evenings, 8:30.

Mats. Tu., Thurs. & Sat., 2:15.

Moves May 19th

to Another Theatre

## WINTER GARDEN

SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT

## ALWAYS THE BEST SUNDAY ENTERTAINMENT IN NEW YORK

RICHARD HERNDON presents

Jolson's 50th St. Theatre at 7th Ave. - ONE BLK. from COL. CIRCLE

Evns. 8:30 - MATS. THURS. & SAT. 2:30

## '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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## NATIONAL THEATRE, 41st W. of B'way. EVS. 8:15. MATS. THURS. & SAT. 2

## HAMPDEN

AS CYRANO

192ND TO 199TH PERFORMANCE

MAIL ORDERS 4 WEEKS AHEAD



## --: DRAMA --:

## "SAINT JOAN" AND BERNARD SHAW

By GERALD GOULD

In "Saint Joan," Mr. Bernard Shaw has given dramatic shape to one of the greatest of human themes and asked again the most searching of human questions. The voices which came to Joan in the music of church bells, and sent her forth against her own will to lead armies and refute the counsellors of kings—were they divine, as she believed, or diabolical, as her judges decided? And what do we mean, nowadays, if we call them either the one or the other?

As Mr. Shaw brings out in the actual dialogue of his play, the difficulty is not solved, but only postponed, by translating it into terms of modern psychology. The medieval mind believed in objectively existing saints and angels on the one side and devils on the other; most of us today talk instead about instinct, and complexes, and the unconscious, and divided personality; but does that bring us any nearer to the heart of the problem? The mysteries of good and evil remain, and when a man or woman is inspired to go out single-handed against the conventions of the herd we still quarrel blindly as to whether the inspiration is divine, in that it is full of promise, or diabolical, in that it is full of danger.

In the pathetic trial scene in the play one of the judges asks Joan whether she is sure that the voice which she believes to come from God does not actually come from her own

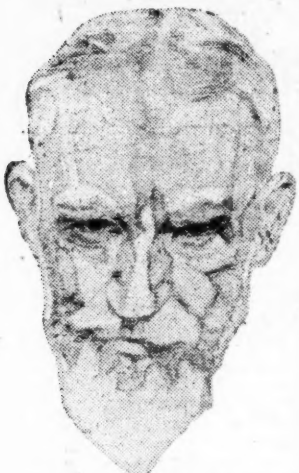
It is an old lesson, and a profound one. But it is not the central one that Mr. Shaw has set himself to enforce. Nor again, I think, is his main preoccupation historical. He has too much historical sense to suppose that history can ever be full and true, and so he is content to be wise after the event, without troubling himself excessively about whether the characters to whom he attributes particular characteristics or opinions are likely to have really possessed them. Not that I quarrel with his picture of the kind-hearted but big-headed Englishman, who sincerely believes that Joan MUST be against God because she is against England. Some critics have unjustly declared this character farcical; in fact, the view expressed by it is exactly, without any exaggeration whatever, the view expressed in the "patriotic" play of "Henry VI." No, what could be quarrelled with, if one were a stickler for pedantry, would be the long and exceedingly interesting argument between the Earl of Warwick and the Bishop of Beauvais as to the future political developments of Europe. The statesman fears the overthrow of feudalism and the coming of nationalism; the priest fears the weakening of the Church and the coming of Protestantism; and presumably in life neither of them was so far-sighted. But what both of them really fear is the claim of the individual judgment to set itself up against established authority. Here is the point, for here the historical process over into the philosophical, the temporal into the eternal. It does not in the least affect our judgments or emotions that a particular prophecy was probably not uttered on a particular occasion; the point is that if it had been uttered it would have expressed permanent truth. That was what Aristotle meant when he said that poetry, in the sense of imaginative creation, was more noble than history, in the sense of the mere recording of fact.

And so we come to the core of this bit of imaginative creation of Mr. Shaw's. It is not my province here to discuss the acting or presentation of his play, notable in many respects as these were. Nor can I honestly profess to find in "Saint Joan" what so many well-qualified judges have found there—Mr. Shaw's supreme achievement as dramatist, wit, or poet. When everybody used to say that Mr. Shaw was merely a debater and could not construct a play, he was putting forward such masterpieces of stage technique as "You Never Can Tell" and "Candida." Now that everybody admits him to be a great dramatist, he seems to trouble very little about either characterization or dramatic development; and the language of "Saint Joan"—except where it consists of Joan's own actual recorded words—does not rise to anything like the level of "Heartbreak House." But with none of that are we at the moment concerned. Those who go to see "Saint Joan," whatever they think of the language or the construction, will come away moved by the thing in it which has moved the noble intelligence and generous heart of its creator—that central problem of sainthood.

