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of the Socialist and Labor
Movement.

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LABOR PARTY IS ISSUE AT CLEVELAND

OIL CORRUPTION BEHIND KILLING OF MATTEOTTI

Many Mass Meetings Here
Protest Murder of Socialist Deputy in Rome.

The murder of Deputy Giacomo Matteotti, heroic Socialist who denounced Fascism at the cost of his life, has caused a revolution in Italian politics. The Fascist Cabinet has resigned and Benito Mussolini has slugged his majority in the Senate to give him a grudging vote of confidence.

At the same time, the anti-Fascist Deputies in the Lower House have unanimously voted not to participate in the present Parliament on the ground that it was elected under the crooked election laws written by Mussolini to assure himself of a subservient majority. Only the Communists, who are closer to the Fascists than they are to the Socialists, refused to join in the parliamentary boycott.

In addition to the fact that the murder was the climax of the bloody career of the Fascists in misgoverning the country and ruling by violence and assassination, it is becoming more and more apparent that the Giacomo Matteotti case will become the Fascist Teapot Dome of Italy, with the Blackshirts playing the same role as the G. O. P. in America and Harry Sinclair playing the part of—Harry Sinclair.

American oil speculators—the men who bribed Fall and endeavored to drive this country into a war with Mexico—sought an oil concession from the Italian Government and they went after it in the approved Sinclair-Doheny fashion.

The concession was worth 600,000,000 lire—almost as much as Teapot Dome—so the adventurers raised a fund of 20,000,000 lire to be used in bribing Mussolini's chief lieutenants and "influencing" the press. (Sounds like the testimony before the Walsh committee, doesn't it?)

The deal went through, but Giacomo Matteotti—young, rich and talented—was a Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies—one of the few men who dared oppose the tyrant Mussolini at the height of his power—"got the goods" on the conspirators. He prepared to publish the documents which would show that the Fascist super-patriots were common grafters when he was brutally killed.

It is significant that in all the discussion there is no suggestion that the oil speculators who were primarily responsible for the tragedy should be punished or their concession cancelled.

Again the Italians are following the American example: Our oil grafters are still enjoying their freedom and are preparing to contribute to the campaign fund of the administration which is supposed to punish them.

Meanwhile, terrorism is growing again in Italy. Socialists being killed almost daily for protesting against the murder of their comrade. Mussolinism is getting to be known for what it is in every part of the world, and organizations everywhere are taking their stand in opposition to the Blackshirt regime and the castor oil bandits.

The whole working class of Italy paused in a twenty-minute strike (Continued on Page 2)

Garment Walkout Threatens as Jobbers Deadlock Hearings

A strike of 50,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union here seems imminent. Although the Union, the manufacturers and the contractors have accepted the findings of Governor Smith's Board of Conciliation, the jobbers remain adamant in their refusal to abide by the decision of the impartial mediation commission.

The jobbers by a vote of 50 to 30 rejected the decision on Wednesday. Despite this rejection, George Gordon Battle, chairman of the Board, prevailed on the jobbers Thursday to re-polit their membership in an attempt to avert a strike.

CAP MAKERS STRIKE

Union Acts to Enforce
Better Conditions in New
York Market.

The Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of New York and vicinity went out on strike today, Wednesday, in all non-association shops and in the shops of the newly formed Wholesale Cap Manufacturers' Association.

The strike has been declared for the purpose of securing the same conditions as those secured in the shops of the Cloth Hat and Cap Manufacturers' Association by virtue of the agreement just signed between the Union and that Association.

The Cloth Hat and Cap Manufacturers' Association embraces the larger manufacturers of the trade and the Union has been in contractual relations with it since 1916. The renewed agreement which was signed on June 26, and which is going into effect on July 1, is for a term of two years, until June 30, 1926.

The new agreement retains the machinery for conciliation and arbitration for the adjustment of disputes during the life of the agreement and it designates Dr. Paul Abelson as the Chairman of the Board of Adjustment. Dr. Abelson already served in that capacity for the last four years. The new agreement also retains the clauses providing for the minimum scale of wages, for the system of week work, for the 44-hour week and for full pay for five legal holidays.

The important new provisions of the agreement just signed are:

1. Recognizing that the industry should assume responsibility to its workers with regard to unemployment and should bear the burden of the hazards of unemployment as an overhead expense, as it does the hazards of fire and accident—the agreement provides that every manufacturer, member of the Association, shall pay every week to the Union's unemployment fund, a sum equal to 3 per cent of his total payroll. This 3 per cent is in addition to the regular wages paid to the workers.

Since the distribution of unemployment benefit involves the most intimate relations with the workers, the 3 per cent payment for the unemployment fund is considered as an increase in wages, but instead of being paid to every individual worker, it is paid to them collectively, that is, to their Union.

Accordingly the property, control and management of the unemployment fund rests entirely and exclusively with the Union.

JOHNSTON KEYNOTE RAPS OLD PARTIES; NEW POLITICAL ALIGNMENT IS URGED; SOCIALISTS READY TO JOIN LABOR PARTY

Chairman Urges Policy of Backing Progressives in all Parties.

CLEVELAND.—Following is Chairman Johnston's keynote speech to the Cleveland Conference:

We have gathered together on this 148th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence for action to secure those rights for which "Governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

When that immortal declaration of the rights of man was proclaimed our forefathers were engaged in a struggle to establish their independence and secure for themselves and for all coming generations of American citizens the blessings of political freedom.

Today the people of the United States are engaged in a contest to achieve for themselves and for their children the equally great blessings of economic freedom.

There is no economic freedom, no equality of economic opportunity in the United States today for any great group of its common people.

Where is the economic freedom, where is the equality of opportunity, for American farmers who see their prosperity wantonly deflated by a financial conspiracy and find themselves obligated to sell their products in a world market, while the trusts and monopolies from which they must buy are artificially protected by the highest tariff wall in American history?

Where is economic freedom, and equality of opportunity, for the employees of the Steel Trust, the Copper Trust, the Woolen Trust and the hundreds of other great combinations, who must accept employment on such terms as Gary, Ryan, Wood and the other industrial magnates offer or risk unemployment and starvation?

Where is economic freedom, and equality of opportunity, for the independent manufacturers who must buy and sell in a trust-controlled market and is suffered to exist only on condition that he does not engage in active and effective competition?

Where is economic freedom, and equality of opportunity, for the small merchant who finds his wholesale and retail prices fixed by trusts and combinations, while he himself is being slowly but surely crushed and forced out of business?

We may not all know it, but we are all in the same ship—farmers, industrial workers, salaried employees and professional men as well as independent manufacturers, merchants and bankers. We are all in one great ship of souls about which one of the greatest American poets has written these eloquent words:

"I watched when her captains passed:
She were better captainless."

There can be no true freedom in this endless strife over the elementary conditions of employment. Furthermore, even the small gains which we have thus achieved have been wiped out by arbitrary increases in the rent of our homes and the prices which we must pay (Continued on Page 3)

Cleveland's Opportunity The Workers of The Nation Await a Call to Organize a Permanent, Nation-Wide Labor Party

WITH "union card" men sitting in the convention, the Democrats meeting in Madison Square Garden have turned down the demands made by the American Federation of Labor. Democratic conventions since 1896 have usually thrown a few sops to the organized workers. Promises are cheap and easily broken.

But in the present convention the delegates did not even condescend to give a few sops. The trade unions have been the chief victims of the anti-trust laws and they asked for a plank pledging the repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust act. The platform calls for enforcement of anti-trust laws. The A. F. of L. asked for the repeal of the labor clauses of the Esch-Cummins railroad act and "the enactment of legislation that will afford opportunity for the voluntary organizations of management and employees to deal with problems of industrial relations." The platform makes no such pledge.

Other sections are as unsatisfactory. Many previous Democratic platforms have contained clauses on injunctions in Labor disputes that have satisfied the A. F. of L. It is one of the most important demands of the organization but the New York platform ignores it entirely. Demand was made for a clause extending full recognition "of the rights of the workers to assist themselves in unions." The platform merely endorses collective bargaining and ignores the unions. This is precisely the position of Judge Gary of the steel trust.

THERE is little difference between the Democratic platform and the one adopted by the Republicans at Cleveland. MOREOVER, NOT ONE OF THE "UNION CARD" DELEGATES IN THE CONVENTION ATTEMPTED TO GET THE FLOOR TO OFFER AMENDMENTS WHEN IT WAS EVIDENT THAT THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE HAD DUMPED THE A. F. OF L. DEMANDS INTO A GARBAGE CAN.

It is evident that the Democrats believe that this is a "yellow dog" year. Any Democrat can be elected. They do not want to be bothered with the whining of Labor. So they administer a kick in the face as the Republicans did at Cleveland.

THIS is the situation that faces the organized political and economic groups who are meeting in the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland this week. There have been those who have asked whether there is any hope in either of the two capitalist parties. They have their answer. Not only the actions of the two conventions but the general political and economic situation show the necessity of courageous action at Cleveland.

Shall this action be a feeble gesture of nominating a presidential ticket and sending the delegates back to their States as a disorganized army, taking one action in one State, another in another State, and still other action in other States? This would be to miss a great opportunity. It would be to falter when firm decision is required to weld all the organizations into a common solidarity and for common action in all the States.

Forty-eight States thrown back upon the necessity of making their own decisions would make for chaos. Unity is essential. A party of the workers uniting all organizations represented at Cleveland and presenting a solid army in all the States would capitalize the energy, enthusiasm and devotion of large masses. Nothing else will. Such unity is impossible by any program of supporting candidates of either of the party machines of capital and finance. Impossible in the State and congressional districts as well.

A LABOR PARTY ORGANIZED, FINANCED, DIRECTED AND CONTROLLED BY THE ORGANIZED WORKERS OF THE NATION SHOULD BE THE DECISION AT CLEVELAND. LABOR CANDIDATES SHOULD BE NOMINATED FROM CONSTABLE TO PRESIDENT. A LABOR PROGRAM SHOULD BE ADOPTED THAT WILL BE A CHALLENGE TO THE SERVILE PARTIES OF AN OLD ORDER.

In every modern country the workers have gone through the same history. First, indifference of the workers. Second, increasing appreciation of the importance of political action. Third, organizing and appealing to the old parties. Fourth, trying to force the old parties to do their will.

We are now in the fourth stage. Shall we move on to the fifth as our brothers in other countries have? If we do, we will bind the powerful organizations represented at Cleveland into a powerful political party of the workers, challenge the parties of capitalism, turn a new and glorious page in Labor history, and go forth to battle, conscious that eventually we will control the destinies of the nation.

Have the delegates at Cleveland the courage and statesmanship to rise to their great opportunity? Millions await the answer.

Labor Government Will Rule Mexico, Is Forecast On Eve of General Election

MEXICO CITY.—The election of General E. Plutarco Calles, Socialist and Laborite, to the Presidency of Mexico, seems to be a foregone conclusion on the eve of the polling which takes place this Sunday.

General Calles has the backing of the Mexican Socialist Party and of the Mexican Federation of Labor. He is also President Obregon's candidate.

Notable Progressives and Socialists Present at Momentous Gathering.

By JAMES ONEAL

CLEVELAND.—What attitude will Senator La Follette take towards the decisions of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and what will the decisions be?

This is a question discussed on all sides by delegates and visitors to the conference.

There are many rumors but the answers appear to be in keeping of big unions that will dominate the conference.

One apparently authentic report states La Follette will ignore all organizations, including the conference, and make a personal campaign, choosing own managers, framing his platform, and avoid being tagged as candidates of Unions. This statement is based on the assertion that La Follette resents the actions of representatives of railroad organizations in the Democratic convention working for McAdoo. This is denied by others who claim to know the inner situation.

Socialist delegates are bringing encouraging reports of revival of interest in the party organization. Speakers in Pennsylvania and other States declare interest in the party never was better and that prospects appear bright whatever be the decision of the conference. Socialist delegates realize important political events are ahead but are in general agreement that a Labor party is not likely this year. The Socialist executive committee is in session but little but routine business is being transacted.

One fact impressed upon one who listens to conversations in hotel lobbies is unanimity of opinion that the two capitalist parties alike are hopeless as "instruments" for protecting and advancing Labor interests. Old party promises and pretensions are greeted with cynicism on all sides.

Whatever hopes some representatives of unions may have had in the Democratic convention are shattered by its ignoring or rejecting the few modest requests made by trade unions. The old parties are doing more this year in educating the workers for independent working class party than in any year of their history.

The national committee of the conference has been in session all day but has engaged only in routine work of preparing for the conference. Among the committees of the conference is one on organization and campaign. Labor party advocates see in this committee the possibility of a report that will bring out an intelligent and fruitful discussion of Labor politics and the necessity of building political power upon the claims of workers in all the States.

William Mahoney, of St. Paul is reported as asking a seat. It is certain that the question will be raised in the credentials committee whether he represents the Farmer-Labor party or a party including the communists. Mahoney is acceptable as he represents the former, as he is recognized as sincere but maneuvered into an embarrassing position by Ruthenberg and his allies on June 17.

Among the notable arrivals is Roberto Haberman of the Partido Laborista Mexicana, a fraternal delegate to both the party and conference conventions. He brings an interesting story of the Labor struggle, the independent Labor party, and the political campaign which will end Sunday by the election of General Calles as President to succeed President Obregon.

The conference will open Friday with an address by Chairman William H. Johnston, followed by others. Harriot Stanton Blatch is on the program and will speak for women and the importance of a Labor party in the United States.

A notable aspect of the convention, remarked by many, is that no decorations or other display was prepared by the authorities. Delegates frequently remark on the contrast of the ruling powers in city paying homage to the Coolidge-Dawes gathering.

(Continued on Page 2)

Amalgamated Strikers are Winning Despite Great Brutality of Police

In the face of brutality on the part of the police, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union strikers have secured important gains.

Of the original 35,000 strikers, more than 10,000 have returned to work on the union's conditions. Individual employers are overrunning the strikers' headquarters in the Union Square Hotel in an attempt to sign the union terms and get their workers back to the shops.

Probably the most important union gain of the strike is the formation of a responsible association of employers, to be known as the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Exchange. This association, immediately upon its formation came to terms with the union.

The strike has been primarily one to insure decent working conditions and adequate earnings to the work-

ers in an industry which has suffered serious disintegration through the tendency of many employers to disregard any responsibilities to the workers. Even the New York Times was moved during the week to side with the union in its charge that the trade, as it has been conducted, has been a "slipshod" industry.

The union's program for placing the industry on a firm basis, is embodied in the following paragraph of a resolution carried at enthusiastic meetings of the strikers: "Settlements with employers shall be made upon assurance that there will be no wage cuts and that work will be sent to union shops only; also that, as soon as possible there should be established a minimum scale, regulation of production and an Unemployment Insurance Fund."

The police have given the strike

pickets no end of annoyance, causing the arrest of 100 and brutally attacking some of them. That the charges of disorderly conduct were unfounded was indicated by the fact that none of those arrested were held by the courts.

The entire staff of the joint boards and general office of the Amalgamated has joined in the struggle with all their time and energy. The strikers have nothing but enthusiasm and commendation for the manner in which President Hillman and Managers David Wolf and J. Gold are fighting the battle. The success of the many mass meetings throughout the vicinity is due to a great extent to the indefatigable Sam Berman, chairman of the speakers' committee, and an active member of the "Big 4," cutters union.

SOCIALISTS READY TO JOIN AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

(Continued from Page 1.)
ering a few weeks ago and officially
ignoring this convention.

Socialists Ready To Aid Labor Party

CLEVELAND.—Immediately upon the adjournment of the big Labor convention, the Socialist Party will hold its twelfth national convention at the Hotel Winton, at which it will take its stand upon the most important questions organized American Socialism has been called upon to meet. The actions of the party convention will depend upon what stand the other convention will take.

It is estimated that over three million organized workers will be represented, as well as fully 1,500,000 votes cast for the Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties.

Thursday night, July 3, there was a conference of members of the Farmer-Labor party called under auspices of its national committee. This is the original Farmer-Labor party organized in 1920.

There is increasing talk of James H. Maurer as vice-presidential candidate in the event an independent ticket is named with La Follette at its head. Maurer represents the Labor element and the Socialist Party, and is preferable in the minds of many delegates to any radical or progressive senator.

Practically the whole Socialist convention will watch the convention of the C. P. P. A. Those Socialists who are not delegates to the C. P. P. A. convention from the party or from some Labor organization will watch the proceedings from the gallery with more than interested eyes.

It is believed that there is a more widespread feeling in favor of independent political action by the workers than ever before. Even if the convention does not vote to launch a new party immediately, it is believed that there is a substantial majority in favor of organizing a party after the election, using the vote cast for La Follette as the basis.

La Follette Will Accept

WASHINGTON.—The stage is all set for the nomination of Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin as candidate for the proposed new third party for President of the United States at the convention to be held at Cleveland on July 4 by the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

The Senator is aware that he will be nominated early in the proceedings, and it is learned that he will

accept. He is preparing a statement, which will be taken to the convention by an Executive Committee which will call upon him, presenting an address in which he will be urged to assume the leadership of the third party movement at the hands of the convention.

It is understood that the reply the Senator will make to this committee is not to be made public, out of courtesy to the Cleveland gathering, until it is read in the convention, but that it will leave no doubt where he stands.

It will deal with the political situation as it appears to the senior Wisconsin Senator following the adoption of the Democratic national platform at New York. He regards the Republican platform adopted at Cleveland as reactionary and unsatisfactory and does not think that of the Democrats will meet the situation.

Communists Will Get the Gate

CLEVELAND.—Should a delegation of Communists from the St. Paul convention come to Cleveland, as announced in the daily press, it will be given short shift and shown the direction to Lake Erie, say the Progressives, who also announce it to be their wish that the Communists keep their St. Paul ticket in the field. "It would make such a poor showing that those noisy disturbers would not have even a lame leg to stand on after the votes were counted in November," said a member of the C. P. P. A. committee.

Voting Quotas Are Fixed

CLEVELAND.—The keynote speech at the conference will be made by William H. Johnson, head of the International Association of Machinists, and Chairman of the conference.

He will be both temporary and permanent Chairman. Other speakers will be Senator Shipstead of Minnesota; Senator Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota, who, it seems, is definitely to leave the Republican party at this convention; former Representative Edward Keating of Colorado, Warren S. Stone, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Philip La Follette and Basil Manley of Washington, D. C.

The National Committee has been in session all day wrestling with problems which for the most part involve the organization of the convention. The quota of representation on the floor has been fixed at three delegates each for national and

international Labor organizations, the farmers' unions or cooperative associations and State organizations of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and one delegate each for State Labor federations, central Labor bodies in cities and State organizations of farmers.

