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The New Leader

In this Issue:
**THE CHALLENGE
OF SOCIALISM**

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LABOR CRUSHING OUT LIBERAL PARTY

Georgeites Defied To Execute Threats To Vote Against MacDonald Government.

LONDON.—"If you are going to turn us out, get on with the job." That was Arthur Henderson's sturdy defiance of the whining of the



MARGARET BONDFIELD

Liberals, who have been complaining of the obscurity that the brilliant success of the Labor Government has placed them in. The Liberals believed that when they voted to turn out the Tories in January they would get something for it as a reward. They have got nothing, and will get nothing, and they are rampaging up and down the country threatening to join the Tories and turn out the Labor Government in revenge.

"Go on, turn us out!" the Laborites have been taunting the Liberals. They know that the Liberals dare not unite with the Tories in a vote of censure, because they are afraid that an election will wipe them out. And no less than they fear the election do they hate the pocket that they are in now. Lloyd George, who withers and dies when he isn't in the limelight, cannot stand the position of being only the second in command of a disappearing party, and so he has been making provocative speeches. That is his way of squaring himself and keeping in the limelight, and at the same time refraining from causing a Cabinet crisis that would result in an election in which the Liberal party would sustain a catastrophic defeat. Maybe he also thinks that by shouting loudly enough the Government will take him into its inner councils. He is also known to be infuriating to oust Asquith from the leadership. Anyway, his peevish outburst and the sniping attacks upon the Labor party in Parliament have resulted in a clearer definition of the relations of the parties than has hitherto been had. Further, when the Tories a few days ago, moved a vote of censure against the Government for repealing the McKenna duties—believed to be the entering wedge for a protective tariff—the Liberals could not vote for it because to do so would mean a vote for Protection, which is contrary to the widely advertised principles of the Liberal party. And so the Liberals are still further weakened.

At the same time, Henderson, J. R. Clynes, Harry Gosling, Tom Shaw, Stephen Walsh, Margaret Bondfield, and the Premier himself have been making speeches about the country defining the position of the Labor party with relation to the Liberals. In a remarkable speech a day or two ago Clynes said:

"The spectacle of Mr. Lloyd George reproving the Government (Continued from Page 11)

Socialists of City to Instruct Delegates

Delegates from the Socialist Party of New York City to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action and to the National convention of the Socialist Party, will meet with the full membership of the Party in all the boroughs of New York at a meeting June 3, at the People's House, 7 East 15th street. The membership will discuss the problems of the Party that will come up before the conventions, and will receive their instructions.

The discussion will be led by speakers who will take both sides of the most important problem that will come up, that is, the cooperation of the Socialist Party in a new party likely to be launched.

Members of the Party in the five counties are to attend, but admission will be only by membership card. Secretaries will be on hand to accept dues from members in bad standing, to permit them to attend.

The Challenge of Socialism

I. What Socialism Challenges

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

Many people, ignorant of what Socialism stands for, sweep the Socialist movement aside with a wave of the hand as not worthy of consideration. To them, Socialists are "knockers," they find fault, they are pessimists. And that is all.

Socialists "array class against class"; they "arouse discontent among people who would otherwise be content"; Socialists are merely the unsuccessful who envy those who have succeeded, who have done better than they have, and all they want is to get some of the good things of life for themselves that they could earn honestly if they weren't so lazy and indolent. Those are the arguments.

Socialist lecturers have stood upon public platforms and have delivered carefully prepared addresses based upon history and analysis of economic processes, filled with a high idealism; and the following day they have read in the newspapers that they were loud-mouthed agitators who denounced everything indiscriminately, who found fault with everything, who were flowing neckties, and who had no good word to say about anybody or anything.

What Creates Classes

Socialists, as a matter of fact, do find fault. Many things are the matter, and Socialists busy themselves pointing out the things that are wrong.

But that isn't all.

Socialism is, in fact, a challenge. It is a challenge to capitalist society. It is a challenge to the present system. It points out its defects, but not for the sake of carping criticism, but for the sake of searching out the causes and removing them.

The most frequent criticism of

Socialists is that they create class antagonisms; they merely point them out. They show that some people are well off, some are rich, some immensely wealthy, while most are poor or miserably poor. Socialists call attention to these contrasts in pointing out the Socialist lesson of modern conditions; and the opponents of Socialism retort that those who are well off and wealthy have made their money by their own unaided efforts and are entitled to all that they have.

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Consider the self-made man and woman. John D. Rockefeller began poor. Thomas A. Edison began poor. Andrew Carnegie began miserably poor. The first Vanderbilt, the first Gould, the first Astor, all began poor. (Continued on Page 2)

BIG DELEGATION TO URGE LABOR PARTY

Engineers, Needle Workers, Painters, Among Those To Be Represented At Cleveland.

A large delegation pledged to support an anticipated attempt to form an American Labor party at the coming Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland is expected as a result of the numerous conventions of national labor unions which have been held during the last few weeks, and the efforts of the American Labor party of New York to have a large and favorable local

feature. The delegates definitely pledged to support the Labor party proposal, according to Marie B. MacDonald, organizer for the American Labor party, have been chosen by the International Fur Workers, in convention at Chicago, and the International



Marie B. MacDonald



Philip Zausner

al Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in convention at Boston.

Organizer MacDonald also appeared before the convention of the International Firemen and Stationary Engineers at Newark and urged the selection of a delegation to the Progressive Conference. The suggestion was complied with by the convention.

The convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Philadelphia, before which Marie MacDonald also appeared, decided to send a delegation of observers to both conventions to be held June 17 at St. Paul and the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held in Cleveland July 4.

Delegations favorable to the Labor party are expected at the Progressive Conference also from the International Pocketbook Makers and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.

Following a plea by Organizer MacDonald, District Council No. 9, of the Brotherhood of Painters of New York, voted to send its secretary, Philip Zausner, to the Progressive Conference. Favorable delegations are also expected from other New York labor unions, including the Bakers and the Hebrew Butchers.

Three delegates, headed by International President William Kohn, are being sent by the Upholsterers' International Union.

Delegations have also been selected by the New York organizations of the Socialist, Farmer-Labor, and American Labor parties, as well as the Poale Zion.

Similar action is being taken by the Forward Association, publishers of the Jewish Daily Forward, the Brownsville Cooperative Bakery and other cooperative and fraternal Labor bodies.

AMALGAMATED SESSIONS END

Re-election Of Hillman And Schlossberg Is Assured—Referendum Out.

No opposition to the re-election of the present general officers was indicated when the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America adjourned Sunday afternoon. General President Sidney Hillman and General Secretary Joseph Schlossberg will be formally returned to office for another two-year term through a referendum of the membership, which is also to select thirteen members for the General Executive Board from a list of forty nominees. The referendum vote is to be taken within the next sixty days.

The convention also voted that the union pursue a vigorous policy towards unionizing out-of-town and "run-away" shops which compete with the shops in the unionized centers, refused to go on record for the universal week-work system, leaving the matter to be separately decided in the different localities, and placed authority in the hands of the General Executive Board to take all necessary action to abate the state of discord within Local 2 of New York. Conditions within Local 2 were declared to be a menace to the entire union.

Following a sharp discussion of the present political situation, it was decided to send a delegation of observers to two forthcoming conventions at which attempts are scheduled to be made to organize an American Labor party, the convention to be held in St. Paul, June 17, and the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held in Cleveland July 4. The convention declared itself in favor of the formation of an American Labor party, but decided that it would be unwise to affiliate definitely with either of the two Labor political conferences until their character and intentions become more clearly discernible. That position was taken by President Sidney Hillman and other leading officials of the union.

A resolution from the Chicago delegation declared that wages received by some cutters and trimmers were in excess of the maximum set by the Board of Arbitration and referred the matter, as well as the possibility of establishing minimum rates in all markets, to the General Executive Board for action.

Other resolutions referred to the General Executive Board for action sought organization campaigns in Minneapolis, adjustment of the expiration date of the Rochester agreement from May 1 to June 1, consolidation of the joint boards of New York into one body in the interest of greater unity and strength, protests against the regulation of immigration, and proposing amalgamation of Locals 62 and 180 in New York, embracing the custom and mail order pantmakers. A resolution, introduced by Cincinnati locals providing that shop chairmen should be placed on a week-work basis instead of piece-work because their duties re-

(Continued on Page 2)

ILL. MINERS URGE NEW PLAN

Farrington Asks Study Of Super-Power Plant Proposal.

By McALISTER COLEMAN

PEORIA.—President Frank Farrington's far-visioned proposal for stabilizing the coal industry of the State and the interest displayed in the plan by all of the 580 delegates were the features of the first sessions of the biennial convention of District 12 which opened here.

When President Farrington came to that part of his report where he said, "Competition has already reached a proportion which has become a serious menace to the life of our organization and the coal industry of Illinois as well," and then went on to outline his workman-like scheme for the organization of a giant power corporation by the miners, the operators and the consumers, every delegate in the big hall leaned forward to listen with intense eagerness.

Here was something you could put your teeth into; here was a proposal for putting the coal business on a practical basis of steady production, a proposal made, by the way, not by any Government board, but by the head of the strongest unit of organized labor in the world today. History was made in this Peoria armory when President Farrington had finished his speech and you could sense the fact that the

(Continued on Page 11)

Coming Next Week

One of the notable struggles of the nineteenth century which was continued into the present century and won was the struggle of women for the suffrage. Now that women have it the question arises: "What Should They Do With It?" Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton who was a pioneer in the movement, has an answer to this question which will appear in The New Leader next week. This article is the substance of a speech Mrs. Blatch recently delivered at the national conference of the Woman's Committee for Political Action in Washington. It is one of the clearest utterances that has come from this notable woman.

Press reports recently carried news of the death of Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina. Only a few days before his death he sent an article to The New Leader bearing the title: "Labor Fighting Civilization's Battle Alone." A unique subject for a judge, isn't it? Don't miss it next week.

"I think you are giving us a corking good paper," writes a Massachusetts reader. This is the message we get from veteran Socialists and union men, from leaders, from the rank and file, and from new recruits. Appreciation may also be shown by getting subscriptions. If you know of others who would be interested show your appreciation. Get that sub! It may lead to many more!

CLOAKMAKERS PREPARE FOR STRIKE JUNE 1

St. Paul Conference Call Contains Two Unauthorized Names

That the call for the St. Paul convention is signed on behalf of important organizations that have not authorized such use of their names is indicated in a letter received by Marie MacDonald of the American Labor party from Arthur Holder, Secretary of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, dated May 19.

Holder writes: "You may be interested to know that the signed call of the St. Paul convention, which carries the name of the Progressive party of Idaho and the Progressive party of Pennsylvania, carried the names of those organizations without the knowledge or approval of these groups or the acting officials thereof."

The Progressive party of Idaho is headed by H. F. Samuels, who is a member of the Executive of the C. P. F. A., and who ran a close second as candidate for Governor in 1922, beating the Democratic candidate. The Party polled 40,516 to 50,538 Republican votes.

COMMUNISTS ABSORB SELVES

"Lefts" Pick Still Another Alias In Drive To Pack St. Paul Convention.

SCHENECTADY.—A new "Labor party," consisting of Communists united with Communists and consolidated, federated, amalgamated and joined with Communists, was launched here Sunday when a group of Communists met, declared themselves the "United Farmer-Labor Party of New York State" and undertook to get delegates elected to the St. Paul convention of June 17, in addition to the delegates the Communists have already elected under various other aliases.

The gathering consisted of ninety-two delegates, mostly well known for their activity in the Communist movement and known to be actively engaged in the attempt to multiply organizations in order to "capture" and split the St. Paul convention under instructions from the Executive of the Communist International in Moscow.

For several weeks a campaign had been going on under the direction of the so-called "Federated Farmer-Labor party"—a Communist alias—and the Buffalo "Labor party"—another Communist alias—to get unions to send delegates. The result of the intensive campaign was the ninety-two delegates, representing the Federated Farmer-Labor party, the Buffalo Labor party, the Workers' party—the original "legal" form of the Communist party—as well as local groups, Left wings of other organizations, and fraternal bodies. Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, of the "Committee of 48," who is working hard to organize a "Liberal" party opposed to a class party, was also there.

The managing committee had sent a speaker to the Schenectady Trades Assembly to get them to send a delegate. After a lengthy debate, the request was turned down, only one delegate voting against a motion to "receive and file" the invitation.

The convention, so far as is known, did not have a single delegate from a bona fide Labor organization.

The convention elected an executive of sixty members, eight of whom are from New York City. Among them are such well known American "trade unionists" as Ludwig Lore, Harry M. Winitsky, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, William Winestone, Crumline, Noah London, Jampolsky and Lifshitz.

The convention having been called to create a new organization to add additional Communist delegates to those being sent to St. Paul in accordance with orders, considerable enthusiasm among the delegates was evoked when the convention voted to elect delegates to St.

Workers Break With Manufacturers Points to General Strike in Industry.

A general strike in the ladies' garment industry of New York on June 1 appears likely as a result of the failure of the



Morris Sigman

Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association to consider five of the twelve demands presented by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. While the break in the negotiations with the manufac-

turers' body is the only break which has formally taken place, the prospect for an agreement with the jobbers' organization is not brighter.

Morris Sigman, president of the union, has directed that preparations for a strike on June 1 be immediately begun. The break in the negotiations came Wednesday, when the manufacturers' spokesman insisted that the union must forthwith withdraw its demands for the forty-hour week, increase in the minimum wage, guaranteed employment periods, use of the union label and an unemployment fund. These constitute the five most important of the ten demands presented by the union as a program for averting a return to sweat shop conditions in the industry.

Morris Hillquit, counsel to the union declares that the manufacturers' position constitutes an "ultimatum" and a "declaration of war."

According

to union officials, the proposals rejected by the employers without consideration are essential to stave off a perceptible tendency in the industry to revert to sweat-shop conditions which prevailed before the union secured its foothold in the industry.



Morris Hillquit

BOSTON.—With plans made for a possible struggle with the cloak bosses of New York, with a clearly defined stand toward the formation of a party of Labor, and toward the disturbing elements within their ranks, the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union adjourned Saturday night after two weeks of hard work and accomplishment behind them.

The delegates re-elected the old administration without a dissenting vote, the only changes being two new vice-presidents, Max Amdur and Isador Schoenholtz, in place of two who did not run for re-election. President Sigman, Secretary-Treasurer Baroff, First Vice-President Ninfo and the full crew of vice-presidents were elected by acclamation.

Louis Langer, Luigi Antonini, Louis Pinkowsky, Perlmutter and Charles Kreindler and President Sigman were elected delegates to the A. F. of L. conventions.

The International took a strong stand in favor of a Labor party, and instructed its Executive Board to elect delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, where they are to work for the formation of a Labor party, as well as instructing the delegates to the A. F. of L. to work there for a Labor party.

On the matter of internal disturbances, the convention laid down the stand that the International takes so emphatically that in the future there can be no misunderstanding. There is to be no toleration of any outside (Continued on Page 2)

Garment Union Votes Financial Support to The New Leader

BOSTON.—Correspondent support of The New Leader was voted by the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a resolution introduced by the delegates from Local 10. The resolution was carried and with it an appropriation of \$200. Later on the last day, delegates from Locals 10 and 17 introduced a supplementary resolution calling for an additional \$300.

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Saturday, May 17, 1924

THREE CONVENTIONS

AS THIS issue of The New Leader reaches its readers, three important conventions of workers are coming to a close. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Philadelphia, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Boston and the International Fur Workers' Union in Chicago have been receiving reports from their officials upon the past two years' work, and planning two more years of activity.

All three unions have been faced with similar problems, and all three have met them with courage and success. They have beaten off attacks of the union smashers, they have maintained their organizations, they have maintained the best possible conditions for their members, and they have carried on educational and political work of such character and success that they are in the very vanguard of the Labor movement. All three organizations are represented in the successful union banks of New York. They have been in the forefront of that section of the Labor movement that has stressed the need of independent political action, and they have taken an intelligent interest in the affairs of their fellow workers abroad.

All three unions have been torn by dissensions brought into their ranks by outside agencies, and all three have courageously taken their stand against such disrupters.

The New Leader, as the spokesman for the Socialist movement, greets the hundreds of thousands of workers in these three unions; it urges all its readers who are in one or another of the trades represented to do all in their power to make their work increasingly effective, and it welcomes their decision to join with the Socialists and the whole advanced section of Labor in a great Labor party that will soon place America in a position that will compare favorably with that occupied by Great Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, and other countries in which the workers use their political power as they use their industrial power.

A REMARKABLE SURVEY

A SURVEY of the voters of the United States made by Mr. Simon Michelet for the Republican National Committee has produced such remarkable results that it is worth a lengthy consideration in these columns. His survey, although not intended as such, is the most damning indictment of the two capitalist parties that has ever been drawn. His figures show that of the total number of qualified voters in the United States, almost one-half declined to vote in 1920. The following paragraph contains the gist of his investigation:

Nearly one-half of the voters of the United States fail to perform their civic duty as electors. The largest vote ever cast for President was in 1920. The total vote for all Presidential candidates was 26,713,832. This was 8,000,000 more votes than were cast in 1916, and 11,000,000 more than in 1912. Yet for every 100 votes cast for President in 1920 there were ninety-six stay-at-homes or absentees—the total stay-at-home vote reaching the vast aggregate of 25,705,063.

If we make allowance for those who were unable to vote because of sickness and other reasons, which would account for a few million of absentees at the most, the total number of absentees is still staggering. Millions of copies of old party organs reach these voters daily and weekly. They are followed up by swarms of political orators in the campaigns. Tons of free literature are sent out by the party agencies to these voters. Brass bands and other forms of entertainment are employed to win the interest of the voters. Automobiles are supplied to haul the aged, the crippled, and the indifferent to the polls. Hundreds of thousands of party workers are

employed on election day to "round up the vote." Many millions of dollars are spent for these purposes.

Despite all this activity nearly one-half of the voters in this country cannot be induced to support the parties of capitalism! What a tremendous indictment of the two-party machine of capitalist politics!

Yet another aspect must be considered before we understand the full import of this situation. Professor Merriam, in his study of "The American Party System," has thrown considerable light on the mental attitude of large numbers of those who do support the old parties. In one chapter he considers what he calls the "hereditary voters." These voters are those who inherit their political opinions from their ancestors, those who vote a ticket because of habit and veneration for their fathers and not because of any sincere attempt to make an intelligent use of their voting power.

Practically all these voters divide their votes between the Republican and Democratic parties. Of these voters Professor Merriam writes: "Statistical data on this point (the number of such voters) are not available, but from numerous tests I have made over a period of twenty years, the percentage of hereditary voters runs from sixty-five per cent to eighty-five per cent, averaging seventy-five per cent. These figures are confirmed by the observation and judgment of others, and may be considered reliable."

Here is one of the foremost authorities on the American party system stating that of the voters who do support the two capitalist parties an average of seventy-five per cent are honest but uninformed and who act as they do because of habit, not because of intelligent convictions. Add this seventy-five per cent of uninformed voters to the 25,000,000 who do not vote at all and we get a startling conclusion: It is evident that only a tiny minority of the voters of the nation offer any conscious and informed support to the two capitalist parties! The capitalist system survives in politics not because of any informed support it receives but because the great majority of voters consist of those who are disgusted and refuse to vote and of "hereditary voters" who know not why they vote.

Politically, the whole capitalist system of society is much weaker than Socialists think it is in the United States. It is evident that it rests on indifference and ignorance. Only a small minority support its two parties intelligently and this intelligent class is chiefly those who profit handsomely from the system and those who serve its parties as agents and officials.

Our job is to win the disgusted and to educate the "hereditary voters." This accomplished, the two parties of capitalism fall. Both have failed already in the minds of a great majority of the voters. Unwittingly, this Republican survey reveals a great breach in the fortress of capitalist politics. It should encourage Socialists to redouble their efforts in the work of education and organization which will lead to emancipation.

EXIT MR. BURNS

AMONG the shady characters installed at Washington was William J. Burns as head of the Bureau of Investigation. His chief recommendation was that he kept a house that supplied rats to despoilers of labor, spies and agents provocateur whose dirty services could be purchased from Burns for a price. Judicious publicity in the Sunday supplements gave this creature notoriety as a "detective." Naturally, the gang that marched into Washington in 1921 could not ignore Burns. He was essential to round out the fine collection of con men and "best minds."

Now Burns slinks out of Washington to follow his chief, Daugherty. Burns left despite the fact that he was asking an appropriation from Congress of \$2,250,000 for the work of his bureau and its swarm of yeggs. He wanted it to combat "radicalism." One of his rat-mind could not conceive of human beings opposing a system which seeks preservation through spies, provocative agents and crooks.

It is known that Burns' bureau had even engaged in spying on members of Congress, opening their mail, searching their desks and shadowing them. Meantime evidence has shown that the Department of Justice itself was headquarters for bootleggers, dope fiends and men with pasts. It was Burns' bureau that sent out the annual May Day scares of impending bloody revolts, that planted agents in Communist organizations who urged illegal acts. Burns himself never explained the mystery of his relations with "Windy Linde" or of the latter's "10,000 word confession" which Burns claimed to have knowledge of.

Burns is a synonym of how low capital-

ist control of government can sink. Every man and woman in the United States who is on the card index which he left behind in Washington may consider themselves honored in having been singled out for this distinction. Burns is a sign of a decaying social order, an order that will eventually disappear as he did from Washington last week.

THE "GOOD" IN TAMMANY

HOW unreliable the mere label "progressive" may be is illustrated by an interview in the Times with Senator Wheeler. Discussing the prospects of Governor Smith before the Democratic national convention, Wheeler observed that one difficulty is that "many people in the West know nothing of the good that has been done" by Tammany in New York.

Wheeler is certainly aware of the Tammany-Republican alliance in throwing the Socialists out of the Assembly a few years ago. He must be aware of that compound of graft, election thievery and service to capitalism which go to make up what we call Tammany in New York politics. He knows all this because he complains that only the bad in Tammany is known in the West.

If "progressivism" can show some affection for this foul thing it is a vague and abstract thing that is unreliable and that can only serve to decoy the workers to their own undoing. A working class that trusts to it for political leadership confesses itself as unable to take care of its own interests. It still has years of schooling before it and considerable training to fit it to rely on its own numbers, power, initiative and leadership. If it relies on any "progressives" that can see something "good" in Tammany it may as well prepare itself to be auctioned as merchandise because of its folly.

THE SUPER-PATRIOT

IN entering the penitentiary to serve a term of ten years Governor McCray of Indiana adds force to the statement that "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Even while McCray was using the mails to swindle thousands of people out of their earnings, he was conspicuous in trying to have the American Legion mob Eugene V. Debs a few years ago. McCray has proven to be one of the dirty spawn now become notorious in capitalist politics.

There have been so many of these super-patriots that have fallen in recent years that we suspect there is a law which makes it certain that super-patriots are fundamentally crooks. Ole Hanson, Silverware Lusk, Albert B. Fall, Harry M. Daugherty and others are of this type. It will be recalled that Daugherty on one occasion had Debs visit him in Washington and that he urged Debs to give up his agitation and "obey the law!"

The man who is afflicted with an excess of patriotism will bear watching. It is generally a flag hoisted to conceal some worthless merchandise or even deliberate swindle.

WADSWORTH AND CHILD LABOR

THE youth of the modern system of capitalist production was celebrated by the crucifixion of childhood in the early factory hells. Spattered with the tears of children, the early fortunes of our capitalists have been later fertilized by the blood of children down to the present hour.

Two crimes survive against the children of the working class, one their continued destruction in industry and the other election of poodles of the owners of industry to legislative bodies. In this latter crime the workers of the nation share the greater responsibility.

Last week Senator Wadsworth stamped upon the frail bodies of our children by objecting to the Senate giving consideration to the constitutional amendment for the abolition of child labor in the United States. Words fail us to express our contempt for this "representative" of New York.

We hope that he sleeps well while his retainers continue to sap the vitality of our children. We also hope that the action of this pompous aristocrat will spur the working class to the need of independent political representation at Washington. The price we pay for these servants of capitalism is too great for an informed working class to endure.

In one of our high schools an examination in physiology ostensibly devoted to teaching ideals of health is really devoted to the manufacture of cannon fodder. The suggestion is continually made that the student who does not care for his health would not be fit for military service. Dying for Oil Investors would be an appropriate title for this exam.

The Communist Daily Worker, in its issue of May 7, says editorially, "The Sigman-Hillquit-Forward-Socialist administration that rules by dictatorship in the International [Ladies' Garment Workers' Union] has always had long eyes on Tammany Hall, in New York City and State." The editor apparently believes that to tell the truth is a bourgeois virtue, and he will have none of it.

Literature of Oscar W. Underwood which seeks to market him as a candidate for President states that "his conservatism will command confidence" and that his "broad and liberal mind" will also bring him support. We presume his fundamentalism will also command the confidence and his modernism the support of the churches. Understand Underwood?

Considering that thrift, hard work, honor, initiative, and similar virtues constitute the secret of success, we congratulate Harry K. Thaw, Harry M. Daugherty, and other Harrys.

