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A. F. OF L. HINTS AT THIRD PARTY

WAR DEP'T AIMS TO PRUSSIANIZE PORTO RICO

Imminent Victory of Socialists Leads to Suppression by Weeks — Appeals Sent to Gompers.

SAN JUAN, Porto Rico. — The great growth of the Socialist Party, and the fear that it might sweep the island at the next election, is one of the most significant developments in Porto Rico, and causing political thinkers to sit up nights wondering what is going to happen next.

There are three important events that have occurred within the past few weeks, as follows:

1. The two capitalist parties, the Republicans and the Unionists, have formed a "united front" in order to "beat the Socialists" and to serve the interests of the bankers and big planters.

2. The heads of the two capitalist parties have appealed to Samuel Gompers to take a stand against the Socialist Party in Porto Rico on the ground that Gompers is opposed to Socialist principles, in an attempt to destroy the work of Labor unionism in the island.

3. The War Department, which has charge of the administration of the island, has been withholding local self-government from the Porto Ricans because of the fear of a Socialist sweep, according to a statement by Secretary Weeks, as exclusively reported in a recent issue of The New Leader.

The President of the Socialist Party is Santiago Iglesias, who is a Socialist Senator. Iglesias is also President of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor, a branch of the A. F. of L. In their letter to Gompers the heads of the reactionary parties seek to arouse prejudice against Iglesias by appealing to Gompers' known hostility to Socialism. In that way they seek to aid the fight against Labor in the island.

Iglesias replied to the letter of his political opponent in a letter to Gompers, in which he brushes aside the attempt to arouse hysteria against the movement of which he is the head as unworthy of notice, and emphasizes the issues that Porto Rican Labor is fighting for.

It was not so long ago that J. Tous Soto, president of the Republican party, was imploring the Socialists to unite with him in a coalition against the Unionist party. Now Tous Soto and Antonio R. Barcelo, president of the Unionist party, are in a "United Front" against the Socialists, brought about, Iglesias charges, by General Frank McIntyre, head of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, Secretary of War Weeks, Wall Street interests, and local sugar, tobacco, transportation and banking interests of the island.

In the letter to Gompers, Tous Soto and Barcelo say that "The Territorial Committee of the Republican party adopted resolutions so as to include the Socialist Party in the coalition, provided the Socialist party would renounce its communistic and anti-national principles, and Mr. Iglesias, chairman of the Socialist Party and head of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, answered, rejecting the plan, believing it to be an invitation to betray the ideals of the Socialist Party."

The letter continues: "A joint committee of the Republican and Unionist parties met at Ponce and resolved, in view of the refusal of the Socialist chief, to desist from the invitation tendered to that Party to enter into the Porto Rican bloc; but the committee further resolved to invite the American Federation of Labor and other labor organizations to cooperate with the coalition parties to carry into effect their purposes of reform for the social and economic welfare of Porto Rico; and it was agreed to address the call to you, and not to Mr. Iglesias, because we know that he is disqualified to act on behalf of the American Federation of Labor because of his local or national Socialist engagements, as shown by him. The purpose of this letter is to inquire whether or not the existing identification, created and maintained by Mr. Iglesias, between the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party, is favored by you.

"You may not know that in the platform of the Socialist Party of Porto Rico, adopted at a convention (Continued on Page 2)

Two Thieves' Kitchens

William J. Burns has followed closely after Harry M. Daugherty, Edwin Denby, Albert Bacon Fall, and he is just ahead of—let us hope—a lot of other G. O. P. patriots.

"We have a Government," said D-Cady Herrick, opening the recent Democratic State convention, "of puritans and crooks."

That's the G. O. P.

Four years ago the people were preparing to smite the Democratic party and drive it out of office. There had then been nearly seven years of Woodrow Wilson; of "keeping us out of war" and of war; of "making the world safe for democracy," and of Burleson and Palmer; of "making the world a decent place to live in," and of the most colossal grafts the nation has ever known—of the "New Freedom" and the destruction of American liberties. Graft, graft, graft; profiteering; steel corporations cashing in hundreds of millions and savagely beating down the attempt of their slaves to win a decent life, and using the forces of Government to do it; coal companies making fabulous profits; elected representatives of the people thrown out of office; lawless officials rounding up political dissenters by the 10,000 and beating them up and deporting them. The Gang, smug, corrupt and contented, calling for suppression of "Bolshevism" and getting a Supreme Court decision to exempt dividends from stocks from the workings of the income tax! That was the Democratic party!

Two administrations. Two orgies of graft, plunder and lawlessness. Daugherty's infamous injunction against the railway shopmen paralleled by Palmer's equally infamous injunction against the coal miners. Palmer's lawlessness against "radicals" paralleled by Daugherty's and Burns'. What are we going to do? Four years ago, the Republicans told us the truth about the Democrats, and the people gladly turned to Harding and Normalcy. Now the Democrats are telling the truth about the Republicans. And what then?

Let us get a few facts straight: We have a nation of 110,000,000, mostly working people and working farmers and their families. There is a minority who live off the labor of the others—stock and bond holders, idlers, wasters, gamblers in securities. They have a soft snap, and they want it to go on. When people criticize the system by which they make billions, they naturally want them shut up and jailed and deported. They own two political parties to protect them in their graft. They have got to let the managers of their parties make a little something on the side—they aren't doing it for philanthropic motives, are they? And there you have the story in a nutshell.

No self-respecting man or woman has any business in either political camp. These Washington occurrences should make it impossible for any worker to remain with either.

There's no way out except the way the Socialists point. Drive both parties out of the public life they have disgraced so long.

Workers, unite in your own Party and save America!

CLOAK UNION VOTING ON STRIKE

Referendum of Membership Will Decide For or Against Walkout to Force Demands.

While no promising effort has yet been made to bring about resumption of negotiations between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the association of employers, the union began the circulation of a strike referendum among 50,000 cloakmakers Wednesday. Balloting on the referendum is to be continued through Friday.

Should strike action be ordered by the membership, the Steering Committee of nine will be authorized to set a date for the strike. The Steering Committee, it is declared, is also empowered to entertain peace proposals pending the outcome of the referendum vote.

A draft of the new agreement proposed by the union will be mailed to every employer immediately following the completion of the strike vote. The union will make settlements with individual employers who agree to the terms and offer adequate guarantees.

President Morris Sigman of the union has also announced that a General Strike Committee of 300 representatives of local unions and of the International has been constituted. This general committee has been divided into twelve sub-committees, and each division has been assigned to a distinct phase of strike activity.

ILL. MINERS STRIP FARRINGTON OF SOME APPOINTIVE POWERS

By McALLISTER COLEMAN

PEORIA, Ill.—As the fifth biennial convention of District 12, rounded out its final week, four features stood out. These were:

1. The unanimous adoption of President Farrington's Giant Power proposal.

2. The abolition of the district appointive power in certain instances.

3. The action of the convention in requesting a special convention of the International to consider the case of Alexander Howat.

4. The adoption of an old-age pension.

At the outset the delegates voted to turn down the appeal for aid from Tom Mooney, but after a strong speech by President Farrington urging the delegates to reconsider, the convention went on record as donating \$500 for Mooney's cause.

Employers Grant Waiters' Demands

The demands of Waiters' Union, Local 1 for a wage increase and for unionization of all restaurant help have been conceded by the majority of employers who have previously been under contractual relations with the union, according to William Lehmann, secretary. Nearly 2,500 of the 3,000 union members are said to have won their demands. The union officials appear confident that the recalcitrant employers will soon be brought to terms.

WOLL IN WARNING; MINN. DRAWS AWAY FROM COMMUNISTS

Mahoney Says Presence of "Lefts" at St. Paul Makes Unity Impossible — New York Socialists Hold Great Rally — Capmakers, Garment Workers Pick Delegates.

By EDWARD LEVINSON

The Labor party idea is gripping the imagination of the workers of the entire nation.

From State after State, California, New York, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Kansas, Illinois and Minnesota, this week have come bulletins attesting the rapidly growing demand for an independent Labor party.

These symptoms come from all sides of the Labor movement, Socialist and conservative alike. At the same time that the Socialist Party indicated its willingness to throw in its strength with a full-fledged, permanent Labor party came a statement from an A. F. of L. vice-president, Mathew Woll, broadly hinting at the support of such a party by the American Federation of Labor.

Cleveland, July 4, and St. Paul, June 17, continue to hold the center of the stage as the chief arenas for the impending great developments in the American Labor movement. In each of these conferences, the issue is becoming clearly drawn.

Within the groups which called the St. Paul conference there is becoming apparent an ever widening gulf between the bona-fide Labor elements, such as the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party, and the Communist disruptionists.

William Mahoney, heretofore friendly to the Communists and recognized as the leader of the St. Paul conference, has raised the question as to the desirability of working with the Communists. He expresses his disbelief in the possibility of establishing a strong, united Labor party with the Communists as part of it.

Meanwhile the Cleveland conference is taking on a more decided Labor party hue than it has had thus far.

"We will show the country something new in politics on July 4," Thomas C. Cashen, President of the Switchmen's Union of North America, exclaimed at the opening session of the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Four hundred delegates roared their approval.

The idea that seems to be crystallizing in the Labor movement follows somewhat these lines: The St. Paul conference will purge itself or split away from the Communists and join with the Cleveland conference in organizing a Labor party. This party, the indications are, will endorse La Follette as its candidate for President. At the same time La Follette's candidacy will probably be "independent." Pressure from Labor, however, may force the Wisconsin Senator to stand as the candidate of the Labor party if such pressure is necessary.

With the talk of a vice-presidential candidate, thoughts usually turn to James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and a leader of the Socialist Party. It is felt by those who favor Maurer's candidacy that the new Labor party will need to take advantage of the tremendous political experience and knowledge of the Socialist Party gathered in 25 years of active political campaigning. Warren S. Stone, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is also mentioned as a possible vice-presidential candidate. Maurer, it is

Algeron Lee and Julius Gerber have been elected by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of New York State to represent the State Organization at the Cleveland progressive Labor conference.

N. Y. Socialists Hold Big Meeting

At one of the best attended and most enthusiastic membership meetings of the Socialist Party held in many years, the delegates from New York to the Cleveland convention of the conference for Progressive Political Action and of the Socialist Party were instructed Tuesday night to throw all their energies and all the strength of the Socialist Party into the fight for the establishment of a Labor party.

No instructions were voted, and the delegates go technically uninstructed. But the speeches of the membership, the general spirit that prevailed, as well as a remarkably large collection taken to aid in defraying the expenses of the New

(Continued on Page 2)

SOCIALISTS NOT TO JOIN FRENCH CABINET

Party Congress Will Support Progressive Measures Offered By Herriot—More Election Returns.

PARIS.—There will be no Socialists in the Cabinet formed by Edouard Herriot, leader of the Left Bloc, to succeed the reactionary Government of Poincaré and Millerand. By a unanimous vote the delegates to the special convention of the Socialist Party of France (frequently referred to as the Unified Socialists), held last Sunday and Monday, it was decided to adhere to the Party's program as laid down at the Marseilles congress and refuse to accept places in any bourgeois Government.

At the same time the delegates voted to support the Left Bloc in the Chamber of Deputies, even to the extent of voting for the budget as a whole if the Government of M. Herriot lives up to its promises of financial reforms calculated to place the burden of taxation upon the shoulders of the war and post-war profiteers and capitalists in general and lighten the load of the workers and small tradesmen.

Some Favor Coalition

During the discussion at the convention it was brought out that about one-third of the delegates were inclined to agree with Paul Boncour, Marius Moutet and Vincent Auriol that it might be advisable to send representatives into the new Cabinet, but when they saw that the majority was with Leon Blum, Jean Longuet and other veterans in opposing any ministerial collaboration the vote was made unanimous.

M. Herriot, in a letter to Leon Blum, explained his progressive program, which included financial reorganization, acceptance of the Dawes reparation plan, reduction of the army, breaking off diplomatic relations with the Vatican, amnesty for all war prisoners, except deserters, and a foreign policy tending toward solid peace with a republican Germany and eventual disarmament in connection with the strengthening of the League of Nations. The delegates opined that this was pretty good as a starter and that they would support it wholeheartedly. But they will also fight for complete amnesty for the thousands of railroad men who have never got their jobs back since the last big railroad strike and for the men imprisoned for agitation among the troops of occupation.

Insist Millerand Quit

In agreement with the rest of the Left Bloc and the Communists, the Socialist Party insisted upon the resignation of President Millerand for having openly taken the side of the Bloc National during the campaign, in violation of all precedents of the Presidential office.

With the assured support of more than 300 of the 584 deputies, M. Herriot can go ahead with his work of undoing much of the evil wrought by his predecessor and bringing France back to a state of peace.

American readers of dispatches from France would do well to remember that the word Socialist sounds good to French ears and that, consequently, it has been appropriated by several bourgeois parties that are not at all Socialist, but merely progressive, as, for instance, the Radical Socialists of M. Herriot, the Republican Socialist (Continued on Page 3)

EUGENE V. DEBS

EUGENE V. DEBS, beloved leader of American Socialism, has written a stirring article on the Present Position of the SOCIALIST PARTY which is sure to attract attention.

THE PLUNDERED WESTERN FARMERS, first-hand impressions gathered in the great farming states of the West and Middle West, by ESTHER FRIEDMAN.

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THE NEW LEADER
NEXT WEEK

Labor Party Issue Stirs All U.S. Labor

(Continued From Page 1.)

York delegation to Cleveland, all indicated that the Party is practically unanimous in the views outlined.

Morris Hillquit, the Party's representative on the Executive of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, opened the meeting with a brief summary of the situation, with regard to both the St. Paul convention and the Cleveland convention. There was a discussion participated in by many of the comrades present, and then Hillquit closed.

The collection was taken for the specific purpose of defraying expenses to Cleveland, and the proceeds were turned over to the state office of the party. The members contributed \$419.11.

Hillquit first disposed of the St. Paul convention. He said that the Communists, having laid their plans with great care to "capture" the party expected to be created there, proceeded to announce their plans in their papers, it apparently not occurring to them that anybody would read them except their own members. There are some bona fide labor elements in that convention, Hillquit said, and they will undoubtedly seek to form a party. They will break with the Communists, or the Communists with them, early in the game and the bona fide elements will probably unite with the movement launched at Cleveland.

The Cleveland conference will be guided to an extent by the result of the old party conventions, the speaker said. If Mr. McAdoo is named by the Democrats, the railroad brotherhood leaders will probably support him. That will leave a large section of the Labor movement, and the Socialists, together with whatever organization will have been formed at St. Paul after the inevitable break there with the Communists, who would have to view the situation and take whatever action seems necessary. If, however, that does not happen, it is almost certain that Senator La Follette will be named for President.

The Socialist Party will then fight to use the naming of La Follette as the beginning of a real Labor party. In the discussion, James Oneal read letters from comrades in the West indicating a growing enthusiasm for the Socialist Party and urging that the party go it alone. He said that La Follette could be accepted as a candidate only as the price paid for organizing a Labor party, that is, to establish a central headquarters, publish a national organ, route speakers and organizers and thus make a complete break with the capitalist parties.

Meyer Gillis warned the Party members against throwing away all the results of three decades of devoted work, while Edward F. Cassidy declared for a Labor party—if a Party can be organized. If one cannot be secured, he declared for the old policy of going it alone; "Then we can be sure that there will be at least one straight Labor party," he said.

Simon Berlin was strongly for going in with all elements in favor of a Labor party, a position also taken by Morris Schechter, Katherine Meserole and other comrades.

In closing the discussion, Hillquit said that the United States is the only country in which, up to the present, the Socialist Party is not an organic part of the Labor movement. He said that the formation of a real Labor party in America completing a string of Labor parties in all countries is something that is passionately desired by the workers in all the nations of the world. As the sole guarantee of future peace and security.

"Don't be afraid that we'll lose our Socialism," said Hillquit, "by contact with the non-Socialist workers. I'm not afraid that I'll lose my Socialism. I'm not afraid that the Party that can turn out such a wonderful meeting as this on a June night, that can contribute so generously to the Party's funds, will lose its devotion to its ideals. Send the delegates to Cleveland with just these instructions, to keep their heads on their shoulders and their feet on the ground. That is all they need."

Members were present from the five counties of Greater New York, from New Jersey and Connecticut, and from other locals. The Debs auditorium of the Rand School was jammed to the doors.

Mahoney Turns Cold To Communists

One of the most important developments of the week is a statement by William Mahoney of Minnesota regarding Communist participation in the St. Paul conference.

In a lead editorial in the Minnesota Union Advocate, Mahoney stated:

"The Communists, so-called, closely organized and highly disciplined as a political party, have become a serious problem within the Farmer-Labor movement. The relationship between the two will have to be definitely settled at an early day, as the organized activity of the Communists have become a source of fear and irritation to a great many

earnest supporters of this new movement.

"The presence of an organized revolutionary group within the party and constantly striving to control and direct it, is causing many to question the wisdom of tolerating such activity. Although no formal recognition is given to these Communists in the State party, they are exceedingly active, and exert an influence far beyond any other element in proportion to their numbers.

"But the thing that causes most irritation and distrust is the existence of a small group carrying on their intrigues and plots to control. It favors too much of the dictatorship of an insidious minority. As long as the mass of the members of the Farmer-Labor party are alert and active there is no danger of the small group that make up the Communist element getting very far with their scheme of dictatorship; but this requires eternal vigilance and it is this necessity that is now arousing widespread distrust and antagonism.

"The Minnesota Farmer-Labor movement has not been vexed by the problem of parasitical political organisms until this year. Hitherto all elements joined together and supported the platform and candidates without regard to any peculiar creed or doctrine. This year the Communists have separated themselves from others and are now engaged in promoting their own candidates and principles.

"We are inclined to think that the attitude and activity of the Communists will eventually make their organized presence intolerable and be the cause of antagonism. In spite of anything they may do or say, their motives and actions will be misconstrued and suspected, and will arouse opposition of an unfair and uncompromising nature.

"It is felt that there is no occasion for any element to organize against the masses and seek to control by stealth and persistency. There is some reason for diverse economic elements to preserve their identity, but to differentiate any one element on a doctrinal basis savors of treacherous antagonism.

"In the proposed Farmer-Labor-Progressive national convention to be held in St. Paul on June 17, there is some reason for the presence of the Workers' party as other minority political parties. As this is a coalition convention for the purpose of effecting a definite objective, it is possible for all who are willing to join in the project to engage in the enterprise. But it is not possible to build a homogeneous party out of the divergent elements which will be represented at St. Paul on the 17th of June, 1924."

Capmakers Elect Delegates

President Max Zaritsky is to head a delegation to Cleveland of three chosen by the General Executive Board of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union. The union has also voted a contribution of \$50 to help defray the expenses of the conference. Max Pine has been chosen as the delegate of the United Hebrew Trades of New York State.

'Please Return; Will Forgive,' Family and Comrades Plead

A really heart-rending appeal has been received by The New Leader which, because of its tremendous personal importance to some of our most valued comrades, is hereby transmitted to our readers, despite our policy against over-emphasizing personal notes.

The comrade alluded to in this appeal will undoubtedly recognize himself if he reads further. It is preferable, because of the peculiar circumstances involved, that the comrade's name be not divulged. Because the comrade's whereabouts have been lost sight of, it is necessary to take space for this appeal. Friends of the comrade for whom this is intended, feel that he is surely a reader of The New Leader. We trust that an early response from the comrade will make unnecessary the publication of his name.

The comrade had been an active Socialist campaigner more than ten years. He had always enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-Socialists and held positions of responsibility in his local Socialist branch.

He had subscribed to several Socialist publications and took an active interest in advancing their circulations. When the war broke out, he became involved in several free-speech fights on behalf of the Socialist Party and consequently, found the town he lived in quite uncomfortable. Harassed by the local authorities, because he was suspected of "disloyalty," he dropped out of activity in the Party when the "Left Wing" movement created dissension and bitter feeling among the comrades.

The comrade has been utterly neglecting serious family responsibilities. His friends have done their utmost to fulfill the obligations he has neglected. They had not anticipated, however, that his recalcitrance would continue indefinitely. The resources of his friends are not unlimited. They have their own pressing obligations to fulfill. Moreover, the comrade in question has always been more successful along those lines than his friends and

Calif. Socialists Hold Biggest Convention

By CAMERON H. KING

SAN FRANCISCO.—After the largest and most enthusiastic Socialist Party convention in ten years held here May 30 to June 1, Cameron H. King and Alexander Horr were elected delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action that will meet in Cleveland, July 4, and a full delegation was chosen to the Socialist Party convention that will be held in the same city July 6.

The convention rejected the invitation of the managers of the St. Paul Farmer-Labor party to attend their convention that is to be held June 17, because of the Communist dominance of that affair.

A committee consisting of Job Harriman, L. J. Wright and King attended the conventions of the Farmer-Labor party and the Non-Partisan League to offer unity of action on condition that the Communist disrupters were barred.

The so-called Farmer-Labor convention was merely a gathering of Communists, and the Communists repeated their old performance of "capturing" themselves and electing a delegation of Communists to St. Paul and Cleveland both. They have neither legal standing on the ballot nor any political or trade union following, and their convention was of no significance whatever. The Socialists represent over 100,000 votes and constitute the only political party of Labor in the State.

The Socialist convention heartily endorsed the Oakland World as the Party weekly, started a drive for a \$6,000 organization fund and sent affectionate greetings to Eugene V. Debs.

The convention voiced a desire for the early organization of a party of the producing classes, with all bona-fide organizations of the workers included, and the delegates to Cleveland understand that as the objective of the Party.

Cameron King was chairman of the convention, Job Harriman, Socialist vice-presidential candidate in 1900, was vice chairman, and Alice S. Eddy, secretary.

The convention showed a wholesome, forward looking condition existing in the Party, and enthusiasm and optimism prevails everywhere.

Signan Heads

I. L. G. W. Delegation

Morris Signan, General President, will head a delegation of three from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the Cleveland Conference of Progressive Political Action, to be held July 4.

The union has gone on record in favor of a national Labor party.