First, in this play, we get the rush of enthusiasm and of miscellaneous success. Then we get treachery and dishonor. Then we get the condemnation of the innocent by the crime. But last of all we get the whitewashing of the innocent by the dishonest. Mr. Shaw insists that whereas the ecclesiastical court which condemned Joan was, according to its lights, sincere, the subsequent one which, in the political interests of the King of France who had betrayed her, declared the original trial to have been corrupt, was in fact a mass of corruption itself. Tragedy, as Hegel taught, is not the conflict of good with evil; that is a comparatively simple matter: we all go wrong in it, but at least we all know where we are in it. Tragedy is the conflict of good with good—the tug of two opposing ideals. Joan's judges really did believe her to be guilty of heresy: they really did believe that it was just and necessary to burn heretics. To decent and thoughtful people today, the idea that human beings will be condemned to physical torture for all eternity, in punishment of a mere opinion, by an all-wise God, is simply revolting nonsense; and equally revolting, equally nonsensical, is the idea that opinions can be stamped out by torture and fire. But what we have to face is that both these ideas were held unquestioningly by men whose unselfishness and integrity were beyond dispute—and who held them with a deeper earnestness of conviction than most people ever bring to anything.

The tragedy of Joan lies not that her persecutors were bad men who hated her goodness; for they were not, but that they were good men who thought there could be no goodness save their own. Granted their premises, their conclusions are even difficult to avoid. If heresy really means eternal damnation, and if it can really be wiped out by the brief torture of the flames, is it not false kindness, is it not almost cowardice, to refrain from burning people alive?

In an ironic epilogue Mr. Shaw makes all the people who wronged Joan in life praise her in death—on condition that she does not come to life again. There indeed is the perpetual irony. Humanity always destroys its saints and always worships them, and in its worship there is always the reservation that if they came again it would again destroy them. It destroys them because it is afraid of them; they are troublesome folk, who appear proud and unpleasant because they put up their individual judgment against the accepted codes of the majority; they challenge the comfortable habit of intellectual and moral sloth. And in consequence the guardians of authority always think it right to slout and slay them. But the guardians of authority are NOT right; it is the lonely protesting and crusading soul that is right. We have not learnt that lesson yet; it is doubtful whether humanity ever will learn it. But at any rate humanity can be incited to try.



GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Whose satirical and historical play of "Saint Joan," has been playing on Broadway since March. "Saint Joan" moves back to the Garrick Monday night.

Imagination. She replies that of course it comes from her own imagination—how, save through that, should God speak to her? I quote in accurately from one hearing; but that is the substance of the argument, and it disposes at one stroke of the glib psychological "explanations" which seek to apply the tests of an abstract science to the moving problems of mankind. We may say that Joan was neurotic, if we please; we may label her voices and visions "auto-suggestion"; we may regard her as a "case" in the medical sense; we may go on to "explain" away all the saints and martyrs, all the pioneers and crusaders, after the same fashion; but at the end of it we have not decided, and cannot on these lines decide, whether such "neurosis" is or is not an instrument of God.

Mr. Bernard Shaw, of course, though he established his reputation among the unthinking as a scoffer, he is in fact a deeply religious man; and though he has made many excursions into the phrasology of science, his method is always essentially poetical. When I first, many years ago, wrote of him as a romantic, people smiled; now that paradox, like so many paradoxes, has become a platitude. Obviously he is a romantic; but to treat history romantically does not mean to face the facts and reveal the romance in the heart of them. No wonder Mr. Shaw could not keep away from the subject of Joan! The phenomena of her sainthood are not unique or even exceptional, but her circumstances are. Secretly, too, had a private voice, a divine instruction which he could not disobey; and it brought him to judgment and death, just as Joan's voices brought her. But Secretly was oldish, ugly, extremely well-educated, and somewhat exasperatingly courageous; Joan was young, beautiful, ignorant, virginal, frightened of death and wounds. Secretly was surrounded by devoted disciples; Joan—and it is this which Mr. Shaw insists upon her as her pathos and her glory—was pitifully alone. It is amazing what an effect the loneliness and pitifulness of Joan have had on some minds, and these among the greatest.