Two delegates will represent the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota, while the National Non-Partisan League, the National Single Tax League and the League for Industrial Democracy will have three delegates each. The National Socialist Party will have seven delegates, while numerous local and State organizations representing Labor, agricultural and progressive organizations will each be entitled to one delegate.

A temporary committee on credentials was named to list the delegates who are entitled to voting seats. Chester Thorpe of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen is the Chairman, the other members including President Wood, of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, George H. Goebel, of Newark, N. J., representing the Socialist Party; D. C. Borman of Montana, representing the Non-Partisan League, and Herbert Baker, representing farm organizations.

Among them are Senator Shipstead, Basil M. Manley, director of the People's Legislative Service in Washington; Walter Thomas Mills, veteran Socialist campaigner of California; Herbert F. Baker, head of the Michigan Grange, John M. Baer, the former Representative from North Dakota; D. C. Norman, the farm leader of Montana, and W. H. Drury of Arkansas.

Edwin Markham and Senator Magnus Johnson are due.

New Jersey Delegation

The New Jersey Committee for Progressive Political Action has sent the following delegates to the conference:

At large (N. J. C. P. P. A.): James B. Furber and Louis F. Budenz, both of Rahway; alternates at large: Howard Richards, Jr., Elizabeth, and W. J. Bilder, Newark; Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen: J. J. Reilly, Waldwick; Locomotive Engineers: Geo. J. Squier, Elizabeth; Railroad Trainmen: Dr. T. J. Scarborough, Trenton; Progressive party of New Jersey: F. A. Pattison, Colonia, and Chas. H. Ingersoll, Montclair; alternate for Progressive party: W. E. Conkling, Blairstown; Women's Committee for Progressive Political Action: Mrs. Maud Richards, Elizabeth, and a South Jersey representative, not yet selected; alternates: Mrs. C. Schmidt, Elizabeth, and Miss Florence Halsey, Midland Park; Hiram Johnson League: D. T. Hendrickson, Middle-town, and probably Frank Anderson, Camden; Socialist Party: Geo. H. Goebel, Newark, and Leo Harkins, Camden; Hiram Johnson Women's League: Mrs. Susanah Lewis, Trenton; Committee of 48: J. A. H. Hopkins, Morristown.

The New Jersey delegation has its headquarters at the Hotel Winton, Cleveland, and met in caucus on the evening of July 3rd.

Many From New York

Among the New York delegates present are:
International Ladies' Garment

Workers' Union: Morris Sigman, Israel Feinberg, Salvatore Ninfo.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America: Three are to be elected from their General Executive Board in Cleveland.

Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.: J. Wolfe.

Children Clothing Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.: J. Gold.

International Furriers' Union: Charles Gmeiner, Sam Cohen, Pietro Lucchia.

Joint Board of Furriers Union: Abraham Rosenthal.

United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of N. A.: Max Zaritsky and two men from Cleveland.

Cooperative Bakery of Brownsville: Dr. Louis Sadoff.

Brotherhood of Painters & Paperhangers, Painters District Council: Philip Zausner.

Interstate Council of Pressmen: Philip Umstadter.

Schenectady Trades Assembly: Herbert M. Merrill.

International Pocketbook Workers' Union: Ossip Wolinsky, Charles Kleinman, Morris Meltzer.

United Neckwear Makers' Union, A. F. L.: Louis Wal'an.

N. Y. Harbor District Council Brotherhood of R. & S. Clerks: Charles V. Maute.

International Upholsterers' Union: John G. Willert, Cleveland; Wm. A. Shaw, Lakewood; Wm. Kohn, N. Y. City.

United Hebrew Trades: Max Pine.

International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers: John P. Burke.

Forward Association: Alex Kahn.

New Leader: James Oneal.

Socialist Party: Algernon Lee, Julius Gerber.

Poale Zion: I. Zaar.

International Brotherhood of Paper Makers: Frank P. Barry, acting president.

Farmer-Labor party: Abraham Lefkowitz, Harry Weinberger.

L. I. D.: Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler.

A. L. P.: Jerome De Hunt, Marie B. MacDonald.

Brooklyn Joint Board of Furriers: Hyman Kalmikoff.

Considerable feeling is developing in the ranks of the Socialist Party against allowing the party delegates to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action to commit themselves to a La Follette candidacy that is merely a political insurgency.

A number of the Western States have already declared themselves to that effect, and Wisconsin went last week by a substantial majority in favor of cooperating with a Labor party, but against endorsing a mere insurgent candidacy, whether for La Follette or anyone else.

The Second A. D., Kings county, has adopted the following resolution: "Whereas, The Conference for Progressive Political Action at its convention in the city of Cleveland, on the 4th of July, 1924, will consider the question of forming an independent Farmer-Labor party, and

"Whereas, There is a probability that such independent party may not be formed, and

"Whereas, The said convention may endorse Robert M. La Follette as an independent candidate, and

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is an integral part of the C. P. P. A., and

"Whereas, There is some sentiment in the party for the endorsement of Robert M. La Follette irrespective

of whether an independent party is formed or not;

"Therefore, We, the members of the Second Assembly District of the Socialist Party, Local Kings county, at a special meeting Friday, June 27, 1924, have

"Resolved: That we go on record as opposed to the endorsement of Robert M. La Follette as an independent candidate, and be it further

"Resolved: That in the event an independent Farmer-Labor party is not formed, the Socialist Party convention shall nominate and put in the field its own candidates, as it has done in the past."

The Connecticut convention of the Socialist Party on June 29 adopted a resolution to the effect that "the Socialist Party of Connecticut in convention assembled will approve and support only a Labor party whose platform and candidates are absolutely free and independent of Democratic and Republican party affiliations."

Pennsylvania Delegations

The following delegates will represent Pennsylvania at the National Convention—William Adams, John Aulenbach, Cora M. Bixler, Joseph E. Cohen, Harry Eckard, F. H. Hirt, Darlington Hoopes, H. Levine, Alfred Baker Lewis, Nathan Malyn, F. A. McGowan, Charles Sehl, J. W. Slayton, George W. Snyder, Sidney Stark, J. Henry Stump, William Temme, William Van Essen, Anna Van Essen, Howard Wogan, W. J. Wright.

Comrades William J. Van Essen and Joseph E. Cohen will be the representatives of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania at the Convention of the Conference of Progressive Political Action.

LENA MORROW LEWIS

ENTHUSED BY TOUR

With the completion of a ten-week trip through Pennsylvania, Lena Morrow Lewis, national organizer Socialist Party, returned to New York City for a few days prior to leaving for the Cleveland conventions.

All through western Pennsylvania Mrs. Lewis met scores of Labor men and district officials who are planning to attend the Cleveland convention, some as delegates and many as visitors. Among the railroad workers there is the keenest interest in the outcome of the convention. Judging from the way the socialists and Labor people talk, there will be an unusual number of visitors at the conventions.

Speaking of her meetings, Mrs. Lewis said, "In many places the audience surpassed the highest hopes of the comrades and the most encouraging thing was the number of young people who attend the meetings and the interest shown by them."

In addition to her platform work, Mrs. Lewis spent a great deal of time visiting the comrades personally, and reviving their spirits and advising as to work they could do. New locals, and number of members at large, subscriptions to The New Leader and the State paper, The Worker, as well as some forty-five or fifty meetings and a general awakening of the comrades, is the general sum total of Mrs. Lewis' work in Pennsylvania just completed.

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mo. It is understood that Italian sentiment in Syracuse, long a hotbed of pro-Fascist feeling, has veered, and the vast audience hissed and jeered and hooted again and again at every mention of Mussolini's name.

Protest On Boston Common

Boston added her voice to the swelling tide of protest against the Fascist rule of Italy with a vast mass meeting on Boston Common on June 29, when Socialist speakers told the thousands gathered what Fascism means and the danger to the world working-class movement if it continues to rule Italy by assassination and terrorism. A parade formed about a mile from the Common, and, led by a band playing "Bandiera Rossa" (the Italian Red Flag), a vast crowd converged on Boston's historic meeting place, where the gathering was held. Albert Weisbord was the principal speaker.

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Oil Corruption Behind Matteotti Killing

(Continued from Page 1)

last week, and in spite of frenzied attempts of the ruffians to whip the workers back and to break the back of the demonstration.

Protests against the brutal misrule of Italy are coming in with every mail, the whole world Labor and Socialist movement being on record as having expressed horror and detestation of the crime and of Mussolini. Mussolini is trying to make it appear that the crime was committed by his supporters who had been able to escape restraint, but they were his closest supporters and advisers and that excuse is falling flat.

The British Labor movement, through its political and industrial organization, sent a message to the Italian Socialist movement, following the resolution of the Labor party in the House of Commons, reading as follows:

"On behalf of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the British Labor party, the members of the Joint International Committee express profound indignation that their Comrade Matteotti, himself an opponent of violence, should have become a victim of the violence of Fascism.

"Whoever may be the actual culprits, British Labor holds that the leaders of Fascism are morally responsible for his death.

"Comrade Matteotti was the secretary of the United Socialist party of Italy, and in that capacity addressed a joint meeting of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the British Labor party a few weeks ago. He impressed us by the moderation of his political outlook and his complete agreement with the democratic political methods of the British

Labor movement.

"He was a man of gentle disposition, remarkable for his moral and intellectual fearlessness. His death is a blow at the best interests of Italy. We join with the Italian people in mourning for his loss.

"To the Italian Trade Union and Socialist movement we send best wishes for the success of their efforts to recover the right of free combination, political and civic freedom, and a judiciary free from government influence.

"(Signed) A. A. PURCELL,
Chairman of General Council of British Trades Union Congress, and President of International Federation of Trade Unions.

"C. T. CRAMP,
Chairman of Executive Committee of British Labor Party."

Meetings denouncing Mussolini and demanding the recall of Ambassador Caetani as an avowed Fascist propagandist are being held in every part of the country, and the demand, embodied in letters prepared by the Socialist Party, is being widely discussed by the press.

The latest meeting to be reported, following the remarkable mass meeting at Carnegie Hall last week, was held in Utica, at which Giralmo Valenti was the principal speaker. Others are being held in all sections of the country.

Conn. Socialists For Caetani Recall

The Socialist Party of Connecticut, in its State convention at New Haven last Sunday, joined the national party organization and the New York State committee in denouncing the Italian Fascist, expressing detestation of the murder of Comrade Matteotti, and demanding the recall of the Fascist Ambassador, Prince Caetani

Last Wednesday, a mass meeting that packed the Workmen's Circle Hall of Hoboken, was roused by a number of Italian Socialist orators, and voted to send a cable expressing their horror of the murder to Mussolini himself, as well as messages to the Matteotti family and to the Socialist Parties of Italy. The messages follow:

To the Matteotti family, Rome, Italy:

"The Italian proletariat of Hoboken condemn the revolting Fascist crime of kidnapping and martyrizing the Italian people's tribune."

To the Partito Socialista-Massimalista-Unitario-Comunista, Milan, Italy:

"The Italian workers of Hoboken, in conference on June 25, 1924, are agast at the series of Fascist crimes, condemn the kidnapping and assassination of Matteotti, a champion of humanity, condole with the Italian proletariat their loss, and wish that they regain their liberty."

To Benito Mussolini, Italian Premier, Rome, Italy:

"The Italian colony of Hoboken, in a meeting on June 25, condemns the execrable assassination of Matteotti, the defender of the Italian people, and demands that his murderer, the Fascist Government, turn over his corpse to his mother, his widow, his children and the Italian workers, to whom it rightfully belongs."

Syracuse Meeting Raps Fascism

A great mass meeting of Italian Socialists in Syracuse, addressed by Giralmo Valenti, demanded the expulsion of Ambassador Caetani and Captain Giovanni Gangami, local Italian consul, after listening to an impassioned denunciation of Fascism.

JOHNSTON FLAYS TWO OLD PARTIES IN KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Growth of Progressive Conference is Traced

(Continued From Page 1.)

for food, clothing and every other necessary of life.

The further we have gone the more clearly have we seen that so long as we permit great combinations of wealth to add to their enormous economic power the almost irresistible force gained by control of government, we are doomed to be halted in all our attempts at permanent relief.

The railroad employees have learned this lesson and are here today as a result of this knowledge. In their controversies with the railroads they were, as a result of organization, fairly evenly matched until the railroad corporations brought into play the forces of alleged governmental authority, swinging first the club of a Government board dominated by the money power and then the bludgeon of the shameless Daugherty backed by hordes of deputy marshals and the threat of troops. The farmers also are here today because they have learned this lesson and they have Federal Reserve System used to deplete their credit and plunge them into poverty and bankruptcy.

It is clear, therefore, that the people of the United States must regain control of their Government in order that they may move forward toward that economic freedom that was intended by the Declaration of Independence when it proclaimed man's inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

It was for this reason that the National Conference for Progressive Political Action was called together during the dark days of 1922 when the forces of reaction were so firmly entrenched at Washington.

So it was that, on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1923, this Conference first met in the city of Chicago and issued a new Declaration of Independence in which we set forth our grievances and proclaimed our purpose to fight for our rights in the coming Congressional elections. The story of that campaign is now history. It resulted in the greatest defeat of reactionary Senators and Congressmen ever recorded.

Many were impatient with us in 1922, because we did not then proceed to the launching of a new political party. But time and results have proved the wisdom of our decision.

We have proceeded constantly upon the one sound principle that while our slogan is "Forward March," we do not move our forces into action until we know that they are thoroughly mobilized and able to fight. We do not know the meaning of the word "Retreat," but we are determined never to leap rashly in the dark or down unexplored paths where we may be ambushed and cut to pieces by the enemy. We fix no limits to human progress, but we are determined to make no false advances that will require us to retrace our steps.

In mobilizing this army of progress it has been necessary for us to be forever vigilant to prevent the entry of traitors into our ranks. So far, I believe, we have been successful. We have excluded the bootlickers, the bosses, the exploiters, the profiteers and the prejudice-blinded fanatics. We have also kept out those Communist tools of reaction, who, masking themselves as a Federated Farmer-Laborites, Trade Union Educational Leaguers or under even more attractive designations, are constantly striving to destroy the American Labor movement and create chaos in the ranks of the progressives. We who have served our apprenticeship in the Labor movement have learned by bitter experience to suspect all those who advocate the use of violence and other extreme and lawless methods. We have found that in nine cases out of ten they are on the pay roll of William J. Burns or some other strike-breaking agency. We are resolved that they shall not "bore from within" and sink our "ship of souls."

There should be a warning from the New York convention against extremists in our ranks. It cannot be questioned that reactionaries there fanned the fires of religious hatred in order to turn the delegates

aside from their paramount duty of saving the Democratic party from the control of the same monopolists who dominate the Republican party.

Our proper course of action seems to me quite clear. The two old parties have met and have proved again their incapacity and their unwillingness to purge themselves of the sinister forces that dominate them. They have failed to meet fairly and squarely the great issues upon which the peace, the prosperity and the happiness of this nation depend.

The Republican party with appropriate stupidity has put forward as its leaders two reactionaries who are so well known and so thoroughly distrusted that I need not pause to

discuss their personalities, their records or their policies. The platform is a strange combination of meaningless platitudes, reactionary pledges and whining declarations of injured innocence. No attention will be paid to it by intelligent citizens. They will look only at the Republican party's record of reaction, incompetence and corruption.

The Democratic party has again proved the fitness of its emblem—the patient donkey. It has presented a platform of base expediency and unprincipled compromise.

The Republican party has its Daugherty and Fall; but the Democratic party has its Palmer and Burleson. I, for my part, am unwilling to rely upon the campaign promises of either of them. If the Democratic party would repudiate its pledges to Labor under Woodrow Wilson, what better record may be expected from its present nominees running on a platform that faces both ways on almost every issue vital to the men who toil?

and an abandonment of imperialist aggression in every part of the world. Such a peace we can have only when the executive power of the Government, the control of its foreign relations, is lodged in the hands of a man who has the proved courage and ability to resist the pressure of unholy forces that make for war.

Consider, my friends, the unparalleled opportunities for new international understandings that would be created by the election of La Follette. He would be trusted by the progressive forces that now control the Governments of England and France. They would know that his proposals would not be a cloak for the cunning schemes of the war makers, the oil monopolists and the international bankers. Robert M. La Follette and Ramsay MacDonald would voice the desire of the common people of the world for peace and for the end of imperialist aggression in every part of the world.

We must, therefore, strive in this campaign not only to increase greatly the number of genuine progressives in both branches of Congress, but also to elect a President and Vice-President who will cooperate with them wholeheartedly.

These two objects are in no sense incompatible. There is no obstacle to prevent our supporting independent candidates for President and Vice-President while we are engaged in reelecting our progressive friends to Congress, regardless of the party ticket upon which their names may appear. They may be Democrats, Republicans, Socialists or Farmer-Laborites. We do not care if their records show that they are genuine progressives who shall support them and send them to Congress to fight together for truth and justice.

Indeed it is our high duty to protect and aid these true progressives and to make sure that in our zeal to stride ahead we do not trample down our friends who are moving in the same direction, perhaps more slowly, but perhaps more surely than those who would run headlong into pitfalls and ambushes.

Farm and City Labor Alike Were Betrayed

The farmers have also learned that they cannot rely upon promises. The price of wheat was fixed by the Democratic administration at \$2.20 a bushel, more than \$1.00 a bushel less than the market price, with the understanding that the same process was to be applied to all staple products. The farmers were ready to make this sacrifice in order to reduce the cost of living for all the people. But they were deceived. The dollar-a-year patriots, who controlled price-fixing, left the trusts free to profiteer, and the Democratic bourgeois of the South saw to it that the price of cotton was left unrestricted.

Thus there has developed a new bond of sympathy and understanding between Labor and the farmers that has already had far-reaching consequence. Organized Labor has consistently supported all effective plans for bringing relief to the distress of agriculture, even where such measures were apparently opposed to its own immediate interests. The farmer, on the other hand, has learned that only when the workers are well paid can he find a domestic market for his products. They have learned to work together on the political field and to fight unitedly against the common enemy. In Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, Montana, Nebraska, and a dozen other States they have scored notable victories and routed the forces of reaction in both the Democratic and Republican parties.

We are now ready to transfer our activities to the national field and repeat there the triumphs that we have achieved in State and Congressional elections.

Why should we hesitate? We do not lack strength. We do not lack organization. Above all, we do not lack leadership.

We have a leader—that lifelong faithful servant of the people, whose character, ability, and record as a constructive statesman entitle him to take his place with the greatest men this nation has produced—with Washington, with Jefferson, and with Lincoln. His name is already on your lips, his service is in your hearts, his vision is in your souls—Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin!