The Republican and Democratic conventions should adopt a rule prohibiting lighted matches by the delegates. So much oil will be exuded by the delegates that there will be danger of a fire.

THE Chatter-Box

THE SAW MILL

Here in a hill of dusty gold
The sliding mill where death is tolled
For pine and spruce and evergreen.
Here is the forest plunder seen
Caught in the thunder of a blade
That plunges purple forest shade
And flattens sunlight to a board
To build fine houses for the lord
Who comes each day with high-boot tread
To look upon the newly dead.

He counts them, and divides by four—
So many hillsides to the floor.

CHARLES WAGNER.

And now Abe Tuvim, troubadour and business getter, impounds the following to a dark lady of his quatrains. . . .

Oh, Lady With Bewitching Smiles!

Oh, lady! with your lady's smile
In me a sonnet you inspire;
And I would yield to your desire,
To win your most bewitching smile.

But the muse is an elusive vamp,
Who leads me half-way to a rhyme
And then suspends me for a time,
So playful is the little scamp.

So, lady with beguiling smile,
Although I much would win your praise,
I fear you needs must wait a while,
And pray the muse to change her ways.

And, lady dear, I would suggest
The muse another way to stir:
If you would have me rhyme my best,
Try your bewitching smile on her.

A. T.

And Abe expects a new pair of shoes, for himself, out of these rhymes. We will investigate this case, and if found deserving will ask our committee of award to consider his request.

We listened in on this lecture about American music, broadcasted from Station IZZY, given by Professor Gwumpson, of Gwumbia University, before the Irene Castle Chapter of the American Legion, last night.

"Ladies and Gentlemen:
"We have no tolerance or respect for the opinions of foreign born so-called music lovers. For what nation besides our glorious United States has created a music so universal in its appeal, so rhythmic to the heart beats of a progressive world, so cosmic in its harmony with life itself? Hats off to 100 per cent American Jazztime. The Olympian gods, the centaurs, the Naiads, the fauns, and all the ilk of Elfeland are shivering shoulders, quivering limbs, and bobbing bobbed heads to the tantalizing melodies of our genius.

"Wagner cannot make the weight, Puccini hasn't anything but his mitt, Beethoven couldn't hit the side of a barn alongside of our Champion Babe Berlins. It is sickening to hear some of the intelligentsia grow oozy over a Tannhauser Overture, a Rudolph's Narrative, or Beethoven's Appassionata. Shucks! You can't shimmy a hip to that sort of rignarole.
"But give us the 'Alabama Blues,' or 'She Didn't Say Yes and She Didn't Say No,' a dizzy drummer and a dreamy saxophone, and then can heaven be far behind?
"We are finding ourselves through Jazz. Jazz is pep, go-gettem, put it across, bring home the bacon—making good. Without jazz life would be razz. And while the foreigners put up their bluff about understanding the Nibelungen Ring, the tone lyrics of Debussy, and such truck, let us just get closer in our dance halls and cabarets, put in a loud needle on that dance record, hook up the loud speaker, and pump the old pianola till the bellows squeak. Let us drown out those free-lunching music fakers, with their Tschkowskis, Moskowskis, Bowwowskis, Schuberts, Bachs, and De Pachmanns in our own unapproachable, invincible, all-conquering 100 per cent American Yankee Doodle Jazz." (Sustained applause.)

AFTER THOUGHTS

Some day, somebody authoritative and experienced enough will confess that our modern dancing is a most admissible excuse for hugging the "other" woman or man in public.

A movie with a Pola Negri, or any other soft svelte, seductive, silk-sheathed dame, furnishes the inspiration. Any hall will do for a rendezvous, we mean dance hall, and any good band can furnish the conventional rhythm and convulsions.

On with Jazz and the dance, we say, and off with pretense. We always detested the hypocritical Puritans who, after preaching stern and rigorous decorum in daylight, sneaked off behind rocks and shadows at night to purloin a hug or a kiss.

This public institution for sex recreation, the American dance hall, and cabaret, is a healthy step toward open diplomacy.

S. A. DE WITT.

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The New Leader

In this Issue:
**THE CHALLENGE
OF SOCIALISM**

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Twelve Pages

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LABOR CRUSHING OUT LIBERAL PARTY

Georgeites Defied To Execute Threats To Vote Against MacDonald Government.

LONDON.—"If you are going to turn us out, get on with the job." That was Arthur Henderson's sturdy defiance of the whining of the Liberals, who have been complaining of the brilliant success of the Labor Government has placed them in. The Liberals believed that when they voted to turn out the Tories in January they would get something for it as a reward.



MARGARET BONDFIELD

They have got nothing, and will get nothing, and they are rampaging up and down the country threatening to join the Tories and turn out the Labor Government in revenge.

"Go on, turn us out!" the Laborites have been taunting the Liberals. They know that the Liberals dare not unite with the Tories in a vote of censure, because they are afraid that an election will wipe them out. And no less than they fear the election do they hate the pocket that they are in now. Lloyd George, who withers and dies when he isn't in the limelight, cannot stand the position of being only the second in command of a disappearing party, and so he has been making provocative speeches.

That is his way of squaring himself and keeping in the limelight, and at the same time refraining from causing a Cabinet crisis that would result in an election in which the Liberal party would sustain a catastrophic defeat. Maybe he also thinks that by shouting loudly enough the Government will take him into its inner councils. He is also known to be intriguing to oust Asquith from the leadership.

Anyway, his peevish outburst and the sniping attacks upon the Labor party in Parliament have resulted in a clearer definition of the relations of the parties than has hitherto been had. Further, when the Tories a few days ago, moved a vote of censure against the Government for repealing the McKenna duties—believed to be the entering wedge for a protective tariff—the Liberals could not vote for it because to do so would mean a vote for Protection, which is contrary to the widely advertised principles of the Liberal party. And so the Liberals are still further weakened.

At the same time, Henderson, J. R. Clynes, Harry Gosling, Tom Shaw, Stephen Walsh, Margaret Bondfield, and the Premier himself have been making speeches about the country defining the position of the Labor party with relation to the Liberals. In a remarkable speech a day or two ago Clynes said:

"The spectacle of Mr. Lloyd George reproving the Government (Continued from Page 11)

The Challenge of Socialism

1. What Socialism Challenges

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

Many people, ignorant of what Socialism stands for, sweep the Socialist movement aside with a wave of the hand as not worthy of consideration. To them, Socialists are "knockers," they find fault, they are pessimists. And that is all. Socialists "array class against class"; they "arouse discontent among people who would otherwise be content"; Socialists are merely the unsuccessful who envy those who have succeeded, who have done better than they have, and all they want is to get some of the good things of life for themselves that they could earn honestly if they weren't so lazy and indolent. Those are the arguments.

Socialist lecturers have stood upon public platforms and have delivered carefully prepared addresses based upon history and analysis of economic processes, filled with a high idealism; and the following day they have read in the newspapers that they were loud-mouthed agitators who denounced everything indiscriminately, who found fault with everything, who wore flowing neckties, and who had no good word to say about anybody or anything.

What Creates Classes
Socialists, as a matter of fact, do find fault. Many things are the matter, and Socialists busy themselves pointing out the things that are wrong.

But that isn't all. Socialism is, in fact, a challenge. It is a challenge to capitalist society. It is a challenge to the present system. It points out its defects, but not for the sake of carping criticism, but for the sake of searching out the causes and removing them.

The most frequent criticism of

Socialists is that they create class antagonisms; that they are envious; that they would penalize thrift and put a premium upon shiftlessness. This criticism gets to the roots of the problems the Socialists are trying to solve.

Socialists do not create class antagonisms; they merely point them out. They show that some people are well off, some are rich, some immensely wealthy, while most are poor or miserably poor. Socialists call attention to these contrasts in pointing out the Socialist lesson of modern conditions; and the opponents of Socialism retort that those who are well off and wealthy have made their money by their own unaided efforts and are entitled to all that they have.

Consider the self-made man and woman. John D. Rockefeller began poor. Thomas A. Edison began poor. Andrew Carnegie began miserably poor. The first Vanderbilt, the first Gould, the first Astor, all began poor.

(Continued on Page 2)

BIG DELEGATION TO URGE LABOR PARTY

Engineers, Needle Workers, Painters, Among Those To Be Represented At Cleveland.

A large delegation pledged to support an anticipated attempt to form an American Labor party at the coming Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland is expected as a result of the numerous conventions of national labor unions which have been held during the last few weeks, and the efforts of the American Labor party of New York to secure a large and favorable local delegation.

Delegates definitely pledged to support the Labor party proposal, according to Marie B. MacDonald, organizer for the American Labor party, have been chosen by the International Fur Workers, in convention at Chicago, and the International



Marie B. MacDonald



Philip Zausner

al Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in convention at Boston.

Organizer MacDonald also appeared before the convention of the International Firemen and Stationary Engineers at Newark and urged the selection of a delegation to the Progressive Conference. The suggestion was complied with by the convention.

The convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Philadelphia, before which Marie MacDonald also appeared, decided to send a delegation of observers to both conventions to be held June 17 at St. Paul and the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held in Cleveland July 4.

Delegations favorable to the Labor party are expected at the Progressive Conference also from the International Pocketbook Makers and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. Following a plea by Organizer MacDonald, District Council No. 9, of the Brotherhood of Painters of New York, voted to send its secretary, Philip Zausner, to the Progressive Conference. Favorable delegations are also expected from other New York Labor unions, including the Bakers and the Hebrew Butchers.

Three delegates, headed by International President William Kohn, are being sent by the Upholsterers' International Union.

Delegations have also been selected by the New York organizations of the Socialist, Farmer-Labor, and American Labor parties, as well as the Poale Zion.

Similar action is being taken by the Forward Association, publishers of the Jewish Daily Forward, the Brownsville Cooperative Bakery and other cooperative and fraternal Labor bodies.

AMALGAMATED SESSIONS END

Re-election Of Hillman And Schlossberg Is Assured—Referendum Out.

No opposition to the re-election of the present general officers was indicated when the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America adjourned Sunday afternoon. General President Sidney Hillman and General Secretary Joseph Schlossberg will be formally returned to office for another two-year term through a referendum of the membership, which is also to select thirteen members for the General Executive Board from a list of forty nominees. The referendum vote is to be taken within the next sixty days.

The convention also voted that the union pursue a vigorous policy towards unionizing out-of-town and "run-away" shops which compete with the shops in the unionized centers, refused to go on record for the universal week-work system, leaving the matter to be separately decided in the different localities, and placed authority in the hands of the General Executive Board to take all necessary action to abate the state of discord within Local 2 of New York. Conditions within Local 2 were declared to be a menace to the entire union.

Following a sharp discussion of the present political situation, it was decided to send a delegation of observers to two forthcoming conventions at which attempts are scheduled to be made to organize an American Labor party, the convention to be held in St. Paul, June 17, and the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held in Cleveland July 4. The convention declared itself in favor of the formation of an American Labor party, but decided that it would be unwise to affiliate definitely with either of the two Labor political conferences until their character and intentions become more clearly discernible. That position was taken by President Sidney Hillman and other leading officials of the union.

A resolution from the Chicago delegation declared that wages received by some cutters and trimmers were in excess of the maximum set by the Board of Arbitration and referred the matter, as well as the possibility of establishing minimum rates in all markets, to the General Executive Board for action.

Other resolutions referred to the General Executive Board for action sought organization campaigns in Minneapolis, adjustment of the expiration date of the Rochester agreement from May 1 to June 1, consolidation of the joint boards of New York into one body in the interest of greater unity and strength, protests against the regulation of immigration, and proposing amalgamation of Locals 62 and 180 in New York, embracing the custom and mail order pantmakers. A resolution introduced by Cincinnati locals providing that shop chairmen should be placed on a week-work basis instead of piece-work because their duties re-

(Continued on Page 3)

ILL. MINERS URGE NEW PLAN

Farrington Asks Study Of Super-Power Plant Proposal.

By McALISTER COLEMAN

PEORIA.—President Frank Farrington's far-visioned proposal for stabilizing the coal industry of the State and the interest displayed in the plan by all of the 560 delegates were the features of the first sessions of the biennial convention of District 12 which opened here.

When President Farrington came to that part of his report where he said, "Competition has already reached a proportion which has become a serious menace to the life of our organization and the coal industry of Illinois as well," and then went on to outline his workman-like scheme for the organization of a giant power corporation by the miners, the operators and the consumers, every delegate in the big hall leaned forward to listen with intense eagerness.

Here was something you could put your teeth into; here was a proposal for putting the coal business on a practical basis of steady production, a proposal made, by the way, not by any Government board, not by any great corporation, but by the head of the strongest unit of organized labor in the world today. History was made in this Peoria armory when President Farrington had finished his speech and you could sense the fact that the

(Continued on Page 11)

CLOAKMAKERS PREPARE FOR STRIKE JUNE 1

St. Paul Conference Call Contains Two Unauthorized Names

That the call for the St. Paul convention is signed on behalf of important organizations that have not authorized such use of their names is indicated in a letter received by Marie MacDonald of the American Labor party from Arthur Holder, Secretary of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, dated May 19.

Holder writes: "You may be interested to know that the signed call of the St. Paul convention, which carries the name of the Progressive party of Idaho and the Progressive party of Pennsylvania, carried the names of those organizations without the knowledge or approval of these groups or the acting officials thereof."

The Progressive party of Idaho is headed by H. F. Samuels, who is a member of the Executive of the C. P. P. A., and who ran a close second as candidate for Governor in 1922, beating the Democratic candidate. The Party polled 40,516 to 50,538 Republican votes.

Workers Break With Manufacturers Points to General Strike in Industry.

A general strike in the ladies' garment industry of New York on June 1 appears likely as a result of the failure of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association to consider five of the twelve demands presented by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. While the break in the negotiations with the manufacturers' body is the only break which has formally taken place, the prospect for an agreement with the jobbers' organization is not brighter.

Morris Sigman, president of the union, has directed that preparations for a strike on June 1 be immediately begun.

The break in the negotiations came Wednesday, when the manufacturers' spokesmen insisted that the union must forthwith withdraw its demands for the forty-hour week, increase in the minimum wage, guaranteed employment periods, use of the union label and an unemployment fund. These constitute the five most important of the ten demands presented by the union as a program for averting a return to sweat shop conditions in the industry.

Morris Hillquit, counsel to the union declares that the manufacturers' position constitutes an "ultimatum" and a "declaration of war."

According to union officials, the proposals rejected by the employers without consideration are essential to stave off a perceptible tendency in the industry to revert to sweat-shop conditions which prevailed before the union secured its foothold in the industry.

BOSTON.—With plans made for a possible struggle with the cloak bosses of New York, with a clearly defined stand toward the formation of a party of Labor, and toward the disturbing elements within their ranks, the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union adjourned Saturday night after two weeks of hard work and accomplishment behind them.

The delegates re-elected the old administration without a dissenting vote, the only changes being two new vice-presidents, Max Amdur and Isador Schoenholtz, in place of two who did not run for re-election. President Sigman, Secretary-Treasurer Baroff, First Vice-President Ninfo and the full crew of vice-presidents were elected by acclamation.

Louis Langer, Luigi Antonini, Louis Pinkowsky, Perlmutter and Charles Kreindler and President Sigman were elected delegates to the A. F. of L. conventions.

The International took a strong stand in favor of a Labor party, and instructed its Executive Board to elect delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, where they are to work for the formation of a Labor party, as well as instructing the delegates to the A. F. of L. to work there for a Labor party.

On the matter of internal disturbances, the convention laid down the stand that the International takes so emphatically that in the future there can be no misunderstanding. There is to be no toleration of any outside (Continued on Page 2)

Garment Union Votes Financial Support to The New Leader

BOSTON.—Correspondent support of The New Leader was voted by the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a resolution introduced by the delegates from Local 10. The resolution was carried and with it an appropriation of \$200. Later on the last day, delegates from Locals 10 and 17 introduced a supplementary resolution calling for an additional \$300.

COMMUNISTS ABSORB SELVES

"Lefts" Pick Still Another Alias In Drive To Pack St. Paul Convention.

SCHENECTADY.—A new "Labor party," consisting of Communists united with Communists and consolidated, federated, amalgamated and joined with Communists, was launched here Sunday when a group of Communists met, declared themselves the "United Farmer-Labor Party of New York State" and undertook to get delegates elected to the St. Paul convention of June 17, in addition to the delegates the Communists have already elected under various other aliases.

The gathering consisted of ninety-two delegates, mostly well known for their activity in the Communist movement and known to be actively engaged in the attempt to multiply organizations in order to "capture" and split the St. Paul convention under instructions from the Executive of the Communist International in Moscow.

For several weeks a campaign had been going on under the direction of the so-called "Federated Farmer-Labor party"—a Communist alias—and the Buffalo "La'or party"—another Communist alias—to get unions to send delegates. The result of the intensive campaign was the ninety-two delegates, representing the Federated Farmer-Labor party, the Buffalo Labor party, the Workers' party—the original "legal" form of the Communist party—as well as local groups, Left wings of other organizations, and fraternal bodies. Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, of the "Committee of 48," who is working hard to organize a "Liberal" party opposed to a class party, was also there.

The managing committee had sent a speaker to the Schenectady Trades Assembly to get them to send a delegate. After a lengthy debate, the request was turned down, only one delegate voting against a motion to "receive and file" the invitation.

The convention, so far as is known, did not have a single delegate from a bona fide Labor organization.

The convention elected an executive of sixty members, eight of whom are from New York City. Among them are such well known American "trade unionists" as Ludwig Lore, Harry M. Winitzky, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, William Winestone, Crumrine, Noah London, Jampolsky and Lifshitz.

The convention having been called to create a new organization to add additional Communist delegates to those being sent to St. Paul in accordance with orders, considerable enthusiasm among the delegates was evoked when the convention voted to elect delegates to St.

Coming Next Week

One of the notable struggles of the nineteenth century which was continued into the present century and won was the struggle of women for the suffrage. Now that women have it the question arises: "What Should They Do With It?" Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton who was a pioneer in the movement, has an answer to this question which will appear in The New Leader next week. This article is the substance of a speech Mrs. Blatch recently delivered at the national conference of the Woman's Committee for Political Action in Washington. It is one of the clearest utterances that has come from this notable woman.

Press reports recently carried news of the death of Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina. Only a few days before his death he sent an article to The New Leader bearing the title: "Labor Fighting Civilization's Battle Almost Alone." A unique subject for a judge, isn't it? Don't miss it next week.

"I think you are giving us a corking good paper," writes a Massachusetts reader. This is the message we get from veteran Socialists and union men, from leaders, from the rank and file, and from new recruits. Appreciation may also be shown by getting subscriptions. If you know of others who would be interested show your appreciation. Get that sub! It may lead to many more!

(Continued on Page 3)

40-HOUR WEEK IS FAVORED

Health Bureau Favors Short Hours As Protective Step.

The 40-hour, five-day week in industry as a health protective measure was urged upon organized labor at a convention of the Workers' Health Bureau, which met in the auditorium of the Rand School Saturday and Sunday.

Representatives of over 50 labor unions from New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Wisconsin, and health experts from Yale, Harvard and Ohio State universities participated in the conference.

Speakers at the convention included Prof. Yandell Henderson of Yale, Prof. Emory R. Hayhurst of Ohio State University, Dr. Joseph Renikoff of Harvard and Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of the Cooperative League of America.

Plans for reducing "sickness, disability, and premature death" in dangerous occupations were adopted. These plans include a nation-wide campaign along the following lines:

1. To organize trade union workers in dangerous occupations on the field of health.

2. To include health safeguards for the protection of workers in all future trade agreements with employers.

3. To urge the proper city, State and national Government departments to provide adequate safeguards for the protection of workers employed on public works involving poisons or other dangers.

4. To urge Boards of Education that children in trade schools be protected against any possible injury to health from learning an occupation.

5. To eliminate dangerous devices like the spray painting machine until practical safeguards in their use have been found.

6. To bring to the attention of the proper State and Labor officials all violations of health rules and regulations provided by law.

7. The adoption throughout the country of uniform and adequate compensation laws for occupational diseases.

8. To eliminate harmful work materials whenever satisfactory substitutes have been found.

9. To secure State legislation requiring that all dangerous work materials be labelled to show the poisons they contain.

Rail Unions' Bill Again Blocked in House; Progressive Head Renigs on Nationalization

By MARX LEWIS

WASHINGTON.—With the adjournment of Congress about two weeks off, if present plans go through, friends of labor and agriculture, who entered the present Congress with high hopes because of the Progressive delegation which was to hold the balance of power, will find themselves with nothing but the hopes which they entered to remind them of the coming and going of the session.

Neither Labor, with the Howell-Barkley bill, which was to benefit the Railroad Brotherhoods and the shop crafts employed on the railroad—nor agriculture, with its McNary-Haugen bill, which was to benefit, not the farmer generally, but only the wheat farmers, will find conditions materially affected when the curtain is rung down on June 7.

The Issue Clarified

As far as the Howell-Barkley Bill is concerned, the prediction made in these columns several weeks ago that the measure will probably fail, was brought a step nearer fulfillment early in the week.

Following an all day wrangle, during which the looked-for filibuster of the old guard to prevent the passage of the measure in the House materialized, the champions of the measure were obliged to agree to have further consideration of the bill postponed for two weeks. This will bring it up one week before adjournment, when dilatory tactics may again prove effective.

As against the heroic but necessarily vain fight which Labor and its friends were making for the bill, the issue was clarified and more carefully drawn as a result of the introduction by Representative Victor L. Berger of a bill providing for the nationalization of the railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, express companies, and other industries engaged in interstate commerce.

The resolution served a twofold purpose: in the first place, it set forth the program upon which the Socialists plan to solve the railroad problem, and to that extent held aloft the banner around which, sooner or later, real Progressives must rally; in the second place, it was the means by which Representative Berger succeeded in exposing the limitations of the Progressive group in the House.

It was in its second purpose that the distinction was made the clearer. And this is how Berger suc-

ceeded in placing the Progressive group on record:

The program of the La Follette Progressive delegates, recently elected in Wisconsin, declares specifically that the railroads should be operated by the Government. When Representative John M. Nelson, of Wisconsin, leader of the La Follette Group in the House concluded his speech on the Howell-Barkley bill, in which speech he dwelt particularly upon the propaganda campaign the railroad owners have conducted to defeat the measure, Representative Berger rose and asked:

Berger Questions Nelson

"Is not the gentleman of the opinion that this propaganda will continue and must continue as long as the railroads are in private hands?"

"I rather think so," Mr. Nelson replied. To which Representative Sanders, of Indiana, said: "The gentleman is in favor of Government ownership?"

"No; I am not," replied Mr. Nelson.

To make sure that the leader of the Progressive group was de-



Congressman Berger



Congressman Cooper

ing his own party program, Berger repeated the question, and Nelson reiterated his reply.

Thus the Progressives, making a fight which is bound to result in defeat, for if passed by the House, the Barkley Bill will get lost in the Senate, turn their backs on what they have themselves declared to be the only solution of the problem.

Apparently unrelated, and yet as a striking illustration of the ineffectiveness of a legislative fight of this kind, when the dominant elements are opposed to it, is the action which was taken on the soldiers' adjusted compensation bill. The vote to pass the measure over the President's veto reflected what was an almost unanimous desire to have the law enacted. A mere handful, opposed it in both Houses. Yet the President's veto was overcome by just two votes in the Senate.

The hopelessness of obtaining a genuine reform in the face of a situation which enables the executive to exert power equal to that of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress must have impressed the group in Congress which contemplates eradicating certain fundamental abuses by the reformation of rules relating to Parliamentary procedure.

Applied to the very bill in which they are interested—the Howell-Barkley Bill—it is evident that even if they were in the majority, they would be helpless in the face of executive opposition.

Farmers Get Nothing

Nor is the situation with respect to the agricultural situation much brighter. If Labor is to get little, agriculture generally will get nothing, even if the McNary-Haugen Bill, on which even the Progressives seem divided, is passed. It is denounced as paternalistic, and therefore, is characterized as being Socialistic.

It is paternalistic, as Berger will take occasion to point out during the discussion of the bill, because it is intended to benefit only one group—the wheat grower. Besides it seeks to create an artificial price for wheat—a price which is in de-

fiance of all economic law. But, he will also point out Socialism and paternalism is not synonymous. But if the bill does pass, it will afford little relief, will afford it temporarily, and then only to a small part of the population requiring the relief.

For a number of reasons, the educational value of a measure which proposes a fundamental reform, such as a bill nationalizing the railroads, assumes a greater significance, for if its chances of passage are not bright, they are at least as bright as those of the expedient upon which the Progressives have concentrated. And it has the added advantage of being a real reform, to which the people can be educated.

In a statement which he issued in connection with his bill for nationalization, Berger said:

Berger for Nationalization

"The argument for public ownership of all railroads and highways as the ultimate solution of the railroad problem is so strong that it has won over nearly the whole world, outside of the United States.