Pressmen Elect Umstadter

Philip Umstadter, president of Printing Pressmen's Union 51, and frequent candidate on the ticket of the American Labor party, has been selected as a delegate to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, to be held July 4, by the joint council of printing pressmen's unions of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

U. S. Tyrannizing Over Porto Rico

(Continued from Page 1)

held in Ponce in the month of July, 1923, it is held that "the fundamental purpose of the Socialist Party is to establish social property and the democratic control of the means of production for the benefit of the whole people of Porto Rico so that the interest of a member of the Porto Rican community shall be the interest of all." It is held that "the powers of the courts shall be regulated and their decisions shall be subject to referendum of the people, in civil as well as in criminal cases. Judges shall be removed by recall of the people." You may see on page 13 that Section 1 of the constitution of that Party provides as follows: "This political organization shall be called the 'Socialist Party' and shall be affiliated with the National Socialist Party of the United States of America." [Italics in original.]

The writers then say: "The American Federation of Labor in the United States, and yourself personally, and as the head of that organization, have made declarations absolutely contrary to communistic doctrines, and have energetically held aloof from the American Socialist Party and, from its connections with European communism. In Porto Rico, the representative of the American Federation of Labor and of yourself, Mr. Iglesias, is the president of the Socialist Party and at the same time the head of the American Federation of Labor, and utilizes all the influence derived from his connection with the American Federation of Labor in the United States from the fact that he is the head of the Porto Rican branch of that institution, so as to make, really, one single organization of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party, this latter being in Porto Rico, as a matter of fact, a creature of the American Federation of Labor and of Mr. Iglesias.

"An end must be put to this confusion for the good of the United States and of Porto Rico, and you are the man whose duty it is to do it. As the head of the American Federation of Labor, you surely do not approve of the fostering of Socialism in Porto Rico by the American Federation of Labor, as this is contrary to the principles adopted by the American Federation of Labor in the United States. Our country should know whether the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico is an organization of workers joined together to improve their condition or whether it is masked Socialism. You are in a position to say it, and this is the time when you should speak, thus rendering a further service to the nation."

In a vigorous reply, Senator Iglesias calls attention to the fact that "representatives of big interests that control most of the industries and riches of the island, and that have been for many years the bitterest foes of the Labor movement," are the ones that appeal to the A. F. of L. head against the Socialists, asking for the dissolution of the Party after one of the parties had sought an alliance with it on the basis of the abandonment of its principles.

Iglesias reminds Gompers of his service on committees before Congress exposing "the deplorable economic and industrial conditions, the suffering of the laboring people of this island."

"Men of authority," he says, "calling me a Communist did not like the points of view I took before the committees of Congress, especially describing the terrible industrial and economic labor situation on the island." The Senator says that Governor Townner and Mr. Barcelo tried to keep him from getting anything into the record of the Congressional hearings except a discussion of political conditions, but he insisted on talking about industrial conditions, "exposing the misery and exploitation suffered by Labor on the island."

Iglesias mentions the principles of the Socialist Party but once, when he proudly declares, "Yes, the Socialist Party in Porto Rico is the result of the education and control by the American Federation of Labor. In accordance with the principles and doctrine of the American Federation of Labor, the workers are organized in unions without any regard to their political belief or religious creeds, color, nationality or sex. The members of the unions outside of their meetings have the right to think and to speak on politics and religion as free citizens and voice their sentiments as their conscience dictates to themselves. So we think and act in accord in Porto Rico."

As to the charge that as Socialists they stand for Socialism, Iglesias ignores that feature of the letter of the two old party men as beneath notice.

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PLASTERERS WIN COURT FIGHT

Attorney General Drops Case Against 37 Members of Union.

Union men are not conspirators because they succeed in making their unions serve them. Not even the court of the State of New York will consider strength a crime if possessed by a union. The issue has been definitely decided after more than a year of bitter legal wrangling.



Michael J. Collier

The Attorney General of the State of New York, Carl Sherman, is of the opinion that unions cannot possibly be stamped as criminal conspiracies if so eminent a prosecutor as Samuel Untermyer cannot perform the stamping.

Since Untermyer has failed despite very strenuous efforts, the assistance of the ablest members of the Attorney General's staff and the employment of many thousands of dollars of the State's money, to convict President Michael J. Collier and 36 other members of Plasterers' Local 60, the Attorney General advised Supreme Court Justice Mahoney to dismiss the indictments which have been hanging over the 37 unionists since the trial last year.

The request for dismissal was made by Assistant Attorney General Abraham Freedman when the case went to trial for the second time last Monday. The first trial had resulted in a jury disagreement, with the majority of jurors in favor of acquittal. Freedman recited the history of the case, alluded to the difficulty of convincing a jury of the guilt of the defendants, pointed out the terrific expense that the State would have to meet from a second trial, conceded that the union's present practices are not unduly harsh toward the employers, and requested a dismissal of the indictments. The request was readily granted by Judge Mahoney. Untermyer did not join in the request although he had been Freedman's superior in the previous direction of the prosecution.

Freedman's request for dismissal was preceded by a lengthy conference participated in by Justice Mahoney, Freedman, Attorney General Carl Sherman, and Louis Waldman and Jonah J. Goldstein as counsel for the union. Untermyer was present when the conference opened, but left before the decision to discontinue the case was reached.

Waldman and Goldstein, as counsel for the union, had made repeated efforts since the first trial, to secure a dismissal of the indictments. In every previous instance they failed because of Untermyer's insistence that the fight be continued to a finish. The defense had reconciled themselves to another financially ruinous battle by the union and had come to court fully prepared for the trial, when the unexpected turn in the attitude of the prosecution brought them victory.

Conviction of the union plasterers according to the union counsel, would have outlawed most of the usual and effective trade union practices. None of the defendants had at any time been charged with enforcing any rule against the union which had not been ordered by the membership of the union. None of the defendants were charged with using their offices in the union for personal profit.



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HENRY FINDS UTAH COLD TO LA FOLLETTE, STRONG FOR SOCIALISM

OGDEN, Utah.—The workers and farmers of the Mississippi valley are ripe for Socialist thought and Socialist Party organization, according to William H. Henry, national organizer of the Party, who says that the workers are not willing to follow La Follette in an insurgent adventure. The greatest opportunity the Party has had in many years is now before it, he says.

Henry said, "I have had good meetings all along the line, and I am very much encouraged by our prospects. No 'third party' is wanted, but the Socialist Party is. 'We can make good progress with a no compromise position, but the rank and file will not follow into a La Follette party. The Wisconsin Senator is not as strong in this section as some people think. I have covered Colorado and Utah, and besides I have spoken in Wyoming and Missouri, and now I am going into Idaho and Montana."

"We are coming to the front and when the Party sets foot on solid ground again at the Cleveland convention we will make still better progress. We get a good hearing everywhere. Farmers have been coming our way in fine shape in all parts of my trip. Since leaving Indianapolis, I have found but few Communists, a small group in Denver. I have seen no trace of them anywhere else."

Tamiment Opens Fourth Season

The fourth season of Camp Tamiment, the summer playground maintained by the Rand School in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania, opened with enthusiasm, eclat and elan during the Decoration Day week-end. More than 300 guests were there, including a lot of old-time Socialists and Rand School people. They all reported the best time of their lives, with the

AMALGAMATED TEXTILE UNION WILL OPPOSE PROPOSED HIGH TARIFF

Declaring that the depression in the cotton branch of the New England textile industry is due solely to the mismanagement and utter incompetency of the employers, the annual convention of the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union held in New York Saturday and Sunday, decided to wage a campaign among the textile workers in the cotton manufacturing districts in opposition to proposed high tariff legislation.

The union which has its organizers in New Bedford and Fall River, the cotton mill centers, will hold mass meetings and direct literature distribution for the purpose of agitating against the employers' demand for tariff legislation.

The convention did not align itself with any existing political party but declared that "the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America anxiously awaits a sound beginning of such a movement of the organized workers, so that it may align itself with that movement."

A resolution that the convention send delegates to the St. Paul political convention of June 17, which the communists are declared to control, received little support.

Russell Palmer, General Secretary-Treasurer, was renominated without opposition. Nine members are to be chosen for the General Executive Board by referendum, from a slate of 19 which were nominated. The convention was attended by 36 delegates who represented branch organizations in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Food excellent, the lake higher than ever, the tennis courts perfect, and the spirit splendid.

Bertha H. Maillie is in charge, as usual, and she is assisted by Joseph Jablanow as assistant manager. As usual, also, there were plays and games and hilarity, and the discussions that are inseparable from any gathering of Socialists.

Commons Fears to Defeat Socialist Government

(Continued from Page 1)

Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Mines, and was supported by the Labor party. The Government did not introduce it as a Cabinet measure. In opposing the bill, Lloyd George said that it was merely a hint of the program of Socialism that would be presented as soon as the Labor Government had a majority.

The Labor Government approved the measure in principle, and is committed to nationalization, but it was decided at a Cabinet meeting not to give official support to the bill, leaving it to the fate of a free vote of the House.

The decision, it is declared in political circles, was due to the hopelessness of passing such a measure in view of the present composition of the Commons, the Liberals equally with the Conservatives being opposed to nationalization. Thus the bill's defeat is not a defeat of the Government.

In introducing the bill George Henry Hall, a Welsh colliery check weighman, said nationalization had been demanded by the miners for a generation. He quoted ex-Premier Lloyd George as having said nationalization must be considered as a business proposition.

"We accept that challenge," said Mr. Hall, "and are prepared to prove it is a good proposition."

Shinwell said the Government could not accept responsibility for the measure. Nevertheless, while recognizing that no mandate had been obtained from the electors to pursue a policy of nationalization, the Government, he declared, wholeheartedly accepted the principles embodied in the measure.

The Labor Government has won a great victory, however, in settling the threatened miners' strike. A demand had been made for a wage increase, and the Government appointed a committee to investigate. The report has just been made public and it is certain that the strike has been averted.

The main point of the settlement is that the general minimum wage is to be increased from 20 per cent above the pre-war rate to 33 1/3 per cent above. The standard of

profits for owners is to be 15 per cent of the standard wage instead of 17 per cent, as at present. The surplus, if any, is to be divided 88 per cent to the men and 12 per cent to the owners, instead of 83 and 17, as at present.

After the meeting A. J. Cook, General Secretary of the Miners' Federation, said his Executive Committee would recommend the men to accept the agreement, though he was not satisfied it met with their full requirements.

He indicated he still thought nationalization of the mines the only ultimate solution. The members of the Government think so too.

This makes four important disputes settled by the Labor Government in the interest of the workers, the others having been the railroadmen, and dockmen, and the tramwaymen of London.

LONDON.—Labor is marching on! Two by-elections held within the past week increased the Labor vote by thousands, increased the Labor party group in Parliament by one, and showed the rapid decline of the Liberals to almost nothing at all.

In Liverpool, the Labor party stormed the former Tory stronghold of West Toxteth, and elected Joseph Gibbons, a member of the Independent Labor party increasing his vote of last December by 3,187.

In Glasgow, the Labor party vote in the Kelvingrove division increased by 1,146, while several thousand Liberals were compelled to throw their votes to the Tory to defeat the Labor candidate, Aiken Ferguson. In spite of that, however, Labor was beaten only by the fact that Ferguson is a member of the Communist party, and Tories beat him by showing the Labor voters that the Communist party is opposed to the Labor party and is sworn to destroy it. The Communist party convention during the past week, with its bloodcurdling oaths of eternal hatred and hostility to the Labor party, did much to defeat Ferguson.

Under Labor party rules, a Communist may be named as candidate by some constituent union. P. J. Dollan, the Socialist candidate, withdrew in order not to split the Labor ranks—an example the Communists never follow.

The vote in Liverpool was over 28,000, and Gibbons won by 2,471. In December, Gibbons polled 12,318, and was beaten by a Tory by only 139 votes. The Liberals disappeared three years ago.

In Kelvingrove, the vote was:

1924
Capt. W. E. Elliott, Tory, 15,488
Aiken Ferguson, Labor, 11,167
Sir John Pratt, Liberal, 1,372
December, 1923
Hutchinson, Tory, 11,025
Ferguson, Labor, 10,021
Grieve, Liberal, 4,662

There are now 193 Labor members. There were 190 at the December elections, but G. L. M. Davis, elected by Wales University, turned out to be a Labor member, while Oswald Mosely, elected as an Independent, joined later. Gibbons is the 193rd.

Socialists Won't Join French Cabinet

(Continued from Page 1)

cialists of M. Briand, etc. The only real Socialist Party in France is the one headed by Blum, Longuet, Faure, Bracke, et al.

FURTHER DETAILS OF SOCIALIST VICTORY

Examination of the election returns in Paris newspapers show that the victory won by the Socialist Party of France (French Section of the Socialist and Labor International) on May 11 was even greater than indicated by the early reports. While it is practically impossible, under the French system of electoral combinations and semi-proportional voting, to figure out the popular party vote in cases where candidates of several different parties run on the same list, as happened in the great majority of the electoral divisions, there is no doubt that the Socialist vote ran well above the 1,700,000 cast in 1919 when the Socialist Party was not in any electoral combinations and the Communist split had not yet occurred.

This conclusion is drawn from the fact that in nearly all the divisions where the Socialists ran on their own straight ticket this time their vote was higher than that of 1919. For instance, in the Department of the North, the average vote for the Socialists was 154,896, against 153,307 in 1919, despite the fact that this time the Communists were in the field and got an average of 64,280 votes. In Pas de Calais (first section) the Socialists got 69,961 and the Communists 15,187, against 67,859 for the Socialists in 1919. In the Upper Vienne the Socialist average was 49,560, against 40,844 in 1919, and the Communists got 5,124. In Saone-et-Loire, an industrial department containing the great Creusot arms factory, the Socialists got 67,718, against 35,473 in 1919, and the Communists polled 6,400. In but very few cases where the Socialists ran alone did their vote fall below that of 1919. In Paris and its suburbs, the stronghold of the Bloc National and the Communists, there was no straight Socialist Party ticket, but the Communists average vote was about 230,000 out of a total of some 900,000 because of the influence of the great daily L'Humanite, now controlled by the Communists. The popular vote, on the whole, emphasizes the fact that the masses of the French people were so disgusted with the high-handed regime headed by Premier Poincaré that both Socialist and Communist propaganda fell upon willing ears and bore good fruit. An analysis of this vote also shows that if the Communists had acted with the Left Bloc in the campaign, the defeat of the Bloc National would have been so crushing that there would have been no talk of its ever coming back. Furthermore, in many departments a Socialist-Communist combination would have beaten all the bourgeois parties put together.

The Make-up of the Chamber
The composition of the new Chamber of Deputies, as given by late cable reports, checked with details found in the French papers, is slightly different from that given in The New Leader of May 17 and shows more Socialists elected than was then reported. It is as follows:

Socialist Party of France, 103; Communists, 30; Socialist-Communists, 2; French Socialist Party, 5; Radicals and Socialistic Radicals, 142; Socialistic Republicans, 39; Left Democrats, 76; Left Republicans, 51; Royalist Conservatives, 20, and National Bloc Republicans and Democrats, 116—total 584.

Since these figures were compiled three of the newly elected deputies have died, i. e. M. Aillaud (Socialist), M. Planche (Socialist Radical) and M. Petitier (Bloc National), which will necessitate by-elections in their districts.

Contrary to early reports, Jean Longuet, editor of Le Populaire, was not elected although he received 91,561 votes on the ticket of the Left Bloc in the Fourth District of the Seine, which is made up of Paris suburbs, generally recognized as a Communist center. The vote for Vaillant-Couturier, the successful leader of the Communist list, was 107,400. The issue in Longuet's district was confused through the naming of a so-called Labor list, which got an average of 9,853 votes, and a so-called Socialist Union list that received 9,196 votes. The average vote for the Bloc National was 99,557, while the Royalists got 11,013. It was asserted during the campaign that the Poincaré crowd had procured the nominations of the alleged Labor groups for the purpose of drawing enough votes away from the Left Bloc and the Communists to save some seats for the Bloc National. The ruse succeeded.

Reparation Thieves Downed
Another prominent Socialist who failed to be elected was Deputy Ingheles of the Department of the North, the man who started the campaign against the reparation profiteers that finally forced the Poincaré Government to take some action toward making these gentry disgorge at least a fraction of their ill gotten gains. The big factory owners carried on a special drive against Ingheles, spending money like water, and just managed to keep his vote below the number necessary for election. It is stated that fraud was resorted to and that the election officials allowed irregular ballots to be counted. Deputy Bracke lost in the third Paris district where he, aided by the So-

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cialist-Communists, fought all the bourgeois parties and the Communists.

Among the well-known Socialists elected are Leon Blum, Pierre Renaudel, Compère-Morel, Hubert-Rouger, Pressamane, Mistral, Moutet, Paul Faure, secretary of the Party; Paul-Boncour and Vincent Aurioi.

Among the five deputies elected by the French Socialist Party (a group of what may be labeled Nationalist Socialists) are Admiral Louis Jaurès, brother of Jean Jaurès, and Frederic Brunet, one-time president of the council. The two Socialist-Communist deputies are Ernest Lafont and Charles Auray.

The Socialist-Communist party is made up of partisans of L. O. Frossard who followed him out of the Communist party when he refused to accept the dogmas laid down in Moscow. Both the Socialist-Communists and the French Socialist Party, in most cases, were in the temporary electoral combination known as the Left Bloc with the Socialists, the Socialistic Radicals and other anti-Bloc National groups. That the French Socialists fought

their winning battle not with cash, but with willing hands and fiery enthusiasm, is shown by the fact that the campaign contributions recorded by Le Populaire up to election day totaled only 192,855 francs (about \$10,000), against about five times that sum raised by the Communists and the unlimited millions disposed of by Senator Billiet, the French Mark Hanna and Hugo Stinnes combined.

Marx Lewis Receives Law Degree in Capital

WASHINGTON.—Marx Lewis, Washington correspondent of The New Leader and secretary to Congressman Victor L. Berger, received his degree of LL.B. Wednesday June 4, at commencement exercises of the Washington College of Law. Lewis has been quietly studying all about the Constitution, and the favorite works of the late Mr. Blackstone, in between taking care of Berger's office and writing about the patriotic services of the noble statesmen.

IF MULES HAD THE BALLOT

"The better I know man the Founder I am of Mules," says Debs—Some reflections after reading Professor J. Howard Moore's "The Universal Kinship."

By EUGENE V. DEBS

Have you ever looked searchingly into the large, lustrous, knowing eye of a mule while he was looking into yours? If so, you cannot fail to have observed a twinkle with an intimation in it that he knows you and has his opinion about you, although he may not be able to express it in language you understand.

The fact is, as I suspect, that the mule knows man better than man knows the mule, and I have often wished I might have the transcript of a mule's mind, or understand his tongue, that I might know just what the mule thinks of his human master.

That the opinion would not be a flattering one I am quite convinced, for the mule has not one single reason to look upon man as his superior. Quite the contrary; there is not a crime known to the catalogue that man has not perpetrated upon the mule.

Of all the domestic animals that serve man it is doubtful if there is one, not even excepting the horse, that has been of greater usefulness than the mule, nor has there been one more patient and submissive under the harsh treatment inflicted upon him in return for his useful and laborious services.

I have been led to these reflections by the masterful book of Prof. J. Howard Moore on "The Universal Kinship," which should be read by every seeker after truth and light; and today, as I saw a brutal human lash a starved and worn-out mule, I said to myself, if that mule were not as far above that man in heart and soul, in sense and conscience, as popular human ignorance supposes him to be below him, he would have but murder in his heart and hoofs, and kick his brutal tormentor into kingdom come.

The mule is not only the most serviceable, but he is also the wisest of animals, and the fact that man regards him as dull and stupid is due to man's ignorance of the mule's wisdom, and when the average man who is called a mule resents the epithet, he again reveals his stupidity, for if he were but wiser he would know that he had been flattered and not insulted.

That the mule is "mushy," that is to say, stubborn, and slow-going, apparently lazy, is eminently to his credit, and these qualities, properly understood, show the mule to be possessed of the highest virtues which adorn the nature and character of our four-footed comrade.

Who would not be stubborn and lazy who had man for a master? Look at the wage-slave, and if there be any difference between him and the mule it is all in the mule's favor.

The mule serves man in and out of season, for but his provender, and when at last this usefulness is impaired by age he is cast adrift to starve in the highway with but the scars of his master's lash to show for man's inhumanity to the mule.

What must be the mule's reflection when in the feebleness of age he stalks blind and halt toward his pathetic doom as the vultures circle lower to end the tragedy of his life?

What must he think of man when at twilight he surveys the field of battle and sees the mingled and mangled flesh and blood of man and mule scattered as far as the eye can reach?

Would this dumb, patient brute,

had he the choice by ballot, vote over and over again to have himself hitched and harnessed by another brute, overworked and underfed, exposed to heat and cold, whipped and lacerated and finally turned adrift to perish from neglect in the winter of old age, or torn to shreds by shrieking shell on field of horror in the name of Christian civilization?

The mule is meek, it must be said, but meekness with the mule is not without its limitation, and when that is reached a kick is registered that may snuff out the human light.

The main trouble with the mule is that he does not kick often enough, and with man that he does not kick at all.

The kick of the mule is Nature's means of defense, and if the mule but used it freely he would soon inspire man's respect and admiration, whereas his meekness but provokes the malice of his master.

To paraphrase another, the better I know man the fonder I am of mules.

Socialism Made A Man of Me

BERNARD SHAW

"Socialism made a man of me." So declares George Bernard Shaw in a vigorous reply to a letter which appeared in the columns of the Torquay evening paper, the Express, a few weeks ago.

The Express published a letter from the pen of Mr. Evan Macdonald Munro, who criticized an address given by a well-known Conservative speaker. At the conclusion of his letter, Mr. Munro wrote:

"To conclude, Mr. Grey said that there were millionaires in the Labor party. Pressed for an answer, he mentioned Bernard Shaw. If that is so, he forgot that the presence of one swallow does not make a spring."

This is the point which Mr. Shaw takes up. He writes:

"Mr. Grey is quite wrong about my being a millionaire, though I am glad he recognizes that the men who began life forty or fifty years ago by proclaiming themselves Socialists—to the horror of their uncles and the despair of their parents—were not such fools, even from the commercial

point of view, as they were supposed to be.

"I should have been not only a less useful man, but a much poorer and less successful one, as a Conservative. The family conservatism made a snob and a fool of me. Socialism made a man of me.