Relying thus upon our own strength and our own tested leaders, it is the duty of the progressive forces of the nation to move forward and regain control of every branch of our Government from those corrupt and selfish interests that now dominate it. We made a splendid beginning in the campaign of 1922 when we elected to Congress a fighting group of progressive Senators and Representatives who have faithfully discharged their duties as servants of the American people. We must reelect them in the coming campaign and send them back with large reinforcements so that they will hold not only the balance of power in both houses of Congress, but the actual control of the legislative branch of Government.

But we should not be content even with this achievement, for the veto of an unfriendly executive can destroy all the progressive measures that Congress may enact. We must therefore put in the White House, a man whom the common people can trust to preserve their domestic in-

terests and to keep them out of war. The war clouds still hang dark and heavy upon both the East horizon and the West. Our financial imperialists and our militarists are even now involving us in international complications that may lead to the most serious consequences. The next war will be a war for oil. For the sake of oil, they are ready to destroy civilization. We want no more wars. We must have in the White House a man who cannot be bought or intimidated—a statesman who will stand unflinchingly against every attempt to draw the United States into a war for commercial conquest.

We want peace—not the peace of an armed truce, "The peace of the smile of God—not the peace of the leer of hell," the peace that grows out of good will, fair dealing

Campaign to Capture White House is Urged

Let us build up soundly the structure of a great progressive movement and force a realignment of political forces in the United States along fundamental lines. We are sick of the artificial distinction between Republicans and Democrats. We are tired of voting for Tweedledum and Tweedledee. We want to see a clear-cut issue between the reactionaries on the one side and the progressives on the other. The people cannot longer be deceived by the camouflage of meaningless party labels. They demand a new deal. They have shown in every election where they have had an opportunity to express their choice, that they are ready to enlist in the progressive cause and to support those candidates in whom they trust. We have only to raise the progressive standard in the national field and millions of men and women will enroll under it. They are ready for a new crusade against the forces of evil and wait only for us to lead the way.

The great tidal wave of popular enthusiasm that swept out of office the reactionary Governments of England and France and now threatens to destroy Mussolini, the black-shirted dictator of Italy, will carry Robert M. La Follette into the Presidency of the United States. The eyes of the people have been opened. They have seen how shamelessly they were deceived and betrayed by the false leaders in whom they placed their trust. They have been shocked by the orgy of corruption, waste and profiteering dur-

ing the war and since its close. They are ready to give their support wholeheartedly to the great progressive movement that is now forming.

Our goal is clear. Our cause is righteous. It is to make this a country where men may be free; where women, released from their long subjection, may use their energies to brighten this sordid world; where children may play and sing, free from the threat of enforced toil; where nature's resources will be husbanded and used for the good of all; and where the nation's prosperity will be shared by all who produce it and not be piled up to enrich the selfish few.

This is our country. It is not, and cannot be, the private property of any man or group of men. The nation belongs to its people, not to its profiteers. Too long have we suffered its resources to be exploited, its fundamental guarantees of liberty and justice to be broken, and its most sacred traditions defiled by those who have exalted money and power as their gods. We cannot longer endure this degradation of America's noblest ideals.

Let us, therefore, here and now resolve wholeheartedly to devote our lives, our fortunes and our energies to this great cause, sinking all petty differences, and content to find our reward in making this nation one in which our children may find happiness—a nation living in peace, preserving freedom and seeking truth.

McLEVY IS NAMED FOR GOVERNOR OF CONN.

NEW HAVEN.—Jasper McLevy, veteran Socialist and Labor leader of Bridgeport, for years president of the central Labor body of that city, and State organizer of the Socialist Party, was named for Governor at an enthusiastic convention last Sunday, held in this city.

Martin F. Plunkett, Wallingford, was named for Lieutenant-Governor, and the following were also named: F. A. Gruby, New Haven, Secretary of State; William James Morgan, New London, Treasurer; W. Hilliard, Old Lyme, Comptroller; and the following Presidential Electors: William E. White, William Jamieson, F. L. Newton, A. Miller, William Cahill, B. Colthorpe, Albert Boardman.

There were delegates from Hartford, Willimantic, Meriden, Hamden, Wallingford, Ansonia, Bridgeport, Fairfield, New London, Stamford, Old Lyme, Waterbury, Derby and Southington.

A rousing platform was adopted, embodying not only the fundamental principles of Socialism but also immediate problems before the workers of the State.

McLevy was chairman of the convention and Louis O. Krahl secretary.

Negroes Favor Third Party

PHILADELPHIA.—A resolution urging the American Negro to disregard the party label in the coming election and endorsing the third party movement as a step toward the "political and economic emancipation" of the Negro has been adopted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in session here.

The Republican party, the resolution said, has recognized the right of the Negro to a voice in the party councils, but, "nevertheless, although in power in all branches of the Government, it has specifically failed to pass the Dyer anti-lynching bill, to abolish segregation in the Government offices at Washington, to take any action with regard to 'Jim Crow' cars in interstate travel, to withdraw our military forces from Haiti, and to make a loan to Liberia."

The resolution voiced appreciation of the treatment accorded Negroes by the Democratic party in the North. "But this Northern wing," it said, "is at the absolute mercy of the 'solid South,' with its 'rotten borough' system depending upon the disfranchisement of the Negro; with its segregation and 'Jim Crow' legislation, its mob and lynching and its denial of proper education to Negro children."

"Both parties," continued the reso-

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U. S. Indicts Democrats and G.O.P. Men in Oil Plot

By MARX LEWIS

WASHINGTON.—While the Democrats, including, of course, Tammany Hall, were busily engaged in New York pledging "the Democratic party to drive from public power all which make barter of our national power" and to restore the United States to the moral leadership which it attained when the Woodrow Wilson administration dragged the nation into war to protect the investments of American financiers abroad, the Federal Grand Jury, sitting in the District of Columbia, struck a discordant note and spoiled the harmony of the proclamation by indicting two Republicans, Albert B. Fall and Harry F. Sinclair, and two Democrats, Edward L. Doheny and his son, for their part in the fraudulent leasing of the naval oil reserves.

On the day the indictments were returned, Senator Reed of Missouri hit the candidacy of the leading Democratic contender for the presidential nomination a solar plexus blow by suggesting that if that contender—meaning William G. McAdoo—obtains the nomination the next campaign will be conducted from a court room in which the nominee will be on trial for having violated the law which prohibits former office holders from practicing before Government departments within the two years following their retirement.

Both cuts were unkind—the unkindest perhaps of all which the Democrats have suffered since the opening of their convention—and they are so many that they will probably delay for at least four years the re-acquisition of America's prestige in the family of nations under Democratic leadership. Those cuts which were inflicted in the convention were self-inflicted, and neither the Republican administration, at whose inspiration the indictments were undoubtedly returned, nor Senator Reed, could have prevented them. Dominated as the Democratic party is by the Bourbon South and a few corrupt politicians up North, it could not be expected to be protected from its own folly.

But the trick which the Republicans played upon the Democrats by returning the indictments against both Republicans and Democrats at a time when Senator Pat Harrison's speech was still in the air was one which the Republicans, if they had observed at all the proprieties which are supposed to obtain among thieves, would not have been played.

The Democrats were more honorable in observing those proprieties. During and immediately after the war when it became known that colossal frauds amounting to billions of dollars had been practiced upon the people while they were engaged in the struggle to make the world safe for democracy, the Democrats did not undertake to punish the criminals, even where they were Republicans.

And when the Democrats left the pie counter at which they had been partaking for eight years, and the Republicans came to take their places, the latter reciprocated. Although Republican congressional committees had exposed some of the frauds, the Republicans did not undertake to punish the criminals, not even when those criminals were Democrats. They did do a little investigating, and when they found that the "track got too hot" as one of the leading Republicans is reported to have put it—that is, when they found that their own people were so closely connected with the war frauds that they too would have to be punished—they decided to let well enough alone.

Thus it came to pass that no Republicans or Democrats were sent to

jail, although each could have put the other into jail if they had the slightest disposition to do so.

The indictments just returned constitute the first indication that the armistice is at an end. Not that either the Republicans would have been indicted, or the Democrats who have been indicted, will go to jail. Those who have followed the developments during the Senate investigation of the naval oil leases know that no individual or group of individuals were responsible, but that the Democratic administration, which passed an act enabling the making of the leases, and a Republican administration which consummated the leases and for two years after their fraudulent character became known refused to prosecute those guilty, were to be held accountable for them. Nor would it be of the slightest benefit to the people that they should go to jail as long as the conditions which permit such frauds and political parties which help them to be consummated continue to operate.

But the indictments show that the Republicans will try to save their own skin by deserting the Democrats and breaking the gentlemen's agreement not to prosecute each other. During the coming political campaign, the Democrats will be hard put to try to explain how they got themselves mixed up in the mess, and it will be even more difficult for them to charge the Republicans with failure to prosecute those guilty. And when the campaign is over, Fall, Sinclair, and the Dohenys may be brought to trial, or they may not—all depending upon whether the armistice will be reestablished.

All of which tends to prove once more that the Republicans, even in their crookedness, are more efficient than the Democrats. With a single blow, the Republicans got the Democrats so tied up in the indictments that the Democrats must keep silent, and at the same time they made the gesture of endeavoring to punish those guilty of the frauds.

Unkind as was the cut of the Republicans, that of Senator Reed was probably the worst, because it came from one of their own men. Aimed only at Mr. McAdoo it could not leave unaffected the Democratic party, whose leading presidential aspirant, endorsed by almost one-half of the Democratic voters of the country, was openly accused of having violated a Federal statute.

Fate has played havoc with the chances of the Democrats. Four years ago it seemed that they were due for many lean and hungry years. Then a ray of light—the Walsh investigation committee—began to smile down upon them. It continued to shine for a while—until the New York convention. And then it collapsed like a house of cards. Fate, which has rescued Calvin Coolidge from oblivion, still seems to be with him.

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Why Arthur C. Townley Has Passed from the Scene

One of the most strange, and at the same time significant, phases of the Farmer-Labor movement of the Northwest is the disappearance of A. C. Townley, the founder of the Non-Partisan League, from the stage of active politics. He has vanished from the scene as if by a miracle. One seldom hears his name mentioned when party counsels are taken. He never is consulted by party chiefs. He is entirely forgotten, as if he never existed. Occasionally his name is mentioned in derision. He is an obstructionist; he is a reactionary; he is almost one of the enemy.

How strange this! The man who bore the brunt of the attack of the newspapers and those whom they represented when the country was filled with a war hysteria! The newspaper headlines—streamer lines in bold type was nothing uncommon—attacking this man were almost of daily occurrence: "Banker Warns Against Menace of Townleyism." "Townley in League With Red Russia." "Danger of Townleyism Spreads to Minnesota." "Good Citizens Unite to Combat Townley Menace." An editorial condemning Townley and Townleyism—whatever that meant—always was good, live copy. He was loved by his friends as he was hated by his enemies. He dominated party counsels. His personality and genius was the dynamic force of the progressive movement. Nothing was done without Townley.

In other words, this tall, slim man with the small, piercing eyes and a somber, almost sad, expression, was a real power. He was the leader, and no one arose to dispute his claim to leadership. No one was in a position to do so. He was the perpetual nightmare of the grain gamblers of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the local bankers, the associations of business men, and the other pillars of the established social and economic order. His menacing figure loomed even in Wall street.

Arousing the Farmers

And rightly so! He aroused the class consciousness of the Northwest farmer as it had never been aroused before, and welded this class consciousness into a compact, effective organization for independent political action. The heretofore docile farmer, exploited on every hand, no longer was content to petition an unsympathetic politician in vain for a redress of grievances. Townley made him "feel his oats." The

Organizer and Idol of the Non-Partisan League, Once a Socialist, Started Downward With His Attack on Independent Political Action by Labor—Idealism of His Early Faith Alone Remains.

By A. I. HARRIS

Townley organization captured the entire machinery of one State Government and made not inconsiderable inroads into several other State Governments. It was no wonder that "Townleyism" in certain quarters was synonymous with Socialism, Anarchism, I. W. W.-ism, free love, and anarchy.

By all the rules of the game, Townley today should be the chief spokesman not only of the Farmer-Labor movement of the Northwest, but of the national Third party movement. More than any one man, he laid the foundations for that movement. He set in motion the forces which now are fast being crystallized into a new political expression, or at least the forces which constitute the central nervous system of that expression. And yet, at the very moment when he should be at the height of his political power, he is a political outcast. He is a bent and discredited man, broken physically, financially, and spiritually, struggling with one futile scheme after another in an effort to keep body and soul together. He is a pitiable spectacle, the personification of discouragement and remorse. He is a thing of the past. Even the newspapers have deserted him. He makes copy for newspapers now only when he is indicted by a grand jury; and even then nothing to get excited about.

Decline of a Leader

How did all this happen? How was it possible for a man so strongly entrenched as was Townley in the hearts of great masses of followers to be so completely overthrown and forgotten? The answer should be heartening to those who hope that the new political movement is more than a flash in the pan, so to speak, that it is a real mass movement.

At a recent meeting of the Non-Partisan League in Minneapolis, a little, old farmer of Southern Minnesota, with a shrill, cracked voice, arose during a discussion of a tactical question and shouted, "Townley is dead. He died politically when he delivered his famous 'balance of power' speech. Since then the farmers in my section of the country washed their hands of him. Townley has gone over to the enemy."

Two years ago, Townley was released from the Jackson County Jail, Minnesota, where he served a six-month sentence for violation of that State's infamous anti-sedition law, perhaps the worst law of its kind passed during the war-craze period. His followers knew that he went to jail, not because he was unpatriotic, but because he organized the exploited farmers. They knew that he was being punished for his program of State-owned elevators, mills, banks, State hail insurance, and various other State-aid features. The "crime" charged was that he discouraged enlistments and rendered "aid and comfort to the enemy" in that, in a public address, he advocated the conscription of wealth. His admirers were legion.

Never in his entire career did Townley's star shine more brightly with the promise for bigger leadership than when he bade his last farewell to the sheriff in charge of the dingy, little jail. In Minneapolis, the Labor and liberal forces combined in a public celebration to do him honor, to pay him tribute. A banquet was arranged. This was to be the occasion for Townley to sound the keynote of this new leadership. Instead, he chose the path which led to his political self-destruction. In effect, what he told his friends and admirers on that historic occasion was about as follows:

Townley's Fatal Speech

"Politically, we Farmer-Laborites are a bunch of dubs. We have no brains. The brains are all on the other side. What is the use in our trying to get control of the machinery of government when, after we capture that machinery, we have not the intelligence to govern? We

tried it in North Dakota and failed miserably.

"But the situation is not entirely hopeless. There is something we can do—we can deal with the old party politicians. They are the ones who have the brains and know the science of government. These fellows talk about principles, but the only principles they have are the principles which those who elect them force upon them. These politicians would be Reds tomorrow if they knew that the Reds could elevate and maintain them in power.

"That gives us a leverage. The best policy for us to pursue is to drive a bargain with them. The ones who will give us the best bargains we will support. We have sufficient brains for such a purpose. When they see that we have the votes we can force them to adopt our program. We can in that way control the elections. We would hold the balance of power. We can dictate to the politicians. Independent political action for such as we is the bunk."

That speech marked the turning point in Townley's career. His followers were aghast, dumbfounded. "What's happened to Townley?" was on every lip. The newspapers, of course, featured the story. They liked his "new political philosophy," but they could not say so in so many words. They treated him more kindly after that. But in the opinion of his friends, Townley went over to the camp of the enemy, played directly into their hands, whether by design or not.

Why Townley chose this course nobody but Townley can answer. Did he fear and distrust the union with Labor? He was at one time an active Party Socialist, and must have sympathized with the Labor cause. Did he lose faith in the principles of the very movement which he himself largely created? Was he afraid that the larger movement would get out of his hands and he would lose control? Did powerful

influences, as is so often the case, finally get to this man of steel while he was confined within the bleak walls of the jail? Did he make a trade? Did somebody "have the goods on him"? These questions were frequently asked.

A Repudiated Leader

Had Townley realized his mistake after it must have been evident to him that he could not impose his new tactics on the movement and publicly abandoned his "balance of power" theory, he might still have maintained his leadership and been the movement's chief spokesman today. But he refused to do it. He was obstinate. He had sounded his gospel of "balance of power" and was determined to win or lose all in the attempt to force it upon the movement. A group of progressive leaders called upon him and pleaded that he reverse himself. "We are willing to accept your leadership if you recognize our aspirations and advance them," they told him. He scorned their advances.

A few months later I heard Townley address a convention of the Minnesota Non-Partisan League. Like an instructor before a class of pupils, with a yard stick in one hand and a piece of chalk in the other, he stood before a huge blackboard demonstrating his theory like one would demonstrate an example in geometry. He talked long and vigorously. But the magic spell was gone. That same evening, the farmers met jointly with the city workers and placed an independent ticket in the field, which resulted in the election to the United States Senate of Henrik Shipstead and came within 14,000 votes of electing a Governor.

It is only justice to the man to assume that he was intellectually honest and sincere in his purpose. But, regardless of his motives, the secret of his downfall was that he failed utterly to read and understand the signs of the new political expression. He failed to grasp its spirit and significance. The movement proved greater than he, and crushed him completely. This is an evidence of a genuine mass expression, the only kind of a movement which is fundamental and lasting. It cannot take on the color of one man. Now Townley is dead, politically, but the idealism which he injected into the movement in the days when he had the faith still remains a living force.

AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY FOR AMERICAN LABOR

League for Industrial Democracy Hears Hillquit Outline a Program for World Affairs.

The sessions of the Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, held at the Columbia Hotel, Belmar, N. J., developed interesting discussions on the Labor party, imperialism, the Japanese and the agrarian problem, and the St. Paul conference.

A Farmers' Program

Friday morning the conference undertook a discussion of a farmers' program for the American Labor Party. J. H. Ryckman of Los Angeles gave the conference a description of what he had observed in many States of the economic plight of the farmers and of their attitude at the St. Paul conference. There they had grown fearful of the Communist steam roller and got out of the way. The impoverished farmers, especially of the Northwest, today do not trust a platform but a man. La Follette has their confidence because of thirty years of service to them. Norman Thomas analyzed the situation, pointing out:

1. That no Labor movement in any conceivable future in America could hope to succeed at least with the acquiescence of producers of food. City workers could be far more easily starved in America than in Russia where they had to make terms with the peasants.

2. Under our constitutions, Federal and State, the predominance of power lies with the rural population. And their help will be necessary in any successful political movement.

3. There is no necessary reason in theory or in practice why an increasing cooperation may not be established between workers on the farms, including those who own their own land, and industrial workers. The formula of the capitalist papers that farmers and workers cannot cooperate because the farmers want cheap labor and Labor wants cheap food has logically no more force than the argument that garment makers and coal miners cannot cooperate because garment workers want cheap fuel and coal miners want cheap clothes. Garment workers and coal miners have learned a certain degree of cooperation. A similar degree of cooperation may be arrived at between the producers of food and of manufactured articles

provided the respective organizations of farmers and workers grow in strength and in the conscious desire to educate each other.