In the chronicle play of "Henry VI," always printed among Shakespeare's worst, she is represented as a vulgar and sordid bargainer with the devil. It is true that Shakespeare did not write that play, but he touched it up for the stage, and must bear some responsibility for its present shape. No doubt he was making a concession to English national prejudice; but Voltaire, who wrote on the subject an enormous poem which is filthy from beginning to end, had not even that excuse. Nothing is able in Mr. Shaw's play than his dramatic demonstration of precisely this point—that "patriotism is not enough" even to assure the patriot's standing among his or her own people. The English burnt Joan as an act of "political necessity"—the fatal and hideous excuse throughout the ages for falsehood, murder, torture, and massacre—but the French, whom she had saved, betrayed and abandoned her for the meaner motives of personal jealousy, selfishness, cowardice, and

## --: MUSIC --:

## PHILHARMONIC ENGAGES SOLOISTS

Twenty-four soloists have been engaged for the Philharmonic Orchestra for its concert next season. The pianists who will appear are William Bachaus, Alfred Cortot, Carl Friedberg, who will play a new concerto for the first time in America; Ossip Gabrilowitch, Heinrich Gebhard, Myra Hess, Wanda Landowska, who will also play the harpsichord; Nicholas Medtner, who will make his first American tour next season; Yolanda Mero, Ely Ney and Guimar Novais.

The violinists engaged include Carl Flesch, Samuel Gardner, Scipione Guidi, Cecilia Hansen, Erna Rubinstein and Efrim Zimbalist, and the cellists are Pablo Casals, Leo Schulz and Cornelius Van Vliet. John Amans, first flute of the orchestra, will again be heard as soloist at one concert, and three singers—Sophie Breslau, Mme. Charles Cahier and Marie Sundelius—are to appear with the orchestra. The Schola Cantorum is to participate on two occasions.

The concert scheduled for the Philharmonic has been rearranged slightly for next season. There will be twenty pairs of Thursday evening and Friday afternoon concerts at Carnegie Hall, beginning on October 16 and 17, respectively. There will be six Saturday night concerts at Carnegie Hall, beginning on November 8, and twelve Sunday afternoons in the same auditorium, beginning on November 16. Five Sunday afternoon concerts will be given in the Metropolitan Opera House, the first being on November 9. The series of ten concerts for students will begin on October 29 at Carnegie Hall, and the Brooklyn concerts will take place as usual at the Academy of Music, beginning on November 2.

## FRIENDS OF MUSIC PLANS FOR NEXT SEASON

For one of next season's concerts of the Society of the Friends of Music, Alfredo Casella has reorchestrated the minor piano concerto of Chopin. Mr. Casella will play the piano part himself when it is presented on November 23 in Town Hall.

Artur Bodanzky, musical director of the Society, has rescued an old Schubert work, "Lebenssturm," from oblivion by orchestrating it and arranging it in suitable form for present day audiences. Another of Mr. Bodanzky's arrangements will be England's oldest opera, "Dido and Aeneas," presented for the first time in America this season, which is to be repeated next year. A suite for orchestra by Scarlatti which has never been heard in New York will be featured at one of next season's concerts.

The Society of the Friends of Music will give a series of piano recitals next season in addition to its orchestral and choral concerts. The soloist will be Artur Schnabel, who will play all of the piano sonatas of Beethoven. These recitals, seven in number, will be held on Monday evenings, January 12 and 26, February 9 and 23, March 9 and 23 and April 6, 1925, in Town Hall.

## CAPITOL

S. L. Rothafel has prepared a program of Spanish music at the Capitol Theatre to create the appropriate atmosphere for the Fred Niblo production, "Thy Name is Woman," the action of which is laid in the Spanish Pyrenees. The Capitol orchestra, guided by the baton of David Mendoza, conductor, opens the program with the "Capriccio Espagnol."

The prologue which precedes the unfolding of the picture embodies the theme of the story. The spirit of Woman is impersonated by Doris Niles. The music theme of the episode in which she dances is Sarasate's "Romanza Andaluza," played as a violin solo by Eugen Ormandy, concertmaster of the orchestra. James Parker Coombs, as Mephisto, impersonates the spirit of evil. The prologue closes with a dramatic episode by Martha Wilchinski.