"Railroads are public highways and are performing a public service. Public service should be for public benefit, not for private profit. It is in the nature of private ownership and private operation to obtain private profit, and to subordinate the public benefit to private profit wherever the two conflict.

"Moreover, it is an economic blunder and an abuse of Governmental power to put into the hands of a small portion of the people the highways of the country to be managed by this small portion of the people for their own profit and advantage.

"It is unnecessary to prove the continuous danger that the nation is subjected to by the struggles between the owners of the railroads and their employees as long as the railroads remain in private hands.

"Private management was not only inefficient, but so inefficient that the Government had to take over the railroads during the war in order to be able to make any use of them at all. Besides being inefficient, private ownership of these utilities is one of the worst corrupting influences in our public life. The railroads have always tried to influence Congress and State Legislatures by all means, fair and foul.

Failure of Competition

"Everybody will agree that competition has failed to protect the public interest. For a while competition enabled some big shippers to occasionally play one railroad against another where more than one road entered the same locality. Competition has wasted a great amount of capital. Result? Consolidation under one control has gone a long way to remove the waste of competition. The original 5,000 companies have dwindled down to about 500, and even these are greatly massed in six great systems with many interlocking directorates.

"Regulation has also failed—in this country as it did in Europe. Rate regulation has made the rates higher instead of lower, as they would have otherwise been in our country.

"The only way to assure and secure efficient management of the railroads in the public interest—and also to eradicate and avoid a great deal of corruption—is to make the railroads public property and the railroad managers the servants of the nation, and to run them in very much the same manner as we do the Post Office Department.

"And what is said for the railroads holds good also in every particular for the public ownership of the telegraph, cable and telephone lines. As for the private express companies, they would surely go out of business the moment the Government acquired the railroads."

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S LAST LECTURE HERE TO BE GIVEN MAY 28

Bertrand Russell, distinguished British Socialist and scientist, will deliver his farewell lecture in the United States next Wednesday night at Cooper Union, on the subject of "How to Be Free and Happy."

The lecture will be under the auspices of Free Youth, the local Yip-sel magazine, and whatever surplus there will be from the affair will be used to promote that periodical.

In recognition of Russell's remarkable tour of this country, and out of regard to his standing as a philosopher and leader of thought, a committee has been assembled to serve as a farewell committee and as honorary vice-chairmen of the meeting. This committee will be headed by Heywood Brown and John Haynes Holmes, and other members will be Gertrude Weil Klein, editor of Free Youth; Bertha H. Mailly; H. L. Mencken, editor of the American Mercury; Harry Dana; James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader; Lewis S. Gannett, associate editor of The Nation; Scott Nearing; Devere Allen, editor of the World Tomorrow; Thomas Seltzer, publisher; B. C. Viadeck of the Jewish Daily Forward; Morris Hillquit; Algernon Lee; Norman Thomas, Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

Labor Temple to Erect \$1,000,000 Structure

The Labor Temple, at 14th street and Second avenue, is to be demolished and a new church building costing \$1,000,000 erected on the well-known site, according to the Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee, the superintendent. The purpose is to enlarge upon the present work of the institution by increasing the facilities. A chapel, auditorium, gymnasium, classrooms, and a roof garden playground are to be some of the features of the new building, which will be six stories high. The demolition of the present structure, which was taken over in 1914 by the New York Presbytery, begins within two weeks. The new project is being guaranteed by a number of businessmen who have agreed to occupy stores and office space.

Rev. Wilson to Speak Sunday on Socialism

Rev. A. L. Wilson, pastor of the Peoples' Congregational Church, Ridgefield Park, N. J., will begin a series of sermons on Sunday, May 25, at 11 a. m., on "The Challenge of Socialism to the Church and the World."

The church is located on the corner of Euclid avenue and Cedar street, Ridgefield Park, N. J.

DEMOCRATS FOR CHILD LABOR

Overman Calls Enslaving of Youth Compatible With Constitution.

RALEIGH, N. C.—Leading statesmen of the Democratic party went to work in their childhood, and they had to earn their own living from a very early age. That is why the Democratic South is opposed to a Federal child labor amendment, that is, why the Southern gentlemen are opposed to any restriction upon the labor of babies in cotton mills, and that is why the noble party that hopes to win the Government at the next election has a large, influential and dominant section that will fight to the bitter end against any legislation aiming to end child slavery.

While the statements of southern statesmen are amusing to the last degree, it is not amusing that in the event of a Democratic sweep they will have the dominant voice in formulating labor legislation, nor is it amusing that this bitter-end anti-labor party is angling for the support of the organized workers.

The Lions' Club is a national organization of the embattled Babbity of the country, composed of business men who eat lunch together once in a while, listen to "he-man" speeches and consider themselves important. The Charlotte, N. C., Lions recently passed a resolution to the effect that the proposed child labor amendment is "unpatriotic, uneconomic and un-American."

That is the business men's view. Senator Lee S. Overman of this State, who will be one of the big administration leaders if the Democrats win, not only opposes the passage of the amendment, but he is prepared to organize a national campaign to defeat ratification in the State legislatures if the amendment passes Congress. He said recently about the amendment:

"Now the people—of New England and the West, the union Labor, and the good women of this country are trying to put something over on us which will be a menace to our whole system of government."

"I worked when I was a boy fifteen years of age, and I feel that I am a better man for having done so, and I have no doubt practically every man of my age in the South did likewise."

"This amendment proposes to keep boys under eighteen years of age from working on the farm or elsewhere, and I am not in favor of giving any such power to Congress."

"This matter has been pending in the committee for months, and so far I have succeeded in staving it off, but it will soon come up in the Senate, and as all the New England and Western Senators seem to favor it, I am afraid it will pass."

"When it does pass we want to go to work in our legislatures and defeat it there, as it takes three-fourths of the States to adopt it."

International May Call Strike

(Continued from Page 1)
organization—specifically the Trade Union Educational League—that attempts to interfere with the internal business of the union. The two weeks were taken up largely in thrashing these matters out, and as a result of the arguments made by the administration forces, it is understood that some of the League delegates went home as missionaries of the anti-League point of view.

The convention also made generous donations to the work of the Socialist Party, the Rand School, the Young People's Socialist League, Free Youth, The New Leader and many other organizations.

A. C. W. Ends Convention

(Continued From Page 1.)

quire so much time was disapproved. Marie B. MacDonald, who appeared for the American Labor party, was given an enthusiastic reception when she spoke Thursday afternoon, urging that a delegation favoring the formation of National Labor party be sent to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action July 4. Equally warm receptions were accorded Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy, Henry Fructer of the Naturalization Aid League, William Mahoney of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party, and Algernon Lee and Judge Panken of the Socialist Party.

The following were nominated for membership on the General Executive Board: Hyman Blumber, Frank Rosenblum, Samuel Levin, Sidney Rissman, August Bellanca, Mamie Santora, A. D. Mariampietri, Abraham Miller, Lazarus Marcovitz, S. Skala, L. Krzycki, M. Weinstein, Peter Monat, Joseph Gold, I. Catalenotti, N. Capraro, Alexander Cohen, Phil Lacastra, Philip De Luca, A. Cursi, Phil Wiener, J. Bakampis, G. Procopio, Paul Anone, Murray Spitzer, Anton Jenkins, David Wolf, G. Artoni, Philip Ahrenberg, M. Benarowicz, L. Hollander, Sam Rudow, Jack Kroll, Sam Liptzen, Nathan Siegel, E. Grandinetti, Abe Silverman and Anna Schwartz.

Through a regrettable error The New Leader reported last week that

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a new Executive Board had been declared elected. The personnel mentioned in The New Leader last week had been elected two years ago.

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MOSCOW O. K.'S PLANTOPACK ST. PAUL

Third International In- structs Active Participa- tion to Split Conference.

The campaign to pack the St. Paul Farmer-Labor convention of June 17 with Communists who will come there for the express purpose of "capturing" and splitting it is well under way, in accordance with instructions of the Communist International. Final definite instructions to go ahead were received this week by the Communists in America.

The convention was called to form a national Farmer-Labor party, and many elements entered the movement in good faith, hoping to unite all the bodies in favor of such action into a party that will make a real impression in the 1924 elections, and lay the foundation for a permanent national Labor party.

The Communists, through their so-called "Federated Farmer-Labor party," entered the movement and have been engaged for several months in trying to pack the convention. At the same time there has been a fierce factional fight within the Communist ranks over the matter of participation in the convention. The question was referred to the Executive in Moscow, and the instructions finally came this week, ordering the Communists to go in and carry on their activities within the convention and the organization that will be formed.

At the same time, the Communists are busily engaged in multiplying organizations to enable them to multiply their representation, while the bona fide Labor and political organizations are beginning to look askance at the entire enterprise.

It is virtually certain that the Communists will name Senator La Follette for President, and it is equally as certain that La Follette will refuse to run as soon as he is convinced that the Communists have dominated the gathering. The latter have openly declared that they are only using the Senator's popularity, and the popularity of the movement, to aid them in "consolidating" their forces.

As part of this campaign, the Central Executive Committee of the "Workers' party"—one of the numerous Communist aliases—has made public a letter to the Socialist Party in which it "demands" that the latter join them in their present campaign.

The instructions of the Communist International came by cable following reference to it of a dispute within the Communist ranks in this country. An elaborate set of "theses" "on the present Economic and Political Situation and on Labor Party Policy" was prepared by Charles E. Ruthenberg and an individual calling himself John Pepper, and adopted by the "Workers' party" of America. Pepper is the official ambassador of the Communist Interna-

Industrial Democracy League Conference to be held June 25

"I am a Republican," began a popular speaker the other day, "by birth and inertia." He was interrupted by laughter and applause in which his large audience joined without dissent. He went on to say that if he were a Democrat it would be for the same reasons. This generally admitted unreality in the differences between our two parties makes more pertinent the question: Why is it that the United States alone among industrial nations has no strong party representing the interests of the workers? This question is being asked with especial insistence this year when both of the old parties have been more or less besmirched by the revelations in the oil scandals while in Great Britain a Labor party has come into office.

New parties do not just happen. They have to be planned. They are not born of the desire of a few but of the necessities of the many. Yet a consideration of arguments for and against a third party and intelligent discussion of its tasks ought to make for more enlightened political action in the United States.

With this thought the League for Industrial Democracy at its annual summer conference is discussing the question: The Task Before an American Labor Party. It is deliberately planning to get representations of different shades of thought to participate in that discussion. It will cut the number of formal speeches to a minimum and run the conference on the discussion method.

Among the specific questions to be discussed are the possibilities and limits of political action; the economic and political basis for an American Labor party, and an immediate legislative program for such a party. 'International questions will not be neglected, nor will the practical questions of propaganda technique be ignored. Among the leaders of discussion who are expected are Robert Morse Lovett of the University of Chicago; Senator Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota; Morris Hillquit, Scott Nearing, James G. McDonald, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Stuart Chase, George Soule, and John Brophy, President District No.

10, New York City. The conference will leave the afternoons free for recreation. This year, as last, an informal play will be given by conference members in which some of the questions seriously discussed in meeting will be humorously presented on the stage.

While no one expects this conference to nominate a candidate for the presidency, we may expect a better understanding of the problems of a third party as a result of discussion of it by ardent enthusiasts and skeptics, by college professors, students, Labor leaders, and others concerned for more effective political action in America.

The place of the conference is the New Columbia Hotel, Belmar, New Jersey. The hotel is on the ocean front and has many facilities for recreation. The time of the conference is Wednesday, June 25 to Sunday, June 29. Full particulars as to rates or as to reports of the conference proceedings for the benefit of those who cannot attend may be had by writing to the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth avenue, New York City.

College Students Turning to Labor, Paul Blanshard Finds

That the college student of the country is becoming increasingly responsive to the challenge of Labor and increasingly interested in all problems of industrial democracy, is the belief of Paul Blanshard, Field Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, on his return to New York from a seven months' tour of the colleges of the country.

During his trip, which extended from Maine to California, Mr. Blanshard visited eighty-five colleges and universities, addressed some 35,000 students and 15,000 men and women in city groups and brought into the league some 2,500 student members. League chapters now exist in Yale, Dartmouth, Columbia, Wellesley, Vassar, Oberlin, Wisconsin, Stanford, Reed, and many other colleges.

Blanshard, who is now in New York, is the secretary of the party here. There was a dispute over the proper position to be taken with respect to a "third" party, and it was submitted for adjudication to Moscow.

The views of the Communist International found expression in the following cablegram: "The Communist International considers the convention of June 17 of tremendous importance to the Workers' party. It demands that the Central Executive Committee shall not relax in the work of preparation but shall utilize all means at its disposal to make the St. Paul convention a powerful, representative gathering of American Labor and of the Left Wing."

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The differences of opinion referred exclusively to the stand towards an electoral alliance with the La Fol-

lette "third" party, and as to that, as far as we are informed, the decision of the Communist International has not yet been rendered.

Other official pronouncements have been made by officials of the Communist International that it is necessary to "capture" the St. Paul convention, split it and use it for their own purposes.

Because the Socialist Party understands the meaning of the Communist "united front" it has declined to cooperate with them in any political maneuver.

2,500 Engineers Win \$1 a Day Raise

A strike of 2,500 engineers and other workers employed in refrigerating plants, with a consequent tie-up of the perishable food industry, was averted last Thursday when the employers granted the \$1.00 per day increase demanded, just as the strike was to have commenced.

Another, however, will not spend; he will not carouse; he will not be a man among men; he will not take care of his family. He will save. He will hoard. He will squeeze the dollar until the eagle screams.

Then, the two kinds of workers will stand about as follows: one will have some money—a few hundred, or a few thousand dollars, while the others will have little or nothing. Thus far, the two kinds of workers have led different lives.

Now, the one who has saved may do one of two things. He may buy a home, spend his money, or invest his money. And when he begins to invest, to buy and nurse stocks, to play the market, the chances are overwhelmingly in favor of his losing all his money. But once in a while, he manages not to lose his money. He makes a killing. He gets rich.

Then, he invests in a factory. He hires other workers. He sells his goods. Or he engineers a combine. He wins in a duel of wits. He becomes an employer. He becomes rich.

Has he not made good by his own unaided efforts?

And the Socialists say No. He had saved money by his own unaid-

ed efforts. By his own unaided efforts he had more than the other worker. But the moment he begins to invest, he begins to exploit. The moment he begins to build factories, he begins to exploit Labor.

Further, the Socialists point out, the upholders of the present system through their control of the press, the stage, the screen and the schools, make it appear that not only can the workers reach heights of wealth and affluence and power through frugality, abstinence and thrift, but likewise, that those heights cannot be reached without the exercise of those qualities.

Good Slaves Wanted

That impression is deliberately created for the purpose of causing workers to be content with the system; for if they can rise in it to heights of affluence and power by their own efforts, it follows that the reason most of them have not so risen is that they are not thrifty and frugal and economical. And with that impression, workers tend to become frugal, thrifty—and servile. And consequently, good slaves.

Socialists point out that capitalist industry cannot be carried out at all without exploitation; that most of the captains and barons and kings and potentates of industry inherited their power; that many of them are men of inferior mentality and abilities; that it is possible even for murderous maniacs—like a certain well-known gentleman formerly of Mattawan and other places—to own and control and reap the benefit of the industry in which tens of thousands are employed. Socialists point out the fact that industry as carried on today necessarily, in its very nature, creates a place for exploiters and for workers.

Socialists do not challenge the right of individuals to live; they challenge the system under which master and slave, exploiter and exploited, are inevitable fixtures.

KAUFMAN IS RE-ELECTED

\$2,000 Is Voted For Educational Work—New Leader Endorsed.

CHICAGO.—The biennial convention of the International Fur Workers' Union terminated here late Saturday afternoon, after the general officers had been re-elected to serve another two-year term and important steps had been taken for the advancement of the union.

A suggestion that a cooperative factory in the fur-dressing branch of the industry be established was approved and referred to the General Executive Board for action.

A report on the educational work of the union, rendered by David Mikol of New York, was warmly applauded and \$2,000 was appropriated for continuing the work during the next year. It was also recommended that local unions and joint boards add to that fund.

About fifty delegates were present, from eighteen local unions and five joint boards. New York and Brooklyn were represented by thirty delegates.

A feature of the convention was the session held in the City Chambers in Milwaukee. The convention traveled to Milwaukee upon the invitation of its Socialist Mayor, Daniel W. Hoan, who spoke to the delegates at Chicago at the first session. The fur workers' representatives were toured about the city by an escort of public officials.

The convention was also addressed by George Ross Kirkpatrick, John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Bertha Hale White, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, and Meyer London.

Action was taken to assist local unions in five cities wherein wage agreements are to expire during the next few months. It was decided to place organizers in the territory involved and to assist with funds if necessary. It was also suggested that the New York Joint Board take steps to bring about division of work until the condition of unemployment in the trade subsides.

Resolutions adopted commend the work of The New Leader, the Rand School of Social Science and the National Association for Child Development.

A number of amendments to the constitution preclude the possibility of officials of the union or its locals participating in any outside organization detrimental to the interests of the union.

Declaring itself in favor of the immediate formation of a national Labor party the convention elected General President Morris Kaufman, Charles Gmeiner of Chicago and Sam Cohen of New York to serve as delegates to the National Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland, July 4. Kaufman, Charles Stetsky and Pietro Lucci were chosen delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Free Youth, organ of the Young Peoples Socialist League, was voted a contribution of \$50.00; the Socialist Party, \$100.00; the League for Industrial Democracy, \$25.00; and the Jewish Socialist Verband, \$200.

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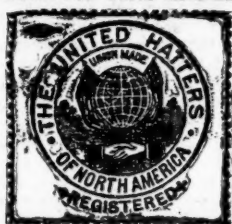
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NEW YORK

(Continued from Page 1)
and by their unaided efforts accumulated wealth.

While other workers were busy wasting time, brawling, carousing, these men applied themselves; they worked overtime, they looked after the interests of the firm; they were thrifty and saved their pennies and dollars. They invested, and their investments grew and continued to grow. They secured control of more and ever more plants and ships and mines and wells. They became dominant in one industry or another. They became industrial kings!

Is that not the story of every powerful figure in finance? Is that not the story of every figure, powerful in industry and in exchange, that is told to every poor boy just beginning to make his way?

Now come the Socialists and challenge the claim of these people to the undisputed enjoyment of their property.

Owning the Jobs

People are poor because they deserve to be poor; people who want to get ahead, or who deserve to get ahead, manage to get ahead. That is the argument.

That argument is pounded into the heads of the people because the ruling classes "own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the prices of farm products; they own their homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own the schools and mould their minds."

The Socialists admit many of the facts cited, but challenge the conclusions. The Socialists admit that Andrew Carnegie began life as a poor boy and accumulated much money. Upholders of the present

WORLD'S WOMEN MOBILIZE FOR PEACE

By META LILLIENTHAL

AMONG the countless endeavors directed toward making our world a better place to live in, none is of greater importance than the growing international movement to abolish war.

The terrible lesson of the World War and its aftermath has brought the most socially minded men of all countries into this movement, and it has enlisted the consecrated services of women of all classes, nations and races, typifying the awakened social consciousness of modern womanhood. The old saying that "men must fight and women must weep" is no longer accepted as the inevitable lot of the human family. Women are abandoning the futile occupation of weeping for the purpose of making the men stop fighting.

Those of us who had fondly imagined until the great disillusionment of 1914—that women, as a sex, were opposed to war and would have no share in its making, have been obliged to learn that women, like men, fall victim to war hysteria, that women, like men, have hidden away under the external garb of civilization the old instincts of the savage, and that these instincts come to the surface and find expression whenever the mad dogs of war are unleashed.

BUT, nevertheless, the experiences of the past decade have shown that, on the whole, women are more eager and more steadfast in the war against war than are men; that the international movement for world peace is largely, indeed essentially, a woman's movement, and that the great feminist leaders of all lands, the very ones who, before the war, employed all their energies toward the social, economic and political liberation of their sex, are now using their newly won freedom to work for international good will and understanding. It is significant that at the very time when the other great force for internationalism, the Labor and Socialist movements, tragically collapsed, because the workers of each warring nation were led into believing that they were fighting a defensive war, the woman's international was born.

IT was in 1915, when the flames of national hatred were soaring high, that women of twelve nations (many others being forcibly prevented by their Governments from attending) came together at The Hague, and not only voiced a mighty protest against the insane slaughter, but also took constructive steps to bring about negotiations directed toward an early cessation of hostilities. Delegations of women visited the ruling heads of both belligerent and neutral nations—kings, kaisers, presidents and prime-ministers, urging them to open peace negotiations, and bearing from one to the other every expression of willingness for peace.

Had those women been accredited diplomats instead of private citizens, their efforts would, no doubt, have borne fruit, and the World War might have ended in 1915 with an immeasurable saving of human life and with the prevention of that general disruption of civilization that has since befallen the nations of Europe.

But since they did not possess the official sanction of any of the Governments, their efforts remained abortive, and as more and more nations were drawn into the gigantic conflict, the cry for peace was drowned in a sea of blood. When the United States of America also became a partner to the international crime, after the man who "kept us out of war" had been re-elected to the presidency, mainly by the votes of women, the peace movement was temporarily stifled. Murder was glorified, pacifists were denounced as traitors, and those who continued to raise their voices against war were imprisoned for their faith. But through all the misery and persecution women kept the small, newly kindled spark of international sisterhood glowing, and when the war was over they immediately resumed their work.

Inspiring Washington Conference Serves to Heal Breaches of War — General International and Domestic Program Is Adopted—Deepest Interest In Labor Signalizes Deliberations.

IN 1919 the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as the organization formed at the Hague was called, held a congress in Zurich. At this congress the Versailles Treaty was analyzed and the women reported to the peace conference, then sitting in Paris, their conclusions regarding those parts of the unfortunate treaty that visibly contained the germs of new wars.

The third congress of the League was held in Vienna in 1921. Here the principles of the League were reaffirmed and plans were laid for active work, especially in southeastern Europe.

In the first week of May of this year the League held its fourth international congress in Washington. It was attended by more than 100 delegates, representing twenty-two countries, besides a great many fraternal delegates from kindred organizations, and by a large gathering of interested visitors, ranging from 500 to 1,000 people at each session. Those present were generally impressed by the fact that the congress was itself a valuable object lesson of that very international understanding and good will which the women are seeking to bring about; for the national and racial characteristics, the individual temperaments and the personal interests and activities of the delegates were as varied as life itself.

THERE was but a single purpose in regard to the great goal of the organization, which made possible intelligent cooperation and harmonious action among all these women from many and widely separated lands. The aggressive Hungarian orator, the quiet Chinese student, the energetic woman physician from the North of England, the retiring professor of chemistry from Switzerland, the rather masculine feminist from Germany and Austria, the ultra-feminine types of women from Latin-America, the Belgian women labor leader, who was almost executed during the war because of her pacifist activities, the representative new woman of Turkey, who is a devout Mohammedan and yet decries polygamy and is so modern that she bobs her hair; the wide-awake daughter of Japan, the dreamy-eyed girl from the Philippine Isles, the practical, business-like American women and the Hindu woman to whom Gandhi has become a new prophet and pacifism a new religion,—they all were conscious, not of racial, national or religious differences, but only of their common endeavor to abolish human slaughter as a means of settling national differences.

MOST touching and most impressive were the united efforts of German and French women and

their reports of the practical work performed by both to effect reconciliation between their war-torn countries. Ever since the close of the war German women pacifists have been sacrificing their savings, their jewelry, even their family heirlooms, to swell a fund toward the rebuilding of the devastated areas of France, and they have erected in France a social center consecrated to pacifist activities, known as the House of Reconciliation.

Ever since the suffering of the innocent population of the Ruhr began, as a result of the Poincaré invasion, French women pacifists have supplied countless necessities and little comforts to children in the Ruhr, and have been in constant communication with them, their parents and their teachers, as to the best means for relieving their distress. Some French families wished to adopt German children outright, but their Government would not let them; so they adopted them indirectly by providing for their maintenance. Together the German and French women,—mainly through the efforts of Gabrielle Duchêne and Anita Augspurg,—have elaborated the "Cahiers de la Paix" (Documents of Peace) a detailed plan for international cooperation.

Our newspapers tell us nothing

of these endeavors; they only tell us about the national hatred, carefully nurtured by the militarists on both sides, that continues to exist between official Germany and official France. But from the French and German delegates to the Women's International Congress we have heard a great deal about unofficial Franco-German understanding.

THE practical work of the congress embraced a great number of international questions, from Pan-American problems in their relation to world peace, to the dying culture of subject races, and the need of revising the dictated treaties that were created by the victors at the close of the war. There were strong pleas for free trade, as the removal of one great barrier to international good will, and there were protests against the national protection of foreign capital invested in foreign countries, many speakers voicing the need of a new economic order, emphasizing that production for private gain is one of the greatest incentives to war.

Such general interest in the economic phase of the movement was aroused by stirring addresses, delivered respectively by Mme. Dumont of France, Emily Balch of the United States and Yella Hertzka of Austria, that groups of delegates and visitors met between sessions to discuss economic problems in their relation to the peace movement. The resolutions adopted by the congress, and the recommendations made for further activities, were strong and radical throughout.