It is also borne out by a consideration of the real community of interest between farmers and workers in such letters as the socialization of our transportation system, coal and super-power. The farmers may come to see the necessity of curbing the power of the courts for the sake of workers, and the workers may come to see the connection of some temporary help, especially to the wheat growers, pending general social readjustments through the growth of cooperatives and the progress of socialization. So long as we keep our protective tariff system the farmer is in a position where he has to buy subsidized goods while he sells his own produce under circumstances where in general a tariff means nothing to him.

In discussion McAlister Coleman pointed out that the plan of the Illinois Coal Miners for production of super-power and the utilization of the by-products of coal would both help them and the consuming public, especially the farmers. Dr. Laidler recalled his experience as a socialist organizer twelve or thirteen years ago in the farming countries of the Southwest, where he found insuperable difficulties to the acceptance of Socialism. Captain Paxton Hibben and Dr. Sabloff discussed the experience of Russia in promoting cooperation between the peasants and the workers. It was, they felt, a different situation which prevailed there than in the United States chiefly because the Russian city worker was very likely to keep his roots in the village community and go back to it in the summer.

Following this discussion, Ryckman gave an encouraging account of the weakening of the vicious campaign in California which had resulted in the imprisonment of more than 100 men for the sole offense of belonging to the I. W. W.

Report of St. Paul Conference
Saturday morning the conference began with a report of President Robert Morris Lovett, who was the unofficial representative of the L. I. D. at the St. Paul convention. He outlined the history of the convention and of the various efforts of the Communists who dominated the convention to act as part of a Farmer-Labor party. He felt that probably as a result of approval from Moscow, won by W. Z. Foster on his recent visit, the policy of the Communists at St. Paul was much more conciliatory than it had been at Chicago. For their purposes they realized the need of a Labor party shell within which to act both for their protection and for the increase of

their influence. The platform drawn up at St. Paul, Mr. Lovett felt, was not a communist document but represented rather their attempt to meet what they conceived to be the needs and demands of the farmers and workers. It was, Mr. Lovett said, a dose poured out of the bottle kept in the communist medicine closet for pale pinks.

Of the nominees Mr. Lovett spoke well, and of the genuineness of the desire of the non-communist elements at the conference and of many of the Communists to cooperate with the group supporting La Follette if it could be done without surrender of their own party organization and principles. J. H. Ryckman in answer to a question from Lovett expressed a somewhat less favorable opinion of the conciliatory attitude of the Communists as he saw it on the platform committee. There followed an animated and interesting discussion on the reasons for the communist tactics sympathetically stated by Captain Hibben who explained that he himself was not a Communist. Various speakers, however, felt that the communist distrust of democracy and avowed belief that the end justifies the means made cooperation difficult. There was also discussion of the socialist position and what the Socialists could do if La Follette insisted on running independently without taking any steps toward a third party.

Morris Hillquit hoped that the necessity for facing this issue might be avoided by the action of the Cleveland conference in deciding to begin the organization of a Labor party as soon as possible. The remainder of the discussion was given to a recapitulation of Mr. Soule's legislative program proposals on the evening before.

L. I. D. Progress

Dr. Laidler concluded the morning session by summarizing the report of the work of the L. I. D. since the last conference. (A detailed report on L. I. D. progress will appear in a forthcoming issue of The New Leader.)
Mr. Laidler concluded by congratulating the League on securing this year, as an additional member of the staff, Paul Blanshard, and on regaining Norman Thomas as one of its two executive directors. He declared that it was hard to imagine two better men for the educational work the League aims to accomplish and asked the cooperation of all its members and friends in its work of building a new world.

An International Program—Latin-America

Saturday evening, the gradual increase in the size of the conference was much accelerated by the com-

Nearing Opposes, Ervin Supports Stand of Socialist—Other Topics Discussed.

ing of the week-end and a large audience was present when the discussion was opened on a foreign policy for an American Labor party, with special reference to Latin-America. Dr. S. G. Inman, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, traced the rapid development of Labor organizations, particularly in Mexico and Argentina, and called attention to the way in which the Mexican Labor movement saved Mexico from the military rebellion in which Huerta had support of a majority of professional soldiers and the old landlord class.

He then turned to a rapid survey of the United States' relations with its southern neighbors. Out of twenty Latin-American States, only five—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, are free from American economic dominance. Not even these nations are free from suspicion of the United States or the influence of its imperialism. The American naval mission to Brazil has aroused great distrust among the Argentines and has started a disastrous race in armament between these two nations.

In eleven of the twenty Latin-American countries not only do American financiers have a dominant influence, but American customs inspectors, sometimes backed by American mariners, are in actual authority. All this is primarily an expression of economic imperialism, although also there is a desire to protect the Panama Canal.

Captain Hibben following Dr. Inman, out of his experience in the diplomatic service in South America under President Taft and Secretary Knox corroborated what Dr. Inman had said and gave interesting personal experiences showing the degree to which he, as an agent of the Government, was really the servant of the steel trust. When he was in Chile the agent of the steel trust, from whom he often got instructions, was engaged in selling Chile big guns at the same time that to Peru, Americans were selling ships. The Government was aiding these commercial ventures by the promise of officers to instruct the prospective purchasers in the use of these weapons.

Discussion was necessarily limited to time and served only to emphasize or clear up certain of the points already made.

The Belmar Follies

Mr. Thomas then announced the great event of the evening, a one-

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act sketch entitled "Wising Up." The League's professional dramatic critic was so overcome with combined mirth and admiration that up to the hour of going to press he has been unable to produce an adequate criticism of this child of the genius of the associated playwrights of the L. I. D. The production was written by Solon De Leon, Sam Friedman, Harry Mayer, Nellie S. Nearing, Clement Wood and Harry W. Laidler. Original music by Harry Mayer, Carroll Hollister and Marguerite Tucker. Costumes were designed and produced by Madame Marie (Continued on Page 9)

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

Through the States

National Convention

The twelfth National Convention of the Socialist Party will be called to order by Bertha Hale White, National Secretary, Sunday morning, at the Hotel Winton, Cleveland. This will be the most important convention of the party since its organization, on July 15, 1901, in Indianapolis.

All party activities have been directed in the past few weeks toward getting a substantial delegation from every State and clarifying the issues before the party members.

There will be the greatest spurt ever known as soon as the convention adjourns, whether the party will launch a campaign for its own national ticket or whether by that time it will be an integral part of a Labor party, lending its great organization experience to the first general Labor party in the history of the United States.

ESTHER FRIEDMAN'S TOUR

Esther Friedman, who has been having a highly successful tour through the Far West, will speak in the following places during July:

July 3—Pasco, Wash.; 4—Hermiston, Ore.; 5—Umatilla, Ore.; 6—Pasco, Wash.; 7—Yakima, Wash.; 8—Cle Elum, Wash.; 9, 10, 11 and 13—Washington; 12—Roslyn, Wash.; 14—Auburn, Wash.; 15—Seattle, Wash.; 16—Mukilteo, Wash.; 17—Everett, Wash.; 18—Stanwood, Wash.; 19—Mt. Vernon, Wash.; 20—Sedro-Woolley, Wash.; 21—Sumas, Wash.; 22—Hopewell, Wash.; 23—Van Zandt, Wash.; 24—Lynden, Wash.; 25, 26, 27 (2 p.m.)—Bellingham, Wash.; 27 (8 p.m.)—Blanchard, Wash.; 28—Anacortes, Wash.; 29—Mt. Vernon, Wash.; 30—Sedro-Woolley, Wash.; 31—Arlington, Wash.

MOUNTAIN STATES DISTRICT

The Mountain States District will be represented at Cleveland by O. A. Kennedy, Stella K. Garrison, C. H. Cammans, and Channing H. Sweet. Comrade Sweet, one of the oldest and most devoted Socialists in the United States, is father of Governor Sweet of Colorado who is a delegate to the Democratic convention, and who polled a substantial vote on several ballots for President.

WISCONSIN

At the great convention of the Badger Socialists, held June 22 in Milwaukee, Senator William F. Quick was named for Governor, Peter Gilles of Arkansas was chosen to make the race for Lieutenant-Governor, Mrs. Ida Fenske was named for Secretary of State, and George Eaglehill of Green Bay was made candidate for State Treasurer.

Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee moved the following resolution:

"The Socialist Party of Wisconsin, in convention assembled, adheres to the stand heretofore taken by the national organization, that we are unalterably opposed to the Cleveland conference endorsing any candidate running as an independent, and, therefore, resolves that in the event no Labor party is formed at Cleveland, we favor the placing on the ballot of a full national ticket."

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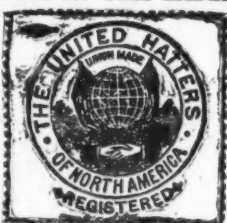
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Congressman Victor L. Berger moved to amend by adding the words, "on an old party ticket." It was over this resolution that the most heated debate of the convention arose.

Mayor Hoan, defending his resolution, said he did not want the party to hook up with disgruntled old party politicians looking for personal advancement. The resolution provided that if the conference did nothing to put up a real Labor party the Socialists were for their own ticket. He said if the Socialists threw their strength to some disgruntled individual, "either La Follette or Macdoodle-doo," it would be the greatest fiasco that ever happened to the Socialist Party. He was opposed to independent candidates who had no organization back of them to control them.

Delegate Quick spoke in much the same strain, claiming the party should not tie up to the tail of some self-seeking politician's kite. He claimed that the Wisconsin group in Congress stood out simply because it came from Wisconsin, where they had been acted on by the Socialist propaganda for many years.

Berger urged that the delegates be allowed to go to Cleveland without tied hands, but the convention, by an overwhelming vote, adopted Hoan's resolution.

The convention was harmonious and enthusiastic, and was considered the best ever held in the State.

OHIO

The convention rally of the Socialist Party will be held in Moose Hall, Cleveland, Sunday afternoon, July 6, when a number of the national leaders of the Socialist Party will launch the 1924 campaign. Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Congressman Victor L. Berger, and Meyer London will speak, and since the meeting comes after the adjournment of the Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, it is believed that the keynote of the Socialist campaign will be sounded there and then. The meeting will be of far more importance than a local rally; it will assume the proportions of a national event.

NEW JERSEY

Leo M. Harkins, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, was named for Congress in the First Congressional District, Camden County, at a convention of the party members recently held. Jacob Kline, P. C. McCormick, and John Witteck were named for Assembly in the county. The candidates are pledged to withdraw from the party ticket in the

event a Labor party is formed in Cleveland and a rearrangement of the local tickets is deemed necessary.

The Socialist Party of Hudson County held a nominating convention on Monday evening, June 23. Comrade George Bauer was elected chairman, and Comrade Robert Leemans, secretary. A discussion took place as to the advisability of making nominations at this time, in view of the forthcoming national conventions of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the Socialist Party, as well as the special State convention to be held by the Socialist Party of New Jersey on July 27, but it was the sense of the convention that the possibility of the formation of a progressive Labor party in Hudson County this year was very slight and that the Socialist Party would probably be the only progressive party in the field this fall, and that, therefore, no benefits would be obtained and much valuable time would be lost by deferring the nominations.

The following nominations were then made: For Congress, 11th District—William Kane Tallman, of Jersey City. For Congress, 12th District—George Bauer, of Jersey City.

For Members of the General Assembly: Silvio Ghiotti, Sander Gross, August Gunther, David Hymen, William McPherson, Mrs. Dominick Mazzarelli, Ernest Meyer, M. Rapaport, Fred Reiner, Michael Savignano, Pillsbury Stratton.

For County Supervisor—Edward West New York.

For Register—Henry Meyer, of Jersey City.

For County Supervisor—Edward H. Mead, of Jersey City.

For Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders—George Klein, of Jersey City; Robert Ring, of Union Hill; Dominick Mazzarelli, of Jersey City.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS IN HUDSON COUNTY

SATURDAY, July 5

HOBOKEN—Washington and 5th streets. Speaker, C. William Thompson.

WEST NEW YORK—Bergenline Avenue and 14th street. Speaker: Te be announced.

BAYONNE—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker, Frederick Kraft.

UNION HILL—Bergenline Avenue and Main street. Speaker, J. R. Smallwood.

WEST HOBOKEN—Summit Avenue and Courtland street. Speaker, Blanche Watson.

JERSEY CITY—Jackson and Orient avenues. Speaker, Henry Jager.

MASSACHUSETTS

June 26—Splendid street meeting in Gardner, with August Claessens.

June 27—Another enthusiastic meeting in Fitchburg, with large number of books and New Leaders sold.

June 28—Good meeting in poor locality in Leominster. Authorities would not give local Socialists right to speak on Common, which privilege is permitted to Democrats, Republicans, and street fakirs. District committee to make test case of this; speaker to be routed here July 15. June 28—District Organizer Albert Weisbord had splendid street meeting in Haverhill. Large collection, and many books sold. Organizer Weisbord spoke at local meeting in Brockton. Local comrades voted to pay for full-time organizer for two weeks; they are determined that the organization in Brockton shall be rebuilt to its greatest strength.

July 1—Organizer Weisbord had good meeting in Amesbury.

RHODE ISLAND

A conference of the Jewish Socialist Verband of New England will be held in Providence, Friday, July 4, at 141 Benefit street, in the Workmen's Circle Hall, and will begin at three p. m. The following will address the opening: Mrs. G. Medem, B. Botvink, H. Berger, and speakers from Boston. In the evening a banquet will be given at the Crown Hotel in honor of the delegates. The conference will continue Saturday and Sunday, the 5th and 6th. All those who wish to attend the banquet should write to J. Pavlov, 42 Carrington Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island.

On Monday, June 30, Organizer Weisbord spoke at enthusiastic branch meeting in Providence early in the evening. Newly reorganized Local voted to pay \$100 for the services of a full-time organizer in Providence for the month of July. Local comrades here as fully determined as those in Brockton to rebuild Local in quick time. Later in the evening comrades adjourned to a street meeting, at which Organizer Weisbord spoke. Good meeting, with large sale of books and good collection.

MAINE

In Madison, Maine, twenty comrades have banded together and formed a local, as a result of the activities of Organizer Alfred Baker Lewis. The Madison comrades are determined not to stop with this number, but to work for a large and active local in this city. Skowhegan is also now represented by a newly organized Socialist Party local. The New Leader is now being sent to the Skowhegan Public Library as the result of the efforts of a local comrade. Charter application has been sent to Bangor, where Comrade Secor has promised to organize a local in the near future. Charter

application has also been sent to Leon Crockett in Camden, Maine, who feels sure he can organize a local there very soon; also to Horace Thurlow, Lincolnville, who is determined that all his friends and neighbors will join with him in the Socialist Party, the party of the working-class. Organizer Lewis, during his month's tour of Maine, has discovered splendid Socialist sentiment, which he has in a large number of instances crystallized into party

membership. New Leader subscriptions, and contributions for the 1924 campaign.

ILLINOIS

The following are the delegates to the National Convention—Evar Anderson, Tilden Bozarth, Otto Braustetter, Katherine Claus, John M. Collins, William A. Cunnes, Swan Johnson, George Koop, William R. Snow, John T. Whitlock and Dave Woodhouse.

New York Activities

The ballots on the merger referendum are in the hands of the local secretaries. All members in the counties of Greater New York are urged to vote at once and turn in their ballots. It is advisable that a substantial vote be cast and recorded by the time the State convention meets, in order that action amending the State constitution be taken then.

BUFFALO

Local Buffalo, Socialist Party, is now established in its new downtown headquarters, Room 6, Williams Building, 377 Main street. This office will be used by the Buffalo representative of The New Leader, Comrade Thomas Flynn.

Buffalo readers of The New Leader desiring to join the party or purchase Socialist literature should apply at the headquarters. Dues-paying members may pay their dues at the headquarters or mail dues to the Treasurer, Charles H. Roth, 950 Clinton street.

FREE SPEECH FIGHT WON

The attack of the American Legion and other reactionary organizations upon the right of free speech in Buffalo has been repulsed, principally through the efforts of the Socialist Party. Mayor Schwab has announced that all he wants is notice twenty-four hours in advance of any street meeting—something the Socialists have always given.

The gag ordinance was presented to the City Council, June 18, and the public hearing was held June 27. It is aimed to prohibit any and all street meetings unless the speakers got a special permit, and added that no meeting of any kind would be permitted that had "the effect of creating disorder, or inciting others to riot, disorder or violation of law." The last section is believed to be the furthest north thus far proposed in this country in attempted suppression by law. The Erie County Chapter of the American Legion has earned the wreath of onion blossoms for thinking it up.

A stirring hearing was held, attended by a number of American Legion men in uniform with bayoneted guns—for which they drew a sharp rebuke from the Mayor. Bishop Brent, who was Protestant Chaplain-in-Chief of the A. E. F., wrote a letter earnestly protesting against the gag law, and letters were read from the State Federation of Labor, State Secretary Merrill of the party, and speeches were delivered by Irving M. Weiss, Rev. Hahn, and a number of other Socialists. Franklin P. Brill, Communist leader and former Socialist, also spoke earnestly against the measure.

The Proletarian party—which is a non-political propaganda organization of Marxian Socialists—has denounced George Scarborough, author of all the trouble, as an agent provocateur. Scarborough spoke in Lafayette square several weeks ago, announcing himself as a former Illinois Assemblyman, an ex-service man, and a representative of the Proletarian party. He made a wild, incoherent speech and caused the riot that led to the introduction of the ordinance.

The Socialist Party has come out of the incident immensely strengthened.

New Branch in Troy

Giralmo Valenti, Italian organizer, reports the formation of a new Italian branch in Troy with thirteen charter members, and many more in sight. Valenti's tour is one of the most successful ever conducted under Party auspices, and he is just getting under way.

LOCAL NEW YORK

GENERAL MEETING

A general party meeting of all party members of Local New York will be held on Tuesday, July 15, 8:30 P. M., at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, to hear the report of the delegates to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, and to the Socialist Party Convention.

Among the delegates who will report are Comrades Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Jacob Panken, Louis Waldman, Joseph Cannon, and others.

This meeting should be of interest to all party members and a good turn out is expected. Comrades from other Locals are invited to attend.

Admission by party card, and members must be in good standing.

German Branch Active

The German Branch of Local New York, Socialist Party, publishes their "Sozialistische Rundschau." The New York Volkzeitung refused to publish the following advertisement:

SOZIALISTISCHE RUNDSCHAU erscheint zweimal monatlich, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Sprachgruppe der Sozialistischen Partei, Local New York. Adresse: 112 4. Avenue, New York. Abonnement 60 Cents fuer 6 Monate, \$1.00 das Jahr.