## Music Notes

Mme. Pavlova sailed Tuesday on the George Washington for London. She will give a few performances in Paris during the Summer and will make an Australian tour in 1924-25. It is possible that when she lands in the United States in October, en route to the Antipodes, she will make a limited number of appearances.

Tuesday afternoon, May 13, there will be a concert for the benefit of Child Feeding in Germany under the auspices of the American Friends' Service Committee. Josephine and Elsie Kirpal will appear in song duets, Richard Singer as pianist, Leon Brahms will be the tenor and Gelfus the flutist.



LIONEL BARRYMORE

In D. W. Griffith's new film, drama "America," the picture story of early American history now running at the 44th Street Theatre.

## --: THEATRES --:

## THEATRES

New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

**B.S. HOSS' B'WAY**  
Where the crowds all go  
**ALL NEXT WEEK**  
A Universal Jewel Production  
**The Fighting American**  
with Mary Astor and Pat O'Malley  
Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday only  
Official FIGHT PICTURES  
Floyd Johnson vs. Quintana Romero vs. Harry Martone vs. Morris Schaffer, new bouts.  
J. Francis Donley and Corinne Sales  
Frank Hurst and Eddie Vogt  
and other  
**B. F. KEITH ACTS**

**B. F. KEITH'S NEW YORK HIPPODROME**  
The People's Playhouse  
**INTERNATIONAL STARS FROM EVERYWHERE**  
MATS. DAILY  
3:00 (Inc. Sun.)  
1000 GOOD SEATS 50c  
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1000 GOOD SEATS \$1  
The Last Word in Entertainment if It's Worth While  
—It's at the "HIP"  
EVERYTHING ON A BIG SCALE  
EXCEPT THE SCALE OF PRICES

**CAPITOL** BROADWAY AT 51st ST.  
World's Largest and Foremost Motion Picture Palace—Edw. Bowes, Mgr. Dir.  
FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES  
Fred Niblo's Greatest Screen Triumph  
**"THY NAME IS WOMAN"**  
with  
**BARBARA LA MARR**  
and  
**RAMON NOVARRO**  
FAMOUS CAPITOL PROGRAM  
—CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA—  
Presentations by ROTHAFEL.

**Bronx Amusements**  
**BRONX OPERA HOUSE**  
149th St. E. of 34 Ave.  
POP. PRICES 1c MATS. WED. & SAT.  
BEGINNING MONDAY NITE  
Winthrop Ames and Guthrie McClintic  
Pres.

**"IN THE NEXT ROOM"**  
The Greatest Mystery Play in Years.  
By Eleanor Robson and Harriet Ford  
ORIGINAL COMPANY  
Direct from 6 Capacity Months at the Vanderbilt Theatre  
WEEK OF MAY 10TH  
**OLGA PETROVA**  
in "The House of the Dead"

**Brooklyn Amusements**  
**LOEW'S PALACE**  
EAST N.Y. AVE. AND DOUGLAS ST. (BROOKLYN)  
Mon., Tues., Wed. Th., Fri., Sat., Sun.  
J. Hershheimer's Metro presents  
**"WILD ORANGES"** Jackie Coogan  
with Frank Mayo, Virginia Valli, Ford Sterling  
**"A BOY OF FLANDERS"**  
Based on Ouida's "The Dore of Flanders."  
VOLGA FOUR Russian singers, instrumentalists.  
FRANCES ARMS Late star of "Shirley," in a series of Character Songs.  
ARCHER & BELFORD, BURNS & KISSEN, others, and others.

## Notes

Leon Volterra, proprietor and director of the Casino de Paris, made reservations for the premiere of Mistinguett in "Innocent Eyes," at the Winter Garden on Monday, May 19th. Mistinguett until she came to this country last fall was the star of his Casino de Paris.

William A. Brady's all-star revival of "Leah Kleschna," will close its engagement at the Lyric Theatre, Saturday, May 17th.

"Round the Town," the new intimate revue which Herman J. Mankiewicz and S. Jay Kaufman are soon to produce at the Century Roof, will open in Newark on Monday for a week's run at the Shubert Theatre.

Because many requests received from players now in Broadway productions for a professional matinee, the Selwyns have decided to give an invitation performance of "Spring Cleaning" on Tuesday afternoons.

An outgrowth of the Theatre Guild's work is a society just organized independently of the Guild for the sole purpose of cooperating with the Guild and furthering its efforts in every way possible. They have just been incorporated under the name of "Theatre Guild Society," and call themselves "Theatre Guilders."