\$2,225,000 Annually for U. S. Spy Bureau

By NORMAN THOMAS

W. J. Burns has followed his former chief, Harry Daugherty, out of the Department of Justice. We wish he had been publicly dismissed, as he richly deserved, rather than allowed to resign, but that is secondary to our satisfaction that he has resigned. It is a comfort that our dollar-a-year spies like McLean have been dismissed.

Unfortunately, the departure of Burns does not mean the end of the system which he incarnated. We have the confession of himself or of his agents that he sent detectives to Montana to help the Republican National Committee "get" Senator Wheeler; that his agents searched Senator La Follette's office when the Senator first attacked the lease of Teapot Dome, and that Senator Caraway's office was also searched. Those agents are still in office. Under another chief than Burns, will they not do the same thing? What guarantees have we that they will not work in collusion with Burns' Private Detective Agency—the same private espionage agency which Burns ran in conjunction with his bureau in a public department? What we want is a house-cleaning in the Department of Justice, not merely the departure of one or two men.

An absolutely essential requirement of a first-class house-cleaning is to cut the so-called Bureau of In-

vestigation to its pre-war size and abolish its function of political and industrial espionage. The Bureau of Investigation at present has five times as many employees as in 1913. It spends about five times as much money. At present this one bureau costs the taxpayers about \$2,225,000 annually.

But its defenders say it has more work to do than in 1913. Let us see. Outside the cases under the narcotic and prohibition laws, with which the Bureau of Investigation is not concerned, the gross number of criminal cases prosecuted in the United States district courts in 1923 was only 1,000 more than ten years before, and the convictions were actually less. A comparative table runs like this:

Prosecutions	Convictions
1913 ... 16,753	11,474
1923 ... 17,633	11,205

Evidently this swollen bureau (which was not created by Mr. Burns or Mr. Daugherty, but by their Democratic predecessors) does not justify itself by its ordinary work before the courts. What do its employees do with their time? Simply this: they constitute an American replica of the famous secret service agencies of Europe. They emulate as far as possible the Russian Okhrana under the Czar and the Prussian secret police of the Kaiser. They make investigations of alleged

radicals at the request, as Mr. Gaston Means has told us, of big business interests, or, as we now know, of the Republican National Committee. They spy even upon public officials. Mr. Burns testified that his system of espionage extended to churches, schools and colleges as well as to strikes in the search for radicals. As far back as 1920 the department reported that it had card-indexed 200,000 "radicals." Many of the readers of this article, free-born American citizens, are doubtless upon the department's lists, and what is recorded against them is by no means necessarily the truth. The public statements of the Department of Justice before and during Mr. Burns' terms of office with regard to radicals are a tissue of lies, half-truths and misrepresentations, often very humorous but not very clever. In order to persuade the patient taxpayer to stand the expense of maintaining this spy system every May Day we have some cock-and-bull story of a "Red Menace." Agents of the Department of Justice are willing to create a red menace in order to continue to hold down their jobs. And this is the America of Thomas Jefferson.

The first plank of a Farmer-Labor party ought to be the abolition of this spy system, along with other forms of judicial tyranny by Democratic and Republican administrations.

Denmark's Cabinet

With the single exception of the Foreign Minister, Count Carl von Moltke, who is a professional diplomat, every member of Premier Stauning's Cabinet is composed of veteran Socialists.

Stauning himself, in addition to the Premiership, has taken the Ministry of Commerce and Trade; Hauge, a wood worker, is Minister of the Interior; L. Rasmussen, a printer, is Minister of War; Frijs-Skotte, a railway official, has the Ministry of Communications; Bording, a small farmer, Agriculture; K. Steinecke, an eminent lawyer, Justice; Paster Dahl, a Socialist clergyman, Ecclesiastical Affairs; Karl Bramsen, formerly printer, now reader on economics at the University of Copenhagen, Finance; F. J.

Borgbjerg, for 25 years editor of the Party paper "Socialdemokraten," the Ministry of Labor; and Mrs. Nina Bang, Education.

Karl Bramsen, originally a printer, took up studying at the university rather late in life, but passed a brilliant examination and set up as a reader on economics at the University. Mrs. Bang has been in the Party for more than 25 years. She has a seat in the First Chamber (the Danish Senate) and has frequently written for the Party paper.

All the members of the Cabinet have had many years of parliamentary experience, and in most cases have had practical knowledge of the matters dealt with by their department, or acted for the Party in Parliament and committees when subjects in which they specialized were under discussion. Rasmussen, for instance, always spoke for the Party on military matters and sat on committees dealing with army affairs and estimates. That a farmer and a railwayman should specialize in and be competent to deal with agriculture and transport matters is obvious.

The Cabinet has been constructed with a view to practical work. Its parliamentary life, of course, depends upon the steady support the Radical party, 20 strong, against the Liberal-cum-Conservative opposition, mustering 73 votes.

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The New Leader

One of the enthusiastic supporters of The New Leader is the writer of the skit below. Comrade Donohue has used this in appeals for subscriptions for The New Leader and we pass it on to our readers.

A LOT O' MONEY

By Patrick Donohue

"Two dollars is a whole lot o' money," he said.
"It's a whole lot o' money to me."
And he said it quite strong
And he knew all along.
He was going to fork over, ye see.
"Two dollars is a whole lot o' money," he said.
As he pulled out his thin little roll.
And plucked off a two-spot
And swore by the Lord
That the Leader must play its Great Role.
"Two dollars is a whole lot o' money," he said.
"But its money that's workin' for me."
"And so I give up and I'll do it again
For I'm selfish as Hell don't you see."
"And I know if I quit for a two-spot
"And The Leader goes into the scrap
"I'll go howling around like a maniac
"To put it once more on the map."
"Then it won't be a two-spot I'll have to put up—
"But at least a Twenty or Ten,
"For I can't do without it
"And neither can you
"Come, give us Two Dollars,
"Amen!"

Plasterers' Case Is Postponed

The opening of the second trial of the 36 union plasterers on a charge of conspiracy, to be prosecuted by Samuel Untermyer, has been postponed until such time as Justice Jeremiah T. Mahoney, who is to preside, concludes a case now in progress. The plasterers' case was to have gone to trial last Monday.

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IDEAL TALK No. 1 May 24 1924

Something Different.—Our readers will be glad to see my "Ideal Talks" resumed. When the Ideal Home and Land Company was organized a few years ago these talks appeared regularly in the "New York Call," and not only did they bring very good results but they also helped in establishing a congenial and lively spirited community at Myersville, New Jersey. Nearly everything is sold there, and quite a number of people have built their homes.

I am starting a new tract which is within commuting distance of Busy Bee New York, and it is my intention to cater to comrades. This tract is ten minutes' walk from the Lackawanna Railroad Station. Splendid scenery, plenty of woodland, school in the community. Stores, etc. Several hundred feet above sea level, wonderful climate, and yet so near New York.

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Every week a Talk under the above heading will appear in The New Leader. I will answer any question concerning real estate either through the paper or personally, if requested, and will also investigate any real estate troubles you may have, free of charge, and give you proper advice. In the meantime, I would like to let all those who have not had the opportunity to secure land from us previously, know that they may do so now, at very reasonable prices. We employ no agents.

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The Problem of Ultimate and Immediate Demands in the Labor Movement

By WILLIAM BLOOM

The question of ultimate and immediate demands, or, as it is known in Socialist literature, maximum and minimum programs, has been the cause of many bitter controversies in the Labor movement. The early Marxian Socialist movements up till 1870, particularly that of Germany, led by William Liebknecht, did not believe in immediate demands. Revolutionists were supposed to advocate the class struggle and the overthrow of the capitalist system. The Parliament was to be used for the purpose of propaganda and to expose the evils of capitalism and to denounce the reformers who wish to preserve the capitalist system. The Anarchists particularly were opposed to immediate demands; they believed that reforms stave off the revolution and tend to disintegrate the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

German Socialist Experience

When the Socialists of Germany began to elect more members to Parliament, they discovered that they could not confine themselves to mere denunciations of capitalism, but that they must have a constructive program to meet the various opposing elements in Parliament. They were also confronted with reform bills that were introduced in Parliament for the purpose of gaining the confidence of the workers and thus weakening the strength and influence of the Socialists. The Socialists immediately realized that mere propaganda is not sufficient to attract large masses of workers. They found themselves in Parliament facing a dilemma. If they were to vote against the reforms on the ground that they were "bones thrown to the workers" to keep them contented, it would mean that they deliberately chose to keep the workers in abject misery in order to foment a revolutionary spirit among them. They began to realize that mere criticizing and protesting were not enough; that they must, if they were to vote down legislative reforms, substitute something better, more concrete. In 1897 Liebknecht repudiated his former non-compromising political policy and sponsored a change in the Socialist program by advocating immediate demands. The Socialist movement of the world, with the exception of some insignificant groups known as the Socialist Labor party, is now definitely committed to a program of immediate demands.

The Trade Unions

The trade unions, on the other hand, were not originally organized

as propaganda agencies for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system, but as practical organizations with the purpose of gaining certain economic improvements for the workers. The unions that came into existence before the modern Socialist movement, as was the case in the United States and England, had no conception or philosophy of ultimate aims as they are now commonly understood in the Labor movement, while those unions that came after were organized by the Socialists and have a revolutionary program. With the exception of the American Federation of Labor, the trade unions of the world are now definitely committed to a Socialist program.

There seems to be, however, a difference of opinion in the Labor movement of the United States as to whether or not it is important for trade unions to have an ultimate program. The conservative trade unionists argue that the prime function of a trade union is to improve and protect the conditions of the workers and not to "waste its time with dreams of a new social order." They believe the conditions of Labor can be improved within the present economic system. In respect to this opinion, the radical trade unionists argue that since the trade unions have no limitations as to how far they will go in order to improve the conditions of the workers, they must ultimately lead towards Socialism. The controversy thus centers on the question as to whether it is absolutely essential for trade unions to have an ultimate program for a new social order. Some radicals maintain that since the trade unions are inherently revolutionary, it is not necessary to have a conscious ultimate program.

Radicals in the Labor movement, however, are generally in favor of a program of ultimate aims. Their position is that, if the trade union movement is destined to be revolutionary, it must, instead of working blindly for daily improvements, be conscious of its ultimate mission of bringing about a new social order. Ultimate aims are of great educational value in this respect. They teach the workers their historic mission in the present industrial society; they help them to understand that the economic evils from which they suffer cannot be adequately solved in the present system, and that in the reconstruction of present capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production lies the possible solution of their economic problems. Moreover, the workers cannot

be kept satisfied with purely economic improvements. Large masses of workers need a certain idealism to keep them together and inspire them with a certain vision of a better, more just world. Such idealism helps them to maintain themselves during times of industrial depressions and after lost strikes.

Folly of Class Peace

Practical trade unionism also fails to imbue the workers with a feeling of class solidarity and class consciousness, which is of utmost importance in organizing large masses of workers. The teaching of class collaboration and identity of interest between employers and employees, and that the prime purpose of trade unions is only to improve the material conditions of the workers, makes possible the development of company unions, which succeed in keeping the workers from joining trade unions by giving them certain economic improvements. Trade unions, while they must concentrate their efforts upon immediate demands, must not, therefore, lose sight of their ultimate goal towards which they will be forced by historic and economic forces—the establishment of a new social order.

In connection with the question of ultimate demands, there is also the problem of bringing about a new social order by peaceful or violent means. Radicals differ on this matter.

The extreme radicals—Anarchists, Syndicalists and Communists—maintain that no social change has been brought about in the past or can be accomplished in the future by peaceful means, and that no privileged class wishes to go out of existence of its own accord. "The midwife of social change is force," is their contention. The Anarchist in particular argues that the capitalist State and the political power which the capitalists wield through their propaganda agencies, the press, church, schools, radiophone and movies, make it impossible for organized Labor to gain control of the Government through democratic, peaceful means. Extreme radicals, therefore, insist that the workers must be taught that a new social order cannot be brought through peaceful, democratic means, but through the general strike and revolutionary mass action.

The Marxian Socialists

The Marxian radicals argue that the main factors of a social change are economic conditions; that a form of society never breaks down until all the productive forces are suffi-

ciently developed to make possible a higher form of society; that new and higher relations of production are never established until the material condition of life have been developed within the structure of the society. The Marxians do not, however, contend that a new social order will come gradually through peaceful method, or through violence. It will all depend upon the various conditions of a particular country. Marx maintained that the question of force is not universal; he foresaw another possibility in countries with democratic traditions like England, America, and Holland, "where the worker may attain his object by peaceful means."

The fact that most social changes in the past were brought about through violent revolutions does not necessarily mean that no peaceful revolution can take place in the future. The coming revolution cannot be compared to past revolutions; it will be, for the first time, a revolution fought out under a different form of organization, under democratic principles, by a disciplined, well-organized, class-conscious working class, with a powerful trade union, with political and cooperative organizations, and with a press. The possibility of the capitalists resorting to force in order to prevent a workers' Government does not prove democracy worthless, but that the capitalist cannot combat democracy by peaceful means. It is, however, very questionable as to whether the capitalist class would be so stupid as to precipitate violence if a Labor Government should come into power by a majority vote. The declining capitalists may find it more advisable to accept a social change instead of running the risk of losing their lives.

Minorities and the Masses

Political action may be a slow process, but that is due to the nature of society. No revolutionary action can be planned so as to avoid this slowness. The ineffectiveness of Parliamentary action is due to lack of intelligence of the masses. The problem of bringing about a new social order is now primarily a question as to whether the workers have sufficient intelligence and technical equipment to transfer democracy from politics into industry. Socialist production cannot be brought about by a minority without the cooperation of the great mass of the people. Political action is the normal method of transforming the structure of society both politically and socially. Socialism as a means to the emancipation of the proletariat, without democracy, is inconceivable. There

must be a general desire and will for Socialism on the part of the masses. If they want Socialism, they must become stronger than those who do not want it. "All previous movements," said Marx and Engels, "were movements of minorities and in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of that majority."

The general tendency of the Socialist movement at present, because of the wide extension of democracy in the most developed countries of the world as a result of the late war and because of the failure of the Bolsheviks of Russia to effect a complete social change by force, is to lay more emphasis upon a slow process of development towards the establishment of a new social order. It is maintained that a social change that could be brought about through violence would not be desirable; it may disintegrate the economic structure and bring about industrial chaos and suffering.

Hope for Peaceful Change

The hope of a peaceful revolution lies in the development of the psychology of the great masses of the people to whom constitutional methods appeal more than violence. The Socialists have faith in the masses and in the possibility of educating them and preparing them for a peaceful change in society. A social change that would be forced upon the masses could not maintain itself for long. The contention that workers whose minds have been prepared for a peaceful revolution may find themselves at a loss when there is no other recourse but force, and that well-institutionalized movements tend to become inactive and incapable of acting, is not so alarming if contrasted with the chaos and misery that hasty, premature and violent revolutions may bring about. The Labor movement has more to gain from a peaceful than from a violent revolution.

There are four methods which the workers must pursue in order to bring about a new social order: Political, Economic, Cooperative, and Educational. The great task and object of the Labor movement is, therefore, to organize the workers on the economic and political fields and educate them in order that they may be able to use their collective power intelligently. In any event, a social change, if it is to be effective, must be the intelligent expression of the majority of the people.

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RAND SCHOOL NOTES

The Physical Education Department of the Rand School of Social

Science will celebrate the closing of its seventh season, Wednesday, May 28, by an Open Recreation Evening, to which the members of all the classes of the department and their friends are invited. Special dances will be offered by the interpretive and folk-dance classes, and exhibition wrestling, boxing and mat work will be put on by the boys and girls of the gymnasium classes. There will be games and recreation dances for everyone.

The department has had a most successful year. Four gymnasium and ten dancing classes have been held weekly from October 1 to the present time, with good attendance. A basket-ball coaching class continued to March 1, and social dancing classes into April. Several character parties for members have been held throughout the winter, and have proved themselves a popular method of entertainment. Beginning early in the spring, a series of country hikes have been organized and led by the department. One feature of these is the fact that they are "Rain or Shine" hikes, and cloudy skies have been no barrier to a jolly day in the out-of-doors.

Sunday, May 25, is the day set for the final hike of the season. This will be the third annual Rand School Supper Hike to Clove Lake, S. I., organized by the Physical Education Department. Parties will leave the Rand School at 9:30 a. m. and 2:30 p. m. There will be a program of games and races under the direction of a committee selected to help Mrs. Retting in the day's activities. The second and later leaving was set in order that everyone might be able to stay into the evening and enjoy songs and dances around the huge camp fire which is the particular attraction of the hike. All who are interested may attend and will be cordially welcomed.

Help us build up the subscription list. Your personal efforts beat all he letters we could write. You know lots of people that we never heard of, and who may never know about The New Leader unless YOU give them the chance.

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Campaigning In Montana

By ESTHER FRIEDMAN

The industrial stagnation and financial failures in this northwest are worse than can be understood by mere reading.

Three and four years ago when I visited this State, the farmers were confronted with poverty and bankruptcy because the crops had been poor for several successive years. Today the rich green valleys and hillsides give full promise of a bounteous harvest. The Flathead valley of Lake County is a feast for the eyes in its plentiful winter wheat and fine orchards. This was true last year too. The plight of the farmer today is that he can find no market for his product and the high cost of freight is paralyzing. A big crop means a large outlay of money to prepare it for market. As one farmer said, "One more 'successful' crop and I am completely broke and done!"

Sinking to Serfdom

The farmer is sinking deeper and deeper into bankruptcy. Foreclosure is the order of the day. The tenant farmer is on the increase and a state of serfdom stares him in the face. The erstwhile self-respecting comfortable proprietor farmer will be a thing of the past.

An old comrade in Wyoming told a tragic and now almost commonplace story when he explained why he failed to arrange my meeting. "I couldn't put my mind to it. I've been worried. After long years of hard labor I now find myself compelled to give up part of my land for over-due taxes. I could reconcile myself to this loss," he explained, "if my losses would end there. But the interest on my mortgages has grown so heavy—and no money in sight to meet it, I fear I shall soon lose all my land. And you see I am now an old man."

He is an old time farmer who has always fearlessly expressed his Socialist convictions. He was certain that the bankers were pressing him on that account, but he is a more confirmed Socialist than ever and will die with his convictions.

The "True" American

His two sons are more modern. Neither one could take charge of the meeting arrangements because, he said, one was afraid of his job and the other would lose some trade in his business if he were to indicate any activity in Socialist work. The boss would fire the one and the banks and business patrons would crush the other.

The fearless, assertive spirit of



— Esther Friedman

the pioneer—the one-time "free" American could not survive in this generation of concentrated wealth and power and intensified wage slavery. The spy system and the black-list are especially effective in these one-company towns—be they lumber, coal, copper, oil, or money—to destroy the free spirit that once was the glory of America.

In Roundup, Montana, where an oil boom still looms, though weakly, a mother of three small children confided to me they hadn't a dollar put away for a rainy day or a doctor. "We bought a car instead," she said.

Experience of One Family

During her ten years of married existence she had managed through severe stinting to save \$1,400 with which they intended to buy a home. "The bank shut down and we lost every dollar."

The shabby clothing on the children, the rickety furniture, the bare floors and beastly cold house because of broken furnace, were glaring testimony to the painful thrift the woman had practiced to save that money.

"We pay for the car on monthly payments," she continued. "As long as my husband has work, we'll pay it off and have as good a time as we can while we can. When he loses his job they can take back the junk if they want to. But to save money for a rainy day so the bankers can keep out of the wet. Nothing doing!"

Be it remembered that this is not in hopeless, war-torn, ruined Germany. This mind is growing in victorious U. S. A.

This small town of several thousand souls had supported three banks. The three have closed their

doors and not a dollar was returned to its depositors—most of them poor and struggling workers and small trades people.

Banks Like Morgues

In traveling through the mining towns one gets an uncanny feeling of passing a mortuary every time one passes a bank building. They are all closed. The green shades are drawn all the way down the windows and doors. It needs but little imagination to see the maddened miners, their wives and children clamoring and banging on the locked doors for their savings wrung from their years of hard toil and a stunted penurious existence. To indicate a get-rich-quick shark one used to say in these parts: "He's an oil man." Today the oil man has lost his high standing to the banker.

Politics in Montana are confusion confounded. A red herring is thrown across the path of the farmer and industrial worker in the guise of a Farmer-Labor party.

The Farmer-Labor party of Montana has been organized by a few men in Butte who call themselves Communists, in order to capture the militant sentiment among the workers, for their own material advantage. Through this new camouflage they also hope to destroy the moral and political influence of the Socialist locals, many of which have lately been organized throughout the state.

Deceit No Longer Works

These attempts no longer work. Our meetings are very well attended wherever any real effort is made to hold them. The proceeds from collections and book sales invariably cover all local and speakers' expenses. Bearing in mind the poor wages paid, unemployment on the increase, and workers who can, moving away to chase the shadow of a job, the response is really an achievement.

The wounds caused by the Party split are showing decided evidence of healing. Many comrades who had broken away from us during those disturbing times are coming forward with an awakened interest and conciliation. This is true not only of those who had never made other applications but also those who had attached themselves for a while to the "revolutionary" party.

At the conclusion of the Great Falls meeting several such old time comrades came forward to the speaker, extended warmest greetings and expressed the hope that the rift would soon be altogether

Waiters Demand 15 Per Cent Raise.

Conferences are being held this week in a final effort to avoid a strike of the 3,000 members of Waiters' and Waitresses' Union, Local 1, on June 1. The workers are demanding a fifteen per cent wage increase, complete unionization of all restaurant and kitchen help, and a collective bargaining agreement guaranteed by cash security to be deposited by every employer.

The demands of the union were given final ratification at an enthusiastic mass meeting Thursday night which packed DeLooven Hall.

The conferences are being held with representatives of the New York Restaurant Keepers' Association. The union is prepared to call its members on strike against the Association or any individual employer who fails to sign the proposed new agreement.

The union's demand for unionization of all restaurant help is expected to bring many hundreds of new members into the union, as the kitchen help have never been nearly as well organized as the waiters.

mended. Just as natural as water flows downward we found ourselves recalling great meetings, noted fighters, sterling workers, and how the heart sang and the spirit thrilled as we folded thousands of leaflets for house-to-house distribution. There is no happiness to compare with the consciousness of serving a great human, social cause.

A Promising Socialist Revival

A chain of speakers coming through regularly for the next few months, giving the locals some definite work would put the Party in Montana and everywhere else back to our strength of 1912. It requires no keen vision today to see that the time is rotten ripe for a vital change.

Old comrades are coming back here and there. In the smaller towns where there is no local we not infrequently get two, three or more members at large who make a nucleus for a growing and active local.

We can come back stronger than we ever were. We can be happy again in our comradeship and in our performance of a joyous task to make a better world.

But, it calls every one of us to our task!

There must be no shirker! Each of us must be up and doing! For Socialism!

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

Through the States

NATIONAL

How Easily Accomplished—If

We can easily measure ourselves, comrades, by the promptness with which we attack our own tasks. Now let's face the facts of the situation relative to the financing of the Cleveland convention. Thousands of dollars must be raised—yes, simply must be raised—and before the convention, too. Mark that well, if you want a convention.

But the raising of the necessary money will be so easy, so very easy, if every member of the Party will do his duty—does what the Executive Secretary has properly requested him to do. We have but one way to raise extra money, the thousands of dollars of extra money, necessary to finance a great National convention—you know that. Our one way is to sell special assessment stamps. And it is certainly important that you realize that the holding of the convention actually depends upon the success of the sale of the special assessment stamps. There are several railways leading into Cleveland, but the only way on a railway is with cash.

To raise the extra cash the assessment stamps are sold in three denominations—of \$5, \$1 and 50 cents. Of course, some of you can easily buy \$5 stamps; more of you can buy \$1 stamps; and no one in the Party—not one—would find it impossible to raise the 50 cents (the price of a movie ticket) somehow for a convention of the greatest possible moment to our movement and to every truly loyal comrade in the Party. In this particular matter, comrades, your industry, your promptness and your fine pride and loyalty are quite likely far more important than your modesty permits you to realize. The future of our Party depends upon what you do—or don't do—right away. Come through, comrades, if you want a convention. It is not difficult for one to raise 50 cents, the price of a package of cigarettes, if he really is a Socialist; in a crisis he will get the 50 cents—somehow.

Be warned: It will not be safe for any of you to be neglectful—not this time.

NATIONAL OFFICE.

OREGON

Local Portland is planning big things for the campaign season. First on the program is a "basket social," proceeds of which they expect to wipe out the deficit in the Local's treasury. Following this will be a big picnic, with Comrade Esther Friedman as a speaker of the day; and then will come other picnics, specials, hall and street meetings. For the Comrades of Local Portland are "a live bunch," really. They believe in the Socialist Party—they want Socialism—so they WORK to make their dreams come true.