"What Mr. Grey has to explain is not why some Socialists are rich, but why the vast majority of Conservatives are miserably poor—so poor that they live in terror lest the little they have should be snatched from them by some wicked Socialist and they should have to face the landlord with empty hands.

"But Mr. Grey is quite right about the Labor party being out for destruction. It is out to destroy legalized theft, idleness, and the honor in which both are held; also to destroy poverty, prostitution, massacres of the innocent in child mortality, slums, diseases of dirt and malnutrition, slavery and bad manners.

"Does Mr. Grey seriously think that these are the only things that make life worth living?"

The Ebbing Tide of Political Adventuring in the West

By ESTHER FRIEDMAN

The term "Farmer-Labor" is on the lips of every agricultural and industrial worker in Montana. Even many I. W. W. lumber-jacks are edging up closer to the idea of the workers' march into politics for the working class.

But it also has its sordid side. When the war broke out and the Socialist Party faced persecution for its adherence to the St. Louis platform many members broke away from the Party and got on the band wagon of the Non-Partisan League. It didn't always prove safe there, either, but they didn't know that in advance.

Getting to the Money Chest

Because of their knowledge of organization required in the Socialist Party, they got jobs in the league as organizers and some became political office chasers. For a while they thrived: their treasury was swelled with the big dues the farmers paid. Success bloated their ego and blurred their judgment. They overreached themselves and their achievements came to a sudden end. With that ended the Non-Partisan League.

However, the farmers' money was not altogether wasted. He had received an education in capitalist economics and in the need of cooperative enterprise. The lesson was well worth the high dues he paid.

Terrible "Reds" Appear

On the other hand, it had created

among the organizers and office-holders a group of men with itching palms and personal political ambitions.

So we find that Communists, "Reds," "Revolutionists," who dared call Socialists who stood by their anti-war and anti-capitalist principles "yellow" and "traitors of the working-class"—these same men, who were beneficiaries of the fat treasury of the Non-Partisan League, are again scrambling all over one another to get under the "Farmer-Labor" cover and make a living off that.

The Daily Worker fumes and froths at the "yellow" British Labor party. It slurs and slanders J. Ramsay MacDonald with all its vituperative force. That's where it

shines, yet it is as strong as garlic for an American Labor party and crawling on all fours to get in on the ground floor.

Right Joins With Left

We find their counterpart in the ex-Socialist who quit the Party when it was under fire because it was "too red," "going too fast," "not American enough." He believed in "evolution," not "revolution." He believed in step-at-a-time progress. This type is also mouthing "Farmer-Labor" and is hot for Wheeler, just as the reddest Communists are. We find these two types of mental jumping jacks in the same political camp, each using the militant Farmer-Labor sentiment to get an organization or political job. They don't care

where they get it, or how. Each of these is fooling some of the workers for a while.

Who that thinks the least bit can possibly have any faith in these howlers for "revolution" in their own meetings, while for public consumption they plead Farmer-Labor unity in the shape of an American Labor party? Or, who can have faith in that "Socialist-at-heart" who talks Farmer-Labor and takes or steals a nomination wherever he can get it to get something right away? If elected, he will get something. He will get a job! But the job of the worker will become more and more illusive each year, and when he does get one he will find it harder to hold and less worth holding.

Lesson for the Workers

The lesson to the workers in all this treachery and double-crossing is that we must catch no votes by deceit or fake pretense. We will call a spade a spade.

We always stood for the abolition of the wage and profit system and for the collective ownership and democratic management of our basic industries and natural resources for the benefit of all the people. We stand for this revolutionary change today, because it is the only way out of the morass of capitalism.

Deceit will create further division among the workers instead of unity, and it will strengthen the grip of Wall Street and its henchmen upon our sustenance, our liberties, and our lives.

To hasten the day of emancipation we must be truthful and firm in our purpose. To this realization we call upon every man and woman to join, build and strengthen the working-class Party that has stood the test unflinchingly—the Socialist Party.

Mexican Laborites.
Who Back Gen. Calles
in Presidential Race



CERVANTE TORRES
Sec'y Mexican Federation of Labor



LUIS MORONES
Pres. Mexican Federation of Labor

Despatches from Mexico predict General Plutarco Calles, Socialist, will be elected President of Mexico. Calles has the backing of President Obregon and the organized Mexican Socialist and Labor movements.

The Blue Housing Blues

"Less than 50 per cent of the families of the American nation own their own homes."—W. Phillip Shatts, assistant director of the Better Homes in America movement, of which Herbert Hoover is head.

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"This glorious American Republic—"

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"Our form of government, an example to the world—"

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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.

POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

By H. L. MENCKEN

In "Civilization in the United States"

THE fortunes of politics, as they now run, make it overwhelmingly probable that every new recruit to public office will be just such a poltroon. The odds are enormously in favor of him, and enormously against the man of honor. Such a man of honor may occasionally drift in, taken almost unawares by some political accident, but it is the pushing, bumptious, unconscionable boulder who is constantly FIGHTING to get in, and only too often he succeeds. The rules of the game are made to fit his taste and his talents. He can survive as a hog can survive in the swill-pond.

Go to the Congressional Directory and investigate the origins and past performances of the present members of the lower house—our typical assemblage of typical politicians, the cornerstone of our whole representative system, the symbol of our democracy. You will find that well over half of them are obscure lawyers, school-teachers, and mortgage-sharks out of almost anonymous towns—men of common traditions, sordid aspirations, and no attainments at all. One and all, the members of this majority—and it is constant, no matter what party is in power—are plastered with the brass ornaments of the more brummagem fraternal orders. One and all, they are devoid of any contact with what passes for culture, even in their remote bailiwicks. One and all their careers are bare of civilizing influences.

Such is the American WITENAGEMOT in this 146th year of the Republic. Such are the men who make the laws that all of us must obey, and who carry on our dealings with the world. Go to their debates, and you will discover what equipment they bring to their high business. What they know of sound literature is what one may get out of McGuffey's Fifth Reader. What they know of political science is the nonsense preached in the chautauquas and on the stump. What they know of history is the childish stuff taught in grammar-schools. What they know of the arts and sciences—of all the great body of knowledge that is the chief intellectual baggage of modern man—is absolutely nothing.

PLUNDER AND PATRONAGE DOWN TO A SCIENCE

By EDWARD LEVINSON

The Democratic and Republican party machines are merely a means for facilitating unchecked plundering of the nation by big business and jobs and patronage for the cogs in the machines.

How the "Ohio Gang" swept through the Federal departments with a fine comb, as soon as the late President Harding took office, has been told eloquently in the oil, Department of Justice, liquor and veterans' department investigations which are now dragging to their unsavory ends.

The wholesale graft and corruption need surprise no one who knows the basis of the political game as it is played by the Democrats and the

Republicans, depending on which set happens to be in office at the time. At the bottom of all the corruption in the political sphere of capitalism, of course, is the outright ownership of the two old parties by commercial and financial interests.

Both parties can be bought—in their entirety—as witness the tariff act in which any industry that had contributed to the campaign fund was permitted to name the amount of the tax it wanted placed on their foreign competitors; any part of these parties is, likewise, for sale. And at cheap rates, too.

The quotation for a Cabinet minister is much lower than those on racehorses. Former Secretary Fall cost only \$100,000. Zev, prize horse

of the Sinclair stables, couldn't be bought for anything less than a million dollars at the time of his prime.

It would seem to be evidence of better judgment on the part of big business to at least hire efficient men to administer their Government for them. But if public officials were chosen for their ability to fill their respective jobs, the old party machinery would refuse to work.

The vicious circle works as follows:

(1) There is the ward politician or district leader whose business it is to round up the votes during election time, so that (2) pliant political parties may be placed in power, so that (3) business may have a free hand in plundering and profiteering; thus the ward politicians or district leaders are valuable and they must be rewarded; therefore (4) public positions demanding special training often, and always rigorous scrupulousness, become merely "jobs" given as reward to the faithful for services rendered on election day.

Those who cannot believe the political game is so crude should be enlightened by two recent incidents. In Ohio there has come to light a letter written by the head of the McAdoo for President Committee to active Democrats. After urging the readers to help nominate McAdoo, the letter continues: "In making this request of you, permit me to say that all Democrats contributing time, influence or money to the McAdoo course . . . will be made a matter of record. Those responsible for his nomination will be in great favor with the McAdoo for President organization in Ohio."

Interviewed on the matter, Hamilton G. De Weese, writer of the letter, did not hesitate to admit the implications of his letter. Democrats who help to put McAdoo across, he said, would be accorded seats at the first table when McAdoo is elected and there will be no repetition of the 1912 repudiation of patronage claims.

Continuing, De Weese said: "The letter was sent to Democrats generally in the State because of a comeback I got from one State organization man when I asked him for support. 'Why should I be for

McAdoo?' he replied. 'See what you and the other Progressive Democrats of Ohio got for supporting Wilson. Nothing!'

A frank admission that the old parties depend on the machine and patronage to swing elections—while principles do not enter at all—has been made by John F. Curry, Tammany leader of the 5th Assembly District, Manhattan. In the conflict over a successor to Charles F. Murphy as Tammany Boss, Curry stated:

"Victories have been won, not through principles, but through the control of the nominating machinery at times when the opposition was unpopular or when we were lucky enough to find ourselves on the right side of some question."

Tammany has this system down to a science. The accompanying box shows how the Democratic machine

takes care of its boys. It is a list of Tammany's district leaders and the jobs they have been rewarded with.

The all-powerful influence of the political machines can easily be understood when it has all these key positions in its pocket. The business interests who pay the campaign funds can call the tune to be sung after election day. At the same time they are not inclined to deal unkindly with a public official who helps himself to a little boodle while getting a lot of it for those who own his party.

No matter which way the machine works, if it gives "good government" (which means most of the boodle for big business and a reduced portion for the machine), or if it gives its "boys" a free hand, such as the Harding-Ohio gang enjoyed, the voters get stung.

McAdoo Promises Jobs to Democrats Who Help Him Win the Nomination

WILBUR D. WILKINS

THEODORE BOYLES

JOHN T. ADAMS

OHIO McADOO FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

HAMILTON G. DE WEESE, Chairman, Organization Committee
Suite 214, Rowlands Bldg. Bell Phone 3734

COLUMBUS, OHIO, March 28, 1924.

Dear Sir:

"You have been honored by your party in the past and are in line for further honors. In that connection, however, you are one of the Democrats in your county who does some thinking for himself, especially when selfish Democratic interests—the boss, if you please—wishes to put his selfish interest above that of party interest."

"In 1912, conditions were very similar to conditions now. The third party movement came almost wholly from within the ranks of the Republican party because it was no longer responsive to the demands of the masses. Wilson's nomination left no excuse, much less a reason, for any Democrat to join a third party movement."

"Mr. McAdoo's nomination can and will be secured in much the same manner in New York and will leave no excuse for any Democrat to join the third party movement. He, like Wilson in 1912, will receive the nomination in 1924 without the aid of the bosses and the privileged interests, which fact alone insures his election on a 'Back to Honesty' platform."

"Will you help please bring this about? If so, please fill out carefully at once the enclosed blank. You know who the active and influential Democrats are in your city, village and township and will please select them with reference to their geography when selecting them from the township in which you reside."

"In making this request of you, permit me to say that all Democrats contributing time, influence or money to the McAdoo cause prior to April 29th, Primary Day, will be made a matter of record. I mention this because we are confident his nomination is equivalent to his election, and those responsible for his nomination will be in great favor with McAdoo for President."

Yours Truly,

HAMILTON G. DE WEESE, Chairman,
McADOO ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.

How Tammany Rewards its Faithful for Services Rendered on Election Day

Dist.	NAME	JOB	SALARY
1.	Daniel E. Finn	Water Registrar	\$ 5,500
2.	Thomas F. Foley	No city job	
3.	Christopher D. Sullivan	Congressman	
4.	Harry C. Perry	City Court Clerk	4,590
5.	Charles W. Culklin	No city job	
6.	Joseph Hannan	Deputy Fire Commissioner	5,500
7.	Frank Hussy	City Court Clerk	6,500
8.	E. J. Ahearn	Clerk, 2nd District Municipal Court	3,500
9.	P. J. Dooling	Sheriff	12,000
10.	John F. Curry	Commissioner of Records	7,500
11.	Martha Byrne	Secretary, Department of Correction	3,500
12.	David Lazarus	Deputy Commissioner of Records	6,000
13.	James J. Hagen	Assist. Commissioner of Public Works	6,500
14.	S. Goldenkranz	Secretary, Dock Department	4,000
15.	Thomas Williams	Chief Exam'r to Aldermanic President	4,500
16.	Charles Kohler	Secretary, Health Department	5,500
17.	Miss E. Stewart	Deputy Assistant Sheriff	2,800
18.	Michael J. Cruise	City Clerk	10,000
19.	Martin McCue	Chief Clerk, Surrogate's Court	6,000
20.	E. F. Boyle	Judge of Special Sessions	10,000
21.	Andrew Keating	Secretary, Board of Purchase	5,500
22.	Thomas M. Farley	Deputy County Clerk	6,500
23.	F. L. Briarley	No city job	
24.	Michael Cosgrove	Deputy Dock Commissioner	6,500
25.	Rose Rothenberg	Assistant District Attorney	4,500
26.	J. J. Dietz	Deputy Com. of Water Supply, etc.	6,500
27.	H. W. Hubbard	Deputy Com. of Public Markets	6,500
28.	William Allen	No city job	
29.	Miss Anne Mathews	Registrar (elected)	12,000
30.	Clarence Neale	Secretary to Sheriff	4,500
31.	Sadita Wilson	No city job, but her husband, Chief Clerk, 8th District Municipal Court	3,500
32.	E. P. Hallahan	Assistant Controller	6,500
33.	Joseph McCormack	Deputy City Clerk	5,500
34.	John Mara	Deputy Commissioner, Dep't Plants and Structures	5,500

A Sour Deserter

The Passing of David Karsner

By JAMES ONEAL

In the June number of Current History is an article by David Karsner on "The Passing of the Socialist Party." It is probably a rehash of what he tried to peddle to the Tribune and later the Nation last year. Karsner himself is not important. He was never a prominent figure in the Socialist movement. But he is characteristic of a type that has hovered around the fringe of the movement, sentimental, uninformed, illogical and unable to associate with others for common organization purposes.

That he is uninformed is evident in this article. He reports himself as "Formerly Managing Editor of the New York Call." He was never entrusted with any such responsibility or given any such title. He was an interim appointee to fill in a gap, as everybody connected with the Call knew at the time.

More important is his attempt to write history. His article is literally filled with error. He writes of Eugene V. Debs serving a sentence for contempt of court in 1894; the court that sent Debs to jail did not hand down its decision until June, 1895. He writes of the "Pullman strike of 1893"; the strike did not occur until 1894. He writes of the Social Democratic party being organized in Chicago in June, 1897; the Social Democratic party was not organized until 1898. Moreover, there was not one party of this name in existence but two at a little later period. The second one he does not mention at all. It represented the revolting faction of the Socialist Labor party. The party organized in 1897 was the Social Democracy, and Karsner does not mention it at all but mistakes it for

the Social Democratic party. He writes that the Socialist Party had a dues-paying membership of 120,000 members in 1919. It never had that many members in all its history. Its largest membership was 118,000 in 1912; in 1919 it had 104,000.

It is no accident that Karsner writes in this slovenly fashion. Those who were closely associated with him on the Call knew that he was not a student of economic history, of the Labor movement or of the Socialist Party. Of the mass of excellent books on these themes that came to the Call for review I do not recall one that Karsner read and reviewed. He knew practically nothing of the writings of Marx, Engels and the founders of the Socialist movement. He knew nothing of the movement abroad. On several occasions in his contributions to the Call he confused the "National Socialists" of Bavaria with the Socialists, being blissfully unaware that clerical and reactionary cliques even before the World War assumed the name of Socialist in order to attract the working class.

This is the man who attempts to instruct readers of Current History on the history of the Socialist movement. He goes on to date the beginning of a Socialist movement in the United States from the time when Comrade Debs announced himself a Socialist. He is unaware that a decade before this Socialists had been elected to municipal councils and to at least two State Legislatures, Wisconsin and Illinois. To attempt to follow him in all his errors would take too much space and leave nothing else to consider.

The whole character of the article is an attack upon the Socialist Party and radical organizations in general. Karsner is sour as well as ignorant. The Socialist Party is "moribund." It is a "one-man" organization. If Debs had never lived it could never have existed. Thus he subscribes to the bourgeois explanation of social movements. They are due to some powerful personality. Have we not also heard much of the profound reasoning that ascribes the World War to the machinations of the Prussian exile in Holland?

He again tries his hand at interpretation of Socialist history. In associating with other organizations of the working class in an effort to have them join in an established Labor party, Karsner writes that "this is directly contrary to Socialist principle." Why? His answer is that Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote a book on "No Compromise" and our actions are in conflict with Liebknecht's famous pamphlet. It is reasonably certain that Karsner never read the pamph-

let, for not a line in it deals with the policy followed by the Socialist Party. It deals with fusion or trading with capitalist parties, not with attempts to unite with working class organizations in founding a political movement of the working class. Karsner is unaware that Engels, the life-long associate of Marx, in the preface to the last edition of his "Condition of the Working Classes in England," specifically addressed American Socialists on the very question which Karsner raises. What is more, Engels advised that our first duty is to join with the organized working class in founding a Labor party, even if the program, at its beginning is not clearly Socialist.

In any event our action cannot be construed as voting for capitalist candidates. Karsner innocently told us, while he was still on the Call, that he had voted for a judge who had failed to get a Tammany endorsement. Asked why he did so his answer was that he did it because a friend of his assured him that this capitalist candidate was "a good man." We never argued the matter with him. We knew Karsner. What would be the use? Yet he who could vote for an agent of this foul political tool of the capitalist class now seeks to read us a lecture in Socialist ethics!

Something similar to this happened during the war. In a sentimental mood he invested in a war bond, giving a sentimental reason for doing so.

He lapses into a mood that reminds us of our solemn clerical opponents. When at a loss for an argument the clerical always referred us to "human nature" as a barrier to the realization of Socialism. "The Socialist program," writes Karsner, "is preposterous when read from the standpoint of its ultimate objectives. It promises what it cannot deliver, human nature being what it is." How profound and convincing! The late Father Vaughan would envy this way of putting it. This is followed by a sneer at "Socialists and other radical groups," implying that he has made his peace with the capitalist order of society.

Karsner unwittingly presents a portrait of himself when he writes: "Socialists have always exhibited the same degree of intolerance toward assertive personalities in their own movement as have other cliques and clans founded upon dogma and furthered by bigotry." What he means is that he and his kin are incapable of working with others in associated effort for common purposes. He is an "assertive personality." He wants to belong to a movement and do as he pleases—vote for Tammany candidates, support imperialist wars, remain ig-

norant of the movement's purposes. The movement should exist for these "assertive personalities." They want to "express themselves" and the working class should found movements solely to permit them to do so. The moment we insist on principle and consistency, the "assertive personality" cries out "dogma" and "cliques." Palmists, esoteric cranks, sentimental radicals, radical sentimentalists, near-progressives and other "assertive personalities" never learn to subordinate their ego to the common decisions reached by Democratic procedure. When they find that they cannot have their way they turn sour, run off to the enemy, attack those who have given a lifetime to the working class movement, and mumble the jargon of our bourgeois opponents about "human nature."

Moreover, Karsner had more liberty of expression on the Call in his column than any other man on the staff despite numerous blunders he made whenever he considered Socialist matters.

Karsner wonders what would happen to an "Anatole France" should he stumble into the ranks of the Socialists. Perhaps a certain important and "assertive personality" sees in the great Frenchman a mirror of himself. But let us consider a lesser figure, although just as noble a man, Horace Traubel. The latter remained to his last hour on good terms with the Socialist Party. He never turned sour when his own opinion was not accepted. He did not turn upon his comrades. He was never capable of voting for a dirty tool of capitalism and then offer a sanctimonious lecture to Socialists. He was never capable of the work of Goldstein, Avery, Collins and Urban. In the name of Socialist ethics he could never give aid and comfort to the despoilers of the working class. He was made of gold, not base alloy.

There is something ludicrous for a squeak to come from this source on the "passing of the Socialist Party" when the only thing certain is the passing of Karsner. How often have we not had our bourgeois opponents rejoice on the passing of the Socialist Party in this and other countries? How often have we not observed the passing of some little ego only to have this ego solemnly affirm that HIS passing is the passing of a movement?

The Socialist Party has its scars, honorable scars received in its greatest conflict. Karsner has none. He was not in the streets facing the war mania at Socialist meetings. He did not risk a prison sentence by public declaration of his opposition to the mass butchery of workers in imperialist wars. Not at all. These "assertive personalities" discreetly

remained in the background. He did not share in the work of framing official statements against the war. His "assertive personality" shrank so that it was not in evidence when danger and sacrifice tested the faith of those who claimed to be Socialists.

Another observation is sufficient. Reading Karsner's general attacks I am reminded of what he told Ryan Walker, myself and others as he was leaving the Call. Speaking of the capitalist publication where he was to be employed he said: "I am going back to the brothel; but I will only go in from my wrists down."

How much deeper he has plunged or intends to plunge we can afford to leave to him.

THE PEST OF GLORY

Benjamin Franklin, in 1772, after the battle of Martinique, wrote thus of what he elsewhere called the "Pest of Glory." A young angel of distinction, being sent down to this world on some business for the first time, had an old courier spirit assigned him as a guide. They arrived over the seas of Martinique in the middle of the long day of obstinate fight between the fleets of Rodney and de Grasse. When, through the clouds of smoke he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs, and bodies dead or dying, the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air, and the quantity of pain, misery and destruction the crews yet alive were thus with so much eagerness dealing around to one another, he turned eagerly to his guide and said: 'You blundering blockhead, you, so ignorant of your business; you undertook to conduct me to earth, and you have brought me to hell.' 'No, sir,' replied the guide, 'I have made no mistake. This is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat each other in this cruel manner.'

When you have convinced thinking men that it is right, and humane men that it is just, you will gain your cause. Men always lose half of what is gained by violence. What is gained by argument is gained forever.—Wendell Phillips.