LYNNE FONTANNE and ALFRED LUNT will play the leading roles in Molnar's comedy, "The Guardsman," which the Theatre Guild will produce as their opening bill next season, about the middle of October.

Joseph M. Gaites is rehearsing "A Trial Honeymoon," and will produce the new musical comedy at Alhambra, Pa., on May 16, and bring it to a Broadway theatre about a week later. The music is by Harold Arlo and the book by Otto Harbach.

The Dancer's Guild, to include all the professional dancers in concert, musical comedy and other productions in the United States, is being formed to give a season of dances each year.

**SAINT JOAN**  
Bernard Shaw's Latest and Greatest Play  
**MOVES BACK TO GARRICK THEATRE MONDAY NIGHT**  
45 W. 55th St. Eves. 8:20  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 3:30.

**FATA MORGANA**  
With EMILY STEVENS  
**LYCEUM THEATRE**  
45th St. E. of B'way. Eves. 8:30  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 3:30

SEATS 5 WEEKS IN ADVANCE  
**"EXPRESSING WILLIE"**  
By RACHEL CROTHERS  
THE WITTIEST, MOST BRILLIANT COMEDY IN NEW YORK  
THE GREAT CAST includes  
CHRISTAL HERNE  
LOUISE CLOSER  
MERLE MADDEN  
MOLLY MCINTYRE  
RICHARD STERLING  
ALAN BROOKS  
WARREN WILLIAMS  
AND OTHERS  
**48TH THEATRE, EVES. at 8:30**  
**ST. MATS. TUE. & SAT. at 2:30**  
SPECIAL MATINEES OF  
**HEDDA GABLER**  
By HENRIK IBSEN  
With the Finest Cast Ever Assembled For This Play  
BEGINNING FRIDAY, MAY 16TH:  
MONDAY, MAY 19TH; FRIDAY, MAY 23RD  
AND MONDAY, MAY 26TH  
SEATS NOW ON SALE  
**48TH ST. MATINEES at 2:30**

**The New Pictures**  
ASTOR—"Secrets," with Norma Talmadge.  
BROADWAY—"THE FIGHTING AMERICAN."  
CAMEO—"THE CHECHACHOO," a picture of the Frozen North.  
CAPITOL—"THY NAME IS WOMAN," with Ramon Novarro and Barbara La Marr.  
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.

## A THIRD PARTY VS. THE LABOR PARTY

By NORMAN THOMAS

A third party might be or soon become the Farmer-Labor party for which we are looking. And, again, it might not. We can imagine the formation of a third party by a lot of folks resolved to clean house at Washington. They might generate enormous enthusiasm and sing "Onward, Christian Soldiers," or some other hymn with as much zeal as the Progressives in the year 1912. They might support La Follette (who is a truer Progressive than Roosevelt ever thought of being) with the fervor with which the Progressives in 1912 supported the picturesque Colonel.

But if this group remained only a third party having no organic relation to Labor unions and farmers' organizations, it would scarcely be worth the trouble of bringing it to birth. It might win temporary victories; it might, like the Republican party, become a first rather than a third party; but, like the Republican party, in that act it would become a machine controlled by politicians and business men for their own ends.

The whole history of American new party movements proves this. Moral enthusiasm, opposition to graft, even a theory of taxation of land values or of monetary reform, have not proved enough to create a party genuinely devoted to the common good. Either the movement has disappeared, been captured by one of the old parties, or if, as in the

case of the Republican party, it succeeded, it has in a very short time fallen to the level of mere lust for office. This is inevitable. The good people who joined the Progressive party meant well, but they could not keep politicians like Roosevelt and the rich men like Perkins and Munsey from using the party for their own purposes.

The only third party with a chance of enduring success is one that rests for financial support not upon the good will of philanthropists and business men seeking a new hobby, but on the support of Labor unions and farmers' organizations. To it individuals should be admitted, as in Great Britain, if they share its purposes. Labor unions and farmers' organizations, if they are worth while, are on the job 365 days a year. They know what their members want. They know how far political action can help in getting what the workers want. They can control their party and finance their party without leaving it to the professional politicians.

The success that has been denied to third party movements in America is being achieved by genuine Labor parties in Europe and Great Britain—parties resting on human needs, parties with immediate programs and great ideas, parties whose vision of the next step is clearer because of their vision of distant horizons.



## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, May 10, 1924

### THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

THE general election results in Germany have come close to confirming predictions made for several weeks. However, the monarchists did not gain as heavily as expected. The Communists increased their representation by 45 and the Social Democrats lost 71. The latter is still the strongest party with the Communists the greatest gainer. The heavy gains of the latter were in the Ruhr where desperation over the French occupation was evident.

From one point of view it is probably unfortunate that the Communists did not poll the heavier vote. They would then have to assume to speak and act as the most conspicuous organization of the workers and bear responsibility for failure to realize expectations of the masses. So long as Germany is held as loot of allied imperialism, so long as French militarism and its allied military states in Europe hover over Germany like a nightmare, no party of the workers can even attempt to carry out any far-reaching program.

It is this situation that has tied the hands of Socialists. It would tie the Communists as well. Germany is in the heart of Europe. Unlike Russia, it is not a vast territory difficult to invade. The bayonets of France and her allies bristle on her borders. A complete social revolution in Germany under these circumstances would bring a repetition of the militarist raid on Hungary and the overthrow of the revolutionary government there.

The hope of Germany lies in the workers of other countries succeeding in forcing the abandonment of the strangling peace of Versailles and building their own political power so as to permit the masses of Germany to get rid of their reactionaries and carry out any program of social reconstruction they desire.

### OUR NEW READERS

WITH this issue The New Leader, by arrangement with the New Age of Buffalo, will fill the unexpired subscriptions of the latter publication. We regret that the comrades of Buffalo have for a number of reasons decided to give up the publication of their weekly but we are also certain that its readers will receive compensation in the receipt of The New Leader.

We want our readers up state to not only become readers but also workers for The New Leader. We shall print news from time to time of special interest to Buffalo and up state readers in general. But we shall not rely upon any such news alone to retain the interest of our new readers. The New Leader will succeed—and it has succeeded—in winning an important place among Socialist publications because, of its news of the Socialist and Labor movement all over the world, the contributions of its writers, and the general features it carries.

We are sure that our new readers will give The New Leader the same hearty support which it has met at the hands of every devoted Socialist and progressive worker who have seen it. It is their paper and is maintained to fight the battles of the working class and to support the Socialist movement. You need it; it needs you.

### TWO PERSONS IN LAW

BY the ukase of a Federal judge ten per cent has been added to every telephone bill in New York. The New York Telephone Company, "in anticipation of favorable action," reads one account, held up its bills to subscribers for the month. Having "anticipated" correctly, the bills have

gone out with a ten per cent increase attached.

It is estimated that those who rent 'phones will contribute from \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000 a year to the telephone company if the order is made permanent. This will be the value of the order to the company and we presume that its big investors will find ways to use the money.

Such procedure is generally based on the theory that a corporation is a "person" that must be guaranteed a minimum income in order to live. Judges are stern in their belief that such "persons" should have an income in order to live decently and be able to function. We might call this the theory of a living wage for such "persons."

Now, turn to another "person" in law, yourself. You are a wage earner. Many a godly judge has declared that legislation fixing a minimum income for the wage working "person" is "unconstitutional." Such legislation invades the "rights" of such "persons." The law should not try to restrict the "right" of a consumptive girl to work for a wage that will rush her to the grave.

Queer how different these "persons" appear to the solemn judges of the bench, isn't it? A minimum income guaranteed to one "person" and only sacred "rights" guaranteed to the other "person." How would you like to be a telephone corporation instead of a human being?

### TEN YEARS AFTER LUDLOW

COLORADO miners recently observed the tenth anniversary of the massacre of the striking miners of Ludlow. This was one of the most hideous butcheries of strikers by agents of a corporation that has ever disgraced any State. Men, women and children died like flies. Some were smothered to death in the holes into which they retreated. The tents in which the miners and their families were housed were put to the torch.

One phase of that massacre is now forgotten. It is well to recall it at this time when organization of the political power of the workers is being considered. In 1912 the American Federation of Labor rejoiced in a news bulletin that the voters of the State had elected many "friends" of the unions to office. In the list were ten State Senators, twelve members of the House, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, State Auditor, Superintendent of Public Instruction and one Congressman. Yet it was with these "friends" in office that the Ludlow massacre occurred. The "friendly" Governor made his office an agency for the mine owners.