Umatilla, Oregon, is not a very big place, compared with Portland, but Local Umatilla is a formidable rival for the honors as the "livest" Local in the State. They have made application for a Ryan Walker lecture, and anticipate a grand success. The Local will be much disappointed if Comrade Walker finds it impossible to extend his tour to our Northwest district.

The State Campaign Committee of Oregon has been organized, with Comrade J. E. Hosmer, of Silverton, as Secretary. Oregon has a splendid

list of committeemen: Local Portland's representative is E. W. Perrin, whom many comrades will remember from the days of the National Lyceum. Prior to the Lyceum Comrade Perrin was State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Arkansas. We feel justified in anticipating great things of Oregon during the campaign.

WASHINGTON

The Educational Committee of Local Seattle has in preparation a series of programs for "Good and Welfare" at each meeting. These will include short speeches by certain members selected, followed by five-minute speeches or questions, readings and music.

The first of these programs was given on Monday, May 12. As a fitting "opener" the committee prevailed upon Comrade Emil Herman, district secretary, who was home for a short "rest" (during which period his duties are reduced to "merely" attending to the office work of the district and to delivering from four to eight lectures each week on the streets of the city!), to make a talk on general organization work in the district.

In applying for a lecture by Organizer Emil Herman, Comrade Thomas A. Ferguson, of Kelso, Washington, writes: "Come prepared to address a good crowd. The field is ripe; the people are looking for a light." And the same word comes in from many places. The difficulty is not in getting the people to listen to our message, but in getting competent organizers enough to go round.

It was an extremely interesting session of the Seattle Labor College on the afternoon of Sunday, May 4, when Comrade Emil Herman lectured on "The Road to Freedom," presenting the program of the Socialist Party as the most consistent and feasible of the many "roads" be-

ing offered to the working class. After the lecture the usual half-hour allotted for questions and five-minute speeches from the audience stretched out to an hour and a half, and the meeting was adjourned with many still anxiously clamoring for a chance to ask a question.

INDIANA

Comrade Eugene V. Debs sends in \$5.00 for a National Convention assessment stamp to help finance the convention. Every member should get one of these stamps.

George D. McDonald of Jasonville writes that the comrades in that place are talking about holding their county convention. This news means a revival of activity in that locality.

P. Pollo, of Clinton sends a fine letter with \$5.00 for the organization fund. He said: "Some time ago I passed to myself an auto-resolution, assessing myself 10 cents daily for the year 1924, amounting to \$3.00 per month, said amount to be divided in equal parts to National, State and Federation party offices. I consider one less cigar each day, and instead of sending so much money up in smoke, I send it to the different Socialist organizations. This is a fine example and it would help carry on the work if a number of Comrades would make the same kind of a resolution." He also informs us that they are taking in new members right along in the Italian branch, and have organized a new branch at Blanford.

The call for the State convention has been sent to all Locals and members at large. It will be held in Indianapolis, May 31, 10 a. m. in Hall at 49½ South Delaware street.

NEW JERSEY

Paterson

Comrade Louis Cohen was successful in organizing an English-speaking branch of the Party in Paterson, N. J. The branch has obtained permanent headquarters at 211 Market street, top floor, where regular branch meetings will be held every first and second Tuesdays in the month. The members plan to carry (Continued on Page 9)

SOCIALIST MEETINGS

(Meetings are outdoor if no hall is given.)

FRIDAY

AUGUST CLAESSENS, 7th street and Second avenue, Manhattan. Auspices, Local New York.

WILLIAM KARLIN, 106th street and Madison avenue, Manhattan. Auspices, Local New York.

21st street and Mermaid avenue, Coney Island; speakers to be announced. Auspices, 21st A. D., Socialist Party.

MONDAY

HENRY JAEGER, 7th street and Second avenue, Manhattan. Auspices, Local New York.

J. R. SMALLWOOD, 22 Bank street, Manhattan: "The Political Adventures of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Union." Auspices, 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D.'s, Socialist Party.

TUESDAY

J. R. SMALLWOOD: "Political Adventures of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Union and Its Lesson for American Labor," at 1602 Avenue P, Brooklyn. Auspices, 2nd A. D., Socialist Party.

WEDNESDAY

AUGUST CLAESSENS, 125th street and Eighth avenue, Manhattan.

LEONARD KAYE and **E. STEINBERGER**, 25th Street and Eighth avenue, Manhattan.

SATURDAY

N. CHONIN, **I. KORN**, and **S. P. KRAMER**, Rutgers square, 2 p. m.

YIPSELDOM

Circle Six, Y. P. S. L., will hold a May Festival and dance at its headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn, on Saturday evening, May 24, 1924, at 8 o'clock. This is an annual affair that spurs the membership on to greater activity during the summer months. We invite all Yipseles, Party members, friends and others to be among us this evening. Besides a program a very good band has been employed to supply music.

New York Activities

LOCAL NEW YORK

Central Committee

The next meeting of the Central Committee of Local New York will be held Tuesday, May 27, 8:30 p. m., at the Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street. All delegates are requested to attend and to be on time.

NOTICE TO BRANCH ORGANIZERS

Close of Nominations for Delegates to Unofficial State Convention. Nominations of candidates for delegates to unofficial State convention closes on Saturday, May 24. Branch organizers should see that this list of nominations is filed with the office of Local New York not later than Saturday, May 24. Nominations coming later will not be accepted. Have your nominations in by May 24.

About forty comrades attended an informal conference at the People's House on Thursday of last week, in response to a call from the managing committee. The situation, prospects, and needs of Local New York were discussed and helpful action was taken on several points.

Morris Berman showed his interest in the movement to stimulate Party activity by making an offer which wipes off the books \$1,350

of the local's indebtedness. Thirteen others pledged monthly contributions to the sustaining fund, which now amounts to a little more than \$70.00 per month.

Several comrades volunteered to give a reasonable amount of their leisure, some as street speakers and others to assist the finance committee, which aims to bring the sustaining fund up to at least \$150 a month. The financial situation of the local is now decidedly better than it has been for several years past. The problem is to continue activity on propaganda and organization lines. In order to clear off several small but pressing debts, however, and to give a margin for starting the work, the managing committee needs six to eight hundred dollars at once. A letter has gone out to all Party members and it is hoped that everyone who receives it will immediately respond with a special donation of at least one dollar.

The Finnish Socialists are on the job as usual. At their picnic last Sunday, where Joseph D. Cannon was the English speaker, they took up a collection of \$40 for the benefit of the local.

August Claessens is now speaking one evening a week in Harlem and one on the lower East Side. As soon as the weather becomes a little more (Continued from Page 9)

Talks to Party Members

By AN OLD TIMER

5. The Financial Secretary's Job

We often hear the term "filthy lucre." Many people feel, or pretend to feel, that money is something dirty and ignoble, and that any financial work is unworthy of an idealist.

Nothing could be more absurd. Money is dirty if it is got by dirty methods or used for dirty purposes.

In clean hands it is clean. It can be ennobled, as it can be debased, according to what is done with it.

In our existing state of society money is a necessity. Little can be accomplished without it. Our Party needs it. It takes money to hire halls, to pay speakers' expenses, to get literature printed. The Party's officers whose function it is to procure and handle the Party's funds are doing as honorable and praiseworthy a work as those who write leaflets or deliver lectures.

Without a good financial secretary, no local or branch can flourish. The man or woman who fills this office well has a right to be proud.

It is not altogether an easy task. Most of our financial secretaries, it is to be feared, take it too lightly. To be present at meetings, accept dues when offered, give receipt stamps, keep a correct record, and pay vouchers as presented—that is all well, but it is not enough.

The financial secretary who is worth his salt does more than this. He watches the membership list and the attendance at meetings. He knows who are in arrears, and how much. He knows that some have good cause, such as sickness or unemployment, and in that case he sees that they are duly excused and their record kept clear.

He knows that some are just forgetful or negligent. He reminds these, follows them up, sees that they do not escape.

He knows that some, while really good Party members, for some reason or other do not come to Party meetings regularly. He visits them at their homes, with dues stamps in his pocket, and gets what they owe—with perhaps an extra dollar or so as a "sine offering."

He knows that no one likes to "pay for a dead horse"—that when a member gets in arrears to the tune of five or six dollars it is not easy to induce him to pay up. So he does not wait until there is a big arrearage. He keeps steadily on the job, and takes pride in having a high percentage of the members in good standing.

In an organization with not more than forty or fifty members, one systematic and moderately energetic person can easily handle this work. But if the membership is large, the wise financial secretary enlists one or more live comrades as volunteer deputies.

We have said "he" all through. But often it is "she." Perhaps a majority of our really efficient financial secretaries are women.

On The International Front

"Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

FRANCE

More Preliminary Victories

Further confirmation of the fact that the big Socialist Party victory in the general elections of May 11, which put 102 Socialists into the new Chamber of Deputies and made the question of possible participation in the Cabinet so pressing as to result in the calling of a special convention for June 1 to settle it, was not the outcome of mere blind revolt on the part of the French voters or of purely electoral combinations, is found in a Paris report of April 28 telling of the election to the General Council in Limoges of a Socialist by a vote of 1,329 to 386 for his Radical opponent, and of another Socialist in Montlevon, with 1,643 against 947 for the candidate of the Bloc National.

While the result of the French elections greatly surprised the editors and readers of the American bourgeois press, those who had been following the course of the campaign and the steady progress of the Socialist Party of France as chronicled in The New Leader welcomed the good news as about what they had expected, only more so.

SWITZERLAND

St. Gall Socialists Gain Ground. Following the recent Socialist gains in the election to the Grand Council of St. Gall Canton, the Socialists of the City of St. Gall scored another triumph on May 4, when they cast 3,032 votes and retained their seventeen seats in the Common Council in the face of a reduction of the total number of seats from seventy to fifty-eight. The balance of the Council is made up of twenty-one Liberals, fourteen Conservatives and six Democrats.

BULGARIA

Socialists Hold Their Own

Although the total vote was small in the election for members of district councils held on May 4, the Social Democratic party of Bulgaria received as many votes as at the preceding election, according to Sofia reports. The Communists and the

Agrarians, working together, lost about 50 per cent of their old following, while the Government party, (the so-called Democratic group), got majorities almost everywhere. In Sofia, the Government got 10,600 votes and ten seats; Communists and Agrarians, 7,600 and seven; Democrats and Radical Democrats, 2,700 and two; Socialists, 2,800 and two; Liberals, 3,400 and three, and Ghenadievists (former followers of the murdered Stamboliski), 1,000 and no seat.

GERMANY

Set-Back in Wuertemberg

Out of a total membership of eighty in the Diet of Wuertemberg elected May 4, the Social Democrats won only thirteen seats, compared with twenty-seven in the old Diet of 101 members, while the Communist membership rose from four to ten. Other members of the Diet are eight Citizen Leaguers (a German National group), seventeen Agrarians, seventeen Clericals, nine Democrats, three People's party men and three followers of Hitler and Ludendorff. The total popular vote was 1,189,676, of which the Socialists got 190,323, and the Communists 138,583.

ARGENTINA

Twenty Socialists in Chamber

Buenos Aires.—Details of the election for the Chamber of Deputies held March 23 reaching New York via European Socialist newspapers show that the Socialist Party of Argentina polled more than 80,000 votes and elected thirteen Deputies, bringing its total representation up to twenty out of a total membership of 120. Half of the Chamber of Deputies is renewed every second year, the members being elected for four years. The Socialist Party has one member in the Senate, Dr. Mario Bravo, elected from Buenos Aires in February, 1923. The Socialists made their gains principally at the expense of the Radical party, the one to which President Alvear belongs.

Apparently the Communists, embracing elements which were expelled from the old party in 1917 and which left the organization in 1921 when a party convention voted against affiliation with either the Third or Second International, did not take part in the election, or if they did they failed to win any seats, as the reports say nothing about their activities. The same thing seems to apply to the Argentine Socialist Party, a small group following Dr. Alfredo Palacios, who was forced to leave the old party several years ago because he challenged an opponent to a duel, in violation of the party's anti-duelling stand.

The principal strength of the Socialist Party is in Buenos Aires, where the victories were won in the last election, but there are also strong sections in Cordoba and Tucuman, both of which have Socialist Deputies in the Chamber. Gonzales Mareda is Secretary-General of the Party and its leading organ is La Vanguardia, a Buenos Aires daily. In its comment on the March election results, La Vanguardia said: "We affirm that our complete and indisputable triumph is exclusively Socialist. . . . The people of the capital, in voting the Socialist ticket, voted for the payment of wages in sound money, for free trade and against barbarous ab-

surd protectionism, for peace with our neighbors and against the armament craze, for the separation of Church and State, against illiteracy, for social insurance and for all the other urgent reforms included in our election platform and our minimum program."

LATVIA

Poet Lauds Party's Progress

At the Easter convention of the Social Democratic party of Latvia, J. Rainis, the well known Lettish poet who has been a member of the party ever since its foundation twenty years ago, delivered what might be called the epic of Lettish Socialism. Rainis, who suffered with his comrades through the early years of persecution under the Czar and spent ten years in jail and abroad, sketched the beginning and rise of the organization to a position where it now has 242,000 voters and one-third of the population behind it, and with thirty-one deputies, is the strongest single party in Parliament. The upward path of the Lettish Social Democracy was wet with blood and tears, but its progress was sure, despite Czarist persecutions and splits caused by Communists on the one hand and the Right Wingers on the other.

In the Winter of 1923, the Latvian Socialists sent four of their leaders into the Cabinet in the hope of being able to liberalize the Government, but after the authorities had failed to protect Socialist workers against attacks of Latvian would-be Fascists on May Day of that year or punish the latter for firing upon May Day paraders, the Socialists, including a member of the Right Wing organization, withdrew. Although branded as traitors to the working class by Communist chiefs, the Socialists have defended their critics' right to carry on their propaganda and have attacked the Government's persecution of the Communists as alleged agents of Moscow.

Women's Day a Success

Women's Day in Latvia, conducted under the auspices of the Social Democratic party, was a great success, more than 2,000 women attending the meeting held in Riga. Reports from the provinces indicate proportionate attendance all over the country. The speakers pointed out that, although politically the Lettish women were on an equality with men, they were by no means treated as equals otherwise and that a fight must be made for equal pay for equal work, for mothers' pensions and similar measures.

Riga Workers in Protest Meeting

The attack of the so-called gilded youth of Riga upon a meeting arranged by the Young Socialists on March 22, in which knives were used by these would-be Fascists upon the youthful workers, had a sharp echo a few days later in a protest meeting at which 2,000 citizens adopted resolutions calling upon the Socialists in Parliament to try to force the Government to close up the Nationalist Club where the attack was planned. The speakers declared that the working class of Riga did not intend to allow itself to be intimidated by knives or any other weapons, but would fight to the limit for its rights.

ITALY

Unity Seems Nearer. When the new Italian Parliament

opens on May 24 it seems that the two Socialist Party groups, the Unitarian Socialists, with twenty-five Deputies, and the Maximalists, with twenty-two, will be almost ready to work together on all matters concerning the interest of the Italian proletariat, and even the Communists, seventeen strong, may line up with the Socialists occasionally. Judging from a discussion going on in the columns of La Gallizia and Avanti!, the Milan dailies of the Unitarians and the Maximalists, respectively, the leaders are coming to the conclusion that the masses of Italian Socialist voters are not much interested in the fine points of factional dogmas, but want to see political and economic unity as soon as possible. Evidence of this is afforded by the fact that several thousand Socialist ballots in Milan were thrown out because the voters had marked the emblem of the Maximalists and then tried to give a preference vote to Filippo Turati, the leading candidate of the Unitarians, thus voiding their ballots. The exodus from the Maximalist party of the extreme group that had insisted upon the recognition of the Moscow Twenty-one points has made eventual unity between the Unitarians and Maximalists more probable.

Although the official count of the vote of April 6 is not yet available, it is expected there will be little variation from figures giving the Unitarians 448,056, the Maximalists, 348,540 and the Communists, 304,582, against 4,614,764 for both main Fascist groups, 645,090 for the Popular (Clericals) and some 750,000 for a half dozen opposition and semi-opposition parties and the dissident Fascists.

According to a Milan dispatch of May 17, the Socialist Parliamentary Group (probably the Unitarian Socialist Deputies) has decided to emphasize the anti-monarchical attitude of their party by not attending the opening session of the new Parliament on May 24.

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NORMAN HAPGOOD, Chairman

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AUSPICES FREE YOUTH

Mellon's Economics

A Review by Joseph E. Cohen

TAXATION: THE PEOPLE'S BUSINESS. By Andrew W. Mellon. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

As secretary of the treasury of President Harding's business men's administration, Mr. Mellon's opinions on taxation are well known. The series of statements he has issued are now collected and constitute this little volume.

Through it runs a solitary strain: the plea for a reduction of the toll paid by the very rich to the Government. It is a straight-out plea, made without equivocation and supported by sentiment, even though statistics be lacking.

The variations on the theme are rather limited. According to Mr. Mellon, the burden of such taxation is a heavy one. It has put capital into a panic. So we are told that it is in flight, that it has hidden in "safe and unproductive forms," that it has seriously increased the cost of living and that "more and more the business adventure becomes too hazardous and the high spirit of initiative disappears in discouragement."

A doleful tale, to be sure. But that is not the worst of it. The income tax is all full of holes. Who put them there, and why they cannot be plugged up, Mr. Mellon does not tell. But it is in a bad way. He goes so far as to issue this warning: "The probability is strong that in four or five years the income tax will, as a matter of practical politics, be past patching."

Now, if this is so—which he does not attempt to prove—how did it come about? The income tax law is the identical article passed under protest by a plutocratically-minded Congress, calculated to soften the shock of the ultra-rich and permit the poor wage-earner to receive the blow. The low income at which payment has to be made is an economic monstrosity. The low rate paid on excess profits is glaring, as compared with the British charges, for instance.

Yet, almost past patching in Mr. Mellon's opinion, the secretary accepted it as it is, offering only a straight horizontal cut, plus a deep slice of the higher brackets paid by the extremely well-to-do. What a simple solution of the income tax difficulty!

To indicate the extent of Mr. Mellon's proposed changes, he submits a table assuming that, should his plan be adopted, there would be a decrease in the normal tax of \$92,000,000, on earned income of 97,000,000 and in surtax of \$102,000,000.

That the point about earned income may be clarified, it is just as well to mention that Mr. Mellon has in mind those who gather the larger fortunes. As he puts it: "Any man of energy and initiative can get what he wants out of life. But when that initiative is crippled by legislation or by a tax system which denies him the right to receive a reasonable share of his earnings, then he will no longer exert himself and the country will be deprived of the energy on which its continued greatness depends."

Why Mr. Mellon should fear that "the energy and initiative" of the giants of our present industry cannot devise means of circumventing the Government is past understanding. As a matter of fact he offers data to allay any such fears. Thus, in 1917 there were over a thousand returns made by those whose incomes were over \$300,000 a year. By 1921 these had dwindled to less than 250. In the same period net incomes of over \$730,000,000 wasted away to over \$150,000,000. Most any other observer would argue that the "energy and initiative" of the tax-dodging plutocrats is at fever pitch.

To save the deplorable situation, Mr. Mellon suggests that the rates be lowered. His argument is that the plutocrats are so constituted that they would prefer to pay more on a lower rate than less on a higher rate. Here is another chance for Mr. Mellon to reveal the peculiar makeup of capitalist nature.

According to Mr. Mellon, likewise, the missing money is to be found concealed in tax-exempt securities, of which there are something more than twelve billion dollars' worth floating about the sea of frenzied finance to save the sinking plutocrats. Mr. Mellon does not hint that, were the income tax law reformed to his liking, no money would be available for such investments, largely municipal and State bonds. Nor does Mr. Mellon pretend to show how the capitalists are saving each other from drowning by washing each other's tax-exempt paper.

At no point does Mr. Mellon ponder the advisability of collecting on the obvious incomes of the expanding plutocrats. That does not seem to be his concern. Nor does he raise the issue of such preposterous incomes being "earned." Naturally he never discusses the duty of government to return to the nation what is produced alone through the national participation in modern industry. That is far and away beyond his reach.

What is even more amazing is that there is nowhere in the treatise any suggestion of the present sources of tax levies, the actual standing of corporate wealth, the extent of increased returns and something like a setting forth of our industrial order. That all seems to be beyond the range of Mr. Mellon's fiscal knowledge or his economic understanding.

Flying Far

A Review by Joseph T. Shipley

DAEDALUS, or Science and the Future. By J. B. S. Haldane. New York: Dutton. \$1.00.

It is hardly possible for the layman to recognize the extent to which the world's activity, the condition and the thought of humankind, depend upon science. It is clear that the typewriter, the railroad, the printing press, the automobile, and the many devices employing electricity have produced tremendous changes in our immediate environment. Somewhat less evident is the fact that our entire industrial system is the result of the advancement of science, the changes produced by the increasing organization and utilization of knowledge in their turn evolving the capitalistic order of affairs. But the manner in which science influences philosophy, thus unconsciously coloring human conduct, is subtler and more difficult to observe, though no less pervasive. After Newton's theory of gravitation, the world came gradually to be interpreted in terms of matter; as a result, recent generations have been decidedly materialistic. Interpreting the world in terms of matter "has produced sanitation, Marxian Socialism, and the right of an accused person to give evidence in his or her own behalf." Einstein's theory of relativity, destroying the value of space and time, destroys these—and destroys matter—as the bases of our interpretation of experience; the philosophy of the next few centuries may therefore be some sort of idealism (interpretation of the world as idea) that will bring as many changes as came to the world after Newton. Humanity may come to recognize that in ethics too, in politics and in all social relations, relativity reigns.

Just what may come from this change of fundamental attitude defies prophecy. Professor Haldane proceeds more boldly, however, in the field of the physical, and starts with many a lightning flash of prevision. Physics itself will tend toward abolishing the hindrances of time and space; we shall grow toward light that does not waste 95 percent of its energy (as heat); toward being completely present to anyone anywhere on earth in about 1-24 of a second. As man needs unending supplies of human and mechanical power, he will soon discover means of obtaining the one by immense storage tanks of wind power converted into electricity; and the other by reproducing ectogenetically (outside of the body). The possibilities of physics and chemistry are, however, limited; many new drugs and stimulants may be developed and our powers of converting elements may increase; artificially prepared foods will turn our farms into great gardens. But the greatest share in this, and in the general progress of the world, is, as Haldane sees it, to fall to the lot of the biologist.

Professor Haldane finds it necessary to pause, before speaking of ectogenesis, to overcome a deep-rooted prejudice. Every invention in physics or chemistry, "from fire to flying, has been hailed as an insult to some god. But if every physical and chemical invention is a blasphemy, every biological invention is a perversion. Consider so simple and time-honored a process as the milking of a cow. The milk which should have been an intimate and almost sacramental bond between mother and child is elicited by the deft fingers of a milkmaid, and drunk, cooled, or even allowed to rot into cheese. We have only to imagine ourselves as drinking any of its other secretions, in order to realize the radical indecency of our relation to the cow." However, man will grow accustomed to the changes involved in the new knowledge. With the end of disease old age will become a gradual and gentle decline. Wars may end with the realization of their horror; "it took man 25,000 years to transcend the hunting pack. It will not take

him so long to transcend the nation."

"It is the destiny of the scientist to turn good into evil." This startling declaration calls for a definition of the word good; it is evident that, since "good" is merely a term applied by men, that that which an age considers good is the good of that age. Since perfection is death and death decay, it follows that historically, wherever there is progress, that which is good at once tends to become evil. The moral and physical virtues depend on the balance between man and the world around him. "It follows that an alteration in the scale of human power will render actions bad which were formerly good. Our increased knowledge of hygiene has transformed resignation and inaction in face of epidemic disease from a religious virtue to a justly punishable offence. We have improved our armaments, and patriotism, which was once a flame upon the altar, has become a world-devouring conflagration."

Haldane pleads for poets who are also scientists, not—human hopes—those who think they interpret the age by filling their pages with chemical and physiological terms, but such as will charge their verses with the essence of the new attitude, will carry on the tradition that makes Haldane declare the only recent scientific poets are Shelley and Keats—which is equivalent to saying they are the only recent great poets. And indeed the shallow optimism of Browning, the oracular morality of Tennyson, the mellow decay of Swinburne, are fatal limitations, whatever the power of portraiture, of simple lyric beauty, of sensuous splendor. There must be a fusion of intellectual force of the highest order, with an emotional power hitherto unmatched, in the poet who shall be worthy to sing of and sing for the future society Haldane fancies, and half believes will come.