The "Reformer"

The "reformer"—he who "sees in reforms only reform"—is one who judges measures of reform solely in accordance with their immediate effects on the particular problem of which he is thinking. He has usually no complete or coherent social philosophy; he only realizes the existence of certain particular defects in the social system, and seeks for remedies or palliatives for these particular defects.—G. D. H. Cole in "Labor in the Commonwealth."

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Subscription Dept.
7 East 15th St., New York City.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

Through the States

NATIONAL

A few days ago, Comrade T. J. Brown of Denver, Colorado, for many years the equal of the best our movement has known in loyalty and industry, came into the National Office—"just to see how things are going." He was smiling wholesomely indeed, but there was a note of discouragement in his conversation. But he promptly recovered. Mark that. Even his smile improved.

Here in the National Office, Comrade Brown was able to get a new slant on the situation, on the drift of things in the movement generally; was able to see just how things stand from a far more reliable point of view. It was delightful to see Comrade Brown's courage and hope leap upward, to see his quick decision to put on his battle armor again and promptly join the many comrades who are now joyously joining in the fight again. Comrade Brown, quite without solicitation or suggestion, contributed fifty dollars to the National Office. Then he struck out for Denver, reorganized the State Committee; is now chairman of the Committee, and is enthusiastically urging old-timers: "Fall in! Fall in!"

Drop in, comrades, whenever you pass this way and get the drift from the point of view of the National Office.

Comrade, please get a post-card at once—if you know the names and addresses of any comrades in New Mexico and Arizona. Send these names and addresses to Thomas Smith of Estancia, New Mexico, and to S. E. D. Sears of Stafford, Arizona, respectively chairmen of the States Committees in these States. These comrades are eager to cooperate with you and they have a right to ask for and expect your cooperation with them. Send these names to the National Office also—2653 West Washington Blvd., Chicago.

You have no idea how helpful it would be if you, reader, would make it a practice to inquire at every opportunity for names and addresses of Socialists in any and all unorganized towns and villages visited by you, and if you happen to be visiting to a friend in such an unorganized community, please have him send you names and addresses of Socialists. Then please hurry these names and addresses right along to the National Office. Keep thinking of something you can do—and do it.

NORTHWEST DISTRICT

Early in the year a lecture circuit was arranged for the territory of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho and Montana, with Emil Herman for the first round. His work was very successful and his receipts actually netted a small profit on the trip. He will cover part of this territory again on his way to the convention, and the remainder of it after the convention is over. In April, Comrade Esther Friedman entered the field and has been busy ever since. A month later, Comrade William H. Henry began a tour covering the same places. He is now dated up to June 26 when he will leave for the convention.

The effects of the work by these tireless battlers on the road are unmistakably good. Revival of interest

Spring Festival and Dance

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cards for seven new members at large, all of whom joined at Oil City, when Lena Morrow Lewis was there. Comrade Lewis' tour thus far has been very successful; in fact, the receipts have been slightly greater than the expenses, which is remarkable. This was made possible by a contribution from a comrade in one county, where she spent ten days.

Lena Morrow Lewis continues her meetings to the middle of the month as follows: New Kensington, June 4; Monongahela, 6; Daisytown, 7; Hermine, 8; Export, 9; Iowa, 10; Jeannette, 11; South Greensburg, 12; Johnstown, 14.

OHIO

There are others, no doubt, but there are not many duplicates for Joseph Sharts of Dayton, Ohio, the candidate of the Socialist Party for Governor. Sharts with his "red-special" automobile for an all-around the State campaign is attracting a lot of attention to the movement. The devotees of the flashpots can't understand Sharts, graduate of Harvard University and of the Harvard Law School, successful lawyer, a man of standing in Dayton, hitting the trail with a "red-special" automobile in defense of the working class and delivering speeches that ring perfectly true to the fundamentals of our analysis of the capitalist system, and the necessary reconstruction of society industrially. Sharts' soul is warm with a beautiful comradeship.

ILLINOIS

Comrade Ross D. Brown, the noted colored orator, has filled a number of lecture engagements in Cook County and is now downstate filling ten speaking engagements and will return to Chicago about the 6th or 7th of June for another ten or fifteen dates. Plans are well under way for advertising the Socialist Party of Cook County annual picnic at River View Park, Sunday June 15. Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, George R. Kirkpatrick of the National Office, and Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been secured as speakers for the day and a big crowd is expected.

WASHINGTON

A recent addition to the Socialist family of Washington is Local Kelso, organized by Emil Herman on May 24, with a fine bunch of earnest, enthusiastic comrades. The Secretary, Comrade Thomas A. Ferguson, promises to keep things moving in Kelso and vicinity.

Comrade H. O. Fuhrberg, the energetic Secretary of Local Seattle, has been quite ill of late. It is feared his malady is of such nature as to compel his resignation as secretary of the Local. Comrade Fuhrberg is an old timer who stuck. His optimism and enthusiasm for the Socialist movement has never wavered throughout all the dark years we are just now emerging from.

CALIFORNIA

A representative group of comrades has been elected to the Socialist State Executive Committee as a result of the Party election just held. Los Angeles will be represented by Comrade A. Levin, Fresno by Harry M. McKee, Lodi by Mrs. Addie Benedict, and San Francisco by E. Backus, Thomas F. Feeley, Mrs. Rose Walker and Cameron H. King.

PENNSYLVANIA

Read this, be glad—then "do likewise":
Excerpt from letter from Darlington Hoopes, State Secretary of Pennsylvania, dated May 22:
"I am also enclosing application

New York Activities

LOCAL NEW YORK

Members of the Party are voting upon delegates to the State convention, which will be held in the middle of July. Ten delegates are to be elected, out of the following candidates: Samuel E. Beardsley, Simon Berlin, Morris Berman, Theodore Drake, Morris Hillquit, Alexander Kahn, William Karlin, Leonard C. Kaye, Algernon Lee, Meyer London, Olga Long, David Mikol, Jacob Panken, Emerich Steinberger, Herman Volk and Louis Waldman.

There will be an important meeting of the Central Committee Tuesday night, at 247 East 84th Street. All delegates should be present and on time.

A lecture will be given by the veteran suffragist, Mrs. Ella O. Guilford on "A Bird's-eye View of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States," at a meeting of the 3rd, 5th and 10th Assembly Districts, at 22 Bank street, next Monday. Nominations will be made for

State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill broadcasts the following glad tidings:

"I am glad to be able to announce that more dues' stamps were purchased in the month of May just passed than in any one month during the preceding 22 months, nearly two years. Maybe it just happened so, but possibly it signifies a big revival of Party interest and activity. If the receipts for stamps in June hold up with the May level we shall know that the tide has turned.

"If the local did not contribute to the relatively good showing for May, it should try to make up in the sale of dues' stamps during June. We have got to keep on the up-grade financially in order to promptly meet the obligations incurred by the coming conventions.

"It is indeed high time that the comrades got a little inspiration from Socialist successes abroad, and set forth in earnest to build something worthy of an organization in this country. Where personal canvassing has been tried, as in Utica and vicinity, it has been shown that a considerable proportion of enrolled voters can be induced to make application for Party membership.

"Letters, however nicely framed, do not seem to reach the mark with the average worker. Personal contact seems to be the only effective method of approach in most instances.

"Your state secretary is to go to Buffalo for the next week or fortnight for the purpose of looking over the field for organization there."

Julius Gerber and Algernon Lee have been elected to represent the State committee of the Socialist Party at the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action. State Secretary Merrill was elected to represent the Schenectady Trades Assembly in the same gathering.

the offices of members of Congress, State Senators and Assemblymen.

WORKINGMEN'S COOPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

A very important meeting of the W. C. P. A., will be held Wednesday, June 11, at 8:30 p. m., at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, Room 508. At this meeting, officers for the ensuing term have to be elected and several other matters of importance must be transacted. Every member of the Association should attend.

S. JOHN BLOCK, President,
JULIUS GERBER, Secretary.

The Upper West Side Branch will meet on Friday, June 13, at the headquarters of the Finnish Branch, 2056 Fifth avenue (corner 127th Street). This meeting is called by the Management Committee of Local New York for the purpose of reorganizing the branch. All members of the branch are requested to attend.

THE BRONX

The Campaign Committee elected by the General Party meeting, met Monday June 2, and steps to start open-air meetings in this County were taken. Branch 7 will hold (Continued on Page 9)

Talks to Party Members

7. Il Nous Faut de l'Audace

When the movement is in full swing, when every headquarters hums with activity, when enthusiasm runs high and confidence is unbounded—when prudence and caution become timely virtues. They serve as brakes, which may save the fast-moving machine from going to smash on some sharp turn. But just now is no time for keeping the brakes on. We might well take for our motto the saying of Danton: "Il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!" "We must dare, and again dare, and ever dare, and victory is assured."

The Party is suffering from an excessive timidity, a psychology of de-

feat, an inferiority complex, hanging over from the days when, despite our best efforts, we were beaten and split and beaten again and again by forces beyond our control. There was no disgrace in the defeats we met in 1919 and 1920, for we went down fighting. There is deep disgrace in our present failure to advance, for the way is open before us and the only formidable foe is our own lack of courage.

The psychologists tell us that paralyzing inhibitions are cured when their causes are understood. Let us but face the facts, and the bogeys disappear. The present bogeys are projections of the terrible past facts of post-war reaction. The present facts are something quite different. The reaction has squandered its strength in orgies of corruption and abuse. Today the country is again awake, the people are groping forward, they are ready for the Socialist message—and it is only we who are to blame if they do not receive us.

In New York and Wisconsin, in Pennsylvania and in the far Northwest, all over the country, through the last year or more, every time the Party organization has got up spirit to attempt some worthwhile activity, its efforts have been crowned with success. But those efforts have been all too few. Nine times out of ten, if in our locals or delegate bodies any fairly bold enterprise was proposed, it was talked to death by those who, it seems, can never forget former failures.

The recent visit of Bertrand Russell to this country is a case in point—one among many. To be sure, no one was in a position to underwrite meetings and guarantee them against failure. The Rand School, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Young People's Socialist League, were all ready to take a chance—and every one of their meetings was a splendid success, carrying clear Socialist propaganda to large audiences and bringing fresh prestige to the organizations—and incidentally, notwithstanding the heavy expenses, yielding a large financial benefit in each case. Only the Party itself, unable to overcome its doubts, missed the big opportunity.

It is high time that all our Party organizations—national office, State offices, locals, down to the smallest branch—began to take up tasks a little beyond their proven strength. If there are some who cannot overcome their forebodings of failure, let them at least keep quiet. It is better to fail than not to try.

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Insurance from \$100. to \$1,000

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Membership Dec. 31, 1922—53,139

Total Assets over Liabilities Dec. 31, 1922 \$1,847,420.96

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Sick Benefits to male members from \$3 to \$15 per week.

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(ORGANIZED OCTOBER 19, 1884)

On The International Front

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

On The International Front

GREAT BRITAIN

Women's Labor Conference
The annual conference of Labor women was held in the early part of May at the Holborn Empire, London, more than one thousand delegates attending. The existence of a separate women's section of the Labor party is due to the untiring efforts of Margaret Ethel MacDonald, late wife of the present Premier, who was a pioneer in women's industrial organization. The Independent Labor party delegates included Mrs. Bruce Glasier, Dora Russell (Mrs. Bertrand Russell), Minnie Pallerster, Agnes Dollan, and many others, representing every type of Labor woman. Premier MacDonald delivered an address in his best vein, and the delegates then tackled a long agenda, dealing with every phase of the work of the Labor movement. One subject that occupied the attention of the delegates was birth control, and the conference went on record in favor of giving contraceptive information to all wives desiring it. The conference opened with the singing of Labor songs, and with good spirits hitherto absent from such serious gatherings.

BRITISH EMPIRE LABOR CONFERENCE OFF

The Imperial Labor Conference which was to have been held in August has been postponed indefinitely because of the political situation in various parts of the Empire.

BULGARIA

Communist Agrarian Group Gain
More detailed accounts of the May 4 election for members of district councils in Bulgaria, found in the Sozialdemokrat of Prague, show a gain in strength by the Communist-Agrarian combination, despite the Government's attempts at repression. The Government party is reported to have elected 352 councillors; the Communist-Agrarians, 150; the Liberals, 19; the Socialists, 16; the Radical-Democrat combination, 12 and the Ghenadievists, 4.

Since the elections there have been reports that the Government intended to annul the mandates of all the winning Communists and to suppress any paper that supported them.

Czechoslovak Socialists Protest

In an appeal addressed to the Socialists of the world and especially to students, the International Committee of Socialist Student Bodies of Brünn, an organization which embraces Socialist students of all the nationalities of Czechoslovakia, calls for mass protests against the white terror obtaining in Bulgaria. The appeal reads, in part, as follows: "We protest not only as Socialists, but also as intellectuals. For it is an eternal disgrace for all intellectuals that the inspirer of the Bulgarian reaction was not a mere hireling, but Tsankof, the university professor who built a Genghis Khan pyramid of 17,000 proletarian skulls and filled the prisons of Bulgaria with 20,000 unlucky workers."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Party in Convention

A congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Democrats was held at Moravská, Ostrava, at Easter. The party is represented by 87 deputies and senators of the total of 427 in the National Assembly. It holds an important place in the present Government coalition composed of the five strongest parties (National Democrats, Agrarians, Catholic Popular, National Socialists and Social Democrats), for there are four Social Democratic Ministers (the Ministries of Education, Social Welfare, Public Works, and Unification of the Legislature).

The numerical strength of the Social Democratic party, its organizing experience, and its number of intelligent leaders have enabled the social policy of Czechoslovakia to be placed on a sound basis from the beginning. The workers have thereby obtained, with comparatively little trouble, a series of reforms, the attainment of which requires elsewhere much greater efforts. In the first days of the existence of the Republic the eight hours' working day was legalized, and since then numerous reforms have been accomplished right up to the far-reaching scheme of social insurance which is now being discussed. In the period of Bolshevik pressure, the Social Democratic party experienced the same thing as happened in almost all other Social Democratic parties.

The congress at Moravská, Ostrava, had the task of passing in review the ranks of Social Democracy so as to enable all their supporters to express their point of view and thus arrive at a unanimity from which to obtain new strength for further work. A complete success was achieved. In spite of the fact that certain delegates sharply criticized the activity of the Social Democratic party in the Coalition, so that it has been possible to speak of a temporary crisis, yet after the question was thrashed out the existing policy of the party was finally accepted unanimously.

The report submitted to the delegates contained 187 pages, and showed that at the end of 1923 the party had 187,855 members of which 17,865 were women. The educational center called the Workers' Academy had 3,816 individual members and 290,000 members belonging to the

affiliated societies. During the municipal elections in 1923 the party received in 1,573 wards 421,476 votes and had 10,904 men and 86 women councillors and 204 mayors. In that year 6,939 public meetings, 22,907 branch meetings, 1,892 open-air demonstrations, and 1,203 conferences were organized.

SPAIN

May Day Despite Dictator Rivera

The conflict between General Primo de Rivera, the Spanish imitator of Mussolini, and the Socialist Party is becoming more intense as time passes and the Dictator insists that he will have to stay at his post for a couple of years more in order to restore what he calls normalcy. According to reports sent out by the Onda news agency, the Spanish workers observed May Day in all parts of the land, despite the fact that Primo de Rivera had withdrawn his permission for the celebration at the last moment in order to try to force the Socialists to cooperate with the Government in running the local community councils.

In Madrid there was no work done on May Day and there were many meetings in halls, one of which was addressed by Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, who had come to Madrid to consult with the Government on Labor matters. Thomas also paid a visit to Pablo Iglesias, the veteran Socialist leader at the office of El Socialista. Throughout the country there were numerous meetings in halls and a few attempts at open demonstrations.

The crisis between the Socialists and the Dictator came to a head the latter part of April when Rivera appointed four Socialist leaders, Corbero, Caballero, Alvarez and Sabarito, to the community councils without having asked their organization to choose them. They promptly refused to serve and their example was followed by their comrades all over the country. The Socialists insist that they be elected freely and not appointed by any dictator. Their refusal to work in the councils seriously handicaps Rivera's efforts to restore a semblance of Democratic administration. Of the some 1,500 Socialists serving on local councils in Spain, not a single one was found to be involved in the graft affairs uncovered in connection with the setting up of the dictatorship last fall.

Because of his political activity Rusino Laizeca, a former Socialist Mayor, has been banished for two years to an isolated place some twenty-five kilometers from Bilbao. In the May Day manifesto issued by the Socialist Party and the trade unions strong demands were voiced for the immediate restoration of constitutional Government, the winding up of the military adventure in Morocco and general amnesty for political and Labor prisoners.

The General Union of Workers, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, has refused to send a delegation to a Government conference on the economic situation because the Government also invited representatives of the Clerical Labor organization which has hardly any membership among the masses.

Thinking Will Be Prosecuted

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

Much has been revealed recently as to the activity of the hundred per-centers, those who practice "America for the Americans" by trying to put the United States in their pockets. The Ku Klux Klan has, of course, detailed information about every one of its members, and probably about many more in the communities where the Klan spreads its lot. Following this admirable example, the large corporations have been developing the docket system, with a corps of detectives supplementing, in their secret files, the information about personal affairs which they demand of the workers themselves. But no such servicable method of securing tractable, obedient workers could remain confined to these fields. This method of checking up employees can be used, the wise ones have come to see, as a means of holding down the undesirable in other places. Particularly by action in the field of education.

The frankness of Harvard a few seasons ago, in announcing its limitation of Jewish students, was matched this month by the statement of Dr. Walter Niles, Dean of Cornell University Medical School, that poor boys should be barred from the study of medicine. His own words best betray his purpose: "Experience shows that the poor boy is seldom a leader in his class, due to impairment of health due to overwork; that his scholastic attainments are diminished, and that, worst of all, he has developed a rigidity of mental process that precludes imagination. Very few poor boys attain even average grades in their medical studies, and very few are listed as desirable for hospital internships. The great need of the medical profession today is honesty of purpose, right thinking and sound leadership. Such qualities are seldom found in the offspring of foreign parents, who have only since their entry into this country acquired sufficient independence to think freely and to cultivate ideals. Poor boys are also often circumscribed and commercial in their aims, due to heredity and environment."

Dr. Niles went on to exempt one type of poor boy from this indictment: the poor boy who comes "from a refined home, such as the son of a clergyman, an educator and those who have become recently financially embarrassed." To these, every possible aid should be given. A more definite statement of the desire to restrict professional study to the white Nordic protestant could hardly be made; in fact, Dr. Niles has been scolded by various parties as having been indiscreet.

Yet the desire here expressed is already being carried out. The various professional schools, and a large number of colleges, are calling for an entrance requirement other than scholarship, are turning down a

scholarship men who fail to meet the new standard, and accepting C scholarship men who satisfy it. This new standard is "Personality." Personality may mean many things; it is sufficiently indefinite a term to allow an institution to debar any applicant, while apparently free from prejudice. It can, of course, cover religious limitation. But the deans of various medical colleges recently attempted a definition of personality by showing the questionnaire that they send to the school from which an applicant for admission comes. Several of its queries are: (1) Is he interested in his fellows? (2) Has he the qualities of a leader? (3) Can he work with others, can he take orders? (4) Is he well groomed? (5) Is his speech that of a gentleman? (6) Has he any extra-curricular activities? If so, what are they, and how active is he?

These questions, especially the last two, are potential weapons of great force against any student who evinces the spirit of independence so praised in the textbooks and so hated and curbed in the schools. Let a lad, even in the high schools, show signs of a curiosity not baffled by the evasions or killed by the rebuffs of his teachers, let him have the temerity to urge some change, or to be seen carrying a copy of a supposedly "radical" paper in the school—and by the application of this new questionnaire the prickler is painlessly extracted before it grows into a full-size thorn. Higher education, in this period of increasing demand, can readily be limited to those who give early signs of conformity, to those who are so constituted as to be natural or easily shaped worshippers of the gods of things as they are.

Bertrand Russell has suggested that, when eugenics is applied by law, first to the physically, then to the mentally, unfit, finally those who are radical will be declared imbeciles and sterilized. But the educational system seems preparing to anticipate Russell by barring from the school all who show signs of independent thought, and actually making them imbeciles except in the measure in which escape from the present educational system is a fortunate event.

Without Principles

The great parties are the Republicans and the Democrats. . . . Neither party has any clean-cut principles, any distinctive tenets. Distinctive tenets and policies, points of political doctrine and points of political practice, have all but vanished. They have not been thrown away, but have been stripped away by Time and the progress of events. . . . All has been lost, except office or the hope of it.—James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth."

Russell Views America

"Will You Write a Book About Us?"
"No; How Odd," He Replies.

By J. R. SMALLWOOD

Interviewing a great and world-renowned philosopher, mathematician, economist and Socialist while he is getting out of bed, removing his pajamas and hauling on his socks and underclothing, is an entertaining piece of business.

Asking and getting answers to questions on prodigious and momentous topics while the philosopher, his coarse gray hair still unkempt, fastened his garters, hauled on his trousers and then laced his shoes, the while he carried on his end of the interview by twisting his head sideways and upwards in a polite endeavor to face you, was a rare bit of fun.

Bertrand Russell, himself a man of the lightest humor and fine good nature, might have been enjoying the situation as well, to judge by the twinkle in his eye and the wit with which all of his replies and comments were flashed back. One could not help conjecturing how scintillatingly brilliant the man must be by the end of a day of intellectual friction if at the moment of being dragged out of bed by another interviewer he were so keenly alive and alert and witty.

But—in the interest of historical accuracy and for the benefit of future students of human personality—this article ought not to proceed another sentence without publishing to the world a fact which the fascinated eyes of the interviewer were not slow to note: it has to do with Mr. Russell's under attire.

The Hon. Bertrand Russell, M. A., F. R. S., grandson of Lord John Russell, twice Prime Minister of Great Britain, brother of an earl and heir to an earldom, wears no undershirt. His outside shirt, the one to which his stiff linen collar is attached, is his only shirt, and is worn next to his body! And, furthermore, when Mr. Russell removed this shirt the evening before, he left the collar still attached by a collar-button to the back of the collar band, just as a fireman would do if a fireman were in the habit of wearing linen collars.