(Continued on Page 11)

On The International Front

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

INTERNATIONAL

Executive Committee Meets In Vienna

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International held in Vienna June 5-7 and presided over by Emile Vandervelde, it was decided that the sixtieth anniversary of the founding in London of the International Workingmen's Association, the precursor of the present Socialist International, which occurs on September 28 next, must be made the occasion of demonstrations by Socialist and Labor Parties all over the world, with a special international celebration in London itself. This anniversary manifestation is to be a sort of climax to a series of anti-war demonstrations to be begun on July 31, the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War and of the murder of Jean Jaures, by the issuing of a joint manifesto by the Executive Committee and the Socialist Young People's International, the high point of which will be reached on September 21 when world-wide, anti-war meetings are to be held in cooperation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, the International Cooperative Alliance and the Young People's International.

International Secretary Friedrich Adler reported steady progress in the various affiliated national Socialist organizations. The financial report showed an income of \$2,680, with expenditures of \$2,457 and a balance in the bank of \$252. It was decided to continue the present system of international dues for the next year, but the Bureau may submit a new plan to the next Congress.

Despite the committee's opposition to any counter-revolutionary intervention in Russia, it was resolved to ask all Socialist and Labor parties to help those parties in Russia and Georgia to stand fast and continue to draw the attention of the world to the terrorism being exercised against workers and peasants in Soviet Russia. It was also pointed out that the White Terror still prevailed in Hungary and that the Socialist movement there needed help.

Regarding the efforts being made by the capitalists of Germany, France and Belgium to use the repa-

ration settlement with Germany as a means of breaking down the legal eight-hour working day, first in Germany and then in other countries, it was decided to urge all Socialist and Labor members of Parliaments to do their best to obtain the immediate ratification by their countries of the eight-hour convention adopted by the International Labor organization of the League of Nations at its Washington conference. Furthermore, the fight against any lengthening of the working day in any country is to be carried on vigorously. The British committee-men said that the Labor party was determined to obtain ratification of the Washington convention as soon as possible.

After listening to Secretary Adler's report on the conference on the Balkan situation held in Bucharest last winter by the representatives of the Socialist Parties of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania under the direction of the Bureau of the International, it was voted that the Bulgarian Socialists, by withdrawing their representatives from the Tsankof Cabinet and coming out in the open opposition to that reactionary Government, had done their Socialist duty and the question was to be regarded as closed. The Balkan parties were advised to hold frequent joint conferences on international political matters on the basis for such action laid down by the International and to try to defend the interests of the workers of all nationalities.

Between sessions a joint meeting was had with the members of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will be held in London next September and the Congress of the International will convene in Paris some time in 1925.

Some thirty representatives of the Vienna meeting, which was heartily welcomed to the Socialist city by Mayor Seitz.

FRANCE

Figures On the Labor Vote

According to the figures compiled by a Parisian publicist from the results of the general elections of May 11, the average straight vote polled by the Socialist Party of France in the comparatively few districts where its candidates for the Chamber ran independent of all combinations was 749,647. The Communists, who ran alone and had candidates in practically every Department, polled 875,812 votes. When it is remembered that Socialist votes formed a large fraction of the big totals rolled up for the candidates of the Left Bloc, many of whom were Socialists,

it is easy to see that the total number of voting Socialists in France must be around 2,000,000.

LATVIA

Children's Week in Riga

Under the management of the Latvian Friends of the Children, an organization founded and run by the Latvian Socialists, practically the whole city of Riga was turned over to the children during the last week of May. There were outings, concerts, games and entertainments of all kinds for the children at no expense to themselves or their parents, and the carnival spirit was untarnished by any sign of commercialism. Managers of amusement houses were lined up for the idea and helped make children's week a great success. On May 28, all theatres and movie houses were at the exclusive service of the children. It is estimated that more than 10,000 little ones attended the National Opera, the National Theatre and the Art Theatre. The best artists took part in the performances. On May 29, there were concerts for children in all parks and public gardens, in some of which children's orchestras played leading parts. Practically all the school children and their teachers were participants in the festival.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Yipsels In Big Celebration

Thousands of young Socialists from all parts of Czechoslovakia gathered in Teplice-Schonau for a big fete of the German-speaking Yipsels over the Whitsun holidays. The great parade on Sunday, in which more than 10,000 well-trained young people marched, filled the spectators with confidence in the future of a movement that could turn out such a wonderful army of working class youth inspired by the ideals of Socialism. There were speeches by local and national Labor leaders and by visitors from other countries, including Piet and Voogd, representing the Socialist Young People's International. Dr. Heller expressed the hopes of the German-speaking Socialist Democratic party in the young people's movement, and Comrade Ceythamel, of the Czech Young Socialist organization, brought the fraternal greetings of that body. Concerts, athletic games and entertainments of all sorts kept the visitors and their hosts busy and happy for the three days that the fete continued.

At the same time the Young Socialist organization of the Czechs held a national congress in Prague which was addressed by a number of the leaders of the Czech Socialist Democracy, including Editor Stivin and Provo Lida. During the debates

BOOKS FOR MEETINGS

By UPTON SINCLAIR

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UPTON SINCLAIR—Pasadena, Calif.

The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the U. S. of A.

Membership Dec. 31, 1922—53,139

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

Total Sick, Accident and Death Claims paid \$10,109,292.63

A Uniform Death Benefit of \$250.00

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

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(ORGANIZED OCTOBER 19, 1884)

MOBILIZING THE CHURCHES AGAINST THE NEXT WAR

THE whole Christian Church seems about to adopt the Quaker view that war and Christianity are irreconcilable. The change in sentiment since 1917, when the churches were so thoroughly mobilized for war, is almost unbelievable. It is not yet six years since the armistice day on which President Wilson proclaimed to a rejoicing nation that victory had been won and with it all the noble objects for which the war had been avowedly waged. Christian people had supported the Governments' war policy well nigh unanimously. Quakers, Mennonites and other numerically negligible fellowships, and a pacifist minister here and there, who was speedily ejected from his pulpit, constituted no important opposition. The flag appeared in the sanctuaries, and Church and State were practically one in the hearty prosecution of the enterprise of collective homicide to which the President, regarded as a great idealist, summoned the people in the name of all that is holy.

Today the various branches of the Church seem to vie with one another in expressing detestation of war and earnest purpose to abolish it. One of the avowed objects of the late war was to end war forever, a modern case of Satan casting out Satan. The futility of the method became glaringly manifest in the world conditions after the armistice. The notion that war could be a means of ending war was never anything but ardent nonsense, a disgrace to any mind that entertained it. Although inherently ridiculous it was nevertheless accepted in the midst of the war madness as a Christian justification of participation in war. Now no one can mention it except as a ghastly jest.

IT WAS a military man who first effectively laid the responsibility for war squarely on the churches. General Tasker H. Bliss, formerly chief of staff, who had participated in the peace conference at Paris, said in May, 1921: "The responsibility is entirely upon the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed." About the same time a few ministers not before known as pacifists began to express their searchings of heart and to declare their purpose never again to support war. In November, 1921, the late Dr. William Austin Smith said in The Churchman, of which he was the editor: "War is a sin. If God has made anything clear to the mind of Christendom, he has revealed to us the sinfulness of war. If the Christian Church blesses another war, its blessing and its curse will have no further authority and prestige for our civilization." In June of the same year, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, perhaps the most popular preacher in America, said in a sermon that was widely circulated: "We

Entire Christian Church Swings Nearer Quaker Attitude Toward Violence—Many Ministers Take New Peace Vow—Sincerity Will Be Put to the Test September 12, "Goose-Step Day."

By HENRY W. PINKHAM

cannot reconcile Christianity and war any more." The words "any more" suggest face-saving. As if there ever was a time when Christianity and war could be reconciled! Dr. Fosdick did his best during the war to reconcile those two incompatible. He will not try it again, it is safe to say, despite the hint of hedging in his more recent statement: "The more I consider war, its sources, methods and results, its debasing welter of lies and brutality, its unspeakable horror while it is here, and its utter futility in the end to achieve any good thing that mankind could wish, the more difficult I find it to imagine any situation in which I shall feel justified in sanctioning or participating in another war."

THERE are now many ministers who are quite unable to imagine any circumstances whatever in which they will feel justified in sanctioning another war. Frankly admitting that they were wrong in justifying the late war, they affirm positively that they will never do the like again. One such is Dr. Doremus E. Scudder, now of California, formerly the much esteemed secretary of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches. He said about a year ago: "When the war opened I was a pacifist and opposed all preparations by our Government for fighting. But the war propaganda finally got me, and I came to feel it the duty of our nation to enter the conflict in order to end war and help democratize the world. I was wrong. A part of the blood-guilt of the world is mine and I owe every possible effort I can muster to help atone for the greatest crime in human history. The first duty of the Christian Church is to declare future war impossible. Her membership can end this evil forever if it will. A simple announcement by every Christian disciple, 'I will not fight,' made public, would soon sweep armaments into the scrap heap. Already millions of men have registered this decision in their hearts. The wage-earners and farmers of all civilized lands are ready for such a movement. Once championed by the Church, backed by modern publicity, it would sweep Europe, the Americas and a large part of Asia like a prairie fire."

It is at present not individuals merely that are avowing such sentiments but large Christian bodies. The impulse has come not only from

Christian ministers but, in no small measure, from Christian youth. A hundred thousand ministers have read Kirby Page's "War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure." This enlightening, searching and inspiring book, like the same author's earlier "The Sword or the Cross," calls for complete renunciation of war as irremediably un-Christian. Last April the Unitarian ministers voted by mail on the following radical pacifist resolution: "Whereas we see that war is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind today; that it is not only futile but suicidal, and that recognition of this fact is necessary to the continuance of civilization; that it is inherently the defiance of common sense and the denial of common humanity;—we, therefore, as ministers of religion and public teachers of morality, declare now in time of peace our deliberate determination never to sanction or participate in a war; we affirm our conviction that churches as such ought to refuse cooperation with Governments in waging war; and we memorialize the American Unitarian Association at its coming session in May to repudiate the entire war system—economic exploitation, imperialism and militarism—to the end that our fellowship may take an honorable, if not a leading, part among religious bodies in the abolition of war." Ninety-one ministers voted for this, and 87 against it. A considerable number were unwilling to vote either for or against. Unitarian laymen lag behind the ministers and the American Unitarian Association responded to the memorial by adopting a pussyfoot resolution on war that Mr. Weeks himself, the Secretary of Collective Homicide—who happens to be a Unitarian—would not find objectionable.

ALTHOUGH the sacrifice of youth to the folly of old men spoiled by the exercise of power was not nearly so serious in this country as in Europe, the foreign youth movement against war has its counterpart here. One year ago the secretary of Collective Homicide, the aforementioned Honorable John W. Weeks, attended the Brown University Commencement to receive the honorary degree of LL. D. One of the graduating addresses to which he listened—but which seems to have done him no good—was a thoroughgoing pacifist argument by a young man from Maine, T. Barton Akeley.

Probably every college has its group of radical pacifist students such as in several cases—that of Northwestern University, for example—has been made the object of newspaper misrepresentation. Students in theological seminaries are tending rapidly to abjure war teetotality. The Student Volunteer convention in Indianapolis about six months ago found war and inter-racial relations the two absorbing themes. About 500 of the delegates voted for refusal to participate in any future war. The convention of Methodist students in Louisville, last April, voted against military training in colleges and universities.

As the season for the denominational gatherings drew near, it was evident that the attitude of Christians toward war would be a burning question in them all. And so it has proved. For several months an influential religious journal, The Christian Century, of Chicago, had been calling on the churches to excommunicate war. Week after week with irresistible argument it pressed home its appeal that the Church as such should refuse to sanction wholesale killing, while not denying its members as individuals the right to follow their own conscience in the matter. The time was ripe for such an expression on the part of Christian organizations, and in the past few weeks Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Disciples and other bodies have gone on record as determined to abolish war as contrary to the spirit and purpose of Jesus.

PUBLIC interest was directed especially to the Methodist General Conference at Springfield, Mass., which meets only once in four years. It is an international assembly, Methodist foreign missions being represented. The Committee on the State of the Churches, composed of more than one hundred members, presented a resolution to the Conference which began thus: "The hour has struck for the Church to take positive and practical steps to end war," and concluded as follows: "While recognizing the freedom of the individual member to follow his own conscience, but remembering that the Church is the visible expression of the spirit of Jesus in the world, we, as an organization, separate ourselves from war and take no part in its promotion." A denaturing amendment excepting wars fought for self-defense or the

defense of humanity was rejected by this committee, 79 to 41. Ample time was taken for the discussion of this resolution. Newspapers like the Boston Transcript that advocate preparation for collective homicide solemnly warned the Methodists that such a declaration would be treasonable. It was not adopted by the conference. But neither was it rejected. A committee was appointed to draft a substitute for it which was adopted enthusiastically. The substitute contained the prophylactic statement that "the patriotism of the Methodist Episcopal Church has never been challenged," but proceeded to assert that "Governments which ignore the Christian conscience of men in time of peace cannot justly claim the lives of men in time of war." It is reported that the War Department regards this assertion as disloyal! The substitute, being both more comprehensive and more specific than the original, is on the whole a stronger declaration against war. Here are sundry sentences from it: "War is not inevitable. It is the supreme enemy of mankind. Its futility is beyond question. Its continuance is the suicide of civilization. We are determined to outlaw the whole war system. We shall launch an aggressive campaign to teach the nature, causes and consequences of war. Selfish nationalism, economic imperialism and militarism must cease. The establishment of the principle that conscription of wealth and labor must be the counterpart of any conscription of human life will be a powerful deterrent against war. We call upon all people to avoid divisive and fruitless discussions and unite their energies in this great crusade for a war-free world."

YOU may rezoloot till the cows come home," says a Pike county character. The Methodists will do more than "rezoloot." The General Conference appointed a commission to summon the religious forces of the world to consider the best plans and methods for making the impact of united Christendom against war. That means that something will come to pass. The Methodists are the most numerous and aggressive of all the Protestant denominations. By themselves alone they could, if they would, make it impossible for our country to engage in war. But while unquestionably they lead the gathering host of Christian pacifists, that host con-

tains a multitude bearing other names. The Baptists are only a little way behind the Methodists and may yet compete with them for leadership in the war against war, for which the whole Church is girding itself with the sword of the spirit.

Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain an' flat;
I don't want to go on furder
Than my Testymet fer that.

The Civil War made Lowell forget the sentiments he uttered during the Mexican War through his rustic hero, Hosea Biglow. But Hosea Biglow was right. To the heart of the Christian it is revolting to imagine Jesus clad in khaki, plunging a bayonet into the vitals of a man he never saw before, or turning the crank of a machine-gun to spatter death before him. And the Christian undertakes to follow Jesus in spirit, inquiring when he needs guidance "What Would Jesus Do?" Julia Ward Howe's "As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free," has supported the absurd and blasphemous notion that the soldier enters into the experience of Jesus, the night before the battle being his Gethsemane and the battle-field his Calvary. But the fallacy involved is now widely perceived. The soldier's business is not dying, but killing. Jesus died, surrendering Himself to the worst that human hate could do. He did not kill, nor try to kill. The wholesale killing of fellowmen is utterly incompatible with the spirit of love which He enjoined and exemplified. Love does not go with killing, but inevitably fear and hate go.

THERE will be an early opportunity to test the earnestness of the present Christian revolt against war. On September 12, happily known as Goose-step Day, Mr. Weeks, the secretary of Collective Homicide, and Gen. Pershing, the leader of the American participants in the mass killing enterprise called the World War, are asking the entire population to manifest their readiness to engage in another such enterprise promptly upon the summons of the Government. What kind of a rotten thing it is which has the prerogative of summoning a people to engage in the slaughter of their kind has been disclosed in part by recent revelations at Washington. It will be appropriate for the professing Christians to observe Goose-step Day by gathering in their churches to declare that they will have no part in another war no matter what the commands that may proceed from Washington. Theodore Parker's sensible words on treason will be fittingly recalled: "I think lightly of what is called treason against a Government. It may be your duty today or mine. But treason against the people, against mankind, against God is a great sin not lightly to be spoken of."

The Dictator Speaks

Visit of Italian King to England Failed to Produce Any "New Warmth" for Fascism.

[The following was printed as an editorial in a recent issue of the London Daily Herald, official organ of the British Labor party. In view of the recent murder of Deputy Matteotti, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Italy, for his uncompromising hostility to Mussolini and Fascism, this semi-official expression of the Government of Great Britain is of particular importance.]

It would be wrong to let pass without correction the statement in a newspaper which was once regarded abroad as a mouthpiece of British opinion that "a new warmth" has lately been "infused into our friendship for Italy."—As an expression of this new warmth, the "enthusiastic demonstrations associated with the visit of the King and Queen of Italy"—are—either childishly or craftily—adduced.

It would be childish to suppose that the people who gaze and cry "Hurrah!" when royal processions pass are moved by any political motive or have any international consciousness. They behave in just the same way when film-stars arrive or when a circus trails through the streets its gilded cars and elephants and clowns. It would be crafty to hold up such demonstrations as evidence of anything more than an infantile snobbishness and a readiness to be easily entertained.

It is not true that the people of this country feel more warmly than they did towards "Italy," if by Italy is meant the governing powers of that country. If it were true, it would mean that we were strangely lacking in sympathy with the Italian people. The truth is the exact opposite. The British people are anxious for better friendship with the Italian people, but towards the present Italian Government its feelings of detestation increase with every fresh revelation of its character and aims.

The latest revelation appeared yesterday. A magazine called "English Life" came out with an article by Signor Mussolini on "The Folly of Democracy." It is a silly article, and even its silliness is borrowed, for the Dictator takes his material

from "The Prince," by Macchiavelli, a book published in 1513 either to suggest to the petty despots of Italy how they should secure their positions, or, as some think, simply to amuse. The notion that maxims of government laid down for tyrants ruling over small, ignorant and superstitious populations can be applied today to the peoples of Europe gives us the measure of Signor Mussolini's intelligence.

Especially does he fret and fume at the demand that no war should be begun save by the decision of the people. This demand, we are very glad to say, has just been unanimously approved by the Parliamentary Labor party; that is implied by its acceptance of Mr. Morel's Open Diplomacy Charter. Mussolini tries to deride it. "Can anyone imagine a war being declared by referendum?" he asks.

No one can imagine this: that is exactly why we insist upon a popular vote being taken.