One is most inclined to disagree with Professor Haldane in the social implications of his theory, and more particularly in the time he allows for his revolutionary changes. Some form of Socialism seems inevitable as an incidental product of the decline of materialism. When men are no longer so concerned with material things, their greed and lusts will be diverted; with the population scientifically limited and produced, men will recognize that their own interests demand an equitable distribution of those items of physical well-being which are, after all, nothing more than the preliminaries to ideal living. But with that recognition, freedom of the masses is somehow not inextricably bound. "The tremendous changes since Newton" produced for most men a transformation from body slavery to wage slavery (a great benefit to the owner, as he no longer need care for the body of his worker, but may always hire a fresh, healthy crew); the new change may find them spiritual slaves. Indeed, the extent to which patriotism has revived (formal patriotism, exemplified in the renewed daily pledge to "the flag of the United States," that is barren of spiritual devotion yet insidiously habit-forming), this great revival, in direct opposition to Haldane's opinion of such limited loyalty, must mean a long postponement of international peace. Nor do the strenuous battles against progress actively fought by corporations that buy and bury new inventions for the sake of old profits, or by bibliophiles who believe science must stop contradicting the sacred Scriptures, promise an early cessation. Picture, if you can—my imagination is too weak—Loyal Leonard Wood agreeing with Haldane as to the iniquity of patriotism, or Bible Bryan and Censor Sumner consenting to the propagation of the species outside of the body of the mother! When you can visualize their acquiescence in such things then you may radiograph Haldane to bring on his future.

There are no other sentences in it to influence anyone except to boredom. The first is: "Unfortunately—most unfortunately—we have no record of the World's First Lie; but what we know from their descendants today, they were probably of opposite sexes, married at once, and begat a numerous progeny." Not so good. The other is: "The sole revenge that Maturity can take upon Youth for the sin of being young, is to preach at it." A little better. But worth using up a small-sized book to publish?

J.R. SMALLWOOD.

Some flames of controversy are likely to be stirred up by "Flames of Faith," a novel symbolizing the present religious crisis. Samuel Harden Church, president of the Carnegie Institute, is the author. The story concerns the love and struggles of a missionary who fights against the cant that would turn the natural beautiful things in his life into ugliness by condemnation. Published by Boni & Liveright.

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book, obtainable at the
RAND BOOK STORE
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The Labor Rulers

ENGLAND'S LABOR RULERS. By Iconoclast. New York: Thomas Seltzer. \$1.50.

Iconoclast, author of the recent biography of J. Ramsay MacDonald, published [by Thomas Seltzer] under the title of "The Man of Tomorrow," has compiled sketches of twenty-eight of the members of MacDonald's government. The sketches are illustrated by pen-and-ink portraits by Sidney L. Hydeman.

While there is nothing inspiring in these brief biographies, they form an invaluable "Who's Who," and as such, no one interested in the Labor Government can afford to be without them. There is no new material in them, but in the present form, the book is indispensable. The portrait sketches are very fine.

A MASTER OF FICTION

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. By Johannes V. Jensen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

Those who read that amazing reconstruction of mankind's beginnings entitled "Fire and Ice," by Johannes V. Jensen, the Danish writer, and then followed it by his "The Austrians," can now complete the trilogy with "Christopher Columbus."

The recreation of the story of man, as depicted in these columns, is told by a master story teller. The far distant yesterdays are tied to the present in such a manner as to make it a part of our lives.

In "Christopher Columbus," that part relating to Cortez and his conquest of Mexico is told with a clash and glamor of romantic invasion—as seen long after the real horror and sufferings have been forgotten. As a whole these volumes deserve to be read not only by the lover of a moving bit of fiction but by the student of history as well.

WHIRLWIND. By H. C. M. Hardin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.00.

A very highly sexed story almost as much so as an Elinor Glyn best seller. It tells of one "Jessica," an English girl, who wants life and beauty. She marries a handsome young fellow who can only give her a shabby flat. Later on he becomes a great man but Jessica, having no foresight, deserts him and goes into the open market offering herself to the highest bidder. Later on she meets a man called the "Toreador," a cave-man. She loves him, because he promptly beats her whenever he has nothing else to do, and that is often.

The description of the fancy-dress ball, where an artist comes as a cave-man dressed mostly in his club, where the favorite models wear only gold chains, size of chains carefully noted, are some of the things to make this one of the best sex-sellers. This must not be overlooked—Jessica is a devoted mother—between lovers.

TOLERANCE: TWO LECTURES.

By Phillip Brooks. Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.00.

A Plea for religious intolerance addressed to the students of several of the Divinity schools of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

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.

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS

By WENDELL PHILLIPS

From a speech to the delegates to a Labor-Reform convention which met in Worcester, Massachusetts, September 4, 1871, when the Paris Commune had frightened the ruling classes of the world.

IF there is any one feature which we can distinguish in all Christendom, under different names—trade unions, co-operation, Crispins, and Internationals—under all flags, there is one great movement. It is for the people peacefully to take possession of their own. No more riots in the streets; no more disorder and revolution; no more arming of different bands; no cannon loaded to the lips. Today the people have chosen a wiser method: they have got the ballot in their right hands and they say, "We come to take possession of the governments of the earth."

In the interests of peace, I welcome this movement—the peaceable marshalling of all voters toward remodeling the industrial and political civilization of the day. I have not a word to utter—far be it from me!—against the grandest declaration of popular indignation which Paris wrote on the pages of history in fire and blood. I honor Paris as the vanguard of the Internationals of the world. When kings wake at night, startled and aghast, they do not dream of Germany and its orderly array of forces. Aristocracy wakes up aghast at the memory of France; and when I want to find the vanguard of the people, I look to the uneasy dreams of an aristocracy, and find what they dread most.

And today the conspiracy of emperors is to put down—what? Not the Czar, not the Emperor William, not the armies of United Germany; but, when the emperors come together in the center of Europe, what plot do they lay? To annihilate the Internationals, and France is the soul of the Internationals. I, for one, honor Paris; but in the name of Heaven, and with the ballot in our right hands, we shall not need to write our record in fire and blood; we write it in the orderly majorities at the ballot box. . . .

You do not kill a hundred millions of corporate capital, you do not destroy the virus of incorporate wealth by any one election. The capitalists of Massachusetts are neither fools nor cowards; and you will have to whip them three times, and bury them under a monument weightier than Bunker Hill, before they will believe they are whipped. Now, gentlemen, the inference from that statement is this: The first duty resting on this convention, which rises above all candidates and platforms, is, that it should keep the Labor party religiously together.

A SURVEY OF TOKIO

THE ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICS OF TOKIO. By Dr. Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Professor Beard, one of our soundest and most suggestive political scientists, was invited to become Municipal Adviser of the city of Tokio and he made a survey of that city that was so valuable that when the earthquake destroyed it, an invitation was promptly cabled him to come back and supervise the rebuilding of the city according to his ideas. The job was intelligent, workmanlike and complete as all of Beard's work has been. This book is a survey of the government of the

city, made before the earthquake, and it will be found of value to all students of municipal affairs. This reviewer sat in the gallery of the Senate when Japanese exclusion was enacted a few weeks ago, and he heard some of the statesmen's speeches in favor of keeping out the Japanese "barbarians"; reading a book such as Beard's after hearing such speeches makes him wonder if we are not governed by savages.

W. M. F.

That which passes for thrift at present is often nothing different from soul-destroying parsimony.—Keir Hardie.

There is no defeat for those with whom the right is.—Keir Hardie.

THIS SUNDAY!

THE
DEBATE
OF THE DAY!

THIS SUNDAY!

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

BERTRAND V E R S U S SCOTT
Russell 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

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A. LEVINE, Sec. Sec'y.

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Local 161, A. C. W. A.

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KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary;

ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

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LOCAL 15

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8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

A. SOFFER, Chairman.

S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.

H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 10

Executive Board meets every Monday at

8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

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N. LUTZKY, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1

Executive Board meets every Thursday

at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

WILLIAM CHERNIAK, Chairman.

L. GOLDWORG, Vice-Chairman.

N. FISHKOPF, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 5

Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday

at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

H. REGGON, Chairman.

M. GOLDFELD, Vice-Chairman.

N. LUTZKY, Secretary.

Journeyen Plumbers

Local Union 418

Of Queens County, New York

Meets Every Tuesday Evening at 8:15 at

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and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Bus. Agt.

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7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082

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L. D. BERGER, Manager

LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

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.

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Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday

Night in the Office of the Union

M. M. ESSENFIELD, Chairman

NATHAN RIESEL, Sec'y-Treas.

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

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934

Executive Board meets every Monday

at 7 P. M.

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H. TAYLOR, LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y

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ecutive Board meet every second and

fourth Mondays of the month at the

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day of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y.

Chas. Garfinkel, Org't. H. Kaplan, Sec.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 2, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY

TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.

D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

Pressers' Union

Local 2, A. C. W. A.

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday

at the Amalgamated Temple

11-27 Arion Pl., Bkn., N. Y.

LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman

H. TAYLOR, LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y

D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

MR. BANTON SAYS

A MOUTHFUL

By X. Y. Z.

Speedy trial and sure punishment stressed as crime deterrents. Ounce of prevention is worth pound of prosecution, District Attorney Banton tells meeting. So runs the headline.

Whereupon one rises on his hind legs and shouts lustily: 'Atta boy, Joab, we'll teach the lowdown, dirty crooks, won't we?'

It sounds good, doesn't it? So let's listen in a little bit more.

If the law might be written, says Joab, says he, according to the news account, or the written law so applied that crime could be prevented, the State would be saved an enormous expenditure of energy and money.

It really gets better and better. Do we hear cries of more, more? Here goes:

Therefore, says the most noble prosecutor, or words to that effect, he has striven since he has been district attorney to apply the existing law in such a manner as to deter potential criminals from violating the penal statutes and has been urging the Legislature to enact such laws as will prevent crime.

Immediately upon hearing of this worthy effort, Dame Gossip broadcast upon her own world-encircling wave length that Mr. Banton maybe, perhaps, might be intending to think of asking the Albany bunch of tried and true law 'n order guardians to pass a law that the ballot box is sanctified and none shall dare say nay.

You say you thought the ballot box was already the sacred inheritance of us citizens and the repository of the sovereign voice of the people? Why, so did we—once. You see it was this way:

Once upon a time (just like a fairy story, isn't it?), the voters all used to go to the polling places in this city on Election Day and drop their votes in the boxes and go away and then the votes used to be counted exactly as they were marked (this grows more like a fairy story) and everything was "jake." But then some simply impossible people calling themselves Socialists moved into Harlem and gradually put foolish notions into so many voters' heads that Socialists were elected to the Assembly and to the Board of Aldermen and one of them almost went to Congress.

Finally, some counting experts were put on the job and the voters were relieved of their folly. But these Socialists went around telling everybody they were cheated and it was a h... of a way to treat "the sacred inheritance and the repository," etc.

And it got to the ears of Joab himself and it also, after a fashion, got his angora. So he said he would look into the matter (and now it's becoming a real fairy story) and at last certain election experts were indicted for trying to free Harlem citizens of their crazy notions by ways not according to Hoyle. These experts were to be brought to trial, but—

Something slipped. Somebody had a toothache or some other ache; somebody else lost some papers (just like in the good old Corse Payton dramas) and the trial is still patiently waiting to be tried.

It's all right though. Even Joab knows that the longer a trial is put off the less chance is there of conviction, for he says: "When I inquired into why few... cases resulted in conviction, I found there were two reasons. First, the great length of time which elapsed between the commission of the crime and the trial in the Court of General Sessions..."

Maybe, however, the five years that the Harlem case has been dragging along is not a "great length of time" to the efficient district attorney.

But soft! Joab's wise words of an ounce of prevention being worth a pound of prosecution were entirely in order. He was speaking, you must remember, before the New York State Society of Certified Public Accountants at the Waldorf-Astoria. And you must also keep in mind that lately there has been a wave of business frauds that has been keeping the commercial world kind of worried.

When business men are busy following out their blessed competition and its holy dog eat dog policy, one of them sometimes nips the other under the belt, as it were. Then there is a howl from the entire pack that reaches the high heavens.

This time it reached Joab himself. He quickly managed to get a new court, the Commercial Frauds Court, set up, which has been kept busy ever since.

But to make the expert vote counters take the count—th—t, as they say, is a horse of a different color.

Stealing elections, you see, only makes citizens disgusted with voting and turns the high ideal of democracy into a tragic farce. Therefore, what's the hurry when more important things must be taken care of?

Slow as molasses for the one; all action for the other.

Pretty raw, isn't it?

Do most citizens raise a rumpus about it?

Not on your life.

That's why "they" get away with it.

The Break-Down of the Textile Industry

By Thomas F. MacMahon,
President, United Textile Workers of America

Depression in the New England textile industry can be traced to overcapitalization, mismanagement and faulty distribution.

When the war started, many mills operated 24 hours a day and undreamed profits were made. Stockholders received quarterly dividends that would be considered magnificent if issued annually before the war. As these profits increased, stock dividends were issued and mill values were often doubled and trebled by the stroke of a pen.

The Pacific Mills Corporation of Lawrence, Mass., is an illustration of this overcapitalization. From 1915 to 1920 this concern declared a 262 per cent dividend and increased its capitalization from \$7,163,693 to \$20,000,000. In 1912 the Pacific declared a 200 per cent stock dividend. The Arlington mills of the same city declared a 131 per cent dividend; the Nashua Manufacturing Company, a 177 per cent dividend, and the Amoskeag Company, a 122 per cent dividend, all in the same period.

Many of these mills have the old hand loom and hundreds of thousands of spindles of the old-fashioned size are in operation.

During the prosperous years no provision was made for replacements. Every dollar possible was taken out of the industry. The an-

cient machinery in these mills is now expected to cope with up-to-date machinery in other localities, while the dollar-grabbing textile barons shriek that "southern competition is driving us out of business."

Let stockholders be satisfied with a 10 per cent return, cease capitalizing these properties and equip the plants with modern machinery is one way to meet southern competition.

Mismanagement of many New England mills has been notorious, if not criminal, and none are more responsible for this mismanagement than boards of directors. In too many places the agent or general manager has not the ability to hold such an important position, but secures same because of his social, fraternal or political standing.

The largest factor in the present depression is faulty distribution.

We have the wholesaler, the jobber, the commission merchant, the shipping expert, the bank director, the municipal, State or national politician—all digging into the profit made on every pound of cotton manufactured.

Yet, with all these barnacles on the good ship "Textile," we would safely land at harbor if it were not for the vast difference in price paid to the mill, by the wholesaler, jobber or commission man, and the price the consumer pays.

Another handicap to this industry, is gambling in futures, whether it be cotton, wool or silk.

the conventions were really ratified. This has proved to be the truth, for Italy has had to be reminded of the promises she then made. Mussolini is said to have replied that justice must first be done to Italy in the I. L. O.; that is to say, the number of Italian officials employed in that institution must be increased.

This has now been done, but still Mussolini has done no more than repeat his promise. His faithful journalists have, it is true, lauded him to the skies on the strength of these promises, although the ratifications have not yet taken place. In fact, Italy has as yet only ratified three of the least important of the conventions.

MACHINISTS RAISE WAGES

Peoria, Ill.—Organized machinists have raised wages 5 cents an hour. The new minimum is 95 cents.

STEREOTYPERS ADVANCE

Lexington, Ky.—Stereotypers employed on newspapers in this city have raised wages \$1.25 a week. The new rates are: Foremen, \$45.25; journeymen, \$38.50; apprentices, \$22.80.

Labor Jottings From Abroad

'Norway Not to Join Moscow'

By a referendum vote of 15,602 against 7,504, the members of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions have approved the recommendation of their Executive Committee not to affiliate with either of the union internationals, but to maintain friendly relations with the Red Trade Union International. The

membership of the Norwegian unions on December 31, last, was 88,897, a gain of about 5,000 during 1923.

To Aid North Sea Dockers

At a conference of dock workers held in Antwerp April 9 and 10, with delegates present from all the more important North Sea ports of France, Belgium, Holland and Germany, the efforts of the bosses to hold down wages and lengthen the working day were discussed in detail and it was decided to set up a permanent committee of North Sea delegates to take steps to fight to the limit for the workers' rights. This committee is to call another conference at an early date and to consider the question of raising a special strike fund for possible emergencies. A similar conference of dockers' delegates from the Baltic ports is being planned.

Swedish Unions Gain 7 Per Cent

The unions affiliated with the Swedish central organization gained 20,105 members during 1923, bringing their total up to 313,000 on December 31, last. The increase in local unions was 241. Swedish match workers have finally reached an agreement with their employers for the rest of 1924 under which their minimum hourly wage is advanced three ore (about 1/4 cent), except in the case of piece workers, whose pay is unchanged.

Arabs Joining Palestine Unions

Arab workers in Palestine are beginning to line up with their Jewish brothers in trade unions. At a conference held in March in Haifa delegates of Jewish and Arab railroad men named a joint committee to make plans for the amalgamation of their unions. The locomotive, the organ of the Jewish railroaders, is to come out in Arabic as well as Hebrew.

French Leather Workers Gaining

Reports read at a national convention of the French Leather Workers' Federation held in Paris April 6 showed a steady gain in membership and an increase in cash reserves. There are seventy-one local unions and the balance in the national treasury is 50,076 francs. During 1923 the leather workers won ten of sixteen strikes, while in thirty-two instances they got improved conditions without striking.

Yugoslav Textile Workers Uniting

At a meeting held recently in Ljubljana of the local branches of the textile workers' unions of Slovenia it was decided that these branches should constitute the Slovenian textile workers' section of the National Textile Workers' Union of Yugoslavia, now being organized.

FASCISTI BLOCK LABOR LAWS

FASCISTI BLOCK LABOR LAWS

Amsterdam.—As an illustration of what occasionally goes on behind the scenes among the Government and employers' representatives on the Governing Body of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions quotes from an article recently written for La Giustizia of Milan by a man in close touch with the Geneva Labor Office.

The writer tells how, at the time Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labor Office, visited Italy Government officials were profuse in promises to the effect that Italy would soon ratify all the conventions regarding the improvement of labor conditions adopted at the various conferences of the International Labor organization.

This rather jarred the employers' and Government members of the International Labor Office and caused them to ask their colleague Olivetti, representative of the Italian employers, how it was that a government which was so warmly supported by employers, "could take up a position so contrary to the sabotage of the conventions systematically practised by the employers' group?"

Olivetti replied that even under the Fascisti regime the "gallery" had to be humored, but he consoled them with the assurance that it would be many a long day before

Glengarry's Review

(Written for The New Leader.)

When the PEOPLE
Have COMMON cause
East and West will BLEND.

The POPULACE
Of no OTHER nation
Is CONFRONTED
With so manifestly FOUL
AN OFFICIALDOM

As we HAVE INFLICTED
ON OURSELVES
EVER since we ALLOWED
The BALLOT

To become SUBSERVIENT
To a MONEYED aristocracy
Whose POLITICAL boots
Are TWO parties,

In which it is ABLE,
STEP BY STEP,
To TRAMPLE
The FEW

Who ADVOCATE
The URGENCY
Of a CLEAN Government

OURS IS A CONDITION
Which SHOULD unite us
In openly DISAVOWING
The POLITICAL parties

Which TRANSFORMED themselves
Into a RENDEZVOUS
For the ROBBERS
ON WHOSE SPOIL

Party Notes

(Continued from Page 6)

on intensive work to obtain a large number of readers for The New Leader in Paterson the organizer reporting that ten subscribers have now been secured. Meyer London addressed a successful meeting there during April which helped a great deal towards the organization of the new branch.

New Jersey State Committee meeting was held May 11 at State headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey. The secretary reported having visited Elizabeth and found that the Jewish Branch was organized for about two years and did not have a charter. On the secretary's recommendation a charter was granted to them. The English Branch is again going ahead, they having secured a permanent meeting place, that a general membership meeting of all the members of the three branches will be held on Thursday, June 10, and a county organization permanently established.

Local Hudson County reported securing many answers to communications sent out by them in protest against the military demonstration in Jersey City, that they have started their campaign with good results and by the end of the month will have held many open-air meetings. Local Essex County reported that their banquet was a success, and that they are making plans for their campaign. They donated \$25 to the National Office.

Local Bergen County reported that their last two county meetings were well attended and that it may be possible for them to be able to place Socialist speakers in some of the churches in Bergen County.

Local Camden County reported that they are raising the \$1,000 necessary to pay off the mortgage on their headquarters. That they are making an organization drive with good results. That they donated towards the free speech fight in Kansas City. That they will have a bazaar booth in one of the city's parks. Their organization committee is in touch with people in Penn's Grove, Millville and Atlantic City, whom they expect to organize into branches in their various localities.

Local Passaic County reported having held a successful mass meeting with Meyer London as speaker. That they have permanently organized the Central Branch of Paterson, and that they are laying plans for their campaign.

Herman Neisser of Camden was elected as a delegate to the National Convention, to take the place of Comrade Kline, who resigned. The State Executive Committee was selected as a State campaign committee to route speakers throughout the State. They were empowered to add one or more persons to their committee to help in the work.

The State Executive Committee was instructed to send out a letter relative to the convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, stating the nature of that convention and instructing all branches and Locals that they are not to support it.

MASSACHUSETTS

Speakers Wanted

The State office of the Socialist Party has issued an appeal for volunteer speakers for the entire New England district, who will speak for their expenses only. Address Helena Turitz, 64 Pemberton Square, Boston.

OHIO

Shirts to Tour

Early in June, Comrade Joseph W. Sharts of Dayton, candidate for Governor, will start on his State-wide agitation tour on his "red special" auto truck.

BRILLIANT OPENING IS PREDICTED FOR CAMP TAMIMENT MAY 29TH

An unusual demand for reservations for the Decoration Day weekend, May 29 to June 1, is keeping busy officials of Camp Tamiment, the workers' vacation resort at Forest Park, Pa.

A brilliant opening for the season that will surpass previous records is freely predicted.

Camp officials are especially excited over their new recreation staff which includes men who are eminent in their particular fields of activity. The new social director will be George W. Zorn, acting stage manager.

NEW YORK CITY

(Continued From Page 6)

favorable other speakers will be on the streets. Comrade Claessens goes to New England for the month of June, but after that he will give his whole time to Greater New York.

Sixth A. D.

There will be a meeting of the 6th A. D. Friday night, at 267 East 4th street. The Cleveland conventions will be discussed, and plans made for the campaign.

17th and 18th A. D.

The members of the 17th and 18th A. D. are getting down to business. Their immediate job is to increase the membership of the branch and spread propaganda outside. For this purpose new literature has been ordered and members have volunteered to make personal visits to the homes of enrolled Socialist voters of the district. Each volunteer secures a list of ten or so names from the organizer and the task is begun for securing new members, encouraging our forces and finding funds for financing further efforts. The branch meets every Tuesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 1336 Lincoln Place near Utica avenue.

THE BRONX

The Executive Committee meets every second and fourth Monday of each month at local headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. The sub-committees on Entertainment, Organization and Candidates for Political Office, meet Monday, May 19 at Local Headquarters.

The entertainment committee took steps to make the spring festival and dance to be held on June 7 in the large hall at Local Headquarters a success.

The organization committee met under the direction of Comrade Paulitsch. Comrades Paulitsch and Freedman were elected to attend to the reorganization of Branch Three. Comrades Murphy and Freedman were named to attend meeting of Branch One and impress on the members the urgent necessity of appointing comrades to visit the members in arrears and also the enrolled voters. The success attending this plan as carried out by the 4th A. D. is very apparent.

Comrade Wm. O. Betz was named as the Secretary of the Organization Committee to file and coordinate all reports received from canvassers.

Branch Four held a well-attended meeting May 20 at Local Headquarters. Comrade Jerome T. DeHunt, chairman of the American Labor party, gave a very interesting lecture on "Recent Developments in the American Labor movement."

Branch One met at its branch headquarters Tuesday, May 20. Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Ben Horowitz have done much to bring the Branch back in the fold and it is now shaking off the lethargy of the past few years. Its active members asserting that Branch One will in the near future be second to none in Socialist constructive work.

The members of Branch One were also reminded of the General Party meeting to be held Friday, May 23, at 8:30 p. m., at Local Headquarters. All Bronx members are requested to keep the date in mind and be present at the meeting of a number of matters of interest to the Socialist movement will be taken up and acted on.

BROOKLYN

Coney Island, Branch One, will hold its regular meeting on Monday evening, May 26, at 3019 West 22nd street at 8:30. The matter of renting quarters for the summer will be discussed.

The 4-14th A. D. branch, located at 319 Grand street, has signed a lease to occupy the present quarters for the next two years. The entire floor is being remodelled and it is

expected to be the center of all radical activities in the section. On Tuesday night at its regular weekly meeting, Dr. H. Katz will lead a discussion on the Labor party question. As a part of the county organization work now being conducted in Brooklyn, a special meeting of Branches One and Two of the 23rd A. D. will be held on Wednesday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

J. R. Smallwood, of St. Johns, Newfoundland, will speak Tuesday night at a meeting of Branch Two, Second A. D., at the Kingsway Mansion, 1606 Avenue P. Comrade Smallwood is an active member of the Fishermen's Protective Union of his country, an organization that has tremendous political power there.