However, it never has been our intention to compete with any of those persons who felt it a duty to give to the world the purple descriptions of the royal ladies and gentlemen of merry France in the days of Du Barry and Pompadour, et al. Besides, Party loyalty would suggest a limit to these "disclosures" of a good fellow-Socialist. We Socialists love and honor Bertrand Russell—even if he does wear but one shirt and keeps his trousers up with suspenders, or braces. There may even be some merit in the idea.

"Mr. Comper's old age," was Mr. Russell's quick response to the question: "What is the most encouraging to independent Labor politics?"

couraging sign you have seen of the imminence of American Labor

Then he added: "And the efforts of your courts and attorney generals." He had not stopped to ponder; the answer was prompt. Mr. Russell obviously had been thinking about the matter.

"You are just now, politically, where we in Britain were thirty years ago," said Mr. Russell. "Labor at that time was waking up to the realization that in independent political action lay its best hope of emancipation. That realization was given great impetus by the energy of our own courts, particularly the Taff Vale decision. Your courts here are your best Labor propagandists."

The famous philosopher, who is a keen observer of all things about him, declared that in addressing college students and hearing their questions he detected most encouraging signs of a revolt against the hypocrisy and cant of current political conceptions in this country. He had spoken at many colleges during his 60-day tour of the country. The topic which aroused the widest interest wherever he went, he said, was "How to get world peace."

Dined and entertained by many of the nation's greatest scholars, as he was, and listened to with rapt attention by many thousands who heard his seventy addresses, Mr. Russell mentioned as at least one incident that varied his remarkable reception, the fact that while addressing Harvard students in Boston a General—at a meeting of the American Legion going on at the same moment—tried to incite his hearers to go and smash up Mr. Russell's meeting. Thus was the distinguished lecturer fortunate while here in getting at least one partial taste of that much-bespoken commodity, 100 per centism.

Mr. Russell, who was to sail for England on Saturday, was asked whether he intended upon his return to write a book about America.

"No," he said; "how odd!"

Meeting the Enemy

We can pick off here and there a man from the triumphant majority. We have facts for those who think, arguments for those who reason; but he who cannot be reasoned out of his prejudices must be laughed out of them, he who cannot be argued out of his selfishness must be shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes.—Wendell Phillips.

Truth and Freedom

And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdo her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?—John Milton, "Areopagitica."

SHALL LABOR BE FOUND WANTING AGAIN?

By KARL DURR

(Secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions)

When in November, 1918, that most terrible of all wars drew to an end, the world stood aghast at the desolation which it had left behind. But its consternation was still greater when it discovered that the millions of devoted men who had taken the field to fight for the emancipation of humanity had been miserably deceived and had sacrificed themselves in vain.

"No More War" was the cry of the deceived peoples. It was, however, the working class in particular, which gave expression at its international congresses to the idea of solidarity and peaceful cooperation. But we are still far from the longed-for goal. Mankind is so forgetful. Tomorrow will be welcoming new inciters to war.

No real peace followed the war. The peace treaties were dictated by the victors, and have thus provided fresh seeds of war, and made the war danger a chronic threat to humanity.

Sooner than they expected, the working classes were called upon to make good their own words "No More War." They failed to stand the test.

Weakness of Workers

Despite all protests, the Ruhr was occupied, and there would undoubtedly have been fresh mass murders, had not Germany been prostrate and unarmed.

A similar incident was the occupation of Corfu by Italy, as "punishment" for the murder of Italian officers during the settlement of the Albanian boundaries.

It is true that, in the case of the occupation of the Ruhr, the organized workers of Great Britain, France and Belgium were in opposition to their governments; it is true that the Italian workers did not sanction the Corfu adventure. But the workers of the allied countries were so conscious of their own weakness in comparison with the feverish violence of the nationalism in their respective countries that they did not venture to swim against the stream. Moreover, it should be re-

membered that "big capital" in Germany, aided by its adherents among the rank and file of the people, did all it could to lend an appearance of justice to the occupation of the Ruhr district.

In view of these facts, it is child's play to adopt fine resolutions against war at international congresses, or even to get excited about the possibilities of the general strike.

It is much better to admit that we are not yet able to prevent war. Let us not shut our eyes to the fact that capitalist governments have hitherto always managed to create the necessary psychological atmosphere at the right moment, to give a war of aggression all the appearance of a war of defense, and to mobilize the masses to die for "freedom." But no sooner is the war ended than their actions give the lie to the ideals to which they formerly laid claim and they make their predatory annexations in complete safety.

Universal Solidarity Necessary

There is only one way of changing these things. International Labor and all the other enemies of war must have confidence in each other. The war against war can only be won when every individual—the Frenchman, the German, the Englishman and the Russian—is convinced that his brothers in another land will not march against him. When this mutual confidence exists, and when anti-war propaganda can be based upon it, then only will the cry "No More War" ring through all lands, and really kill war.

Anti-War Day, which has been fixed by the I. F. T. U. for the third Sunday in September, is to be the first step towards a mass movement in the service of peace. It is to prepare the ground for permanent propaganda to create a new spirit, the spirit of world solidarity. The workers must take full account of the difficulties which have to be overcome. Perhaps it is not always realized that even today it is not possible to collect information concerning the manufacture of arms, as enquiries of the kind are in many countries severely punished, the enquirer

The La Follette Movement

By SAMUEL RAPPAPORT

The minds of a large portion of the people in this country are centered and focused around the question of whether or not during the forthcoming Presidential election there shall be a movement headed by Senator La Follette. The popular demand among the farmers of the Middle West, the railroad brotherhoods and the so-called reformers and progressives in politics, is to form and build a political organization around a great leader like Senator La Follette.

I am not opposed to Senator La Follette as a man and as a statesman. But I am unalterably opposed to a La Follette movement, not because I do not admire and respect the able Senator from Wisconsin, but because I realize that a political organization must not be based upon great men but must be based upon fundamental and radical principles and issues. We can all agree that Senator La Follette is progressive, and, in some respects, a radical during the terrific crisis which visited this country during the period of the late war.

Socialists as Pioneers

But we must also realize that long before Senator La Follette raised his eloquent voice in behalf of the oppressed, there were hundreds of able men in the Socialist movement who spoke for the down-trodden and who worked tirelessly and endlessly for the day when the capitalist form of government under which we live should be so constructed and changed as to eliminate exploitation of Labor.

Long before Senator La Follette used his magnificent efforts for the nationalization of the railroads, the mines and the forests, there were hundreds of thousands of Socialists who not only espoused the cause of nationalization but went beyond that and demanded the social ownership and democratic management of all the social means of production and distribution. And long before Senator La Follette realized that modern warfare was based upon and inspired by commercial and economic rivalry and the monopolization of world markets and the exploitation of oil fields, the Socialists demonstrated in their philosophy of history, that modern wars have their source in the subjugation and slavery of the working class.

No Self-Deception

Let us not deceive ourselves with the belief that a La Follette movement will supersede the Socialist movement and stand for the principles and platforms which the Socialist Party has stood for during the last twenty-five years. And let us not deceive ourselves by thinking that the so-called progressives and reformers in a political organization will not betray us in 1924 as they betrayed us during the past sixteen years in the United States.

The farmers of the Middle West are discontented and dissatisfied with the terrible conditions that confront them today. The industrial workers in the East are protesting and will protest against unemployment, low wages and starvation, inadequate homes, etc., that confront

them daily. But we need more than a protest vote of the farmers and the industrial workers. We need a solid and firm political organization which will have as its basis and platform a complete change of the industrial and economical life of today. We need a complete change in the Federal Government. We can form and build and develop such a political organization which shall include not only the industrial worker but the rural worker as well by having for our platform such principles as are embodied in the platform of the Socialist Party with additional principles contained in the Non-Partisan League and in the Farmer-Labor party.

Weakness of Division

We have seen from the experience of our present generation that protest meetings against the injustices of the capitalist system are inadequate and ineffective. We have seen that the scattered energies of the liberal and the radical and Labor forces do not accomplish the things which we cherish and the things which we stand for. A dozen or so different radical organizations necessarily means a proportionate diminution of power and force. The workers of whatever class and description must learn to unite for their own interests; they must learn to form and have one political organization.

The workers must not depend upon a great leader; they must not expect a Messiah to lead us out of the wilderness of slavery and exploitation and oppression of the capitalist system. The workers must realize that all their energies and intelligence and finances must be centered and concentrated in one movement, so that they can effectively oppose the exploiting and plundering class. We must cultivate patience and tolerance so that our organization will be able to absorb the right wing and the left wing; the I. W. W. and the liberal and all those people who desire justice and righteousness. We must outgrow out pettiness and factionalism so that we may meet the other fellow upon a common basis.

The Task Before Us

We must be tolerant and broad minded so that we may have a basis for discussion of political and tactical methods, and we must not be covetous and selfish for power and leadership. We must learn to be class-conscious, and must realize that the interests of the workers of whatever class are identical, and in the protection of our interests we must harmonize and unite upon common ground to battle with our opponents. We must learn the lesson that has taken place in Europe—that a political party representing all of the workers can be so powerful and effective as to dominate the political and economic structure of our society.

Until we do these things we cannot expect to accomplish a great deal. But the task is before us and we must all unite in this one organization, embracing and absorbing all of the working people, and then we can effectively carry out our aims and aspirations.

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3 West 16th Street, New York City

MORRIS SIGMAN, President Telephone Chelsea 2145
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.

Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 3590
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.
LOUIS HOBOWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION

Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.

Office and Headquarters, 219 Sackman St. N.Y. Dickens 0882
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCE, Secretary.

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 7:30 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.
ABRAHAM DELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 18 West 21st St. Watkins 7050
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.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Lexington 4840
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.
Brooklyn—177th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 5 P. M.
Harlem—174 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

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.

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.

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 LIFSHITZ, Secretary.

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.
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.

1 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3887
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, Pres.
M. M. ESSENFIELD, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715

Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

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Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
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Children's Jacket Makers

of Gr. N. Y., Loc. 10, Sec. A. C. W. A.

Office 505 Bushwick Av., Bkn. Stage 10190
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.
J. Berowitz, L. Feltelson, Chairman. Rec. Sec'y.
A. LEVINE, Sec. SAM COHEN, Fin. Sec'y.

Lapel Makers & Pairers'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.

Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3800
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman; KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary; ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10, A. C. W. A. Section "B"

Office 505 Bushwick Av., Bkn. Stage 10190
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.
J. Berowitz, L. Feltelson, Chairman. Rec. Sec'y.
A. LEVINE, Sec. SAM COHEN, Fin. Sec'y.

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arlon Pl. Bks. N. Y.
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman. Rec. Sec'y.
H. TAYLOR, LEO BECK, Fin. Sec'y.

"I Can Talk English," is Adam Coaldigger's Challenge Hurlled at Coolidge in Opening his Presidential Campaign

By ADAM COALDIGGER

Since the excitement caused by the launching of my boom has subsided I have been able to devote a few sober thoughts to the conditions which make my election desirable. As a result I arrive at the conclusion that this is unquestionably the greatest, grandest and richest country on earth—as you may have heard from some other candidates before me.

In no respect whatever are the American people wrong in anything, and if it were not for the sake of modesty which is so characteristic of Americans everywhere I would not hesitate to reiterate the well-known fact that we are the most intelligent people in the universe. As far as our Government is concerned I wish merely to state that it is the best form of government ever devised by the mind of mortal man.

If, then, in spite of our notorious superiority, environment, virtue, nobility of character and lofty intelligence, we Americans are still suffering from the arrogance of great fortunes, corruption in government, which breeds poverty, unemployment, over-production, under-consumption, bumper crops and a bankrupt peasantry, the trouble must be sought elsewhere than in the wealth and intelligence of our people.

The Morale of Coolidge

It has indeed been hinted that there might be something wrong with our morale, morality or moralcy. Calvin Coolidge, one of the foremost thinkers of this enlightened nation, did indicate something of this nature in his recent address to the Associated Press when he said:

"The work of the Associated Press, both necessary and logical, indicates that the true method would appear to lie in recognizing the broad principle of our individual and national dependence, calculating the requirement which flow from that condition, and governing ourselves accordingly."

"This condition began to subside nearly four years ago, but it left along its course a trail of vicious and criminal selfishness, which in diminishing degree has ever since been attempting to gratify an appetite grown all the sharper through indulgence and a general credulity to rumors of large sums demanded

and paid on account of every conceivable motive and action.

"The principle of service is not to be confounded with a weak and impractical sentimentalism. It does not mean that either the individual or the nation is to assume the burdens which ought to be borne by others. It is warranted in considering self to the extent of recognizing that it is justifiable to accumulate and hold the resources which must necessarily be used to serve ourselves, our own household, and our own nation. But it does not stop there. It recognizes the necessity of serving others, and when the need arises for meeting a moral requirement, of making individual and national sacrifices sufficient to maintain the cause of righteousness."

A careful analysis of the above utterance proves that our beloved President is thoroughly conversant with the writings of Noah Webster, whose principal work is full of similar sentiment. I confess that the words of Mr. Coolidge are carefully chosen. Unfortunately they lack the comprehensibility customarily connected with the utilization of vocabulary in the transmission of ideological conceptions. (Gosh, boys, ain't that a peach of a sentence all by itself?)

Adam Disagrees With Coolidge

Fathomless profundity should not be employed in public utterances for mass consumption. This is especially true in the case of democracies where the intellectual qualifications of public servants are determined by majority vote.

For my own part I can not agree with Mr. Coolidge in his literary diagnosis of our ills nor the remedies he suggests. This may be entirely my own fault inasmuch as I have been unable to make out what he is talking about. And until his commentators have issued a more lucid interpretation of his remarks than any I have seen to date I shall be compelled to adhere to my own diagnosis and treatment.

What is ailing this country is the inefficient utilization of gray matter. We have more brains than any other people, as I have already stated in my speech accepting the nomination for President. But we lack system and proper distributive facilities for

getting this valuable substance around.

As a result of such a policy no sooner have we elected a peerless leader than we succumb to a passionate desire to throw the rascal out. The only remedy for this deplorable condition is a compulsory intelligence test for both voters and candidates. This is not entirely original with me. Plato, a fairly well-known Greek philosopher, had a hunch like this about two thousand years ago. But I don't want to get the old boy in dutch by giving him a lot of publicity in this paper. The Department of Justice might get wind of the fact and try to catch him and deport back to Athens. So do me a favor and let's keep this confidential among ourselves.

Adam's Intelligence Test

We want no classes in this country. Heaven forbid. But we must have classification of intelligence if this great democracy is to survive. With this end in view I have worked out a series of questions which in my opinion would make the world safe from democracy.

CLASS A.

Question 1.—Name ten Presidents besides George Washington and Calvin Coolidge.

Question 2.—Name two vice-presidents, not including Marshall.

Question 3.—Recite in full the third verse of "The Star Spangled Banner."

Take your hats off while doing this, and don't forget to stand.

Question 4.—Who was Zachary Taylor, and why?

Citizens who can answer the above questions will be classed as superior persons, and will be made eligible for the positions of President, Senators, Cabinet members, and Ambassadors to the Court of St. James, London, England.

CLASS B.

Question 1.—How many rods are in a mile?

Question 2.—How many gallons are in a barrel?

Question 3.—How many bottles are in a case (old style)?

Question 4.—In what State is Washington, D. C., located?

Question 5.—Are there any other amendments to the Constitution of the United States besides the Eighth?

teenth? If you ever heard of any other recite it in full.

Persons who can answer sixty per cent of these questions will be classed as intellectuals and will be declared eligible to any office from Congressman down.

CLASS C.

Question 1.—What is the difference between the Ukraine and the Ukelele?

Question 2.—Who was President when Harding was in the White House?

Question 3.—What is the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties?

Question 4.—Where was Moses when the light went out?

Applicants who can answer all, some or none of these questions will be classed as sovereign citizens with the title of "Voting Kings." They will not be eligible for office, but may vote for those who are, provided they vote old party tickets, straight.

Lung Power vs. Ideas

I do not claim that my intelligence test will cure bunions, chilblains, heaves, boll-weevil, pip and St. Vitus dance. But I am confident that the conscientious application of this test, made yearly, will result in an infinitely better Government than we have experienced thus far.

Those who have read with any care the speech of Mr. Coolidge to the Associated Press may accuse me of seeking the elimination of my principal opponent through the underhand method of an intelligence test. Gentlemen of the press, I deny that allegation in advance. As repeatedly stated I would no nothing to advance my candidacy. If I were a candidate I would take particular pains to hide whatever intellectual quality I might possess. I am well aware of the fact that it is not ideas, but lung power and good press agency which determine political fortunes.

Nevertheless, I still insist that it would be both novel and nice to have a President for this nation of intellectual giants who could write the English language. Words are generally supposed to be clothes of thought. But the way they are used by Mr. Coolidge is nothing short of scandalous. Some of these moral uplift boys ought to look into the matter of such public exposure of mental nakedness.

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

International Bureau Busy

The members of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions were kept busy at their meeting in Amsterdam on April 17 and 18. They worked out numerous details of the Vienna Congress, which opens June 2, and cleaned up many minor matters. A letter was received from the Mexican Federation of Labor to the effect that internal af-

fairs prevented it from sending a fraternal delegate to Vienna. The Bureau declined, because of the distance, an invitation to send delegates to an International Congress of Social Economics to be held in Buenos Aires next September under the auspices of the Museo Social Argentino. Leon Jouhaux was instructed to attend the next meeting of the International Association on Unemployment. It was announced that the programs for the two summer schools organized by the International Federation, which will be held in Schoenbrunn Castle, Vienna, July 21 to August 2, and at Ruskin College, August 19 to 31, cover practically the whole range of trade union and social endeavor and that the lectures will be delivered by prominent labor leaders. Rennie Smith, B. Sc., will direct the studies at both schools. A. A. Purcell, Labor M. P., temporarily representing England on the Bureau, reported that the British Trade Union Council and the Labor party, through a Joint Committee, would take care of the anti-war demonstrations in Great Britain on Sunday, September 21, and would instruct the trades councils to co-operate locally with pacifist groups. The British were considering a flag day, such as was to be held in Germany, Holland and Belgium.

Hungarian Workers Desperate

Reports of the recent special convention of Hungarian trade unions held in Budapest to discuss the desperate economic situation due to the rise in prices and the failure of wages to keep pace with them, indicate that the organized workers are seriously considering open revolt against the Horthy régime unless something is done immediately to improve their working conditions. After National Secretary Gal had announced that the average weekly wage of ordinary workers was only 260,000 crowns (about \$4) while it took at least 600,000 crowns to keep body and soul together, Ludwig Kabok, Secretary of the Metal Workers and a Socialist member of Parliament, declared that partial strikes were useless and that preparation should be made for a general strike. This proposal was greeted with applause and other speakers suggested that the twenty-four Socialists in the National Assembly should walk out as a protest. The moderates opposed this and pointed out that walking out would do no good, while inside Parliament they could at least voice the feelings of their constituents. It took all the diplomacy of the moderate leaders to hold the meeting down to the passing of a few resolutions emphasizing the miserable condition of all Hungarian workers and demanding a minimum wage, freedom of assembly and organization, etc. Jeremiah Smith, American Commissioner of the League of Nations now in Hungary supervising the rehabilitation plan, is expected to be the target of further protests by Hungarian workers who want human rights stabilized as well as finances.

few Russian labor organ, "The great mass of the workers do not distinguish between the shop councils and the management of the concerns. In most cases when the workers make important demands the shop councils will represent the views of the management. As a result, most of the workers become distrustful, both of the laws and of the trade unions, and they end by becoming apathetic." In an editorial Trud says, "The shop councils are ignorant of the real conditions of production." They often accept without investigation any statements the managers choose to make and consider it their pious duty to defend any measure proposed by the managers, even if such measures are obviously impracticable."

Few Strikes Lost in Austria

During 1923 Austrian unions were involved in 275 conflicts, of which they won fifty-three out-and-out, gained partial victories in 1923, and only lost forty-one, the latter embracing only 551 workers, about seven per cent of the total number involved. Nearly all the conflicts were due to demands for increased wages. Due to the hard economic situation obtaining, especially in the first part of the year, only 714,115 union members paid their dues in full last year, compared to 850,394 in 1922. It is explained by the Austrian union officials that they do not consider that the unions have suffered any real loss and that dues are coming in better now, making the prospects for full payments in the present year bright.

Argentine Workers Uniting

The Metal Workers' Industrial Union of Argentina has voted to abandon its policy of isolation and affiliate with the Union Sindical de Argentina, the biggest federation in the republic.

German Railroaders Win Points Apparently desirous of preventing the spreading of local railroad strikes and the development of a condition that might seriously menace the putting into effect of the Dawes reparation plan, as far as the German railway system is concerned, the German Government recently agreed to terms approximating the demands of the General Council of the German Railway Men's Union, formulated at its meeting of April 7. Wages of the poorest paid men are to be raised 1½ cents per hour, as from March 30. The eight-hour day is guaranteed, in principle, although the general council of the union will allow nine hours a day to be worked temporarily in view of the critical economic situation, with extra pay for the ninth hour. The officers of the German Christian Railway Men's Union have resolved to join the other railroad men's unions in the struggle for better conditions.

Communists Change Tactics

Several weeks ago it was reported from Germany that the German Communists had become tired of the policy of boring from within the trade unions and were coming out in the open with their opposition, hoping to carry enough followers with them to enable them to set up a nation-wide Communist trade union organization. In this connection a convention of Communist unionists was planned for May. But at the secret congress of the German Communist party held in April a letter from George Zinoviev, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, put a stop to this plan and ordered the Germans to continue their "cell" work. Zinoviev told the German Communists that "if you try to create parallel trade unions with the help of undefined unemployed organizations you will get nothing but a muddle. The trade unions would no longer be workers' trade unions; they would only be unions of unemployed."

Russian Shop Councils Criticized

According to the results of an inquiry made by the General Council of the Russian Trade Unions into the functioning of the Shop Councils, as quoted by the Amsterdam office of the International Federation of Trade Unions from Trud, the of-

DR. KARL E. GOTTFRIED

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Putnam Building, 1493-1505 Broadway
Between 135th and 141st St.
Room 214. Tel. LACKAWANNA 7133-7150

N. Y. Joint Council

CAP MAKERS

of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.
Office, 210 E. 8th St. Orchard 0860-1-2
Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday
Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, L. Bachr
Manager. Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)

Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.

MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)

Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday
Executive Board Every Monday
G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASLAVSKY,
President. Vice-Pres.
SOL HANDMAN, L. BAER,
Rec. Sec. Fin. Sec'y.

All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 21 East 5th St.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

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

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

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

FUR NAILERS' UNION

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

FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 6:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.
WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Chairman.
L. GOLDWORG, Vice-Chairman.
N. FISHEROFF, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION

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

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

GENERAL OFFICE: Phone Stuyvesant 4408
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. OSSIP WALINSKY, General Manager
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 1016, A. F. of L.
1 East 12th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office.
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
ED. GOTTFMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
L. D. BERGER, Manager
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

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

The Challenge of Socialism

III. Exploitation

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

Capitalism is the cause of most of the evils that beset mankind today. It is only by the removal of those evils that the human race can hope to be liberated, not only materially from the fear of want, but also intellectually and spiritually. And the evils that are resident in Capitalism can be summed up in one word—exploitation.

With the elimination of exploitation, the evils of capitalism will disappear. Not only the exploitation of the labor of those who do the world's work, but the exploitation of the resources of the country, the exploitation of the machinery of making things—factories, railroads, mines and mills.

Modern industry depends upon large scale production.

Through the French Revolution there has come an idea that was new then, indeed, revolutionary. In the centuries before that glorious event, rules and restrictions hampered the bourgeoisie, that is, the class of small shopkeepers, the business men, the city dwellers. The king and his favorites dispensed privileges and every creative operation was hedged in with restrictions imposed by them. But out of the shop keepers, out of the townsmen and workers in small home industries there came a new spirit that demanded freedom from restrictions. "Laissez-faire!" they shouted: "Let it go!" They demanded the end of restrictions and they fought for it. They won the right of "Laissez-faire," and out of the Revolution—which was won for the bourgeoisie of all nations and not alone for France—came the establishment of the right of "Laissez-faire," that is, that every business has the right to do as it pleases unrestrained by capricious kings. That right is the most sacred that business has, and business will fight—and does fight—to maintain it.

Through that Revolution, the business man has won the right to liberty in the conduct of his business, a right he will fight for to the bitter end; and likewise he owns the machinery of production.

But likewise through development since the Revolution, the tools for making the things upon which modern society depends no longer consist of a pick and shovel, or a needle. The tool is a social thing. It is often enough a giant plant, useless unless thousands of men work in it as a giant team.

The farmer cannot farm unless he has farm machinery. The farm machinery is made by tremendous co-operative processes by thousands of workers. These workers cannot work without iron and steel and coal and wood and cloth and rubber. And the men who cannot make farm machinery without coal and iron and wood and rubber cannot get the raw materials of their work unless there are steamboats and railroads. And so the farmer who tills the soil, who raises the corn and the wheat; the rancher who makes it possible for us to have meat and wool, cannot get wheat and corn, beef and pork and wool without the labor of the men who make agricultural machinery, and who in turn must wait for the labor of those who mine coal, who mine and smelt and refine iron and copper, and all the rest of it.

The iron and steel are smelted and forged in Pittsburgh or in one of the "satellite" cities—Braddock, McKeesport, Homestead, Duquesne or Turtle Creek—while the coal with which it has been welded and forged comes from the coal regions of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Indiana. The ore comes from the Iron Range in Minnesota on Lake Superior. The coal gets into Pittsburgh by train, while the ore gets there by lake freighter from Duluth or Superior, down to one of the Erie Lake ports, and then by ore railroad to Pittsburgh.

But the iron men and the coal men and the harvester men and the farmers and millers and bakers and butchers and cattlemen cannot begin to work until pioneers have explored and staked out regions; until metallurgical engineers have done their work; until there has been organization with clerks and office managers; until buildings have been built with the labor of architects. Without the labor of lumbermen and office boys and axmen and draughtsmen, and unnumbered other workers. That is what a loaf of bread means, or a handkerchief!

In industry, all men are brothers.

But these steel mills and harvester works and railroads and lake freighters and coal mines and iron mines and primeval forests and real estate sites are owned by—the workers who plan out and do the work?

Not exactly.

They are owned by the United States Steel Corporation and the Harvester Trust and the Pennsylvania Railroad. They are owned by men and women who own pieces of paper—shares of stock. They are owned by people who often have not the slightest knowledge of the processes of industry, who often have not the slightest knowledge even of the location of the industries, or even an interest in them. They are owned by men and women who

are interested, not in making bread and clothes and steel rails and music and books and houses, but in a good return on their investment. They are owned by a class of people who invest in chewing gum and munitions and real estate and street railway bonds and securities of cities and states and counties and foreign nations; the one and only object being to get a return.

Much of it is owned by foreign "nobles." Not long ago, a picturesque foreign parasite died, and it was found that the "Empress" Eugenie had left \$15,000,000 mostly in American securities, that is, part ownership of American industrial enterprises; that is, this useless old woman, who had never set foot in America, who had never done a stroke of work, was the employer of, and the beneficiary from the labor of hundreds of thousands of American workers, just as similar American parasites are, and are employers of foreign workers.

These owners, dukes, kings, kaisers, foreign sports like the Vanderbilts, entrust the custody of "their" property to certain trustees. These trustees operate the property in the interest of the owners.

Why Eugenie Invested
Now, the revered Eugenie did not invest her money in American securities for the sake of seeing America a prosperous and happy land. She had her money invested in order that she might secure an income, and to use that income for seductive activities in France, working up imperialist sentiment.

Vanderbilt did not have his money in New York Central securities for the sake of seeing trains run along the Hudson. He had his money there for one reason alone—to make money in order that he might live a parasite's life in Paris. And likewise for every man and woman everywhere, who has money invested. Business is business. Business is carried on to make money. There is no other object.

Now, when there is money to be made in bread and clothing and in building houses, money is invested in those industries. Put if there is more money in the making of shells and poison, gas—even if it is for another nation—money will be invested in shells and poison gas and the people will have to pay the high prices for bread and shelter.

And so, the trustees for others—the "Judge" Garys and the Schwabs who are placed in charge of industry for the owners of stocks, manage that industry to satisfy the one requirement—to make money.

Industry cannot go on without the use of means of production and distribution—the mines, the factories, the forests, the lumber mills, the freighters, the railroads.

These things are privately owned. They are run for profit, and for profit alone. There is no other object on their management.

Therefore, industry cannot go on—life cannot go on—unless there is profit in it for Gary and Schwab and Harry Thaw and the Countess Sechenyi and the Princess de Sagan and the Duchess and the Countess and the Empress—and all the other parasites and useless creatures, who own for a living.

And this is true whether the owners-for-a-living are sweet young girls killing time and looking for husbands at Newport, whether they are worth while men trying to do something, or if they are the idle and useless and disgusting rich.

The major portions of the ills of the world today arise from the fact that industry is carried on for private profit, that wages are as low as the trustees dare pay, that hours are as long as they dare work their victims.

And all this would be as true if every owner-for-a-living or every trustee had worked his way up by hard work, as it would be if every one of them had inherited his place.

It is a system of exploitation that the Socialists are challenging, not individual exploiters.

Party Notes

(Continued From Page 6)

out-door lectures starting June 20 with Comrade Henry Jager at Tremont and Washington avenues. Subjects to be announced later.

Jewish Verband (lower Bronx Branch) has decided to hold open-air meetings at 141st street and St. Ann's avenue and has requested Local Bronx to assign an English speaker for such meetings. It was decided to comply with the request whenever notified by the Verband. Branch One has started a systematic canvass of ex-members and enrolled Socialist voters in its territory, under the direction of Comrade Sadie Horowitz.

All sub-committees will meet first and third Mondays in each month at local headquarters, 1167 Boston road. All members of Branch Three will meet Wednesday, June 11, at the local headquarters. Reports from sub-divisions showed that real intensive work is being carried on with good results. Entertainment Com-

mittee met June 2 at Local headquarters and perfected arrangements for the spring festival to be held June 7 at Local headquarters. Miss Sadie Becker, Miss Blanche Blum and Miss Minnie Blechschmidt, have consented to appear in folk dances and piano recitals. Comrade S. A. DeWitt has promised to help with the entertainment. His part will be in the nature of a surprise.

The campaign committee met and organized with Comrade J. G. Friedman, chairman. It was decided to accept Comrade Claessens offer to speak in Bronx County during August. All Branches are requested to take steps to avail themselves of Comrade Claessens kind offer. Platform and literature committees should be elected and prominent corners in the various districts should be selected for these lectures.

Yipsel Notes

Gertrude Slutz, organizer, announces that Circle One, Bronx, will have a short business meeting this Friday evening. After the closing of business a fine program arranged by Betty Marcus, Social director, will be given. Comrade Esther Gershenson will play several selections on the piano. Comrade Louis Dickstein will lead the comrades in singing yipsel songs. Comrade Anita Merkin will deliver a short talk. Circle One meets Friday evenings at 1167 Boston road.

Joseph Feldman, organizer Circle 7, Manhattan, promises to organize a junior circle in the near future. At a recent meeting, Comrades Feldman, White, Green and Mary Yavner were elected to a social service board of the circle. Circle 7 meets Saturday evenings at 132 Broome street.

Circle 8, which meets at 214 East Fifth street, has been very active in conducting open-air meetings. The principal speakers are Irving Newman and Ben Goodman. Copies of FREE YOUTH are sold at every street meeting. The next regular circle meeting will be held Friday evening June 6. Leonard C. Kaye is the circle director.

Circle One, Manhattan, will hold its semi-annual election this Sunday evening. Comrade Louis Goldin, organizer, says that the meetings held by the circle are well attended and interesting. Circle One meets at 204 East Broadway.

Circle Three, Manhattan, will hold a meeting Saturday evening and Comrade Ben Belsky will deliver a talk. A social program has been arranged. Circle 3 meets at 257 East 4th street.

Circle Six, Manhattan, will hold the most important meeting of the year Friday evening at 62 East 106th street.

Circle Five, Manhattan, meets at 2056 Fifth avenue in the Finnish Hall. The circle ranks as the best in the League. An important meeting will be held this Friday evening. An interesting program has been arranged.

Circle Six, Brooklyn, meets at 167 Tompkins avenue. At its last meeting the members elected Louis Tuvim organizer, Louis Levinson, financial secretary and Anna Tuvim, recording secretary. Isidore Berman was elected educational director. Circle six meets every Sunday evening. An open-air meeting will be held this Friday evening at Greene and Stuyvesant avenues. Circle Four, Brooklyn, meets every Friday at 218 Van Sicklen avenue.

Circle One, Brooklyn, 319 Grand street, meets every Friday evening.

Circle Two, Brooklyn, meets Sunday afternoon at 5 p. m., at 1709 Pitkin avenue. This circle ran a very successful dance last week, and all present had a fine time.

CONFERENCE HIKE

The first general hike of the Youth Conference will be held Saturday, June 7. The rendezvous will be in front of the Dyckman street ferry at 2 p. m. At Englewood, the merrie hikers will take the 3:18 train, and ride and hike to Nyack, returning on the 7:50 train. The expenses will be about \$1.00 each, and all those participating are expected to bring their own food. All Yipsels and their friends are expected to come.

SOCIALIST MEETINGS

(Meetings are outdoors, if no hall is given.)

Friday, 7th Street and Second avenue, Manhattan. Auspices, 8th A. D. Speaker, August Claessens.

Wednesday, 25th street and 8th avenue, Manhattan. Auspices, 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D.

Thursday, Sheridan square Manhattan. Auspices, 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D.

Union Halls

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Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m. Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Telephone Lenox 1968.

Hudson County
Saturday, West Hoboken. Washington and 5th Streets. Speaker, George Figg.
West New York, Bergenline avenue and 14th Street. Speaker to be announced.
Union Hill, Bergenline avenue and Main street. Speaker, August Claessens.
Bayonne, Broadway and 23rd Street. Speaker, I. M. Chatcuff.
West Hoboken, Summit avenue and Courtland street. Speaker, Henry Jager.
North Bergen, Hudson Boulevard and Angelique street. Speaker, Frederick Kraft.

SUNDAY

Worcester, Mass.
Rear of City Hall. Speaker, August Claessens.

Civil Liberties Union Offers to Give Stone Data on Spy System

An offer to submit to Attorney General Stone the extensive records of the American Civil Liberties Union, involving alleged illegal activities of the Bureau of Investigation against Labor and radicals during the regime of William J. Burns, was sent this week by Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union. The offer was made following the Attorney General's announcement that he would reorganize the Bureau of Investigation. The Union points out in its offer that the Bureau has created a "nation-wide system of espionage on radical and Labor organizations and on individuals connected with these movements." A memorandum accompanying the Union's offer charges the Bureau with intimidation, fraud and other unlawful activities in maintaining a "secret police system of a political character, actively interfering with the civil rights of citizens."

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The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and

fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N.Y.

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HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.

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Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday

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--- D R A M A ---

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER," Oliver Goldsmith's delightful comedy will be revived, for one week only, by the Players' Club, at the Empire Theatre, Monday night. The principal roles have been assigned as follows: KATE HARDCASTLE, Elsie Ferguson; MISS NEVILLE, Helen Hayes; MRS. HARDCASTLE, Effie Shannon; MAID, Pauline Lord; HARDCASTLE, Dudley Digges; YOUNG MARLOWE, Basil Sidney; HASTINGS, Paul McAllister; STINGO, Macklyn Arbuckle; DIGGORY, Henry E. Dixey; TONY LUMPKIN, Ernest Glendinning. Smaller parts will be played by Selena Royle, Francis Wilson, Augustin Duncan, Harry Beresford, J. M. Kerrigan, A. G. Andrews, Fraser Coulter, Robert McWade, John Daly Murphy, Milton Nobles, Theodore Babcock and John Seymour.

The play has been staged by William Seymour and the settings have been designed by Norman Bel-Geddes.

THURSDAY

"SO THIS IS POLITICS," a comedy by Barry Connors, will be produced at Henry Miller's Theatre on Thursday night by Carl Reed. The cast includes Marjorie Gateson, Glenn Anders, Alice Fleming, J. C. Nugent, Lolita Robertson, Florence Earle and Dwight Frye.

Life Clips Them

"ALL GOD'S CHILLUN GOT WINGS,"
By Eugene O'Neill, at the Provincetown Theatre

Eugene O'Neill has effected in this play a truly tragic study of two individuals, Jim Harris, negro, and Ella Downey, white. The problems of their marriage involve the entire question of the relations of the two races that, as Harris remarks, have swallowed up the human race. Yet the true development of the play, as most critics have been too busy explaining away their prejudices to discover, depends upon the characters of the two, not on the color question. In other words, the play does not present the difficulties of two persons who love one another, and who happen to be of opposite color; it carries along the internal struggles of two unsuccessful personalities, each drawn toward the other in search of that which is lacking in the self. Jim Harris is studious, is clear-headed and understanding; one thing only bars him from success: consciousness of his color. At any recitation in the law school, he can see nothing but the surrounding white faces; their eyes seem like traps of scorn and hate; he loses all thought of the subject; he fails. One thing is lacking to his success: a white skin. He is reproached by his old companions as trying to "buy white"; he has tried drinking chalk-water when a lad; now he tries marrying a white woman. In Ella, his childhood playmate, and the only white woman he can really approach, all his need centers at a burning love; he must at any cost preserve her as the one element of his own being dearest and most necessary, although external to him.

Ella herself is drawn to Jim by quite other needs. She had played with him as a youngster, it is true, but her adolescence was the natural one of girls of her color, remote from any association with a negro. But now she has been turned out of her home, ruined and abandoned by the white man of her choice; in her hopelessness Jim has come to her and comforted her; he is the one bright movement in her life; he is the one heaven of rest in all life: she marries him.

However, Ella has been a weakling and a failure; she must therefore find happiness through an awakened sense of power, of superiority. This she cannot do among her friends, for although she has married Jim, her own deep-rooted prejudice against Negroes makes it impossible for her to live among whites—even in France, where no one looks askance at the couple, she herself builds a fancied wall of contempt in her neighbors, out of that within herself. She must, then establish her happiness by maintaining superiority over her husband.

It is out of these elements, complicated but not wholly produced by the color question, that the tragedy grows. The weak Ella becomes more and more wrought in her fancies and her needs, until her hatred of Jim's race and her sly maneuvering to make him fail on his bar examination, drive her to the frantic outcry "Nigger!" with the leer of the insane. After Jim's failure, and Ella's triumphant gloating over the Congo mask that symbolizes the black to her, Jim recognizes the burden he has to bear. Whatever the initial forces behind his love, he truly loves the girl, and as the curtain falls is preparing to devote his ruined life to the care of the insane woman.

There are a few evident flaws in the play, yet they cannot lessen the power of its appeal to our pity and horror. The atmosphere of the white and black streets is effected by the alternate singing, in artificial succession, of a white man and a negro. The symbolism of the black hatred of Ella, for all things colored, is too obviously presented. The organ grinder is too reminiscent, the Salvation Army too suggestive. But, in spite of these easily amended errors, and in spite of the fact that the mayor's refusal of a permit for the child-actors necessitates the reading of the first scene, the play comes across the footlights with the deepest impression of tragic impulses and inevitable ends that any American play has achieved.

J. T. S.

The Plays of Lewis Beach

Ten years ago, writes E. C. S. in the Christian Science Monitor, one of the Harvard Dramatic Club's productions contained a one-act play by Lewis Beach. It was Spanish in scene, and added atmosphere to an imitated intrigue. And yet, despite the derivative quality of the whole playlet it was the most effective on the program because the author had an instinct for clear-cut effects in terms of the theatre.

The following year the club produced "The Clod," a starkly serious little play in which the derivative element had almost disappeared under a tide of human feeling, in its sympathetic study of a peasant woman aroused out of the dullness of her everyday existence to a revengeful fury because of the wanton destruction by two soldiers of her one bit of beauty, a jug. Again the workmanlike quality of the story-telling shone clearly, and "The Clod" found a wide welcome with the Washington Square Players and other little theatre organizations, and in vaudeville.

Lewis Beach next attracted attention with his four full-length drama, "A Square Peg," in which a stern mother of the old school wrecked the happiness of her family rather than yield an inch from the stand she felt to be right. There was an honesty in this story, and a humanity truthfully observed. "A Square Peg" ran for some weeks in New York, but pleased not the general playgoer because of its painful grayness. "Ann Vroom," a drama in seven scenes, followed. This has a good deal of color, although it deals with the depressing story of the struggle of a girl to do her duty by her querulous housebound father, who needs hourly attention, and to put aside indefinitely her hope of marrying the man to whom she is engaged. At the end he proves a long stress of mental turmoil before she finds peace within the resources of her own character. Mr. Beach has made an experiment in expressionism in his staging of the girls' struggle back to self-control after her hopes had been thwarted. This play has had at least one trial presentation, but still awaits regular production.

Mr. Beach next shifted to use a Bernard Shaw classification, from plays unpleasant to a pleasant play, "The Goose Hangs High." This was selected as the first production of the Dramatists' Theatre, Inc., at the Bijou Theatre, New York, where it was presented on January 29, 1924, and where it is still running.

In this play Mr. Beach has emphasized character rather than intrigue. The whole course of action is for the purpose of revealing the innate selfishness of three superficially self-centered youngsters, Hugh, Lois, and Bradley. These children of Bernard and Eunice Ingals all come home at Christmas time, full of their own affairs. Bradley, to further his ambition to become a stage decorator, proposes to spend the following summer vacation from college as paying pupil of a professional scenic artist. Lois, who is always exceeding her allowance, counts on living in an expensive fraternity house during her next college term. Hugh, who is working and is about to be married, needs all the money he can save to furnish his new home.

The parents have scrimped for years to give their children every chance. They bend themselves to the task of obtaining the additional money the youngsters' plans will require, much to the disgust of Eunice Ingals' mother, Mrs. Bradley, who argues that children aren't worth such sacrifices. When it becomes evident that Bernard Ingals will have to knuckle under to cheap politicians or lose his job as city assessor he is strongly tempted to yield in order to keep Lois and Bradley in college. But they rise to the occasion as nobly as their mother, who demands that her husband resign. Hugh puts aside his wedding plans and offers his savings to help his father, who is a florist at heart, to start a nursery business. Eventually it is Grandmother Bradley who lends Bernard the money, tied up in such a way that it can't be "squandered on those children."

Meanwhile the reason for the existence of the play has been made plain in its showing forth of the sound home-loving natures of the children beneath their outside selfishness. In the drawing of his characters Mr. Beach has made an addition to the list of American plays that count. Lois and Bradley are uncommonly lively, typical of thousands of youngsters today, yet they are individualized. The grandmother, too, is a strongly marked personage. Closer to conventionalized types are the others. But when one seeks vainly in many a play for more than one real character that is of importance to the presentation of the central dramatic idea, Mr. Beach has been prodigal indeed in supplying three unquestionably complete individuals.



LOUISE CLOSSER HALE

in the Equity production, "Expressing Willie," Rachel Crothers' comedy of American life, at the 48th Street Theatre.

The Shakespearean Tramp

It was down south, in the Monaro country, that I met a remarkable tramp. He and I were carrying our swags in opposite directions. When we met, each of us dropped his swag, sat upon it, and began to talk.

First of all we exchanged the courtesies of the road. We gave each other the primary and necessary information about the road, water, camp and the likely places to beg food.

Then, somehow or other, we began to talk of books. My friend said he knew Shakespeare's plays well, and to test him I began to quote: "Now my co-mates and brothers in exile." "Yes," cried my fellow-tramp, "the Duke's speech in 'As You Like It.'" And he finished the speech. I tried him with other speeches, and he knew them all. Then he talked. We soliloquized with "Hamlet," we visualized the fearful dream of Clarence, we conjured up the madness of "King Lear," the villainy of Gloucester. We spoke of old John of Ghent, of Romeo, of "Richard II," of "Othello" and of Christopher Sly.

We spoke of Shakespeare's characters as mutual friends. We desecrated upon this "all hating world," and in our need we sighed "for a world of happy days."

Yes, out in the bleak winds of the Monaro a fellow Australian vagabond declaimed and recited to me the great speeches from Shakespeare.