The claim of the slow-witted and arrogant Italian autocrat is that he shall decide the issues of peace and war. "The people have but one duty, to affirm and obey." For his fellow-creatures this sick-brained dictator expresses the utmost contempt. They only exist to be ruled over by such as he. He may "graciously" grant to the people an appearance of sovereignty, but "in times of war the cardboard crown is stripped off" and they must do as rulers of his kidney tell them.

The statement that the British people feel warm friendship towards a Government based on these imbecilities, bred of conceit and crudity, is foolish and untrue.

There can be no freedom for man or woman so long as they need a master before they can live at all.—Karl Hardie.

THE DIFFERENCE

William Jennings Bryan was a pacifist for the glory of God. Eugene V. Debs was a pacifist for the glory of man. It was Mr. Debs who went to jail.—Heywood Brown.

Political Problems Vex Cooperative Congress; Georgians Tell of Persecution by Soviet Russia

PRAGUE.—When the Central Committee of the International Cooperative Alliance recently met here to discuss important details of extending its field of operations, which already takes in some thirty countries, 20,000 local organizations and 30,000,000 members, and to put the finishing touches on the program for its international congress, which will open in Ghent, Belgium, on August 30, next, the representatives of twelve nations, who were present, found themselves facing political as well as economic problems.

Hardly had Vice-president Whitehead of England opened the first session and thanked Minister Haberman of the Czechoslovak Department of Public Welfare for his official welcome, when the situation of the co-

operatives in Bulgaria and Georgia was brought to the attention of the meeting.

In Bulgaria the reactionary Government headed by Premier Tsankov has seized the property and offices of the Communist cooperative organizations under pretext of stamping out seditious propaganda, while in Georgia many members of the old cooperatives assert that since the establishment of Bolshevik rule in the little country in the Caucasus they have been persecuted and their organizations wiped out to make way for the new pro-Soviet cooperative affiliated with the Centro-Soyuz in Moscow.

After listening to statements by representatives of the Bulgarian Communist and neutral cooperatives

and of the neutral Georgian cooperatives and of the Russian cooperatives the Central Committee adopted a resolution instructing Secretary H. May to send a message to Sofia demanding that the Bulgarian Government cease persecuting the cooperatives, no matter what their political faith might be; and two others recognizing the new pro-Soviet representatives from Georgia as entitled to present the movement there, but urging the Centro-Soyuz to do its best to see to it that cooperation in Georgia was allowed to develop without Governmental oppression of any of its elements.

During the debate over these resolutions it was brought out that while the Bulgarian and Russian Governments might really have occasion to proceed against individual members or officials of the cooperatives on account of their political propaganda, this ought not to be used as an excuse for confiscating or destroying the organizations themselves.

A jarring note in the conference was a statement by Dr. Karl Renner, head of the Austrian cooperatives, to the effect that his organization could hardly participate in the international cooperative exposition to be held in Ghent this summer, or in the international congress, while French and Belgian troops were in the Ruhr and German co-operators in the Rhineland were in their grip. Dr. Renner's remarks were backed up by the representatives of the German cooperatives and of the Czechoslovakia. V. Serwy of Belgium tried to convince the Teuton representatives that the Belgian co-operators were running the exposition and the congress and that the delegates would be the guests of the cooperators, not of the Belgian Government, but Dr. Renner and his comrades insisted that unless there was a material change in the political situation and the German co-operators in the occupied territory recovered their liberty of action they would not be seen at Ghent. Since the conference the defeat of the Poincare Bloc National in the French elections, which is expected to result in the adoption of a more conciliatory policy toward Germany, is likely to cause the Teuton cooperators to modify their stand.

A demand by the Russian representatives that the International Co-

operative Alliance enter into working relations with the Red Trade Union International similar to those entertained with the International Federation of Trade Unions was turned down by the conference on the ground that the Moscow organization was political, as well as economic, while the Amsterdam federation was avowedly neutral in politics. It was pointed out that the International Cooperative Alliance would be glad to consider a proposition from the Moscow unionists when they had succeeded in proving that their organization was non-political.

Reports on the extension of cooperative activities along international lines showed that the committees entrusted with working out plans for organizing a wholesale trading international, an international association of cooperative banks and an international insurance society were making good progress and would have definite schemes ready for the Ghent congress.

A feature of the conference was the interest shown by the Czechoslovak Government, which extended all sorts of courtesies to the visiting cooperators. President Masaryk received the Executive Committee in the Hradeany, the ancient castle of the Bohemian kings, now used as the Government building, and Mayor Baxa and the Board of Aldermen of Prague gave the members of the Central Committee a luncheon.

The Czechoslovak cooperators say that this was eminently right and proper, as their country is strong for the cooperative movement, a statement that is borne out by cold figures.

One thousand dollars in gold weighs nearly three and a half pounds—so they tell me at the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank. So you can figure it out—about how many tons of gold you would have if your fortune were equivalent to one and three-quarter billions of dollars in gold. When you get a pile like that it is well to hand the public a few dozen tons. The public will become tame, eat right out of your hand—and go smilingly to sleep. It's simply wonderful how peacefully the big blind baby sleeps if you occasionally hand it some shining presents. It's a system.

Glengarry's Review

INDESCRIBABLY
ATROCIOUS
MUST BE THE CRIME
Of an American-BORN
Whose CITIZENSHIP
HIS government DENIES.

Such INTOLERANCE
Could not POSSIBLY
Be PROVOKED
By one LESS dangerous
Than the CALVAR' felon
Who was SPIKED
To hewn TIMBERS
And SUSPENDED
By HIS WOUNDS
UNTIL HE DIED.

THAT "culp'rit's" CRIME
CONSISTED of,
"STIRRING UP THE PEOPLE,"
And to THIS day
NO CRIMINAL
Is MORE HATED than he
Who "STIRRETH UP"

THE PEOPLE
To a REALIZATION
Of their LOST
STATEHOOD.
And who POINTS out
A STRAIGHT highway
To a LOFTY
RESTORATION
Of EVERY privilege
The ROBBER seized.

OUTSTANDING
Among THOSE

So OUTRAGED
IS Eugene Victor Debs—
THE MAN WHO
CONDEMNED war
MORE effectively
THAN the "IDEALIST,"
Woodrow Wilson,
Who was THEN
President of THIS nation.

The DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN the two
Is WIDE as the GULF
Which SEPARATES
GOOD-WILL from GREED—
ONE, THE APOSTLE OF PEACE;
THE OTHER,
THE MINION of CAPITALISM—
DEBS, FOREVER IMMOVABLE;
THE PRESIDENT,
PLASTIC as the clay
Of WHICH is made
A TOY-MONKEY.

BUT, when CAPITALISM
Made MILITARISM
Both JUDGE and JURY,
DEBS, the UNCHANGEABLE,
Was PUBLICLY crucified
To the FOUL extent
Of the ESPIONAGE scheme
By which is DENIED
The FIRST principle
Of a FREE government,
And UNTIL America
RESTORES HIS citizenship,
Her CITIZENSHIP
REMAINS DISHONORABLE.

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

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

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MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

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Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.
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The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 331 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., B'klyn. Dickens 0882
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANER, Secretary.

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LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.
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Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

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OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U. Watkins 7950
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Brooklyn—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Thursday 12 A. M.
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EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

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 31st Street. Telephone 1746—Watkins.
LUIGI ANTONINI, 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.

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31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
Telephones: Stuyvesant 8500-1-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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

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A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 15th Street. Stuyvesant 5566.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

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OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1357
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
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Children's Jacket Makers

of Gr. N. Y., Loc 10, Sec. A, C. W. A.
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Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.
J. BERCOVITZ, L. FELICIAN, Chairman. Rec. Sec'y.
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SAM COHEN, Fin. Sec'y.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10, C. W. A.
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Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.
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J. FORTNEY, A. KAUFMAN, Fin. Sec'y.
Buk Agent.

Lapel Makers & Pairers'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman.
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary.
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arlon Pl., Bkn., N. Y.
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman.
H. TAYLOR, Rec. Sec'y.
LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y.

TERENCE V. POWDERLEY, KNIGHTS OF LABOR LEADER, DEAD AT 75

WASHINGTON.—Terence Vincent Powderley, at one time the most outstanding figure in the American Labor movement, died here June 24 at the age of 75. Powderley was for fourteen years the Grand Master Workman of the defunct Knights of Labor, the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor.

In recent years, he held the position of Commissioner General of Immigration, and most people who knew of his great influence and power in the seventies to the nineties, believed him dead long ago.

Powderley was born in Carbondale, Pa., in 1849. He began work at 13 as a switch tender in a railroad yard. Later he was a car repairer and a machinist.

In 1878, Powderley was elected mayor of Scranton on a Labor ticket and was reelected in 1880 and 1882. In 1879, he was elected head of the K. of L., a position he held until 1893.

In 1894, Powderley was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar, and in 1906 he was given his first federal job.

LABOR ENTERS CABINET WITH NATIONALISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

PRETORIA, South Africa.—The Ministry of General Hertzog, Nationalist leader whose party signally defeated General Smuts at the recent elections, has been constituted, with Hertzog himself as Premier and Minister of Native Affairs.

The Labor party, which materially increased its strength at the elections, has joined a coalition cabinet, with "Colonel" F. H. P. Cresswell, party leader, as Minister of Defense and Labor, and Thomas Boydell as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

The Labor party formed an election coalition with Hertzog, but it was expressly understood that it sacrificed none of the vital principles in so doing. The Labor-Nationalist coalition defeated Smuts by 25 seats out of 134. Smuts himself losing his seat in Pretoria to a Labor man. The Labor party bore the brunt of the anti-Smuts campaign, and it is expected that it will have a powerful influence in the Government.

If any situation arises requiring a sacrifice of principle, it is understood that the coalition will be ended and Hertzog will be left with a minority.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

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

CAP MAKERS

N. Y. Joint Council
of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.
Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9860-1-2
Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday
Jacob Roberts, R. Eisenstein, L. Bach, Manager Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)

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

Local 2 (Cutters)

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

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

FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 65
MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President.
ANDREW WENNELS, General Secretary-Treasurer.

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. SOIFER, Chairman.
S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Chairman.
L. GOLDBERG, Vice-Chairman.
N. FISHEROFF, Secretary.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman
OSAF WALINSKY, General Manager

The Challenge of Socialism VII. The Poison of Commercialism

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

Men and women and children can not live without food and clothing and shelter; and they must have more than that if they are to be better off than the beast or cattle.

But they cannot get food and clothing and shelter—and the other things—unless they have the price, the cash, money, the coin, the dough, the mazzuma (for money is so beloved that it has many pet-names). And no one can get money without earning it, or inheriting it, or stealing it. And the way things are organized now in the delightful system we know as Capitalism, most of us have to earn it by working.

And we can't get it unless we have a job. And there isn't any job unless and until it pays someone else to let us earn money for him. And so it happens that most of us are not permitted to live until some one else can make something out of our being allowed to toil.

But that isn't the half of it, dearie—as a late lamented comedian used to say. The mere physical exploitation of the labor of those who do the world's work, the mere physical fact that those who work have less to eat, to wear and inferior homes to live in than those who enjoy the fruits of their work, is only the outward aspect of the real evil that is inherent in our system. If mere bread and butter inequality were the beginning and the end, all we would need would be more bread and butter.

But not the least of the evils is the fact that the possession of the dollar tends to become—and does become—the ultimate test of the value of man.

The whole striving of those who benefit by the present system is for profits. That is the system. As the profits gained by individuals are greater, so their success is greater. The most successful man is the man who "makes" most. Little by little, therefore, success for owner and worker alike comes to be measured by the actual yardstick of dollars, and the actual amount "made"; that is a man's "worth."

The capitalist beneficiaries of the present system own the public press and the popular magazines, they control the manufacture of motion picture films and they select what is to be broadcast on the radio—ever-increasing agencies for the molding of public opinion—they control boards of schools and college trustees, and through the ownership of publishing companies, they control the contents of school books out of which the nation's youth gets its ideals.

Whose Point of View
The capitalist beneficiaries of the present system, then, see it that those who read the newspapers, patronize the films and go to the schools get their point of view—which is, that there is nothing of any importance except "success," in their cash interpretation of success.

Having complete control of the principal agencies for the forming of opinions, they usually win out; their concept becomes the common concept, and the mass of the people have hitherto taken them at their own valuation.

And from that we find ourselves going into mazes of reasoning and getting the idea that nothing matters except to remain in the good graces of the ruling class, and to serve that class, and to become like it.

The capitalist class, bloated with newly acquired riches, in general is composed of people whose chief characteristics are crassness and vulgarity. Their principal occupation, outside of the mere task of money gathering, seems to be wasting time in varied, costly and lurid ways. There doesn't seem to be anything else to do. And so they do it.

Now, owning the stage, the screen, the radio, the press, and controlling education, they have been able to "put over" the idea that nothing matters except being like them.

The result is inevitable. The screen, for example, as the most important of the present day agencies of creating sentiment, has made it appear as if nothing matters if it happens to people who aren't of the elect class; that everything of interest happens only to those who are of that elect class; and that those of "lower" strata are merely the subjects of what the makers of films (for some obscure reason) please to call "comedies."

From that, it is easy to reach the next conclusion, that poets and novelists and playwrights will write up to (or rather, down to) this class of vulgarians; poets will devote their genius to soap and pills; artists will depict the virtues of chewing gum, and the alluringness of cord-tires and lawngerees and varnishes. That is where the money is; the "successful" people scoff at the "highbrows" who look at the deeper things of life rather than the "success" of garnering dollars.

The Man of Ideas

If some one comes with an idea; if some one comes with a proposition worth while developing for its own sake and the sake of humanity, it is found that "there's nothing in it"—meaning that there's no money in it; and the wealthy people who squander enough on a single indecent debauch to keep scores of families in comfort for years, wave it aside with fat hands, and say that they won't put money into it, because it won't "pay." And then, they go to see a "show" that is put on by a fellow "successful" man for the sole purpose of exploiting the charms of a favorite, and whose complete failure is certain. Thus the dollar and vulgar "success" become the fetishes of society today.

Now, these are extreme cases, but they are typical. Because nothing counts but "success," because those who have no standard of success but dollars and cents control the creation of ideals, the young men and women who come into the world filled with eagerness to do . . . something, they know not what, are laughed at, and made to feel as if there isn't anything worth while, as if they were funny and would "get over it."

Men and women may come forward with great and wonderful ideas for the improvement of humanity; there is one test applied—will it "pay"? that is, are there dollars in it? But if a suggestion is made to change the cut of men's trousers every year, so that men who want to be "fashionable" must buy expensive new clothes every year, there's money in that, and it is "put over."

If a degenerate from a Paris "atelier" is able to make women believe that to be "fashionable" they must wear clothes that accent, rather

than hide, their nakedness, he can make it pay, and he is "successful" and he is acclaimed.

And so men and women of heart and soul and talent; men and women who ache to serve their fellow men, are starved out of it, or starved into prostituting their talents and genius into the paths of serving the Gods of Gold.

That is why today there aren't so many people "going into" the things worth while, the things that develop men and women; that is why there aren't as many teachers as there should be, and scientists who serve for the happiness of service—while those who "go into" varnishes and waists and gewgaws that aren't worth anything increase daily in number. That is why men and women of brains and genius devote their brains and genius to create "demands" for worthless and useless things—because there's money in it. That's why, for example, there was a "popular" move in 1930 to move the shattered and decayed bodies of American soldiers from France—a move accelerated and stimulated by the undertakers of the country, and paid for by them. Because, in their eyes, money, profits, good business was identical with "patriotism." While men and women with a real message were smothered and neglected—there wasn't anything "in it."

In a way that is the greatest tragedy of Capitalism. Youth—glorious, idealistic youth, youth that wants to remake the world—is warped and poisoned and destroyed by the blasting "practicalness" of Capitalism. Capitalism, with its insistence upon the dollar measure of "success," has poisoned all humanity. Capitalism has taken all joy out of the glorious dreams of youth, and bids our brothers and sisters to look to the vulgar wealth, and be wise.

Where is our art? Where are our poetry and philosophy? Where are the things man was made for, the things of the spirit? All broken to the cold, crass, sneering cynicism of Capitalism! What is there in it? is the question. What will it bring in to me? is the question. How will the society, the "successful" people, the "better" people like it? is the question.

And so the car of Capitalism has rolled over the ideals of youth; it has poisoned the minds of Americans; has put down the soul, and exalted the dollar sign.

Capitalism's Greatest Crime

There is much to be said against Capitalism. It has crushed the bodies of men; it has crushed the bodies of children; it has robbed life of the Hope and the Inspiration that alone make life worth living.

But worst of all, it has crushed out the soul of its victims. And unless Capitalism, with its ugliness and crudeness and vulgarity, is soon overthrown, whatever there is of the spark divine in the human soul will soon be extinguished, and in its place, there will be the vulgar craving, after the things that Capitalism has exalted, and of which the "society" pages and the current stage are the perfect mirror.

How to Join the Socialist Party

Many readers of The New Leader would like to join the Socialist Party, but do not know how.

Possibly there are others who are with the Socialist Party, but do not care to join.

No movement can be carried on without work—organization work. Letters must be sent, accounts must be kept, circularization must be carried on. No political party work can be carried on without organization. Tickets must be named; election laws must be complied with; campaigns must be waged. And funds must be raised.

Organizations can be carried on either by individuals, or by masses. And the masses have no right to complain of boss rule if they do not get into the organization and work in it and for it and with it.

No one is too big to join the Socialist Party and take part in its work. There is educational work to do—to hold lectures and conduct classes, as well as straight party propaganda. There is literature to be distributed, The New Leader and other sections of the party press to be built up.

There is political work—and that is a reason that every man and woman, interested in the advance of our cause, should join at once. THE POLITICAL MACHINERY MUST BE KEPT IN THE HANDS OF SOCIALISTS. And the only way to do that is for every Socialist to be in the organization and to see to it that no one but Socialists are in.

How to Join the Party

The Socialist Party is a dues paying organization made up of men and women over 21. The dues are 50 cents a month, which pays for only a small part of the party's expenses. Part of that 50 cents goes to the National Office, part to the State Office, and part to local—and in many cities—assembly district and ward work.

The dues are the basis of the funds with which the party work is carried on.

The National office sends out organizers and runs national campaigns; in addition, the national organization carries on educational and propaganda work, and prints literature and supervises its distribution.

The State organizations conduct the political work under State laws, while the locals carry on the immediate propaganda work in the cities, towns and counties. They nominate candidates, supervise their activities and hold them to the principles of the party when elected. They keep the candidates and elected officials in touch with the movement and with the members of the party, so that the members of the movement will always be accurately represented by their spokesmen.

A powerful and well knit party organization is absolutely necessary in party work.

Socialists who are not yet affiliated with the party should get in touch with the organization at once and join up.