East Side Barbers To Strike for Raise

Thorough unionization of all barber shops on the East Side, in the district south of 34th street and east of the Bowery, is hoped for as a result of a strike called by Local 52 of the Journeymen International Barbers' Union of America. There are about 3,000 workers involved in the strike which was called principally to obtain a wage increase of \$3.00 a week. The new scale is to be \$35.00. It also demanded that the hours of labor be 8 a. m. to 8 p. m. on week days and 8 a. m. to 1 p. m. on all legal holidays.

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WM. LEHMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

CONY ISLAND OFFICE: 2839 West 22nd Street, Telephone Coney Island 4245-J. D. SAMOWITZ, Manager.

PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 892
Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St.
Tel. Regent 2525
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening
John Barry, President
Peter Goldie, Vice-President
Clarence Barnes, Rec. Sec'y
J. J. Connell, Fin. Sec'y

COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 65, 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.
JAMES MORAN, President.
JOHN McQUINN, Vice-Pres.
PETER FINNERAN, Rec. Sec'y
JOHN McPARTLAN, Fin. Sec'y
MAT. J. HANSON, 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, 245 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
JOHN PEARL, President
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, Vice-President and Business Agent
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y
JOHN LEAVY, JOSEPH LAMONTE

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 106th Street
Telephone: University 2528
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 310 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. KENNEDYFIELD, Recording Treasurer
Financial Secretary

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

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza-4100-5116. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & 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.
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y.
CHAS. H. BAUSCHER, Bus. Agent.
JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL 385
Office and Headquarters, 12 St. Mark's Place.
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.
V. J. CASTELLI, President.
MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres.
N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent.
WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary
CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 366
Regular meetings every Monday evening
4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.
Walter Anderson, President
Bern Post, Rec. Secretary
James Duignan, Fin. Sec'y
Victor Sault, Vice President
Joseph Vanderpool, Treas.
Chas. Nobis, Business Agent
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Glew

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1486, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA.
Office: 12 St. Mark's Place.
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.
ORCHARD 8604.
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres.
Ed. M. Olson, Fin. Sec'y.
Christopher Gulbrandsen, Charles Johnson, Sr., Recording Secretary
Ludwig Benson, Ray Clark, Treasurer
Business Agents

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL 34
Office: 239 EAST 84th STREET
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple
Telephone Lenox 4539
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary
THOMAS CARRILL, President
EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

Bosses Get Injunction Against Bakers' Union

A temporary injunction has been issued against the Bakers' Union, which forbids the union from executing the usual strike measures against six firms which have refused to renew a recently expired trade pact. Morris Hillquit will represent the union in the hearing Friday, when the employers will seek to make the injunction permanent.

Russell to Debate Nearing Sunday

Widespread interest is being shown throughout the city in the forthcoming debate between Bertrand Russell, well-known English sociologist, philosopher and mathematician, and Scott Nearing, equally well-known here as an economist. Nearing and Russell will debate the question: "Resolved that the Soviet form of Government is applicable to Western Civilization." The discussion will take place this Sunday afternoon at Carnegie Hall, 57th street and Seventh avenue. Tickets may be obtained at 500 Fifth avenue, The League For Public Discussion, or at Carnegie Hall.

Union Halls

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Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.
J. Bercoff, Chairman
L. Feitelson, Rec. Sec'y
J. Fortney, Bus. Agent
A. Kaufman, Fin. Sec'y

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

I. U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56
Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stage 3844. Office hours, 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M., Room 14.
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

Waiters' Union

Local 219, H. & R.E.I.A. & B.I.L. of A. Office & Headquarters 110 E. 80 St., N.Y. LENOX 1874
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M.
Meyer Schechter, Chas. S. Lowy, President, Bus. Agent & Sec.

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 O.
Office 585 Hudson St., City.
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA 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. STERNBERG, 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 5596.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION

Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.
Office and Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., B'klyn. Dickens 0682
Local meets 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

Office, 221 E. 14th Street. Union Local 46, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4549
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—311 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Bronx—E. 17th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—165 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomerie St.
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
799 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4339, 9510, 9511
JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
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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 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.
ABRAHAM GOLDEN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 25, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 16 West 31st 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: Phone Stuyvesant 4408
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman
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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.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 67 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager MOLLY LIESHITZ, Secretary

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 230
Office and Meeting Room: 106 Seventh Avenue Phone Chelsea 9549
Regular Meeting Every Monday. Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 P. M.
GEO. B. HOVELL, JAS. P. CONLON, President, Bus. Agent
J. J. COUGAN, D. J. NAGLE, Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary

CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION

of Greater New York
Office and Meeting Room: 175 E. Broadway Phone Orchard 6618
Regular Meeting Every Monday at 8 p. m.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday
J. EFFRAY, D. HOFFMAN, Manager, Secretary

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. B'way. Orchard 8239
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday
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I. KORN, Manager. S. JACOBI, Sec'y.

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ager of "The Miracle," Morris Gest's notable production. Mr. Zorn, who has had years of experience in the theatre and who will have charge of the camp's theatrical activities, will visit the camp the Saturday and Sunday of the Decoration Day weekend to acquaint himself with the many opportunities for pageant work and theatrical performances in Mally Hall at the camp.

Holder of one of the amateur championships in boxing and well-acquainted with the hosts who frequent athletic matches, S. M. Abrahams will be the new athletic director. An expert swimmer has been appointed life-guard at the camp and he will give instructions to those of the guests who may desire to take a plunge in the lake before breakfast.

Music that will delight every possible taste will be furnished by "The Collegiate Five," Camp Tamiment's new orchestra of five pieces.

The camp will be managed by Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly, of the Rand School of Social Science, assisted by Dr. Joseph H. Jablonow, one of the most active members of the Teachers' Union.

Lecturers for the season at camp will include Heywood Brown, columnist of the New York World; Margaret Daniels, Harry W. L. Dana, Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, Scott Nearing, Willy Pogany and Herman Epstein.

Among Decoration Day visitors at the camp will be Willy Pogany, the noted artist who will begin plans for a super-pagant, his last great effort before going abroad in the fall, and Pauline Bichman Joyce and Ed Royce, the camp's social directors in 1923.

--- D R A M A ---

Society's Best

"HEDDA GABLER," ALL-STAR MATINEES BY THE EQUITY

By some persons "Hedda Gabler" is looked upon as an eccentric, almost insane individual, with few points of resemblance to her sister women. A knowledge of Ibsen bids others seek farther; they find in Hedda as complete a demonstration of the rottenness of present society as the dramatist has achieved. For is not Hedda, General Gabler's daughter, the highest esthetic product of cultured capitalistic (caste) society? [Perhaps not quite the highest; she is, after all, only a foreigner; but she is of Nordic stock, and therefore near the peak. If Ibsen had only thought to make her an American, the case would be complete.] Yes, Hedda represents the woman on whom money and social position have bestowed their ultimate gifts.

What, then, is the product toward which our social system tends? An individual wholly without concern for others, wholly without concern for anything—utterly bored yet feverish for life, which is beyond her grasp. She is like a moth outside an electric bulb, frantic for the light. The one possible approach to life left her, lies in her power to mold other destinies; toward this she strains with jealous frenzy. With complete self-possession she takes advantage of her husband's love, soothes the friend whose anxiety is a further tool, bids the man she has broken die—die beautifully. Yet life, which has evaded all her earlier advances, in this her master-stroke escapes her still. Finding herself, instead of a molder of life, a puppet in the power of one who is preparing himself to enjoy her society as his obedient mistress, Hedda sees that the one way she can conquer life is to end it. Her suicide drives home the futility of the life of one who has been bred merely to bear herself becomingly in society.

Seeing "Hedda Gabler" again strengthens the impression of the depth and power of Ibsen's understanding. His very witricisms are but shafts of sunlight on the deep running water. The clarity of the dramatist is rendered crystal by the flawless company. Clare Eames by way of the "Spook Sonata" becomes a living Hedda. Dudley Digges the sincere scientist her husband, absorbed in his work, naive in all other occupations of life; his deepest emotions move him to the ejaculation: "Fancy that!" Roland Young clips off with a cool judicial sharpness the dry pronouncements and pointed comments of the judge, Fritz Leiber, who so recently has been a devil that grieves for humankind, is in good training for the part of Elvert Lovborg, the erring scientist reformed by Mrs. Elvsted (Margalo Gillmore), the man whom Hedda so kindly feels once more on the downward way. This play, with this cast, ought to be given evenings so that everyone may have a chance to see a masterpiece, for a change.

J. T. S.

Grand Folly

"THE GRAND STREET FOLLIES" AT THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE

If, as some philosophers assure us, the salvation of the world is to come through laughter, Grand Street brings us several guffaws nearer the millennium. It's good fun to laugh at your neighbors; it's good sport to laugh at yourself. "The Grand Street Follies" does both with equal good humor—and well directed shafts. A preliminary blow is turned upon the critics; on the S. S. Algonquin they are "outward bound;" it is not until they read one another's reviews that they discover they are all dead. In spite of this regrettable state, they are called upon to judge a dramatic contest, which furnishes the rest of the program, most amusingly presented by Miss Arthur. The main numbers are built around three of the plays produced this year at the Neighborhood Playhouse—a few of the lines, indeed, unnecessarily compliment the theatre; it would have been enough to have let us see these burlesques. Best of them was "Play the Queen," which transforms Yeats' play into a legendary forecast of America today ("Oils well that ends well"), with a chorus of senators that carols something like "Shove the people, by the people, defraud the people—that's our cry; We'll ne'er desert the ship of state until the wells run dry."

Hardly a prominent play is omitted from the deft impersonations. Dan Walker did a loud Sadie Thompson and a simple Elsie Janis with great effect; Aline Macdonald was a cute Gerty of Charlots—and vivacious all around; Albert Carroll a dapper Prince of (W)ails, a tough Emily Stevens, and the most Barrymorean Hamlet imaginable. Shakespeare's best creations, by the way joined in a delightful medley, "Who Killed the Ghost?" with "Gallagher and Shean as the grave diggers." One of the most amusing numbers, however, had no stars but deserved the stripes: the Sinfonica Domestica Triangula performed for the first time (presumably without rehearsal) by the "International Impersonators Guild." Lovers of modernized music will rejoice to learn that at last such devices as the hammer and pestle, the glass and the mixing spoon, the carpet sweeper and the typewriter have been added to the resources of the symphony orchestra.

Philosophers tell us, as I have remarked, that while one is laughing, one is unlikely to be thinking cruel and selfish or ugly thoughts. The smile may mask a villain; the guffaw unmasks a good fellow. Doctors sometimes advise their patients to laugh and grow fat; judges may now order their convicts to go to "The Grand Street Follies," to laugh and grow good.

WILLIAM LEA.

"She Stoops to Conquer"

The Players' Club announces that it will present Oliver Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," with an all-star cast during the week beginning Monday, June 9—probably at the Empire. Francis Wilson, the chairman of the committee in charge, is organizing the cast. Elsie Ferguson will play Kate Hardcastle. Pauline Lord will have the role of Miss Neville and Henrietta Crossman will be Mrs. Hardcastle. Basil Sydney will play Young Marlowe and Ernest Glendenning will have the role of Tony Lumpkin. Rehearsals are under the direction of William Seymour.

Helen Hayes will play the ingenue role in "Dancing Mothers," the new play by Edgar Selwyn and Edmund Goulding, and tried out in Washington and Atlantic City. The play comes to New York in September.

THE NEW PLAY

"THE RIGHT TO DREAM," the new play by Irving Kaye Davis, with Miss Bertha Broad in the leading role, will open at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre on Monday night. In the cast are Ralph Shirley, Augusta Burmaster, Marion Barney, James Hughes, Sardos Lawrence, Edward Colebrook. S. K. and B. S. Knauer are the producers.



MME. GALLIOPE CHARISSI
Noted Greek Dancer, is making her American debut at the Hippodrome, with her ten children, in a series of Classic dances.

Joan of Arc Not Burned!

"In 1890 a book was published in Paris," a correspondent in the London Times says, "written by M. Lesigne, who claimed to give the true account of Joan of Arc's life. More or less the book follows history in the campaigns, though giving Joan the role of a mascot of the army, rather than that of an inspired great leader. The writer declares that Joan was not burnt at the stake, that she was released after the trials, and eventually married one Robert des Armoises, Lesigne had seen the marriage document, which was drawn up in the name of 'Robert des Armoises, chevalier seigneur de Tiche-mont, Jehanne du Lys, la pucelle de France.' The writer quotes other documents to prove his case, notably the 'Chronicle of St. Thibault de Metz.' After the marriage she settled down quietly, fearing renewed persecution at the hands of the Church.

"Abbe Bossard, an authority of repute on the period, writes that Joan of Arc reappeared about the year 1439 at the Court of Charles VII, and in the City of Orleans, where she was received with joy, and entertained magnificently. Great must have been her resemblance to the real Joan, for men flocked to her standard, and even her brothers acknowledged her to be their sister. But it was proved that she was an adventures and impostor named Jeanne des Armoises, of La Rochelle. She was convicted of trickery, and died later in great poverty near Saumur."

Some curious information on the subject will be found in an article in Chamber's "Book of Days" under the date May 30, from which it would appear that, according to extant public records of the cities of Metz and Orleans, the Maid was married, at a date subsequent to that of the supposed execution, to the Chevalier Robert d'Armoise. The article concludes:—

The French antiquaries best qualified to form a correct opinion on the subject believe that she was not burned, but kept in prison until after the Duke of Bedford's death, in 1435, and then liberated; and so we may leave the question—a very pretty puzzle as it stands.

Be this as it may, the Maid's title to inclusion in the muster-roll of the Saints is not affected.

Shaw and Chaplin

Cosmos Hamilton, the well-known novelist-playwright, has made a record of his journeys, through this life, of his ups and downs, of his meetings with people, of the stage, politics and letters.

In his new volume entitled "Unwritten History" (Little, Brown & Co., \$4.) he gives us a most interesting close-up of many of those connected with the stage. In speaking of Shaw's first play he says: "Shaw's first play, 'Arms and the Man,' was produced under its melancholy roof, (the Avenue Theatre,) and after sending a momentary shudder down the mid-Victorian spine slipped into the limbo of forgotten things. At a time when Shaw had burst into the full glory of an intellectual favor and had become a cult,—the volatile, garrulous, explosive G. B. S., happiest of men, greatest of living Christians, and most astounding of dramatists,—this sly and witty play came into its own among the more mature but not more delightful 'Man and Superman,' 'Major Barbara,' 'Candida,' etc. The master waved his magic wand and did more to undermine the Constitution of Great Britain than any other subtle force before the war."

And of Charles Moustache Chaplin, we have: "As for Charles Spencer Chaplin, with flapping feet and comic moustache, doomed to be funny at all costs, he struck me then as a man who had long ago outgrown his trousers, but without sufficient self-confidence to develop the genuine tragic gifts that belong to every great comedian. Shy as a sea-gull, and, like Douglas Fairbanks, without a swollen head, it seemed to me that he only needed the right encouragement and the right story to break away from the easy stuff he had been doing, and which he had been content to do to the infinite amusement of all people to whom his name is a household word, since his earliest years upon the vaudeville stage in England and America."

"The Leap," at the Cherry Lane Theatre

"The Leap," a comedy by Jessy Trimble and Eugenie Woodward, was presented Thursday evening at the Cherry Lane Theatre. Leading members of the cast include Anna Cleveland, Herbert Standing, Jr., John Goldsworthy. The play is produced by The Town and Country Players, Inc. Whitford Kane directed the production.

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

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

WINTER GARDEN Broadway 50th Street MATS. TUES., FRI. (Dec'n Day) & SAT. INNOCENT EYES

INTRODUCING
MYSTINGUET
(from the Casino de Paris)
CECIL LEAN—CLEO MAYFIELD
Others—and—A PARADISE OF GIRLS.
"Briskest of all Winter Garden revues."
ROBERT G. WELSH, Telegram-Mail.

JOHN GOLDEN ANNOUNCES Last Performances 7th HEAVEN

Comedy Drama by Austin Strong
83rd Week. 697th to 704th Times
BOOTH W. 45th St., Eves. at 8:30
Regular Matinee Sat. 2:30
Holiday Mat., Decoration Day, Friday.

LIONEL ATWILL OUTSIDER AMBASSADOR WEST 40th ST.

HEAR JULIA SANDERSON SING OLD MAN in the MOON in MOONLIGHT A MUSICAL COMEDY GEN LONGACRE THEATRE W. 48th St. Eves. 8:20, Mats. Wed., Sat., 2:30

The Play that is Making History Anne NICHOLS RECORD-BREAKING COMEDY 2nd YEAR REPUBLIC HISTORICAL ABIE'S IRISH ROSE Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

D. W. GRIFFITH'S "Greatest play ever staged." —World— AMERICA By Robert W. Chambers 44th STREET THEATRE Twice Daily, 2:20, 8:30 Prices: 50c, \$1, \$1.50 Will not be shown in any other N. Y. theatre this year.



ROLAND YOUNG
in Judge Brack in Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler," now playing special matinees at the 28th Street Theatre.

"Racketty Packetty House" at the Children's Theatre

The Threshold Players will open "Racketty Packetty House," by Frances Hodgson Burnett, at the Children's Theatre, 1239 Fifth Avenue, on Saturday afternoon, May 24. Dorothy Major, (daughter of Clara Trec Major) will play Cynthia. Parker Mills will play Peter Piper, and Carolyn Humphrey will interpret Lady Pyl.

"THE PERFECT REVUE" VOGUES

THE 1924 MUSICAL MASTERPIECE
ODETTE MYRTIL
J. HAROLD MURRAY
A GREAT CAST
and
ROGER WOLFE'S ORCHESTRA
SHUBERT Theat., 44th St., W. of B'way, Eves. 8:30
Mats. Next Fri., Decor'n Sat.
Weekd. ay. & Next Decno
SEATS NOW ON SALE FOR
Convention Wk. & Fourth of July



JOLSON'S 59th St. Theatre
at 7th Ave.
Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

NEW SPRING EDITION CHARLOT'S REVUE of 1924 with BEATRICE LILLIE, GERTRUDE LAWRENCE and NELSON KEYS Good Balcony Seats at \$1 and \$1.50, at Box Office only. SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE. SPECIAL MIDNIGHT PERFORMANCE, THURSDAY, JUNE 5. FREDERICK LONSDALE'S COMEDY ELTINGE W. 42d St. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 WITH VIOLET HEMING, ESTELLE WINWOOD, ARTHUR BYRON, A. E. MATTHEWS Good Balcony Seats at \$1 and \$1.50, at Box Office only. SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE.

LEW FIELDS in a New 3-Act Comedy "THE MELODY MAN" with SAM WHITE and EVA FICK RITZ Theatre, 46th St., W. of B'way, Eves. 8:30. Matinee Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.

RICHARD HERNDON presents PEG O' MY DREAMS MUSICAL VERSION OF Peg O' My Heart Book by J. HARTLEY MANNERS Lyrics by ANNE CALDWELL Music by HUGO FELIX Staged by HASSARD SHORT Imperial THEATRE, 45th St., W. of B'way, Eves. 8:30 MATINEES WED. AND SAT. 2:30

SAMUEL SHIPMAN'S NEW COMEDY CHEAPER TO MARRY Belmont Theatre 49th St. E. of B'way, Eves. 8:30 MATS. THURS. & SAT. 2:30 6th MONTH PAID FOR SEASON'S OUTSTANDING COMEDY HIT! THE POTTERS By J. R. McEVROY Plymouth Theatre 45th St. E. of B'way, Eves. 8:30 MATS. THURS. & SAT. 2:30

NATIONAL THEATRE, 41st St. W. of B'way, Eves. 8:15, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2 HAMPDEN AS CYRANO 208TH TO 215TH PERFORMANCE

"Blossom Time" Returns
That perennial, "Blossom Time," the Franz Schubert operetta, was revived at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre Monday night. This operetta with its romance of the life and love of Franz Schubert and its score of his own music is now having its 2,000th and something performance. The Messrs. Shubert intend presenting "Blossom Time" at one of their theatres annually.
The revival company includes Margaret Merle, Fenita de Soria, Arthur Geary, Greek Evans, Robert Lee Allen and Gregory Ratoff.

Notes
Robert Ayrton, the English actor, who was the Friar Laurence in Jane Cowell's production of "Romeo and Juliet," died at midnight Sunday in Dr. Stern's sanitarium, 77th street and West End Avenue. He had been failing for some time. Ayrton was sixty-four years old. He had played every type of role from Pantaloon to Iago. In "The Merchant of Venice," he played practically every part including Shylock. He was with Teal, Barry Sullivan, Wyndham and Wilson Barrett, and in 1892 played in St. Petersburg with Dick Mansell's company, said to be the first ever to play there in English.
Dancing between the acts will be a feature in connection with the new Century Roof revue. Will Voder's jazz orchestra of colored musicians from the "Plantation," will furnish the music between the acts of "Round the Town."

MAE MURRAY
in "Mademoiselle Midnight," a new film play by John Russell and Carl Harbaugh, at the Capitol, Sunday.

D R A M A

A Talk With William Poel

Noted Authority on Elizabethan Drama Discusses Revival of the Morality Play

"Recently I met Mr. William Poel," writes Percy Allen in the Christian Science Monitor, "one of England's leading authorities upon Elizabethan drama and Shakespearean production in particular—also the founder of the Elizabethan Stage Society—and we chatted briefly about 'The Great World Theatre,' the mystery play recently put on at St. Edwards Church, Leeds. Mr. Poel said to me: 'The movement will grow, but I do not yet know whether it will be for good or for evil.'"

"Interested by the remark, I sought Mr. Poel out one evening, and passed two delightful hours with him in his cozy study, while he talked with me about the return of the drama to the church from which it originally came. 'The movement is an interesting one,' my host said, 'and it was I who chanced first to set the fashion that way.'"

"But as a producer of plays, you did not begin with religious drama?" "No, I began with Shakespeare—with a production of the first quarto of 'Hamlet,' in 1881, followed, some 10 years later, by 'Twelfth Night'; and then, realizing that the first essential to the success of any Shakespearean production was to get the lines properly spoken, I started a Shakespearean reading society which led up to the formation of the Elizabethan Stage Society. In the year 1900 my mother, a saintly woman, passed on and my mind being then turned to solemn thoughts, I said, 'I will produce another play, but it must be a serious one.' So I sought advice from Sir A. Ward, who had helped me with Marlowe's 'Faustus.' Do 'Everyman' Ward suggested."

"Off I went to the British Museum, and read the play there; but, at first, could make little of it. Then, gradually, I began to see its possibilities. I took a studio at Chelsea, gathered an amateur company there, and faced the question of where we should give our first performance. My wish was to play 'Everyman' in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey; but the Abbey authorities would not hear of it. It was only after many disappointments that I obtained permission to use the quadrangle of Charterhouse School, London. The first performance (July 13, 1901), which has been awaited with such intense curiosity, was received

in such stilly silence that I did not know whether I had succeeded or failed; but when two days later I returned to town and found my letter-box stuffed with congratulatory epistles, including one from Bernard Shaw informing me that my real bent was for medieval, and not Elizabethan production—'Everyman' actually dates from Queen Mary—I knew that my success. All London was talking about it; and the play became a favorite, in England and America too."

"That, then, was the beginning of a revived interest in moralities?" "Yes, and the man who, following myself, carried on the work was Mr. Nugent Monck, now in charge of the Maddermarket Theatre at Norwich. Through the medium of 'The English Drama Society,' of which he was the founder, many of the old religious plays including some of the Chester and Towneley cycles were given, and from 1901 onward numerous moralities have been written and produced including 'Bethlehem,' by Laurence Housman, Arthur Symonds' 'The Servant of the World,' 'Kennedy's' 'The Servant in the House,' and others which you will easily recall."

"But why, exactly, do you doubt whether the play of moralities in the churches will in the end prove to be a good thing?"

"All depends on whether the productions develop along the right lines, and retain their necessary simplicity and sincerity. The mystery play at Leeds and 'Everyman' as recently done by the Vic. Company in the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, were both partial failures, though for very different reasons. At Leeds injudicious lighting, I thought, prevented interest from being centered sufficiently upon words and action, whereas at Cambridge the mistake was eagerness to crowd as many people as possible into the Chapel. For all that the musical effects produced at that performance by the distant choir were most impressive, and I incline, therefore, to think that if church drama is 'rightly to succeed it had best be left to the church peoples themselves, who, as they have done with their choirs, should be able to train their own actors in their own way for that particular kind of work."



EVELYN NICHOLS plays the part of Rosemary Murphy in "Abie's Irish Rose," Anne Nichols' comedy, at the Republic, which enters on its 3rd year on Broadway.

Music Note

Rhys Morgan, Welsh tenor, will make his Metropolitan debut in a song recital at Aeolian Hall Monday evening, presenting a mixed program on which will be two special groups of Welsh songs and songs by Handel, Dvorak, Brahms, Hue and Faure.