In sight of snow-capped Mount Kosciusko, under the warm encouragement of human sympathy my friend lifted the cloak of personality and revealed his real self—the poet and man.

My friend then went on to tell me that he had been an usher in some of the big theatres, and that listening to great actors and actresses had inspired him with the desire to become a Shakespearean actor. But he had fallen upon evil days, and was tramping the bush to try and earn a few pounds with which to return to the city and achieve his heart's desire.

What a revelation! We can never tell what hopes, what ambitions, or what dreams may be hidden under a rugged and unfavorable exterior. How many, seeing a certain London outcast carrying a dirty old sack over his shoulder, knew that in his soul lay the matchless poem "Hound of Heaven"?

I gave my Shakespearean friend what cheer I could, and we parted upon the open Monaro. I believe we both went our way with a richer experience. He went, I hope, to realize his dreams, and I to continue my hunt for "the stuff that dreams are made of."

—THE AUSTRALIAN WORKER.

Young Actors Graduate

At the Longacre Theatre last Thursday morning, the Professional Children's school, which is conducted especially for boys and girls of school age who are on the stage, and therefore unable to attend public school at the regular hours, held its commencement exercises. Essays were presented by members of the graduating class, in a manner which revealed considerable histrionic skill. The feature of the program was a pantomime by Moritz Jagendorf, on the legend of Dick Wittington. Paul Jacchia as Dick displayed powers that have already attracted the movie producers; Dorothy Herskand as the cat was seductively charming, and La Verna Ballard made a most effective, insolent cook. Miss Katherine Cornell presented their diplomas to the twenty-odd graduates, all but two of whom intend making the stage their life profession.



BARBARA LA MARR

in a new role, LADY LOW, in "The Shooting of Dan McGrew," Robert W. Service's famous poem of Yukon, on the screen at the Capitol, beginning Sunday.

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

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PALACE

Rooney and Bent; Adele Rowland (Mrs. Conway Tearle); Karyl Norman, the Creole Fashion Plate; Dooley and Morton; Harry Holman and Company; Russell and Marconi; Bob Anderson and his Polo Pony, and H. and P. Beatz.

RIVERSIDE

Marjorie Rambeau and Company; Trixie Friganza; Runaway Four; Joseph B. Stanley and Company; Amac; Belleclaire Brothers; Malinda and Dade; Bert Sloan.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

At B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, "Daughters of Pleasure," will have its first New York showing. Monte Blue and Marie Prevost have the principal parts. The Keith acts include Sam Lewis and Sam Dody, Newhoff and Phelps, assisted by Chauncey Gray's orchestra; Pietro, Howard McCoy and Company, Adams Bros., "Two Jolly Boys" and others.

Notes

The final performances of "The Emperor Jones" are being given at the Provincetown Playhouse this week, and beginning next Monday "All God's Chillun Got Wings" will be played continuously.

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MUSIC

"Whipped Cream"

RICHARD STRAUSS' NEW BALLET SATIRIZES SOCIETY

Richard Strauss will be sixty in June, writes a correspondent from Vienna, in The Manchester Guardian, and Vienna has already started Strauss festivals in honor of the occasion. The State Opera is giving gala performances of all his operas, and his symphonic compositions are being produced in the Konzerthaus. The other night his new ballet "Schlagobers" ("Whipped Cream") was produced.

The ballet has very little "book." It is said that Schubert based one of his compositions on a bill of fare. In "Burger als Edelmann" Strauss set the roasting of pigeons and frying of fish to music, and the baby in the "Sinfonia Domestica" was another of his excursions into lighter spheres after the gloom of "Salome," "Elektra," and "Die Frau ohne Schatten." The "Rosenkavalier" was of course, the very perfection of wonder-music allied to a light-hearted libretto.

In this ballet the alliance is renewed; a book with almost no content, and music with a super-content. We are taken back to the old Imperial Vienna of the eighties. At Dehmle's famous sweet-shop the young candidates for confirmation are taken for the usual frivolity of Viennese sweets and cakes and whipped cream after the church service is over. Suddenly all the pastries and sweets come to life, and are joined in exotic dances by the contents of the opening tea, coffee, and coffee tins. The huge figure of the cook holds an enormous bowl in which cream is being whipped; white foam rises and forms into forty ballet girls whirling to the music of the "Whipped Cream" waltz.

In the second act one of the newly-confirmed boys is in bed suffering from a "Schlagobers" nightmare. Chocolate bon-bons, called in the Ersatz-French of Vienna "prolinees," dance the slow waltz of the Princess Praline. The anthropomorphic contents of three liquor bottles—Polish Sliwovitz, French Chartreuse, and Russian Wutki (Vodka)—begin a political romance. The charming Marianne Chartreuse accepts the wooing of Stanislaw Sliwovitz, and only laughs at Boris Wutki's love-making. Under the infuriated Wutki's cakes, "Pretzeln," and other proletarian pastries start a Bolshevik revolt. Five Eastern journalist-magicians keep the revolutionary fire burning. Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa can do nothing with the mob; a mightier guardian of order quells the revolt. His name is Munchner Bier.

There is a wealth of delightful music; the "sweet" theme of the innocents, the fast "Schlagobers" waltz, the Valse Lente of the Princess Praline, the Dance of the Tea-flower, in five-eight time, the passacaglia of the revolution.



HELEN HAYES

will play MISS NEVILLE, in the Players Club revival of Oliver Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," at the Empire, Monday night.

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Wilfred Lucas.Chauncey Gray's Orchestra
Sam Lewis and Sam Dody—Pietro
Newhoff and Phelps.

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ASTOR—Frank Lloyd's "THE
SEA HAWK," with Milton
Sills.BROADWAY—"DAUGHTERS
OF PLEASURE," with Monte
Blue and Marie Prevost.CAMEO—HAROLD LLOYD in
"GIRL SHY."CAPITOL—ROBERT W. SER-
VICE'S poem, "THE SHOOT-
ING OF DAN MCGREW," with
Barbara La Marr and Lew
Cody.COHAN—"The Ten Command-
ments," Directed by Cecil B.
De Mille.CRITERION—MARY PICK-
FORD in "DOROTHY VER-
NON OF HADDON HALL,"
from the romantic story of
Charles Major.44TH STREET—"America,"
D. W. Griffith's Story of the
Revolutionary War. Last week.LIBERTY—Douglas Fairbanks
in "The Thief of Bagdad."RIALTO—"THE RECKLESS
AGE," from Earl Derr Biggers'
novel, "Love Insurance," with
Reginald Denny and Ruth
Dwyer.RIVOLI—William De Mille's
"THE BEDROOM WINDOW,"
with May McAvoy and Malcolm
McGregor.STRAND—GEORGE ARLISS in
"20 A WEEK."

MUSIC

Victor Herbert Music
At the CapitolTo honor the memory of Victor Her-
bert, S. L. Rothafel has arranged the
musical program at the Capitol Theatre
next week, entirely from compositions
of this most loved of American com-
posers.The operetta, "The Wizard of the
Nile," book by Harry B. Smith, with
Frank Moulton, Sara Edwards, Claire
Simpson, Virginia Furelle and Leo de
Hierapolis in the leading roles. The
Ballet will appear in Luigini's "Ballet
of the Egyptians."The overture, "Natoma," David Men-
doza conducting. Another interesting
orchestral number will be "Herbert-
iana," a compilation of some of Victor
Herbert's most popular melodies, will
fill out the program.Oratorio Society with
Goldman Band ConcertsThe Goldman Band and its conductor,
Edwin Frank Goldman, will start the
second week of free concerts on the
Mall in Central Park on Monday, and
include Wednesday, Friday, Saturday
and Sunday evenings. On Saturday,
June 14, the Oratorio Society of New
York, consisting of 250 voices will ren-
der choral excerpts from Mendelssohn's
"Elijah" and Handel's "Messiah." Al-
bert Stussel will conduct the choral
numbers at the invitation of Mr. Gold-
man.GREGORY KELLY
has taken up the role of TOMMY
TINKER in Lawrence Weber's
musical show "Little Jessie
James," now at the Little Theatre.

Notes

Congreve's "The Way of the World,"
will be acted at the Cherry Lane Play-
house early in the next season by a
cast including Lennox Pawle, Tom Nes-
bitt, Evelyn Vaughan, William S.
Rainey, Katherine Stuart, Vera Tomp-
kins and Reginald Travers."The Conquering Hero," by Allan
Monkhouse, will be presented by the
Theatre Guild next season. The play
was first presented in London by the
Play Actors, and later at Queen's
Allan Monkhouse was born in 1858 and
has been on the Manchester Guardian
since 1902. He has written four or
five novels.

A Liberal's Book

THE STATE OF THE NATION.
By Albert J. Beveridge. Indi-
anapolis: Bobbs Merrill. \$3.00.For the good of the nation there
should be no more change. Flood-
gates of new ideas have been flung
wide open, and the neck of the chan-
nel is too narrow for much that is
good to pass through. So the solu-
tion of the dilemma is to try to lock
the gates, and that difficult bit of
engineering Mr. Beveridge sets him-
self to do.About a decade ago Senator Be-
veridge was ranked as a liberal. Since
then the world has moved. Mr. Be-
veridge has not. He has not even
stood still. He has tried to weather
the storm of strange devices which
are pelting the political landmarks
about him.He is overcome by the stampede
of measures trying to be enacted in-
to law, of the acts adopted and of
the bureaus and departments cre-
ated, all bent upon interfering with in-
dividualistic business. He finds him-
self in a strange country, and puts
up his binoculars to discover
America.His beloved America has been
through a World War. Billions of
solid American dollars are reposing
beyond the ocean, with small likeli-
hood of their returning by curfew;
worse than that, there is a deal of
maneuvering to have our Govern-
ment attach itself to those of foreign
lands in some sort of league. With
customary superficiality he troubles
himself over whether we should be
"in or out."It is his America, after all. There
is the President; that is a distinctly
American institution. So he goes
into the customary banal raptures
over "Mr. President," which are so
out of keeping with the caliber of
man his party has just bestowed
upon us.He searches about for some sheet
anchor to save his country. Sure
enough, it is at hand. It is the
Supreme Court. No other country
has such an institution; therefore it
is peculiarly American. And he pro-
ceeds to seek for some manner of
good report to make of it.He permits himself such inept
reasoning as: "Congress has no
more right to make rules of pro-
cedure for the Supreme Court than
that tribunal has a right to make
rules of procedure for Congress." Does
not the ex-senator know that the
principal business of the Su-
preme Court is to veto what Congress
chooses to do? Is he unaware that
the Court assumes the authority, by
a vote even of five to four, to de-
stroy what is passed by both Houses
of Congress unanimously and ap-
proved by the President?This monarchical power is termed
an "American principle." But Mr.
Beveridge would have the Court
adopt a rule that decisions must be
at least six to three for throwing
out the will of the people. He for-
gets entirely that this so-called
American body is not elected by the
people, cannot be reached by the
people, except through impeachment
(which should doubtless be declared
unconstitutional), and that, when all
is said and done, the judges are no
more than political appointees made
by men who are, for a very brief
time, President.Likewise, when Mr. Beveridge
considers the Constitution as "the
people's permanent law," taking
precedence over the enactments of
the people's representatives of the
day, he conveniently overlooks the
fact that it is the hand of the dead
arrogating to itself priority over the
living. It is clear that Mr. Beveridge
is back to the divine right of kings,
with hardly an up-to-date incognito.When he tackles a live question,
such as the railroads, he is all a-
fluster. "In the first place, the rail-
ways are largely owned by the
people," he assures us. He finds
that the number of shareholders
probably totals 2,000,000, a pre-
posterous claim as regards the bulk
of the shares. But even so, where
do the rest of the 100,000,000 people
come in?One false assumption treads upon
the heels of the other. "The whole
problem centers about this master-
element—the element of net earn-
ings." Let the railroads make fancy
returns on their alleged holdings,
and the rest will take care of itself!
What a simple solution!Mr. Beveridge indicts the roads.
Progress has stopped both physically
and for the men. True, as he quotes
Senator Albert B. Cummins, railroad
chiefs "are just as honest as other
men engaged in the laudable effort
to make profits for those whom they
represent." That may be taken as
one pleasure. Mr. Beveridge has no
terror of Government ownership,
bound to come unless the railroads
are permitted handsome earnings.
But if it does come, who will pay
the taxes now paid by the roads?
Where will the money come from to
pay the interest on the bonds issued
for the \$20,000,000,000 needed to
buy the roads? And worse still, the
men might be paid better wages, and
rates reduced. Could reasoning from
a man once regarded as a statesman
be more puerile?It is sad to reflect that this is
one of the men who mounted to the
pinnacle of Armageddon in 1912 to
unfurl the standard of progressive-

A Scion of the Old South

A Review by James O'Neal

AUGUSTUS BALDWIN LONG-
STREET. A Study of the De-
velopment of Culture in the
South. By John Donald Wade.
New York: The Macmillan Co.
\$4.Rarely have we come across a
more charming volume than this
study of the life of Judge Long-
street. As the sub-title indicates, it
is also a study of the development
of culture in the South through the
post-revolutionary period down to
the close of the Civil War. Judge
Longstreet's varied career, includ-
ing that of lawyer, teacher, college
president, preacher and author,
affords an opportunity to study the
culture of the South both in the
developing career and character of
Longstreet and the general social
development of Southern society.
In this latter aspect the book is
an important contribution to the
social history of the old South.Early in his life we find the
future educator puzzled over a
problem in history. "Why does
history . . . say nothing except
about the emperors and suchlike?
Why does it not tell about the bulk
of the population, the ordinary,
every-day citizen? Could there be
such a thing as social history?" The
language is Dr. Wade's, but the
thought is Longstreet's. Certainly
this was a flash of genius for a
young lawyer in Georgia in
1815. Later on we find him ques-
tioning a representative system
based on arbitrary lines drawn on
a map, and it occurs to him that
frank representation of interests
would be more sensible. His in-
quisitive mind led him to reject
Christianity, and yet he is later
drawn into the Church by deep
emotional experiences which have
come to many, and no more earnest
crusader against Satan and his
works could be found in his beloved
State of Georgia.In his "Georgia Scenes," a collec-
tion of stories regarding the people
of his State, he preserved much of
the social life, habits, customs, lan-
guage, vices and virtues of his
people. Religion was that crude and
shouting compound of emotions and
feeling which has been associated
with the frontier life of America,
North and South, but with its pecu-
liar Southern aspects shaped by the
needs of a social order resting on
black slavery. It was "bare, re-
volting, defiantly inimical to beauty,"
and in theory "oftentimes narrow,
crude, strict, pugnacious." Indeed,
"it was held dangerous to care for
music, other than that made by the
human voice." Yet its rigidity also
had contradictions, for there "were
incidents of persons joining the
Church while under the influence of
whiskey, and of honest men who,
joining, would not promise to limit
themselves to less than a quart of
whiskey a day; to do more they
knew would have been stark sui-
cide."The political oratory of the time
was a fit companion of this religious
life, and yet we wonder whether our
modern professional politicians have
improved on it. Candor compels the
admission that the following would
serve to describe what a patient or
ignorant multitude submits to to-
day: "In a group of relatively illit-
erate persons, the palm for oratory
goes to the man who can swing to-
gether the most platitudes with the
greatest number of irate and high-
sounding phrases. How ecstatically
delightful it is to have audiences
hungry for just what it is easiest
to give them!"It is evident that black servitude
provided no basis for a rich culture
in the South. It condemned society
to the plantation system, a scattered
population, insured the idiosyncrasy
of rural life, perpetuated a low form
of production, discouraged invention
and change, suspected the general
diffusion of knowledge among the
population, and feared what little
seeped into the South or germinated
there might reach the Negroes. Yet
with all this the small group of rul-
ing families were proud clans, culti-
vating the graces and amenities of
life as they knew them, and confident
that Utopia must ever rest on the
backs of an enslaved race.One of the most pathetic aspects
of this study is the repeated at-
tempts of a few enthusiasts to
found a native Southern literature,
especially in the form of periodical
reviews and magazines. But culture
could not be wooed out of the soil
of Southern society. Longstreet
himself gave of his talent gener-
ously in these attempts, only to
suffer disappointment.More pathetic still is the drifting
apart of the North and South and
the conflicting emotions of the proud
gentry as they observed the ap-
proaching conflict. Confident in their
own sufficiency, these proud masters
believed that their black Utopia
would survive any shock of war.
Longstreet, too old to serve in the
army, actually thought of boarding
Yankee ships in Charleston harbor
and blowing each up with dynamite!
Lee courteously dissuaded the old
man from this rash adventure. He
had to be content with preaching to
the Georgia troops. Confidence gave
way to doubt and doubt to despair
as the old social order crumbled. As
the end approached and it was evi-
dent that the North was triumphant,
Longstreet turned to the consolation
of God and urged his sorrowing
friends to accept His judgment. Nay,
the time came when this venerable
old gentleman conceded that possibly
it was a good thing that slavery
should pass away.As he approached the end of his
life "his religion finds a passionate
utterance that seduces the imagina-
tion." The old wounds healed, and,
mellowing in his old age, he could
write that his Christianity, if it ob-
tained universal acceptance, would
have no "use for legislators and
courts of justice, for jails and peni-
tentiaries, for ships or implements
of war, for forts, arsenals and mili-
tary schools; no locks, no bolts, nor
bars, as means of security." One
wonders whether this lovable old
man had a vision of that future
when, dying, he whispered to his
daughter, "Look, Jennie, look!"

WM. LEA.

ism to the breeze. That bunting is
now in tatters. The enemy has taken
the heights. To render proper obse-
quiescence to the ruling powers of
plunder, Mr. Beveridge has gone
far down into the valley for his gen-
tefactions. It is not a pleasant spec-
tacle. He who was once accepted as
a champion of change in the growing
rights of the people now mumbles of
archaic institutions and decaying
traditions. Sad indeed that, com-
ing from him, one hunts in vain for
such inspiring words as equity,
democracy, and humanity. They are
hard to find in the book.In about a decade, Mr. Beveridge
has retreated twice that span in his
viewpoint. For him "the state of
the nation" is worse than standstill.
Fortunately, he is not talking about
our America.

JOSEPH E. COHEN

On Our Way

ICARUS; OR, THE FUTURE OF
SCIENCE. By Bertrand Russell.
New York: Dutton. \$1."Men sometimes speak as though
the progress of science must neces-
sarily be a boon to mankind, but
that, I fear, is one of the comfort-
able nineteenth century delusions
which our more disillusioned age
must discard. Science enables the
holders of power to realize their pur-
poses more fully than they could
otherwise do. If their purposes are
good, this is a gain; if they are evil,
it is a loss. Science is no substitute
for virtue; the heart is as necessary
for a good life as the head. . . . And
so we come back to the old dilemma:
only kindness can save the world,
and even if we knew how to produce
kindness we should not do so unless
we were already kindly."Haldane the scientist tells us how
science is likely to increase the
powers of man; Russell the philoso-
pher tells how man is likely to em-
ploy his new-found powers. This
picture is not so attractive. The
future holds wondrous possibilities,
and an imaginary journey with so
great a scientist as Haldane fasci-
nates more than Jules Verne's voy-
ages or the trips of the already out-
dated H. G. Wells. But Russell sud-
denly ties the leaden ball of human
nature to our feet; we cannot soar,
we can scarcely even hobble.The world is moving toward ulti-
mate peace, Russell fancies, but
peace secured and maintained
through the establishment of a
despotic world-supremacy that will
stamp out all opposition. Russell
does not dispute, he grants, all the
possibilities of Haldane, then shows
the perverted uses that selfishness
and lust can make of each. If, for
example, eugenics and ectogenesis,
permit us to grow humans of what-
ever sort we wish, those in power
will simply sterilize the rebellious
and ultimately raise a great mass
made (by manipulation of glandular
secretions, perhaps) innately sub-
missive and mechanical. "If I was
born to be a slave, why did God plant
a longing for freedom in my
breast?" was the cry of an older
order. The new science, producing
human Robots, will take care to re-
move that desire. If the world to
come is that which Russell depicts—
and of which he makes the proba-
bility seem great—humanity and de-
mocracy and the principles preached
through the ages will have fallen
to crumbs of despair before the basic
impelling lust of humankind.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

DONALD DAVIDSON

Author of "The Outland Piper"

Within the last two years the
South, which had kept a poetic
silence since the time of Sidney
Lanier, has roused itself into verse.
One of the most promising and most
accomplished of these young South-
ern poets is Donald Davidson, whose
"Outland Piper" (\$1.25) is pub-
lished by Houghton, Mifflin Com-
pany. He has lived a large part of
his life in rural Tennessee. During
his boyhood he changed his residence
often, as his father was a school
teacher. Of this part of his life he
has little to say, except that he
wanted to be a great general who
would give the Yankee a licking;
"and I likewise recall," he writes,
"that at an early age I failed to
exhibit any business ability, for I
did not succeed—as other boys did—
in selling the Saturday Evening
Post; I refused, in fact, after some
half-hearted attempts, to sell it at
all. Thus, no doubt, I was saved
from a business career." When six-
teen he entered Vanderbilt Univer-
sity, but his collegiate career was
broken by various periods of teach-
ing. When the war broke out he
went over with the famous Wildcat
Division. Since that time he has
been an instructor of English at
Vanderbilt University, but it was by
his connection with the Fugitive that
he first made himself felt in the
world of letters. Most of the poems
in his "Outland Piper" have been
written since this unusual magazine
was started, and a large portion of
them have been printed in its pages.All Books Reviewed on this
page, and every other book,
obtainable at the
RAND BOOK STORE
7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York CityCREAM OF THE SHORT
STORYTHE BEST SHORT STORIES OF
1923. The Year Book of the
American Short Story. Edited
by Edward J. O'Brien. Boston:
Small, Maynard and Co. \$2.00.One of the most valuable parts of
this volume is its Year Book of the
American Short Story. It contains
the addresses of magazines publish-
ing short stories; a biographical roll
of honor of short story writers of
America and Europe; a list of short
stories published in the United
States; articles on the short story,
and also an index of short stories.These features alone would make
the book invaluable to every writer
of stories. The year's output for
1923 as given in this collection in-
cludes stories by Sherwood Ander-
son; Edna Stantton Babcock, Kon-
rad Bercovici, Edna Ferber, John
Cournos, Theodore Dreiser, Fannie
Hurst, Mary Heaton Vorst, and a
number of others. Bercovici's "Seed"
and Theodore Dreiser's "Reina" are
two exceptionally well done bits of
work.Edward J. O'Brien started to edit
this series in 1915, and since that
time to the present he has succeeded
in collecting the best short stories
published in America and has con-
tributed a unique service to the read-
ing public.AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK
1923-24LABOR CONDITIONS
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Saturday, June 7, 1924

LOEB AND LEOPOLD

Two young men have confessed to a horrible crime, and alienists and psychologists are wondering what caused them to do it.