In New York county, Socialists should address the Party office at Seven East Fifteenth street and get application blanks and the address of the assembly district branch; Brooklyn, 167 Tompkins avenue, and the Bronx, 1167 Boston Road.

For all other parts of the State, address Herbert M. Merrill, 467 Broadway, Albany. Comrade Merrill is State secretary, and he will assign you to the proper local.

Outside of New York State, Socialists should send their applications for membership to The New Leader, 7 East Fifteenth street—address Socialist News Editor—and they will be turned over to the proper State or local secretaries.

No one should wait a moment; join up at once.

No one has a right to criticize political mismanagement, to object to industrial conditions, who has not taken part in Socialism. No one has a right to say anything who has not taken advantage of our political machinery. Join at once, become active in the organization, be one of the tens of thousands of party bosses and help make the world free.

SAINT DENIS OFFICES

199 Broadway at Eleventh Street
Headquarters for Executive Office of LABOR ORGANIZATIONS
COME AND SEE US WHEN YOU NEED OFFICE SPACE

The L. I. D. Conference

(Continued from Page 4)

MacDonald. Stage hangings were loaned by the Louis Bromberg studio. Stage managers were Samuel H. Friedman, Clement Wood and Marie MacDonald. The cast was as follows:

Public, Harry W. Laidler; Swami, Clement Wood; Yellow Peril, Nellie Nearing; Ku Klux Klan, Marie MacDonald; Mexico, Howard Richards; Oil Scandal, McAllister Coleman; Free Speech, Gertrude Weil Klein; Wet Plank, Sarah Greenberg; Fascism, Solon Bernstein; Labor, Sam Friedman; Red Menace, Marie M. Miltimore; Republican party, Norman Thomas; Democratic party, Edward Richards.

The Japanese Problem

Sunday morning the conference resumed its serious discussions with a consideration of American relations with Japan and the attitude of a Labor party to them. Dr. Sidney A. Gulick out of his many years of experience explained the origins of Japanese pride and the serious hurt done to it by the action of Congress in excluding Japanese immigration. The blow, he felt, hurt the more because it came from a nation which had for many years been regarded by the Japanese as their friend. He read quotations from Japanese leaders, especially emphasizing this aspect of the problem and their admiration for the United States.

Both in his speech and in answer to questions, Dr. Gulick made it plain that he did not think a general Japanese immigration a desirable—and this with no reflection whatever on the good qualities of the Japanese—by reason of economic conditions and racial feeling. He felt that there should be more close biological study of the effect of mixed marriages. All this in his belief would seem reasonable to the Japanese Government which had been willing to go even beyond the former gentlemen's agreement in the restriction of the emigration of women to the United States. As regards male laborers in the years 1908 to 1923, 22,000 more Japanese workers had left our territory including Hawaii, than had entered it.

Scott Nearing called attention to the economic conflict between the United States and Japan for power in Asia. Miss Yarnell of California spoke of the excellent quality of the Japanese workers and their general loyalty to other workers in time of strike and their increasingly high standard of wages. She felt that much of the Californian opposition was based on a sort of fear of the ability and diligence of the Japanese.

Hillquit on a European Program

The chairman then introduced Morris Hillquit who with his usual clarity summarized the situation in Europe and the necessity of intelligent cooperation by the United States if another world crisis is to be averted. In Europe itself he saw many signs of progress. The Labor movement in the three most important Western nations—Great Britain, France and Germany—had in varying degrees found it possible to gain enough control over the Government to inaugurate a more conciliatory policy approaching the lines laid down by the Hamburg conference.

A true story of economic restoration, he felt, impossible unless the United States would waive the war debts. These debts were after all incurred in a war in which the United States however mistakenly had participated and in which it had suffered far less than its associates. The attempt to collect the debts necessarily would mean that the Allies would try to increase the reparations demands upon Germany. The debts could not be paid without injury to American economic life.

Hillquit therefore would like to see a Labor party add a plank on the remission of debts to the planks already contained in the C. P. P. A. platform or the Wisconsin platform. These planks opposed conscription, favored the outlawry of war, a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, referendum before war, and a curb on American economic imperialism. Later in the discussion, in reply to a categorical question from Captain Hibben, Mr. Hillquit said he would add a plank in favor of the recognition of Russia.

An animated discussion followed Mr. Hillquit's address. Both by questions and remarks, such points as these were made:

1. That Mr. Hillquit had minimized the tremendous role of Russia unduly and done less than justice to the significance of the Russian revolution.

2. That it was idle to talk peace. War, much as we may dislike it, is inevitable, owing to the operation of the capitalist system. We must be prepared for it and out of it must seek to erect a communist society.

Dr. Scott Nearing took Mr. Hillquit to task for seemingly identifying progressives and radicals. The progressives believe in tinkering up the present system. The radicals in the necessity for a new system. We live, according to Mr. Nearing, in a world in which American Capital has determined on the economic destruction of Europe as truly as Rome upon the destruction of Carthage. We live in a world where civilization must be destroyed in the interest of human well-being because civilization is the expression of an iniquitous, wasteful and violent form of capitalism.

This, Mr. Nearing thought, was

the economic reality of the situation which Mr. Hillquit had examined "as a politician."

Charles W. Ervin and others opposed this general point of view at one point or another, and Mr. Hillquit himself replied vigorously to it. He declared that Mr. Nearing spoke neither as a politician nor as an economist, but as an ancient prophet of doom. That progressives and radicals properly defined were working toward the same end, a

THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

The New Leader is the brand-newest of the Socialist papers in the United States, but from the comments and letters we get, you'd think that we had been going along for years and had made a name for ourselves through long service; and we're still under six months old.

Indeed, The New Leader is considered the leading, as well as the authoritative Socialist paper of the United States by no less an authority than the International itself.

The official Bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International, with which the major portion of the world Socialist and Labor movement is affiliated, carries a list headed "International Socialist Press," followed by the words, "List of Principal papers of Affiliated Parties." And at the very top of the list, sitting unconcerned as if it is the most natural thing in the world to sit at the top, we read the name and address of The New Leader.

Then comes Bertha Hale White, national secretary of the Socialist Party, with a letter full of the devotion and eagerness to serve the movement for which she has given nearly a decade and a half of her life. She writes, "I am increasingly proud of The New Leader and I am earnestly looking for ways to enlarge its field of influence. In all the twelve years I have been in this office, I have never seen a weekly paper not published at headquarters that so nearly met my ideal of an organization paper. The New Leader has a most attractive make-up, is high-grade in every way."

So the National Office and the International have had their say.

By the way, just to show what the Socialists think of The New Leader, get this—within a single week, The New Leader was quoted as an authority on Socialist and Labor news by the Berner Tagwacht, the great Socialist daily of Switzerland, Justitia, the organ of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, the Glasgow Forward, London Justice, as well as scores of Socialist and Labor papers in the United States.

That's what organizations and other publications think of us. But it's not one-two-three to what our Comrades—the men and women of the Socialist movement—think of The New Leader. And much as we appreciate the confidence and appreciation of the International and of our fellow editors, we wouldn't trade it for the devotion of one single Yipsel—if we had to trade.

But we don't have to.

Here's a letter we got the other day. "Circle One of the Greater Boston Y. P. S. L. passed a motion at its last meeting that each member is required to take a list of names of Socialists and sympathizers to visit them at their homes and to get them as New Leader subscribers. We are going to set a pace that no Yipsel circle will be able to keep up with. Comrade Helena Turitz showed her speed by taking a list of eight names and bringing in five subscribers just to show how to do it."

WELL, ARE THE YIPSEL CIRCLES IN NEW YORK AND OHIO AND WISCONSIN AND OTHER PLACES GOING TO TAKE THAT CHALLENGE LYING DOWN?

The New Leader is truly a national weekly; its readers and boosters come from every part of the country. Mrs. Dorris Morris of Florence, Montana, has undertaken to keep the folks in her county keyed up to what is going on in the world. She has subscribed for a bundle of twenty New Leaders every week.

Some of the liveliest Socialists in

Union Halls

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Workmen's Educational Association.
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thoroughgoing cure of conditions. That such a cure could not come through wholesale destruction. Once, he said, he had believed in war. But the last war had shown him how impotent war was for good. He looked now for international cooperation.

The Chairman pointed out that the issues had been clearly and sincerely stated and that further discussion could add little.

Sunday afternoon, Dr. Laidler concluded the whole conference by a thoughtful paper on Utopia, which will be printed in full in a later issue of The New Leader.

Then Helena Turitz, just to be original, sends in eleven more subscribers. Gus C. Sandburg, of Clinton, Ill., sends three subs, as well as a list of prospects. Note the way the subscribers are scattered all over the country.

Here is a list of devoted comrades who have sent in subs; again note how The New Leader boosters come from no one section of the country. John Krebelj, Cleveland, Ohio, (he sent in his sub for a friend, not being willing to keep a good thing to himself). Charles Pogorelec, of the Jugoslav Socialist Federation, is always on hand when there is something to

To THE NEW LEADER.
7 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.

I am a subscriber to The New Leader and have found your paper indispensable to anyone interested in political and social progress. That is why I am subscribing to The New Leader for my friend. I am enclosing \$.....for which send the paper for.....months to:

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

From.....

Of.....

See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of

The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. B. of T.

Office: 565 Hudson St., City

Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at

ANTONIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.

Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the

FORWARD BUILDING, 176 East Broadway, Room 3.

F. J. STERNHANSKY, Pres. & Bus. Agent.

NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve' at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.

BRIUNO WAGNER, President.

CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.

Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday

243 East 84th Street, New York City

Frank Walter, H. Kramer, Sec. Secretary

A. Pagniotte, Wm. Dettelbach, Sec. Secretary

H. Vols, August Schrempf, Treasurer

Business Agent

WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, H. & R.E.L.A. & B.L. of N.Y.

Office & Headquarters 170 E. 40 St., N.Y.

LENEX 1874

Regular meetings every Tuesday, 3 P. M.

Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Lowy, President

Bus. Agent & Sec.

JEWELRY WORKERS

UNION, LOCAL 1, I. J. W. U.

Office: 63 Park Row

Room 713, Beckman 1934

Executive Board meets every Thursday

in the office at 6 P. M.

Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday,

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be done for the party. He sends in a sub for John Weigel, Clinton, Indiana.

J. B. Brymjolfson, of Canton, Oregon, sends one.

John Bridge, of Simsbury, Connecticut, does likewise.

J. F. Harlow, Joplin, Missouri, renewed his sub, and he liked the paper so much that he sent two more with it.

Stanley Urba, of Columbus, Ohio, sends in a sub, and asks for a bundle of sample copies to get new subs with.

George White, of Cascade, N. H., sends in a new sub, as does William Koch of Puyallup, Washington.

Puyallup used to have one of the liveliest locals of the party in the U. S. A., and the comrades there seem to be getting ready to come back.

R. E. McQueen is another Westerner who wants to keep in touch with things. He is from Holley, Oregon.

Then S. M. R. Smith of Arnold's Park, Iowa, comes in with a sub.

Dr. M. Rappoport of Union Hill, N. J., sends in two subs.

Dr. Louis Victor of Revere, Massachusetts, sends two renewals, two new subs, and promises to look after renewals in his town.

C. M. Sweet of Canton, Illinois, one of the most loyal of the party workers in the State, sends in a sub—not for himself, because he did that long ago. It is for Fred Walker of that town. Now look for Walker sending in subs for other people!

Then there are individual subs from Joseph Korsum, Fall River, Massachusetts; Victor Billiet, Woonsocket, R. I.; Charles A. Steward, Irrigon, Oregon; and George Yellington, Holly Grove, Oregon.

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D R A M A

Eleanora Duse

Critical Appreciation of the Great Actress and Her Art.

ELEANORA DUSE, who was born near Venice in 1859, paid her first visit to England in 1893, says a writer in the Manchester Guardian, and from that date until 1906 had many triumphs on the London stage. Shortly after her last appearance in London she retired from the stage for some fifteen years, but returned, at a production in Turin, in 1921. In the early summer of last year she paid another visit to England, where she was seen in "The Lady from the Sea" and "Ghosts."

Duse came of a theatrical family. Tradition relates that she was born in a railway train. Whether that be or be not a historic fact, there is a certain symbolic appropriateness in the idea, for she was the most modern of artists. Out of modern costume she was never really at home. The systematic exaggeration of utterance required in rhetorical drama she probably despised—at any rate, she never mastered it. In one part only (of those that she played in England) did she make an irredeemable failure—and that was Shakespeare's Cleopatra.

She could not, or would not, distend her personality so as to fill up the outline of a great historic figure. Her art was that of consummate self-expression, and the effort to throw herself back into the unfamiliar mental attitude of an historical personage perplexed and hampered her.

Modern Characters Incomparable

It was in modern characters, then, and characters of a certain emotional sincerity and depth, that she was incomparable and unapproachable. What is commonly said of other actresses with more or less exaggeration was literally true of Eleanora Duse—she rather lived her parts than acted them. Therefore, she varied from night to night, and people seeing her in the same part on different evenings would carry away very different impressions of her. She would live with greater intensity on one evening than on another. Her technical accomplishment was so perfect that it was always a delight to watch her. In the simplicity and economy of her means of expression she was always admirable. It was impossible for her to act badly, mechanically, or unbecomingly. But her

rendering of emotion was undoubtedly more intimate, more intense, fuller of subtle sub-harmonies at one time than at another. Her great performances of her great characters—such as Marguerite Gautier, Magda, and Cesarine in "La Femme de Claude"—were the noblest pieces of acting our age has seen. She was equally marvellous in the pathetic of Marguerite Gautier's death scene and the withering scorn with which she annihilated the miserable Von Keller in Magda. Her utterance of the one word "Vattene!" ("Go") when Magda realizes that Von Keller proposes to disown her child ranks among the most magnificent moments. She seemed to tower to a loftier stature in order to overwhelm the shrinking egotist and snob. No less wonderful was the wicked subtlety of her Cesarine. In the scene in which she tempts her husband's pupil she put on like a mask a new and fascinating beauty. Her face in repose was sensitive, intellectual, interesting rather than absolutely beautiful, but when the character required beauty she had it at command, even in the days when she disdained the aid of make-up.

Free from "Staginess"

No actress was ever more free from the "staginess" of the theatrical profession. She shrank from publicity, and the interviewer was her abhorrence. One may suspect, perhaps, a little affectation, or at any rate wilful exaggeration, in the contempt with which, down to a late period in her career, she treated the legitimate mechanical aids to her art, such as false hair and make-up. Her abhorrence of the rouge-pot helped, no doubt, to bring home to her audiences the delicacy of her facial play; and by always wearing her own hair she was able to use it as a subtle aid to emotional expression. At last her hair turned so grey that she was compelled to take to a wig; and the wig necessitated a certain amount of make-up. There was loss, but also gain, in this change, which coincided with a greater attention to dress than she at one time displayed. The difference was apparent in a comparison of her wholly inadequate first performance of Paula in "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," with the finished and admirable embodiment which it afterwards became.

Labor and Art

England had to wait until it got a Labor Government, says The Bill-board in an editorial, in order to get a national theatre—something that England long has sought and sighed because she found it not. Thus does Labor go on record as having contributed more to the promotion of the arts than all the long line of Liberal, Conservative, Unionist and Coalition Cabinets that preceded it.

Last week, the Government agreed to grant a central and historic site free of cost for the purpose. The National Shakespeare Memorial Committee has enough funds to defray the cost of the building and it only remains now to find some wealthy man or men to provide an endowment fund, which failing it is proposed to raise the money by voluntary subscriptions from members of the Labor unions.



MARIE CARROLL

who does excellent work as the daughter of Pa Potter, in J. P. McEvoy's comedy, "The Potters," now in the eighth month, at the Plymouth.

At the Cinemas

ASTOR—"The Sea Hawk."
BROADWAY—"The White Moth," with Barbara La Marr and Conway Tearle.
CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Girl Shy."
CAPITOL—Fritz Lang's production, "Between Worlds," with Lil Dagover and Walter Janssen.
COHAN—"The Ten Commandments."
CRITERION—Mary Pickford in "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall."
LIBERTY—Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad."
RIALTO—"The Enemy Sex," with Betty Compson.
RIVOLI—"Wanderer of the Wasteland," by Irvin Willat.
STRAND—"Captain January," by Laura E. Richards, with Baby Peggy.

"Hinkelmann" Produced by Yiddish Art

Toller Leaves Bavarian Prison This Month

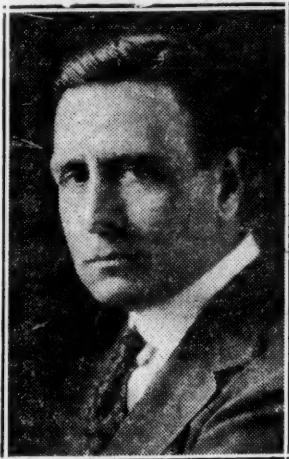
"Red Laughter," the play with which the Yiddish Art Theatre closed its London season last week, is a version of "Der Deutsche Hinkelmann," by Ernst Toller, whose "Machine-Wreckers" and "Man and the Masses" have been performed in English by the Stage Society. This tragedy of a man unmaned by a wound received in the war, aroused political passions at its first performance in Dresden a few months ago, when the Nationalists took possession of the theatre. In Berlin later it was quietly received. The author will be released in July from his five years of imprisonment in a Bavarian fortress, and the occasion is to be celebrated with some ceremony by his compatriots.

The other two dramas that have emerged from his cell, "The Transfiguration" and "Wotan Unbound" have not yet been seen in England, though they have reached the new "industrial theatres" of Moscow. "Man and the Masses" was produced by The Theatre Guild in April. Thus the author at 30 years of age finds himself in the remarkable position of having gained a hearing in the world's theatre without any expert knowledge of its technique and even without having seen any of his works performed. It is perhaps this very aloofness from a conflict in which his mind is deeply engaged that makes him the spokesman of the younger non-realistic dramatists. In the autumn of this year Ernst Toller is expected to visit England and America.

Somerset Maugham, noted English playwright, is putting into English an Italian tragic-comedy called "The Mask and the Face," by Luigi Chiarelli, which Gilbert Miller will produce here for the Charles Frohman Company in the fall. This will be the first play from Maugham's pen to be seen here since "The Circle."



BERTHA KALICH will be seen next season in "The Past Times of an Empress," a new play, now in rehearsal.



CONWAY TEARLE in "The White Moth," at Moss Broadway, next week.