Free Lectures on Applied Psychology

Dr. David V. Bush, author of "Applied Psychology and Scientific Living," editor of "Mind Power Plus," and a recognized authority on applied psychology, will deliver a series of free lectures in Carnegie Hall beginning Monday, May 26, and continuing to June 11. The lectures will begin at 8:15. The opening subject will be "The Subconscious Mind; Its Many Functions and How It Works." This will be Dr. Bush's first appearance in New York. He has given his series of lectures in a number of the larger cities, and everywhere, it is reported, he has been greeted by crowded houses.

Farrington Gives New Proposal

(Continued from Page 1)

coal-diggers present realized they were present at its making. From Illinois comes a new sense of direction for the American Labor movement everywhere, a step forward from which there can be no recession. For the first time Labor is concerning itself not so much with measures of defense and warfare, important as these are, as with constructive measures that will benefit every last member of the community.

After touching on the waste and faulty organization of the Illinois mine industry, President Farrington delved into the heart of the miners' new proposals to stabilize the industry.

"Such an organization," said Farrington, "would imply the creation of:

- "1. A semi-public corporation in which District Twelve, the operators, the consumers and the State would be represented, so as to safeguard the interests of all these factions.
- "2. The establishment of one or more giant power plants on the Ohio and Mississippi River for the manufacture of electricity.
- "3. An integrated network of major and minor power lines to make electricity available to every hamlet and farmhouse in the State.
- "4. The distillation of coal at or near the giant power station, in order to save the by-products of coal which are now wasted."

The benefits anticipated from the plan suggested are:

- "(a) The substitution of electric light for kerosene light.
- "(b) The substitution of electric power for gasoline power.
- "(c) The substitution of electric stoves for wood, oil, gasoline and crude oil burning stoves.
- "(d) The more extensive use of electrical labor-saving devices in home and farm, such as washing machines, vacuum cleaners, corn shredders, etc.
- "(e) The illumination of concrete highways.
- "(f) The substitution of artificial anthracite for fuel oil in heating plants."

Other benefits anticipated are:

- "1. A market reduction in the price of light, heat and power at the expense of waste in transportation, selling and delivery.
- "2. The stimulation of industry by a steady supply of light, heat and power, at reasonable prices.
- "3. The abolition of the smoke nuisance.
- "4. Cheaper fertilizer for the reclamation of farm land, and,
- "5. Steady employment of our members.

"The plan sketched herein must be merely regarded as a suggestion. An enterprise of such magnitude should only be undertaken as the result of a thorough survey on the part of qualified experts of national reputation.

"I may state, however, that such high authorities in electrical and industrial engineering as Edison, Hoover, Ford and the late Steinmetz have already given their sanction to the giant power plan as sketched above.

"Sooner or later, the welfare of our country, as well as that of the coal industry upon which the well-being of our members is dependent, will require a profound change in the

Beginning Monday, May 26

FREE LECTURES APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY

Character Analysis
How to Read People

at Sight
DAVID V. BUSH

AMERICA'S GREAT ORATOR
Editor of "Mind Power Plus"

Who has broken the psychological record of attendance in nearly every city in America.

May 26 to June 11
Every Evening, 8:15
except May 27, 30;
June 1, 6.

CARNEGIE HALL
57th St. & Seventh Ave.

(CLIP THIS FOR DATES)

Some of the Subjects

MONDAY, MAY 26

The Subconscious Mind. Different degrees in animal and man. Its many functions and how it works. How to use the Subconscious Mind for Health, Success and Happiness. After this life—what? What is God?

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28

Psychological Law of Suggestion and Auto Suggestion. All people use suggestion, whether consciously or unconsciously, for success or failure, efficiency or limitation, health or sickness. How are you using suggestion—for your advancement or to your detriment?

THURSDAY, MAY 29

What is Love? How to keep it. How to change your position. How to overcome failure and environment. Dr. Bush will give free test character readings of strangers from the audience.

B.S. MOSS' BWAY

"Where the crowds all go"

ALL NEXT WEEK

—FIRST N. Y. SHOWING—

'SON OF THE SAHARA'

with Claire Windsor & Bert Lyell.

Harry Stoddard & Band

O'DONNELL and BLAIR—HARRY STEFFE and HARRY O'NEAL and others

B. F. KEITH ACTS

—B. F. KEITH ACTS—

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th St., E. of 54 Ave.
POP. PRICES: 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NITE

MARC KLAU, Inc., Presents

'Hell-Bent Fer Heaven'

AWARDED PULITZER PRIZE
for BEST PLAY OF YEAR

A smashing red-blooded Comedy
Drama, by Hatcher Hughes
with AUGUSTIN DUNCAN, GLENN ANDERS, and Original Cast direct from France Theatre.

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EAST N.Y. AVE. AND DOUGLAS ST.
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VIOLA DANA

in

'Don't Doubt Your Husband'

Billy Bacheller's REVUE and others.

THOMAS MEIGHAN

in

The Confidence Man

A Paramount Film

BILLY RHODES and GIRLS and others.

SUPERIOR VAUDEVILLE

mining, distribution and utilization of coal.

"The only question seems to be whether the coming change will be brought about by gigantic private monopolies or by semi-public service corporations in which producer and consumer are directly interested. And

"Whereas, There is no other body of our citizenship more vitally interested in the coal industry than we who bear its burden, I request that this convention empower the Executive Board of District 12, U. M. W. of A. to employ the funds of the organization for the purpose of obtaining the necessary expert advice to ascertain the practicability and desirability of the plan suggested herein."

Labor Party Defies Liberals

(Continued From Page 1.)

for inconsiderate treatment of the Liberal party must be regarded with mingled feelings by consistent and ardent Liberals.

"It was he who, in 1918, led the campaign for the political destruction of leading Liberals and intimate

THEATRES

New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

BERNARD SHAW'S
Latest and Greatest Play

SAINT JOAN

GARRICK THEATRE

45 W. 35th St. Eves. 8:20.
Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 2:30.

FATA MORGANA

ERNST VAJDA'S COMEDY
WITH EMILY STEVENS
LYCEUM THEATRE

45th St. E. of W. Way. Eves. 8:30
Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 2:30

SEATS 8 WEEKS IN ADVANCE

'EXPRESSING WILLIE'

By RACHEL CROTHERS
THE WITTIEST, MOST BRILLIANT
COMEDY IN NEW YORK.

THE GREAT CAST includes
CRYSTAL HERNE
LOUISE CLOSSER HALE
MERLE MADDERN
MOLLY MCINTYRE
RICHARD STERLING
ALAN BROOKS
WARREN WILLIAMS
AND OTHERS

48TH THEATRE, EVES. at 8:30
ST. MATS. TUE. & SAT. at 2:30

SPECIAL MATS. MONDAY, 2:30.

—BY SPECIAL REQUEST ON—
FRI., MAY 30, & MON., JUNE 2

HEDDA GABLER

By HENRIK IBSEN
With the Following Cast:
DUDLEY DIGGES FRITZ LEIBER
CLARE EAMES ROLAND YOUNG
MARGALO GILMORE AUGUSTA HAVLAND

Produced by ROBT. EDMOND JONES

SEATS 8 WEEKS IN ADVANCE

CAPITOL

BROADWAY
AT 51st St.

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

ROBERT Z. LEONARD Presents

MAE MURRAY IN

"Mademoiselle Midnight"

By John Russell and Carl Harbaugh.

A CAST OF FAVORITES, including
BLAINE BLAINE, ROBERT MERKIN,
ROBERT EDESON, JOHN SAINTPOLIS,
A Tiffany Production A Metro Picture
and FAMOUS CAPITOL PROGRAM
Presentations by ROTHAFEL.

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Every Evening except Monday, at 8:30 sharp. No Matinees.

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GRANDER AND STREETIER THAN EVER!

659 Persons (Less than the Miracles) in the Cast!

Orchestra \$1.00. Chorus of Captivating Cellists!

NO HIGHER! NO LOWER!

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EXCEPT THE SCALE OF PRICES

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B.F. KEITH'S NEW YORK HIPPODROME

The People's Playhouse

B. F. KEITH'S Super Vaudeville

MATS. DAILY
2:00 (Inc. Sun.)
1000 GOOD SEATS 50c

EVERY NIGHT
8:10 (Inc. Sun.)
1000 GOOD SEATS \$1

STARS OF ALL NATIONS WEEK

If It's Worth While It's at the "HIP"

EVERYTHING ON A BIG SCALE
EXCEPT THE SCALE OF PRICES

SEATS 8 WEEKS IN ADVANCE

The New Pictures

Vaudeville Theatres

PALACE

Cecilia (Cissie) Loftus in imitations; Janet Beecher, Olive Wyndham, Violet Kemble-Cooper, and Harry C. Brown in "Apartments to Let"; Vera Michilena and Fred Hildebrand in "All For Vera"; Bert Fitzgibbon, The Sixteen Empire Dancing Girls, Fortunello and Cirillino; Reck and Reck, others.

HIPPODROME

Eva Tanguay; Lewis and Dody; "Dances of All Nations," a revue staged by Allan K. Foster; Rae Eleanor Ball and Brother; first American appearance of Les Ghezzi, European acrobats; Col. Fred Lindsay Mme. Calliope Chariss and her ten children; Ringling's Performing Polar Bears; the Arnaut Brothers; Little Pipifax and Company; Ringling's Sixteen Performing Horses, and the Hippodrome dancers in special ensemble numbers.

RIVERSIDE

Avon Comedy Four; Catherine Calvert and Company; Mile. Rhea and Santoro; Wayne and Warren; Casey and Warren; McWatters and Tyson; Jack Lavier; Lloyd Nevada and Company.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

Harry Stoddard and his Band will head the vaudeville program at B. S. Moss' Broadway next week; others on the bill include O'Donnell and Blair, Harry Steffe and Harry O'Neal, Foley and LaTour, Stevens and Williams, William Jeter and Company and other Keith acts. The screen will have the first New York showing of the new romance drama made in Algeria, "A Son of the Sahara," with a cast that includes, Claire Windsor and Bert Lyell.

LOEW'S PALACE

"Don't Doubt Your Husband," with Viola Dana, will be shown at Loew's Palace Theatre Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Billy Batcheller's Revue, Frank Mulane, Mahoney and Cecil and the Gilberts are among the vaudeville features.

Thomas Meighan in "The Confidence Man," a crook story by George Ade, will be the screen feature the last part of the week.

Billy Rhodes and Girls, Ward and Raymond, Goelet and Hall and the Livingstons will round out the vaudeville program.



GREEK EVANS

as Franz Schubert in "Blossom Time," the musical play based on the life of Schubert, now at Jolson's Theatre.

'Hell-Bent fer Heaven,' Pulitzer Prize Play at Bronx Opera House

"Hell-Bent fer Heaven," which won the Pulitzer \$1,000 prize for the best play of the year, will come to the Bronx Opera House Monday night. The play is by Hatcher Hughes and was originally tried out at special matinees. Later, a regular theatre being available, the production continued at the Frazee for five months. Heading the cast is Augustin Duncan and Glenn Anders.

'In The Next Room,' at the Shubert-Riviera

"In the Next Room," the mystery play, will be the attraction at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre, for the week commencing Monday evening.

Lecture on Psychology

David V. Bush, formerly an actor, and author of "Applied Psychology and Scientific Living," will begin a series of free lectures at Carnegie Hall on Monday May 26, continuing to June 11. During the series, Mr. Bush will deliver several lectures especially for members of the dramatic profession, when he will give scenes from "King Lear" and "The Merchant of Venice."

The New Pictures

ASTOR—"Secrets," with Norma Talmadge.

BROADWAY—"SON OF THE SAHARA," with Claire Windsor and Bert Lyell.

CAMEO—HAROLD LLOYD in "GIRL SHY."

CAPITOL—"Mademoiselle Midnight," with Mae Murray. By John Russell and Carl Harbaugh.

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

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

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

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

RIALTO—BUSTER KEATON in "SHERLOCK, JR."

RIVOLI—"CODE OF THE SEA," with Rod La Rocque and Jacqueline Logan.

STRAND—"CYTHEREA," from Joseph Hergesheimer's novel. With Lewis Stone and Alma Rubens.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, May 24, 1924

THE CHANGING WORLD

AND now a device has been perfected to send excellent pictures by wire, the transmission taking only a few minutes.

The news of that remarkable advance in mechanical processes comes on the very day that American airmen land in the mainland of Japan after a stirring flight from the mainland of the United States with practically no mishaps.

Within the past few years, the process of sending music and the human voice through the air for thousands of miles without wires has been perfected, so that no one need be remote from the centers of civilization. Within ten or fifteen years, the old flickering kinetoscope has been developed into the present motion picture, constituting one of the major arts. You can take down a disc from your sideboard and recapture for yourself the golden notes of Caruso's voice or heavenly music made by a Heifetz or an Elman. No actor or singer or musician will ever die—their art is the property of humanity forever.

Every year seems to bring a new advance in art or science; men and women still young remember not so long ago when the appearance of a "horseless carriage" on the streets would cause a riot of shouting "Git a horse"; now the automobile is ubiquitous.

A brief generation back, the lives of men and women were so circumscribed that to assert any individuality was a sign of revolt or eccentricity or insanity. Now men—and especially women—do what they want, read what they want, wear what they want and scandalize the aged fogies.

All this within a few brief years, within a less time than it takes for a baby to grow into useful manhood or womanhood.

We are a wonderful people. We have been able to meet the elements and beat them. We have been able to meet disease and pestilence and, if not to defeat them, at least to subdue them and to make it certain that it will not be long before no one need fear epidemics or illness from preventable causes.

We have been able to do so much—but we have not been able to insure food and clothing and shelter to the people who live in the world. To guarantee every baby born into this wonderful world the certainty that he will be permitted to grow into healthy, useful manhood. To safeguard whole populations from the danger of mass butchery. To safeguard the men and women who do the world's work from being plundered of what they make for the benefit of wasters and idlers and grafters.

That is the next job; only when that job is done will all the rest be worth while. And that job cannot be done without Socialism.

THE BONUS VETO

WHATEVER we may think of the bonus bill which President Coolidge vetoed, some reasons given for the veto show the classic capitalist mind. "Patriotism can neither be bought nor sold," said Coolidge. "It is not hire and salary. . . . We must either abandon our theory of patriotism or abandon this bill."

Cautious Cal should have no fears. No such alternative faces him. Patriotism is bought and sold. For the soldier who sincerely risked his life the President's idealistic theory holds good. For the ruling classes it does not. The soldier either willingly gave his body or it was taken without his consent. His income was also fixed at a moderate wage.

Not so with the bankers, contractors and

capitalists in general. Their "patriotism" was translated into cash and with the consent and approval of politicians in office. Their "patriotism" was bought and they sold it for prices that brought handsome incomes. Their sacred property was not taken; the lives of soldiers were.

THE DUMMY LEADER

AS a sequel to the bonus veto the House and the Senate passed the bonus bill with President Coolidge's objections before them. The action of the Senate is the more significant. The upper house is a diet of the national brokers. The President is generally the chief of these national leaders. The brokers are lesser barons but with considerable power in their territories. The chief must consult with them in the matter of appointments in their respective domains.

The striking thing about the Senate's action is that of the fifty-one Republican members, only seventeen voted to sustain the President's veto. Coolidge made this matter an issue of his administration. He has been overwhelmingly defeated. Yet the brokers are preparing to market him as their candidate for President at the big auction in June.

Thus the Northampton boy appears as one of the most pathetic figures that has ever occupied his high office. The party lords soundly spank him and in June they will present him as the "peerless leader." The yokels in the primaries who have been putting Coolidge across believe him to be a great man. The party lords treat him as a dummy. The latter know him; the former do not.

To this low estate has the party of the higher capitalism fallen.

REVIVING A SPOOK

LIKE the dope addict loth to give up his drug there are 100 percenters who refuse to give up their investments in the Bolshevik spook. They insist on a drive to scotch some terrible thing that haunts their dreams. Most of them represent exploiting interests that plundered the population during the war. Others are dupes of these malign interests.

Recently sixty-two organizations are reported to have organized a merger to carry on a united drive against the spook. They are to oppose Soviet propaganda, offer opposition to recognition of Soviet Russia and refuse to "regard America's entry into the conduct of the war as a debatable question."

All of which they have a right to do. The only question is whether their opposition to others means that they will endeavor to prevent the latter from being heard. Hitherto the 100 percenters have tried to prevent any other than their own side from being heard. If this is what is meant their activities will be those of the coward and the bully.

Their assumption that the conduct of the war is not a "debatable question" is an indication of what they mean. If they were so confident that their position on this matter is impregnable they would joyously invite contradiction for the sheer pleasure of overwhelming the opposition with facts and argument. To forego this pleasure and oppose discussion is a fit method for those who admit their inability to argue.

On the other hand, the merger is an indication of waning influence. The 100 percenters have become insufferable bores and have become weaker in consequence. They are forced to unite in a merger in the hope of reviving their shallow propaganda. The report that the A. F. of L. is associated with this crew should make those unions that have suffered at the hands of the 100 percenters take notice.

JUSTICE WALTER CLARK

THE death of Walter Clark, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, removes one of the most unique judges of our time. He was no time-server, no exponent of State idolatry, no believer in a divine Constitution, no corporation tool, and no worshipper of our magnificent oligarchs of finance and industry. This is what made him unique among judges.

For two generations Justice Clark employed pen and speech against the more vicious tendencies of modern capitalism and the habit of judges and legislators to serve capitalism as though it were a holy order. He had a fundamental faith in the masses that made him tower alone among members of the Bench. He opposed the power of the courts in vetoing laws, opposed the abuse of the injunction and the military in strikes, sympathized with all that the trade unions represent and favored popular measures for placing Government in the control of the masses.

It was his conviction that legislation and

regulation of railroads and public utilities in general would never solve the question of capitalist power and exploitation. He favored nationalization and time has vindicated his view. Constitution-worship was foreign to his democratic soul. Some twenty years ago he wrote for the Independent one of the most brilliant criticisms of the Constitution and which is worth reading today.

A little over a week ago The New Leader received an article from Justice Clark, together with a personal letter urging it to reprint any portions that would be suitable to our readers. We will take pleasure in reprinting excerpts from it next week. The New Leader is probably the last publication in this country so favored by this notable judge. At the age of seventy-eight he fell asleep after a lifetime of labor in behalf of humanity. May he sleep well!

PROSECUTION OF THE PLASTERERS

FOR the second time officials of Plasterers' Local 60 are on trial for conspiracy, the conspiracy consisting of the fact that the plasterers are so well organized that they are generally able to obtain their demands. This is the theory which Samuel Untermyer has solemnly advanced in prosecuting the case.

His contention is not that the members had acted to serve themselves. As union members they adopted policies in support of the interests of every member. The union is so powerfully organized that it is able to enforce its demands. Employers do not vote in the union. If they did they would be a hopeless minority. The union is, therefore, a dangerous autocracy and a conspiracy in restraint of trade.

Summed up, this theory means that the only legal union is one that is weak, one that does not command sufficient power to make it a powerful bargaining force. If it is weak he would let it survive; if it is strong he would kill it. If weak it is harmless; if strong it is dangerous. Probably he would permit the strong union to survive if it allowed the employers a veto on its actions. It would then be strong on trivial matters of little interest to the employing class and weak on important matters to their class.

If their theory is elevated to the position of a legal dogma and is applied to all unions Mr. Untermyer will realize his "liberal" paradise under a capitalism guided and checked by corporation judges. It will be "liberal" enough to satisfy the employing class, for what would be left of the unions' power would not be sufficient to knock the ashes from Mr. Untermyer's cigar.

A BOOBERY PROPOSAL

CONGRESSMAN LINDSAY of Brooklyn makes a bid for the boobery medal in a bill which he has introduced against the Ku Klux Klan. The bill would make it a Federal offense, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any individual or organization to attempt to bring into disrepute or interfere with an individual's religious belief or practices.

We have no affection for the Koo Koo, but this bill is stupidity and ignorance compounded. It would also prohibit "weird, unusual or uncanny habiliments." This would affect not only those who want to wear nightshirts and hoods but many others. But the idea of calling the police because somebody has brought your religious belief into "disrepute" could only have its origin in an ivory dome as hard as that of any Koo Koo.

If the struggle between the Koo Koo and some anti-Koo Koo means that one or the other is to have the State to use as a club we will have nothing of it. Both are dangerous to be at large.

Shell-shocked by the result of the French elections, the alleged foreign experts on some of the New York bourgeois papers are making more "bulls" than usual in their handling of news from abroad. Here is the Tribune editorially referring to M. Painleve as the chief of the Unified Socialists and pointing out that Victor Berger's cablegram of congratulation to Jean Longuet was sent, "not to Herriot or Painleve, but to the head of the insignificant Communist Party." And Edwin L. James, Paris correspondent of the New York Times, informs us that "M. Herriot's majority would include 100 Socialists much further to the Right than he and the twenty-five Communists."

A writer in the New York Commercial deals a heavy blow at the Actors' Equity Association by recalling that the actors contributed \$250 to the steel strikers in 1919 at a meeting where Judge Gary of the steel trust was denounced. What a crime, what a

We were riding on a subway train that killed a man on the morning of Safety Day, and then we looked at the big Safety Day parade. But wasn't it laying it on too thick to let the National Casket Company have a float, holding the place of honor at the end of the parade?

A reviewer in the Times literary section suggests that the "reticent quality of Calvin Coolidge" is probably due to the fact that Mrs. Coolidge was a "teacher in a deaf and dumb school before she was married." So the lady is still following her profession!

In an effort to boost the circulation of the National Republican the publishers are organizing a "Get One Club." Fall, Daugherty and Burns are gone, and we hope that Roosevelt will be the next trophy of the "Get One Club."

A Communist organ reported that the Communist party had emerged from the French elections as the second party. Why this distortion of the news when it is known that the Communists were first and that a Soviet regime is being organized?

District Attorney Banton's assistant was held up and robbed last week. It wasn't the assistant's vote that was stolen, Joab, so get after the miscreant and jail him.

Suit to cancel a thirty-year lease said to have been illegally granted to Doheny on seven acres of California harbor lands has been filed in Los Angeles. Probably Doheny is looking forward to the time when he can say, "My ocean."

Republican and Democratic ballots will ooze so much oil next November that voters may have to wear gloves to avoid getting their hands soiled.

THE Chatter-Box

May Morning

(Before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.)

"Nice May morning sir," he said,
And it isn't so pleasant being dead,
With so many lilacs holding forth
And so much song winging from the North,
And the sun so soft and the old moon
Whiter than any young bride in June.

No drums, no roar, no smoke, no lead;
"Quite pleasant to be alive," he said.

"Ten years or so, I knew a May
More glamorous than even this day,
For I was younger, than even this tree
That pokes its frosty buds to me;
And there were my dreams as finely spun
As the net this spider has begun;
And there was my love as any boy knows,
The blend of laughter and song and rose.

"Oh, it isn't so pleasant being dead,
On such a morning as this," he said.

I turned to look into his face,
And all I saw was a ghastly space,
And before my eyes the merciful sun
Bathed the ribbed chest of a skeleton.

"No smoke, no roar, no drums, no lead;
Ah, pleasant to be alive," he said.

We like those tabloid form picture newspapers. Firstly, they fit snugly into such spaces as the subway lurches during rush hours allow; secondly, they give the most unlettered of us an air of literacy. There is an intellectual democracy about reading the Daily Illustrated News, that equalizes Tony the Bootblack and Professor Yaleward literarily. Our idea of an illustrated Greek Classic, the Odyssey, the Iliad or the March of Xenophon's Ten Thousand, would be a long street lined with florists, ice-cream and candy parlors, and Alpha or Omega Restaurants, arranged in heroic pentameter fashion. Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" might be a photograph of Mischa Eiman and Alma Gluck threnozing Massenet's song of sadness, in St. Paul's Cemetery. . . . The literary possibilities of the Illustrated News are star-bound.

Our pet point of irritation is Madame Elinor Glyn, the greatest living authority on love. Next to charley horse, chilblain, blistered feet, and our next-door neighbor's eternal practice on the saxophone, nothing gives us greater delight than the half-page photo of said un-ageing demitisse wearing her unalterable "otherness" look, as if that alone should atone for the ecstatic piffle that fills up the bottom half of the page, under the heading—"Why Men Should Never Marry Cross-eyed Blondes." Her "Three Weeks," it is told to us, will be selling for the next 300 years. Not if the Cooperative Commonwealth and our grandchildren have anything to say about that. This we swear here by the beard of our prophet, and the Communist Manifesto; and that despite our firm belief in no censorship for speech or the written word. In the words of our capitalist friends, there is such a thing as free speech or press going too far.

Will Miss Floria Renaud, winner of last month's poetry prize, please send her address to the editor; or the check may outlive the bank balance!

THE ELEVATOR MAN LAMENTS.

I take them up—
I haul them down—
But I have thoughts
That make me frown.
Some say a smiling
Manner pays—
I'm sure mine might
If I got a raise.

The very best theatrical-review we have ever read appeared in one of the metropolitan dailies about a play that is having a most successful run among our intelligent theatre-going public.

We reprint it below in full.

"We saw the . . . last night, at the Theatre. Miss Mary Marigold, the star comedienne, wore a lovely gown."

R. A. DE WITT.