Following the recent observation of the anniversary of the massacre the American Federation of Labor carried an account of it in one of its weekly news bulletins. Referring to the period of the massacre the bulletin states that Colorado "was so completely in the grasp of this corporation (the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Rockefeller subsidiary) that the State Legislature created a special judicial district to try the strikers. The newly appointed judge was an attorney for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company."

This bulletin and the bulletin issued ten years ago are in conflict. The first one rejoiced over the political power of the workers in Colorado which was won through the old parties, and the second one denies that the workers had any power. Which one is correct? The second one, of course. Events prove that the workers won nothing by electing "friends" in the capitalist parties. Moreover, there is no record of these "friends" having fought a vigorous battle in the Legislature for the dying men, women and children at Ludlow.

Add this little bit of history as another heavy item in favor of the workers of the nation owning, organizing, directing and controlling a political party of their own.

### OPPOSING WAR

SOBERED by the loss of her husband in the World War and determined to do something toward preventing another war, Mrs. Jean Piper returns a bonus which she received from the State of Michigan. "Are wrongs righted by violently thrusting a million or more men from one plane of existence to another?" she asks. Her answer is that "We have capitalized war. We have established a wrong precedent for the coming generations."

This is a humanitarian reaction against the butchery of millions and to become firm and effective requires a knowledge of what modern wars are fought for. Just how widespread this aversion to the bloody luxury of the ruling classes is we do not know, but that it is considerable is fairly certain. This letter could not have appeared in the

Times a few years ago. It is "good copy" now.

Recently the Methodists meeting in Kentucky revealed a powerful minority in favor of opposing any war which modern Governments may decide to wage. The military faction was represented but was forcefully answered by delegates from the floor. We may be sure that other denominations are affected in the same way.

Whether any larger numbers will follow the lead which the Socialist Party took in 1917 in opposition to war remains to be seen. Experience has shown that opposition based on emotion and sentiment is not as reliable as opposition based on a knowledge of the causes of modern wars. When the dissenter knows that wars are generally waged to support the interests of ruling classes he will not only oppose war on humanitarian grounds but also because he does not want to have his bones squandered for the greater glory of bankers, traders and investing cliques in general.

### THE G. O. P. CONVENTION

AN AMUSING situation has developed regarding the Republican national convention which meets in Cleveland in June. A Washington correspondent of the World points out that hotel keepers and business men who contributed to the convention fund demand that the convention last six days. It is a matter of business.

But the chief attraction, the nomination of a President, is already decided. Coolidge is the choice of the Republican voters in the primaries. All that remains is a nominating speech and a few seconds. The platform is a job for the grand dukes and the lesser delegates will be there to rubber-stamp it. The nomination of a Vice-President causes no more excitement than the trading of stocks on the Stock Exchange.

What can the brokers do to hold the crowds for six days? That is the problem. The brokers will have to arrange a program that will enable those who put up the cash to get it back. How could the guardians of the higher capitalism possibly confiscate the investments made in this soviet of oil, steel, railroads, coal and banks?

The hired rooters and flag wavers and orators might be gathered in Cleveland a week in advance and rehearse a program that will drag out the proceedings for a week, then open the doors, and with the assistance of the radio, peanuts rubber balloons and hootch the gang could have one good souse before nominating the Northampton boy. We offer this as a suggestion to the managers for what it is worth.

### TO PARTY MEMBERS

SOCIALIST PARTY members have an important duty facing them which should not be neglected, and branch secretaries bear the responsibility of calling their attention to it.

The National Office is engaged in preparations for the national convention, arranging for publication of leaflets, touring speakers and nominating Socialist Party tickets in the states should no Labor party be organized this year. There are some heavy expenses before the National Office and they cannot be met out of the income received from dues.

To meet this situation the National Executive Committee has decided to sell special stamps in denominations of from fifty cents to five dollars. Party members are urged to purchase these stamps. How effective this important work will be will depend entirely upon how many of these special stamps are purchased by members. A loyal and enthusiastic response by the members now will be of more value than campaign contributions a few months hence.

Every branch secretary should have a supply of these stamps and it should be his duty to bring them to the attention of members at each meeting. The value of the stamps purchased will depend upon the income of each member, how much he is interested in aiding this important work, and how much he values a growing, militant and enthusiastic Socialist Party in the United States.