Loeb and Leopold are young, each nineteen years old. They are brilliant and wealthy, their fathers being millionaires. There is nothing they could not buy.

Youth is arrogant. It scorns the cautions and inhibitions of maturity. Modern youth has adopted as its own the philosophy of Nietzsche which is the philosophy of arrogance. This impetuosity of youth is good; within certain limits. Youth should have the privilege of tasting nearly everything of life. Else what is the fun of being young? Without that magnificent spirit of self sufficiency that goes with youth cautious, unadventurous maturity and old age would soon bore the world to extinction.

But here are two young men who wanted not only the joyousness of youth, but forbidden pleasures as well. Did they want to go joy riding? They could—their fathers were millionaires and they owned a dozen cars. Did they want to swill booze and so taste the pleasures of aristocratic lawbreaking? They had all the money they needed. Did they seek to taste the joys of illicit love, to sip sweetness here and there? They had the wherewithal, and all purchaseable love was open to them.

With their money and high spirits they could—and did—taste the pleasures of life, drinking, jazzing, philandering and speeding. And these two brilliant kids, mature and satiated with life at nineteen, saw that whatever they wanted was theirs, because of their great wealth. Their money battered down all barriers.

And when the mad impulse struck them to taste the emotions of murdering, what was to stand in their way? They had had their way in everything because of their wealth. They had painted Chicago's boulevards red; they had drunk with prostitutes and chorus girls—what should stand in their way here?

Social inequalities, giving all to some, and want to many, is responsible for many evils. And not the least of them is that feeling of brutal arrogance that it creates in the breasts of the favored few that nothing they want can be denied them.

Youth is fine and noble and refreshing. Youth plus arrogance plus unlimited wealth plus cracked and crazy minds leads to—the culvert in the swamp in South Chicago.

There are millions of men who never get their chance to live because of poverty. There are some whose chances are so good that they are as badly off as those who have no chances. Only Socialism, by abolishing economic inequalities will liberate not only the victims of poverty but also the slaves of wealth.

ANOTHER "OHIO GANG"

There are members of trade unions who sincerely believe that McAdoo would be a servant of the workers if he were sent to the White House. There are not as many as there were before it became known that he was enjoying a retainer from Doherty but there are still some who have not lost faith in him.

Probably the letter sent out by the Ohio-McAdoo-for-President Committee, which appears on another page, will be of interest to them. This letter shows that the McAdoo forces run true to form. In canvassing for delegates the committee promises that "those responsible for his nomination will be in great favor with McAdoo for President."

There is no mistaking what this means. The McAdoo cohorts have established a political business firm to reward a swarm of heelers should McAdoo be nominated and elected. It is precisely this course that was followed by the Ohio Republicans in the case of Harding in 1920. It was an "Ohio Gang" that put across Harding and then swept into Washington like a swarm of locusts.

Capitalist politics, whether labeled Republican or Democratic, whether it markets Coolidge or McAdoo, is a business transaction in offices, appointments, contracts and graft as well as serving the ruling classes who invest funds in these political business firms. The voters are regarded as voting cattle to be rounded up and driven into the camps of the two parties.

It is the old story of American politics since the close of the Civil War. Working-

men and women who invest their franchise in this type of politics are indulging in a fool's paradise. Disappointment alone awaits them.

THE NEGRO BEFORE THE COURTS

Certain amendments to the Constitution adopted at the close of the Civil War were hailed as guaranteeing the Negro all the rights claimed by white men under that charter. Courts have eaten away at these amendments until there is little left of them. It is a notorious fact that the Fourteenth Amendment has been so interpreted by the courts that it has become the chief bulwark of the great property interests of the nation.

The District of Columbia Court of Appeals has handed down another decision that pushes the Negro down to a lower level in the social scale. It has ruled that white property owners in a neighborhood who fear an invasion of Negro residents may pledge themselves not to sell, rent, give away or in any manner transfer any property to Negroes.

This may be good law, but if it is it might be well to cut out the section of the Fourteenth Amendment which is supposed to guarantee that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." We are aware that no exclusion law was enacted and that it was a private agreement of white property owners that was given the blessing of the court. But if such private agreements can accomplish what the Constitution prohibits, what a mockery it is for the Negro?

We are unable to follow the tortuous reasoning of courts in matters that affect the Negro and also the working class. We only know that the solemn judges are generally ranged with property interests, race snobbery and capitalist rule and this decision only confirms our conviction.

REACTION IN PORTO RICO

One of the most amazing examples of an attempt by exploiting classes to use a Labor movement for those classes is told in the exclusive story from Porto Rico which The New Leader carries in this issue. The insolence of the Porto Rican grandees in appealing to the American Federation of Labor against the Porto Rican Federation of Labor because it has for years maintained a Socialist Party in the island is unique in the history of the Labor movement.

Of course, there is no likelihood of the two capitalist parties of the island using the A. F. of L. for reaction in Porto Rico even though the A. F. of L. at home is opposed to the organization of a working class party. Outside the United States the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and those affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor have autonomy in these matters. Mexico has a powerful Labor party and the A. F. of L. has even ranged itself with its candidate for President, Plutarco Elias Calles.

The leaders of the two capitalist parties raise the specter of Communism in their appeal to the A. F. of L. Communism has no relation to the Porto Rico labor and political organizations except one of antagonism if it has any followers at all in the island and this is doubtful. Reaction in Porto Rico must be desperate to be forced to this queer expedient of asking the workers of the United States to cut the throats of their brothers in the Caribbean.

James Connolly was a man of many talents. He was a poet, a patriot, a socialist, a craftsman, every honorable and vital person, desires leisure in order to do better work, but they who desire it in order to do no work should be bred out. Actually there is nothing in the world except work, and those who will evade it in pleasure are merely engaged in a form of mental and spiritual suicide.

But there are those who cannot be downed by pain nor dulled by pleasure, who will neither live in a fool's hell nor in a fool's paradise, who are neither idiots nor egoists, and of these Connolly was one. He had no illusions. He did not believe that he could make all men rich, or all men wise, or any person happy—the works of co operation, of Nature, and of God. But he did see that there were things common to his world that were radically preposterous—sweated labor, under-education, unemployment, and all the forms of national and international theft, hypocrisy and callousness; and that even if the social organization must be disorganized before these lunacies could be adjusted, such disorganization should take place rather than such absurdities should continue. There is something ludicrous and disgusting in the spectacle of the endless millions of the world, employers and employees, all with their noses thrust against unnecessary grindstones, and all snuffing huzzas, not to a golden calf, not even to the tin trinity of rent, interest and profit, but to a poor two or three thousands of accountants who are persuaded, and are permitted to believe, that work and civilization and life itself are only other names for bookkeeping.

You will never persuade your neighbor out of a privilege nor reason any corporation out of a monopoly; you may undermine faith in these only by withholding them, for indeed no person can take these things unless they are given to him, nor hold beyond his grasp unless others, and multitudes of them, hold for him. When the game is square the rules of the game are of prime importance, but when the game is manifestly corrupt the rules of the game are only obeyed by a fool.

Connolly's life and death showed that he was a brave man: his return to Ireland before the great strike epoch proved him an optimist that nothing could dishearten. Politically, socially and culturally Ireland was at the darkest hour of all her chequered history, and the man that could hope to stir that clotted lump had to be an optimist

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

Another case in the courts demonstrates the bogus character of the legal dictum of "equality before the law." A former manager of the Central Railroad of New Jersey pleaded guilty of defrauding the Government out of \$1,000,000 on repair work during the war. Judge English let the guilty man off with a fine of \$12,500 because it was represented to him that the convicted man had a weak heart.

It should be observed that the guilty man is wealthy. He was able to pay the fine and double the fine if necessary. He was kept out of the penitentiary solely because he could buy his way out. If he was unable to pay a fine his weak heart would not have saved him from imprisonment.

The worker in court facing the alternative of a fine or imprisonment would have to go to prison. He might have a weak heart, but if his heart was not annexed to a large wad of cash that heart would not save him from a prison cell. The one man keeps out of prison because he can buy his way out, and the other goes to prison because he cannot buy his way out.

There is no such thing as genuine democracy or "equality before the law" in a society with one class having ample financial resources and another class without such resources. This economic inequality is bound to be expressed in legislation, court procedure, and the whole social life of society. All institutions of society are poisoned by this class division.

Not until the institutions of society are rooted in industrial democracy will political equality and social equity be realized by mankind.

INSTRUCTING FARMERS

Why do forms of economic folly persist after their foolishness has been proved time and again? This is the question asked of Mr. George E. Roberts by a writer in the Times. Mr. Roberts is the editor of the monthly letter of the National City Bank and the question was asked regarding the discontent of the farmers.

"I don't suppose there is any more persistent fallacy among farmers," Mr. Roberts is quoted as saying, "than the notion that the price of wheat is jacked up after it leaves their hands so as to give the dealers big profits. The farmer has been told this for years and he likes to believe it."

It is queer how the farmers get this "notion" but there it is. Mr. Roberts says that the farmer is the victim of a fallacy and attempts to prove it by claiming that for twenty-nine years the price of wheat averaged for the highest month, May, "was only about six cents above the average for the lowest month, September."

Thus a banker proves that the farmer is the victim of some queer illusion by quoting averages. Now, averages are often deceptive when trying to draw conclusions. An average drawn over a long period may appear to be normal and yet it may conceal abnormal fluctuations at the very time when the farmer is harvesting his wheat. This is what has happened during the period mentioned by the banker.

It is not a "notion" of the farmer. It is his experience that when he sells prices are down and after he has sold prices rise. Mr. Roberts can throw all the statistics he wants to at the farmer. The latter will counter with experience, with history, that has been repeated annually as long as the farmer can remember. The banker might as well tell the hundreds of thousands of farmers in the West who have lost their farms that they have not lost them by quoting the

statistics of the average heat on June 1 for twenty-nine years but this "notion" of the banker would be of no more value than the statement he actually made.

ARMS AND TREATIES

Rejoicing over the alleged reduction of armaments, which filled the press after the meeting of the arms conference in Washington more than two years ago, has turned to pessimism. It is now conceded in many quarters that the agreements reached there look very nice on paper but that actual reduction of armaments is another matter.

It is evident that ships consigned to the scrap heap have been scrapped but other types of ships have been built or are building which upset the agreed ratio reached at the Washington Conference. This causes apprehension and President Coolidge is in favor of another conference of the powers to talk the matter over.

Whether another conference is held or not will make little difference. It is not the first time that the imperialist powers have given "solemn pledges" only to break them. These powers thrive in a world of suspicion and rivalry. Their diplomats know what value to place on pledges. They know that the diplomatic trade is a clever game in which the players each try to bind the other party to a course which no player will follow if there is the slightest opportunity to evade it.

After agreements are reached they must be interpreted and each power has its own interpretation. If it is a matter of skinning a little power the big powers do not hesitate to break the agreement and enforce the violation with armed force. In dealing with each other they are a little more careful as war may bring the other bullies into it and all of them thus eventually land in the ditch.

To expect a capitalist world to throw aside the one argument it has, force, is like urging a fighter to stay in the ring without training. A warless world will be the fruit rising out of a dead capitalism, not a living one. The workers of all countries will be the master builders of that warless world.

PROF. HADLEY'S LOGIC

Arthur Twining Hadley, president-emeritus of Yale University, recently told an audience that "it is the sins of the pacifists that filled the graves of the Argonne." What he means is that those opposed to war had in some way prevented the United States from being "prepared" for the European conflict. He added that "if war is to be prevented at all, it will be prevented by learning the very lesson that these men who died for their country can teach us."

These statements have been repeated so often that it is well to consider them. In the first place many of these "best minds" have at other times claimed that it was the sins of the militarists "that filled the graves of the Argonne." German militarists, of course, but militarists. Were it not for them, it has been urged, there would have been no war at all.

But forget this and let us look at the statement from another angle. It is assumed that the graves of the Argonne were filled because the United States was not prepared as Germany was. If this is true, then what is the virtue of damning the old German militarism? If militarism would be a virtue for the United States it certainly would be for Germany. Or is it contended that American virtue would be a German vice?

The more we go into the statements of

our "best minds" the more groggy we become. We will try again. American pacifists filled the graves of the Argonne. All right. The assumption is that if we had been blessed with a standing army of a few million men and transports ready to ship them to Europe there would have been no American graves in the Argonne. Why does Hadley reach this conclusion? He does not tell us. He merely assumes the conclusion and expects us to take his word for it.

There is absolutely no justification for his conclusion unless he believes that German troops would have immediately retreated when American troops appeared at the front within a month or two after the United States declared war. He must assume that the Germans would not have fired a shot. He must assume that they would have surrendered immediately. If he does not make these assumptions he must admit that fighting would have occurred just the same and that American soldiers would have died in Europe.

Closely analyzed, Professor Hadley's statement is shown to be so much hokum. Because it comes from a university man many will accept it on faith. If in some scientific field any university man should be guilty of such absurdities he would be laughed out of court. But Hadley is an example of that "culture" that is servile to ruling classes, a "culture" which in the field of politics and economics does not rise higher than that displayed by a ward politician.

The solemn ass who edits the "Searchlight" column of the New York Commercial lists the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom as one of the "subversive movements against the American Government." We envy his ability to sell garbage to the editor.

THE Chatter-Box

POETRY PRIZE ANNOUNCEMENT FOR MAY

The \$10.00 monthly prize for May has been awarded to Charles Wagner of Columbia University, for his poem: "The Saw Mill," which appeared in our issue of May 17. We wish to comment here on the general excellence of this particular effort of his. May many more come our way. Checks await his call at our office. Floria Renaud, winner of the poetry contest of the previous month has not as yet called or sent her address. Can any one of our readers help the cause of the Muse by informing us of her whereabouts?

The contest for June we hope will prove very interesting.

ORIGINALITY

There is this fear the hills should know,
However they are huge and high,
That never can they find their tongues
Except to echo back a cry.....
They do not hold this fear, nor I,
With their pretense I made a loan
From an old treasury of dreams
And claim the echoes for my own.

We make these verses above in meek protest against the fierce thunderings of the Da-daists, the modernists and futurists of letters and art, whose sole shibboleth is "originality." We are of that simple shepherd tribe who believe that words or color are but the insignificant media through which we are allowed to describe emotion, sentiment and experience. Perhaps we are just low-brow. We don't belong to that chosen race who alchemize life into words instead of words into life. After reading the Congressional Record, Ben Hecht's hectic Chicago yellow sheet, and the first ten pages of the Broom, we have arrived at our decision. We still prefer Tenyson to Gertrude Stein, Shakespeare to Maxwell Bodenheim, and Beethoven to Stravinsky. May the dead forgive these comparisons.

NEWS ITEMS

Marx Lewis, envoy extraordinary for the proletarian press to the city of government, oil and political purity, is now a full-fledged lawyer. The staff sends its congratulations. We hope he will not follow the footsteps of McAdoo and others, by using his political influence for large fees.

We found Frank, the elevator man, on the roof all day yesterday. He stood near the chimney in solemn contemplation. From an unguarded remark, we learned that he was expecting that old fabulous bird, the stork. "Not yet," he told us this morning.

David P. Berenberg is moving in mysterious ways these days. Is it a book of his poems that is about to make the hard way down Parnassus? We are breathlessly expectant.

Gertrude Weil Klein is still the editor of Free Youth. The pleasant little Yipsey publication is still being published. It is still interesting. We hope nothing happens to spoil its young life. Above all, we hope the Liberals don't buy it up.

U. Solomon reports that there is still a balance left in the bank. Lead on, New Leader.

J. Fuchs indites a long local color poem against our orthodox minstrels, concluding "You can't expect ethereal sounds Called forth by a bard weighing 200 pounds."

COMMUTERS

With naught to risk upon the barricade
But chains, and all the world to gain,
Thus they will storm the White Guards unafraid,
As gayly as they snatch the morning train.

EDWARD JAMES IRVINE.

We invited Jim Oneal and Billy Feigenbaum to lunch, and as we entered the street we met Eddy Levinson, so he came along. As we crossed the street we met Dick, and he came along; as we neared the corner, we met Jack, and he came along; and as we proceeded toward Twelfth street, at every ten yards we met Joe, Al, George, Mike, John and Gedaliah in the order named. After we paid the bill we thanked whatever Gods there be that the restaurant happened to be on Twelfth street, which is only three squares from Fifteenth. We never thought New York City had such a proportion of hungry scribes, and Socialists per lineal street. And to cap this catastrophe not one of our collected guests insisted on paying the tip.

S. A. de WITT.

JAMES CONNOLLY

Poet, Patriot and Socialist

By JAMES STEPHENS

DESPITE bitter hardships and disappointments, Connolly's life should be spoken of as a successful one. What he set before himself as a young man he achieved. His whole life was a continual battle that he was as continually winning. He fought against, not poverty, but its degradation, and made himself a free man. He fought against ill-education and won an intellectual equipment that was remarkable. He fought against the worst ills that beset the fighting man—narrow-mindedness and ill-humor, otherwise obstinacy and brutality—and was able to die with a sentence on his lips that can be treasured in any heart capable of recognizing true freedom.

His life was a successful strife against all that assails life; his death was a triumph over death itself. Life is assailed by the dullness, the under-vitality, that invades mind and body when poverty is pressing. Even a rat will at last give up trying to escape from a cage that it cannot get out of, and for how many creatures are degradation and ignorance the bars of such a cage, and the apathetic rats behind them? They cannot free themselves, and will not be freed by those whose profit is made speedy by their degradation and whose leisure is won at the cost of their slavery. These can only be freed by such of their own company as God or Nature has endowed with an inexhaustible vitality and an unquenchable hatred of suffering or injustice.

James Connolly was such a man. Larkin is such a man. We have quantities of them still in Ireland; nay, at this moment the world is abundantly rich in them, and their will to free is stronger than any will to enslave can be. The will to enslave may be only the negative side of a will to command, and may be attributable as much to sheer vanity as to cupidity. Vanity is due to lack of self-knowledge: it is the most extreme form of ignorance. There may be a will to enslave, but, outside of certain organized bodies, it is not representative of man nor particularly proud of itself. The will of the average person is merely to escape pain and to achieve pleasure, or, by escaping pain to achieve pleasure. They are human ambitions, but in their pursuit more of the demon than the angel in man is liberated, and much of the unhappiness of life has this will-to-enjoy-without-responsibility at its roots.

Three-quarters of the civil life is sheer thoughtlessness, and can be rectified by making things unpleasant for those who

wish them to be unnaturally easy. The artist, the craftsman, every honorable and vital person, desires leisure in order to do better work, but they who desire it in order to do no work should be bred out. Actually there is nothing in the world except work, and those who will evade it in pleasure are merely engaged in a form of mental and spiritual suicide.

But there are those who cannot be downed by pain nor dulled by pleasure, who will neither live in a fool's hell nor in a fool's paradise, who are neither idiots nor egoists, and of these Connolly was one. He had no illusions. He did not believe that he could make all men rich, or all men wise, or any person happy—the works of co operation, of Nature, and of God. But he did see that there were things common to his world that were radically preposterous—sweated labor, under-education, unemployment, and all the forms of national and international theft, hypocrisy and callousness; and that even if the social organization must be disorganized before these lunacies could be adjusted, such disorganization should take place rather than such absurdities should continue. There is something ludicrous and disgusting in the spectacle of the endless millions of the world, employers and employees, all with their noses thrust against unnecessary grindstones, and all snuffing huzzas, not to a golden calf, not even to the tin trinity of rent, interest and profit, but to a poor two or three thousands of accountants who are persuaded, and are permitted to believe, that work and civilization and life itself are only other names for bookkeeping.

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Connolly's life and death showed that he was a brave man: his return to Ireland before the great strike epoch proved him an optimist that nothing could dishearten. Politically, socially and culturally Ireland was at the darkest hour of all her chequered history, and the man that could hope to stir that clotted lump had to be an optimist

indeed. There were such, and no dearth of them—Arthur Griffith, with the most hopelessness causer on his back that ever a man shouldered. Æ, teaching beauty and economics to a population that seemed besotted as by sleeping sickness. Douglas Hyde, preaching the spirit of the nation to those who could not decide if his speech were better answered by silence or a half-brick. These four, Griffith, Russell, Hyde, Larkin, were the incurable optimists of Ireland, and, he it said, that (except where he is a fool) an optimist is always a prophet.

Hope is always well informed. Like the chameleon, it seems to be nourished on air; actually it is nourished on the same vital energy that forces poetry into words which another can only plump with banality, or that aids one man to build a temple to the spirit where another can barely manage a tin tabernacle. Optimism is spiritual health, and almost always justifies itself. Connolly had it, and that so excessively, he could lend it to others in an adventure as hopeless as men ever faced. His optimism was not for himself—it was for others, and for Ireland. He would have had both of his projects in mind—the particular freedom of Ireland and the general freedom of man. At the time there was no hope of cultural or economic freedom in this country until the national question was settled.

It is generally true that no enslaved country or people can evolve a subsidiary liberty. It is held by some that economic power precedes political power. This may be so of a class, and even of them it is incompletely true; it is never true of a nation. The international and political facts must be disposed of before the domestic and cultural ones can raise a head. Separate or self-contained action could not exist in the Ireland of ten years ago: the great vortex swallowed the little vortices. The poet had to be a nationalist, the Socialist had to be a nationalist. The law of the community overrode every other law, and Connolly, with a hundred men, adjourned dying for man in order that they might die for Ireland. It is inevitable that opinions will differ as to whether he was more a Socialist or more a patriot. For each of these causes he was prepared to go to jail at a moment's notice, and perhaps he would have died for either with equal cheerfulness. It was for Ireland, however, that he died, and it is as a patriot that we shall remember him.