### ELIOT'S STANDARD FOR WORKERS

IN the latest collection of Charles W. Eliot's miscellaneous papers he notes the "extraordinary wastefulness and extravagance" of the workers. This is "exhibited in the purchase of high-priced furniture, jewelry, pianos, phonographs, gowns, footwear and furs, and in the incessant resort of themselves and their families to moving pictures, theatres and shops for candies, drinks and dear fruits." From which we gather that the dean of American "scholars" would have us live in pine shanties, use boxes for tables and chairs, cut out pianos, phonographs, moving pictures, theatres, candies, drinks, fruits, gowns and footwear.

He is generous enough to leave us with shirts, socks and baled hay, and to produce dividends on Harvard University's investments in industrial corporations. Brothers Gary and Rockefeller should now come across with a few millions for Harvard and the hire education.

Mr. Corliss Lamont insists that Eugene V. Debs, Scott Nearing and William Z. Foster should be permitted to speak from the platform of Harvard Union as well as the exponents of capitalism. The Governing Board of the Union has voted down the proposal, evidently believing that Harvard investments in capitalist enterprises should not be disturbed.

Senator Pepper believes that the whole nation received a deadly blow when capitalist politics was tapped and oil began to flow. Pepper is hot stuff.

"Fish Ready to Run for Governorship," headline in Times. You can't tell what these old party creatures will do next.

The other day a kid in short pants took Mayor Hyman's place and ran the city for a whole day, and no one noticed the difference.

## THE Chatter-Box

### INHERITANCE

*I should hate to grow old  
And be waited on by those I love  
For my last breath  
And my pots of gold.*

*I would cherish to be  
Remembered at least for a season  
By what I bore,  
Like any old tree.*

*I should hate the throngs  
Who pity my clay;  
When I have left them in fee  
All my dreams,  
All my songs.*

All week we have been endeavoring to whip ourselves into a satirical frenzy about this, that, and the other, so that we could fill up these entr'actes with something spicier than verse, but the magic of May is upon us. We couldn't even think up a wheeze about the new capitalist tin god Cal the Cautious, or Haroun al Hoover, the benevolent giver of Alaskan Salmon Fisheries, or the late lamented Petroleum Pot of Putrid Politics, or the latest Tex Rickardian importation of ham, bone, and knuckles from the pampas of America del Sud. The gentleness of the season has entered into our judgment, we are afraid; and while this lends us suggest that all timorous contributors send in their effusions at once.

### ORDERS (from Sumner)

*All books you sell  
Shall be kept clean,  
For I can tell  
All books you sell  
Just by the smell  
If they're obscene.  
All books you sell  
Shall be kept clean.*

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

We forgot to mention Edna Porter. We make this belated acknowledgment gratefully, for, having sponsored Theodocia Pearce as a contributor to this space, Miss Pearce, who has fought Helen Keller's glorious battle against blindness and, under the inspirational leadership of the divine Helen, has succeeded in wresting light from the fiends of darkness, submitted this week the following verse which we are glad to present. Will Edna please accept our thanks, as well?

### A PICTURE

*I know of nothing  
Quite so beautiful  
As our quiet street—  
Tree bordered, shadowed and still—  
At the twilight.*

*I love it so—  
After the heat of the day,  
After the struggle of life,  
This little spot  
Dream stirred and dear to me.*

*Peace—and beauty—  
And rest;  
Dreams—and power—  
And stars.*

*Ah, when the day of life is done,  
I ask for nothing  
More beautiful  
Than just a quiet street  
With the hush and the miracle  
Of twilight upon it.*

THEODOCIA PEARCE.

Blanche Watson, who sometimes acts as an impressario for newly-fledged poets, foreign correspondent, and contributress par excellence herself, has dug out of the Orient, in some publication with a name unpronounceable—Abracadabra will suffice—the following poem, and thinks it is funny enough even to reprint third hand. We think it funny enough for many re-printings.

### COMFORT

*I used to say,  
"Give me a cow,  
One room with windows all around,  
An open fire, plenty of elbow space:  
I'll be content."*

*But now income translucently conspires  
With innocence to put me here,  
Immured in seventeen ghastly chambers,  
Waited on by seven  
Asses in full livery—Cow of my dreams,  
Accept my most sincere regrets!*

—BERNARD RAYMUND, in "Germinal."

We lectured last Sunday in the mountainous region of Woodridge, N. Y., on Edgar Allan Poe, and we are glad to say that only one in our considerable audience inquired as to whether the illustrious gentleman was a Left or Right winger.

S. A. DE WITT.