Shouting Whispers

"Shooting Shadows," a Melo-Mystery Farce at the Ritz Theatre

It is a difficult question to determine just how much is to be forgiven when one says he is only fooling. In child's play it sometimes happens that Mary puts little Johnny in the fire and watches him sizzle, or Johnny tells little sister's hair to the neighbor's auto; then we all smile and tell the story, adding: "Ain't they cute; they're only six!" But if Johnny and Mary continue their pranks after they have reached the age of discretion, we are likely to be less tolerant, or at least less amused. The question that drives us now is, when does a play or a playwright reach the age of discretion? Is a drama to be forgiven its pranks on the ground of infancy? Or does the label "farce," carefully attached by the author, and like Mr. Atwood's mattress labels, "not to be removed," does this label entitle the play to all the privileges and immunities of irresponsible fun?

The one answer that can be satisfactorily maintained is purely pragmatic. In the business world and the political same test is applied, but in art—especially the theatre—it has a greater claim to sincerity: if you can get away with it, it's all right. Theatrical entertainment is bound by no fixed regulations or code; its purpose is to please; if it succeeds, it is by that very fact justified. What pleases one audience may not hold another, and various groups of course have various levels of taste. Furthermore, a play may spend too much effort in putting across a certain effect, so that, even while it seems to please, it leaves an aftertaste of strain and retrospective disappointment.

It is in the last category that I should be inclined to place "Shooting Shadows," and it is the sense of strain and ineffectuality that the authors try to cover with the farcical moments. There is a long period of tense activity in the second act, and lively moments spurt out in the third, but the plot is built around a woman blackmailer in the process of repenting at high pressure; she has no qualities that appeal to us save that she is a woman in distress. However, this fact in itself prevents our saying anything further against her. J. T. S.

Vaudeville Theatres

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Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday—Marcelle and Seal; Harry Holman and Company; Pagana and others. Photoplay—"Reckless Age," with Reginald Denny.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

The Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will show on the screen Barbara La Marr and Conway Tearle in "The White Moth," a Maurice Tourneur production. The Keith vaudeville will include Wells, Virginia and West, Princess Wah-let-ka, Jimmy Lucas and Company, "Golden Visions," and other acts.

REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Rita Gould, Joseph D. Stanley & Company, others. George Arliss in "3200 a Week," with Taylor Holmes and Edith Roberts. Thursday to Sunday—Big bill of B. F. Keith Vaudeville; Reginald Denny in "The Reckless Age."

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Shelton, Tyler and Sharples, Fisher and Wurst, others. George Arliss in "3200 a Week," with Taylor Holmes and Edith Roberts. Thursday to Sunday—Rita Gould, Joseph D. Stanley and Company, others. Reginald Denny in "The Reckless Age."

Shuberts Have Ambitious Plans

Bernstein's "Judith" Among New Offerings

The Messrs. Shubert issued a tentative program of their plans for the coming season and this indicates a schedule of productions that is more than ambitious. All of the stars now playing for them will continue as before.

Al Jolson will appear in a new extravaganza the early part of the season. (This will mark Mr. Jolson's 14th year under the management of the Messrs. Shubert.) There is to be a new "Passing Show," series of 1924 for the Winter Garden this summer. "The Passing Show of 1923" will play to the Coast. Willie and Eugene Howard will be seen in a new revue. A second edition of "Artists and Models" will be ready in August. The present edition will continue in Chicago.

"Alt Heidelberg," with music by Sigmund Romberg and book by Dorothy Donnelly, will be among the first of the music plays. This will be followed by a play based on the life of Chopin. They will also produce "The Life of Offenbach," with a musical arrangement by Sigmund Romberg. Franz Lehár's operetta, "The Life of Paganini," will come later.

"The Dream Girl," now playing in Boston, the last work by Victor Herbert, with book by Rida Johnson Young, is among the early offerings. In "The Little Dutch Girl" will be seen the English artists June and Royston. Dorothy Donnelly will make a musical version of Booth Tarkington's play, "Seventeen." A musical version of "The Charm School" is being done by Fred Thompson and Clifford Grey. "Gus, the Bus," by Jack Lait, is another musical planned. James Barton will be seen in a new musical show.

Early in the fall, Edward Laurillard will bring to New York the entire London company now appearing in the English revue at the Little Theatre. Also a new revue staged by Albert de Courville. From the Casino de Paris, an entire Parisian revue. Other musical plays scheduled for early production are "The Silver Dancer," from Vienna; "The Bedouin Girl," "Pipsi," by Engel and Horst, with music by Dr. Benetski; "The Dancing Mask," with music by Dr. Benetski; "The Most Beautiful of Women," by Fromme; and "Bacchus-Nacht."

Among the dramatic offerings are mentioned "Havoc," a drama by Harry Wall, now playing at the Haymarket Theatre Royal, London. The Theatre Guild production, "Fata Morgana" will have two companies on tour. "Werewolf," will be presented in New York in September by George B. McEllan. Bernstein's "Judith," with Julia Hoyt, will follow with a second play by the same author a while later—a new sex drama, "The Proud Princess," by Edward Sheldon and Dorothy Donnelly. "Maggie," a play of frontier life, by Don Mullally. Alice Bradley's "Three Roses," and "The Case of Hagen," by Herman Sechn. From the Theatre de Paris will come "The Dance of Midnight." Also from the French capital, "On a Trouve Une Femme Nue" (One Meets a Nude Woman), by Andre Bira-beau and Jean Guillon. By the authors of "The Blue Mouse," Engel and Horst, "The Friend of His Excellency." From Austria, a play titled, "The Lady With Two Hearts."

E. H. Sothern, Leo Ditrichstein, William Faversham and William Hodge will be seen in new plays.



NOTES

D. W. Griffith will leave with his players and staff on the George Washington Friday for Germany to take exteriors for his next production, "The Dawn," by Geoffrey Moss, a noted English writer. Later he expects to go to England for other scenes.

The cast will be an international one, players being recruited from the Moscow Art Theatre Company, and German, Italian, English and American talent.

A number of new features have been introduced into "Innocent Eyes" at the Winter Garden. These include new dances by Vannesi, a specialty by Marguerite and Gill, and eccentric dances by Eddie Rogers. All for the benefit of the delegates. Poor chaps, they need a little variety. Douglas Levitt joined the cast Monday.

Equity Players announce the renewal of the lease of the 48th Street Theatre for the year ending July 31, 1925. They plan to erect their own theatre during this period to be ready for occupancy at the termination of the lease.

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MUSIC

Mendelssohn and Grand Opera on Program

Edwin Franko Goldman, conductor of the Goldman Band concerts at Central Park, has arranged two special programs for the coming week. On Wednesday the entire concert will consist of Grand Opera music and on Friday the first part of the program will be devoted to the works of Mendelssohn. The other programs of the week will be miscellaneous in character. The Soloists for next week include Helen Yorke, Miriam Fine and Waino Kauppi.

Music Notes

Maria Kurenko has been engaged by the Wolfson Musical Bureau to come to the United States and will make her American debut in New York in November. Maria Kurenko is a native of Tomak, Siberia.

MUSIC

Stravinsky with Philharmonic

Russian Composer Coming Here Next Season as Guest Conductor

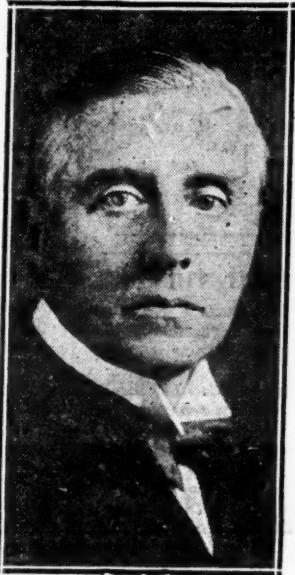
IGOR STRAVINSKY, the famous Russian composer, will conduct several concerts of the Philharmonic Orchestra next season. This will be the first visit of this great modern master to the United States.

Stravinsky will arrive in this country about the first of the year, appearing as guest conductor of the Philharmonic shortly after. It is probable that he

will play his new piano concerto at one of his concerts with the Philharmonic, and his programs will consist for the most part of his own compositions.

Within the past few seasons, the name of Stravinsky has appeared frequently on orchestral programs in New York, and several of his important works had their first New York hearings in the past winter. Among these were "The Nightingale Song," which achieved the unusual distinction of being played by two different orchestras on the same day in the same hall, "Rites of Spring" and "The History of a Soldier." Two of Stravinsky's ballets, "The Firebird" and "Petrouchka," were performed here by the Russian ballet, and orchestral suites from each of these were performed during the past season by the Philharmonic. "Petrouchka" is listed for revival at the Metropolitan Opera House next season.

Stravinsky, who is forty-two years old, was born near Petrograd, and manifested unusual gifts as a pianist at the age of ten. Although he was trained for a legal career, he devoted himself to musical composition, being a pupil of Rimsky-Korsakoff. He has been living in Paris, where most of his recent works have been produced. His appearance as soloist in his new piano concerto in Paris a few weeks ago is said to have been his first public appearance as pianist.



E. H. SOTHERN
will be seen in a new French comedy next season. Payson Graham will do the adaptation.

Music and Concerts

Stadium Concerts

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LIEZT "Preludes"—WAGNER
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mer. Steinway Piano
PRICES 25c., 50c., \$1.00

FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

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

THE SOMNAMBULISTS

By JACK LONDON

In "Revolution and Other Essays"

PRIZE-FIGHTING is terrible. This is the dictum of the man who walks in his sleep. . . . He sits at a desk and chases dollars through the weeks and months and years of his life. To him the life godlike resolves itself into a problem something like this: Since the great mass of men toil at producing wealth, how best can he get between the great mass of men and the wealth they produce, and get a slice of it himself? With tremendous exercise of craft, deceit, and guile, he devotes his life godlike to this purpose. As he succeeds, his somnambulism grows profound. He bribes legislatures, buys judges, "controls" primaries, and then goes and hires other men to tell him that it is all glorious and right.

And the funniest thing about it is that this arch-deceiver believes all that they tell him. He reads only the newspapers and magazines that tell him what he wants to be told, listens only to the biologists who tell him that he is the finest product of the struggle for existence, and herds only with his own kind, where, like the monkey-folk, they teeter up and down and tell one another how great they are. . . . He will bribe a city council for a franchise or a State legislature for a commercial privilege; but he has never been known, in all his sleep-walking history, to bribe any legislative body in order to achieve a moral end. . . .

Our statesmen sell themselves and their country for gold. Our municipal servants and State legislators commit countless treasons. The world of graft! The world of betrayal! The world of somnambulism, whose exalted and sensitive citizens are outraged by the knockouts of the prize-ring, and who annually not merely knock out, but kill, thousands of babies and children by means of child labor and adulterated food. Far better to have the front of one's face pushed in by the fist of an honest prize-fighter than to have the lining of one's stomach corroded by the embalmed beef of a dishonest manufacturer. . . .

It is well enough to let the ape and tiger die, but it is hardly fair to kill off the natural and courageous apes and tigers and allow the spawn of cowardly apes and tigers to live. The prize-fighting apes and tigers will die all in good time in the course of natural evolution, but they will not die so long as the cowardly somnambulistic apes and tigers club and scratch the slash. This is not a brief for the prize-fighter. It is a blow of the fist between the eyes of the somnambulists, teetering up and down, muttering magic phrases, and thanking God that they are not as other animals.

Wages and Prices in Coal

A Review by Joseph E. Cohen

MINERS' WAGES AND THE COST OF COAL. By Isidore Lubin. New York: McGraw-Hill Co.

Abreast of the changing times, two sorts of books are being issued. One deals in outlines, broad and general in character, covering a sizeable section of study. Thus we have the efforts of Wells, Van Loon, and Thompson recently, while Havelock Ellis is readily recalled for this comprehensive treatise on sex. The second sort is satisfied to deal fully and adequately with a single feature of our complex industrial organization. The two efforts are complementary.

Mr. Lubin's closely packed work is modest in its bearings. The range is restricted to the bituminous branch of the coalfield. Only wages and prices are examined. It may even be found that he has plotted the background of wages much more adequately than that of costs and profits. But what work has been done gives a definite idea of the subject dealt with.

The present system is traced to its beginnings in 1898, of which it is regarded as the outgrowth; while to this day there is no national conference determining wage scales, the Central Competitive Field, where nearly 40 per cent is produced, almost serves such a purpose, its findings having a direct influence on rates elsewhere.

Because of the size of the conference, actual negotiations are carried on by a committee, whose powers have fluctuated, and unanimity is attained by the majority of each side voting for the same proposal. "To gain this it was necessary to adopt certain policies that would assure all operators that their individual interests would be protected."

It is this guiding rule which interprets "competitive equality" rather deviously. So it is that "the theory of competitive equality has sometimes been extended to almost absurd limits and has been made the excuse for the existence of conditions which could find no other justification."

The miners' interpretation is accepted as being more logical than that of the operators. Thus the men have contended against the "freight differentials," machine, "dead-work," and "thin-vein differentials," the first being a screen for the poorly located pits, the latter working financial hardships on the men.

But the miners are unable to have their way, since only the central field is well organized. Of the 663,000

employed in the industry, about 500,000 are said to be in the union. Collective bargaining began in 1885, when 33,000 men were organized. While the growth of the union has thus been rapid, several fields are still to be reached. In the twenty-nine States producing coal, about half a billion tons are mined annually, almost two-thirds being undercut by machinery. Something like 40 per cent of this is mined by unorganized labor. But where joined together, "with few exceptions, no closer relationship exists in any industry."

Comment is also made on "the independent nature of the operators' associations and the lack of any common national agency for formulating labor policy." Possibly this is emphasized too strongly, especially in view of the fact that prices are readily found at an approximate level, and that wages, even under collective bargaining, are anywhere but at a scientific point and would be quite different from what now prevails—"the complicated and contradictory nature of the wage system in the coal industry."

Short shrift is made of the allegation that wage increases boost the price of coal appreciably. Thus, when the peak was reached in 1920, the increase amounting to \$6.82 per ton, labor costs had lifted only \$1.70. So the author contends, after summarizing the changes very graphically, that "coal price fluctuations are frequently to be explained by factors much more important than the changes in the miners' wage scale."

Mention is made of the "wages pool" as an effort to stabilize labor costs. Likewise there is a hint of the "profits pool," such as has been in effect in Britain since 1921, whereby the men share in such returns as may be considered surplus. Without dwelling upon the waste and inefficiency very considerably, it is evident that this has a place well lodged in the author's mind, and that it is quite the expected for him to assert that "in the last analysis it is the elimination of over-expansion and its evil consequences that will help bring the coal industry out of chaos, and no cursory analysis of either the wages pool or the profits pool discloses any probability that they can bring this goal into view."

Justified, if only for giving the history of bituminous wage negotiations, the work is a well-fitted mosaic in the comprehensive treatment of modern industrial conditions, and should at once find a place as a dependable reference volume for those who like to speak

We are Warned

THE NEW DECALOGUE OF SCIENCE. By Albert Edward Wiggam. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. \$3.

Like the proverbial bull in the china shop, Dr. Wiggam smashes many of the sacred ideas of the average man-in-the-street. This book is written in a style both simple and understandable, so this same man-in-the-street may comprehend its contents.

Dr. Wiggam points out very clearly and with emphasis that the world is headed for the bow-wow. He agrees with Professor E. M. East, author of "Mankind at the Cross Roads," that the earth is rapidly becoming over-populated, and quotes Havelock Ellis to show that throughout its millions of years on earth up until 1800 the human race had increased from its first pair to only 850,000,000. "But in 1800 the industrial revolution mechanized civilization. As a result, the enormous increment of wealth, transportation and food began. And within the mere flash of a century the human race has leaped from 850,000,000 to nearly 2,000,000,000!"

Many of this vast number are mental, moral and physical defectives; and this alarms the author, who calls attention to the fact that in many of the States one-fourth to one-third of the taxes go to care for defectives and the socially inadequate.

He favors a restricted immigration in order to keep our "native stock" from becoming entirely contaminated. Dr. Wiggam fails to connect poverty with our insane economic system, and insists that every biologist knows that an enormous portion of bad economic conditions and lack of education "are due solely to bad heredity, poverty of biological endowment, feeble self-control, neurotic, ill-balanced makeup."

Again and again the author insists that medicine, hygiene, and sanitation will weaken the race, and to back his contention he quotes Professor Karl Pearson, the English biological mathematician, as follows: "Gentlemen. . . . You are enabling the deformed to live, the blind to see, the weakling to survive—and it is partly due to the social provision made for these weaklings to survive

—and it is partly due to the social provisions made for these weaklings—the feeble-minded woman goes to the workhouse for her fourth or fifth illegitimate child, while the insane man, overcome by the strain of modern life, is fed up and restored for a time to his family and paternity."

We are solemnly warned that morals, education, art and religion will not improve the human race. Speaking of the true science of society, Dr. Wiggam says: "Government and social control are in the hands of expert politicians who have power, instead of expert technologists who have wisdom. . . . At present, education, social and political government, are wholly in the hands of business men who 'know business,' but who do not, in any modern sense, know the science of society, and, above all, who do not conceive it to be their supreme function as social agents to aid men in creating such a science. It is only as we gain a true science of society that business itself will eliminate its ghastly wastes and attain its enormous possible profits."

Dr. Wiggam pleads for a revolution in education, not in the mere method of teaching. We must have a new set of values, must cease our misrepresentation of hard and cold facts in our teaching of children from the cradle to adolescence.

When it comes to war, Dr. Wiggam is against the pacifist, and says that men love war. They always have; they always will. All wild animals die a tragic death; "and in doing so even the timeliest live one moment of superlative ecstasy. And men, in their brief moment of civilization, have not forgotten this precious teaching of evolution. . . . I can see no natural peace in Nature; I see only the peace of educated intelligence. Nature is war to the death. It is she who taught men to meet their 'rendezvous with Death' with the gaiety of wedding bells."

There is a great deal in this book with which you will disagree, but it is all worth careful reading and discussion.

RYAN WALKER

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

membership will also be considered at this meeting. Applicants and their proposers are requested to take notice and be present at 8:30 p. m. Branches 2-4-5 reports an enrollment of several old-time members, who are anxiously looking for a third party movement in the near future.

Branch Seven reported over 200 dues-paying members now on the rolls and gaining every month. This branch held its first open-air lecture at Tremont and Washington avenues, July 2, with Henry Jager. The lectures will be continued weekly until October. Branch Seven, through a strong and active committee, expects to interest the attending citizens in the purchase of literature and pamphlets bearing on the Socialist philosophy.

KINGS COUNTY

NOMINATIONS FOR OFFICE

A number of the branches have named their candidates for the fall elections. Joseph Tuvim is to make the run for Assembly in the 6th A. D., and Louis P. Goldberg in the 23rd A. D., and Mrs. Greene in the 13th A. D. Jerome T. de Hunt is to run for Congress in the 10th District and William M. Feigenbaum in the 8th. Other nominations are being made as the branches meet.

BON VOYAGE TO WEIL

Joseph A. Weil, for over thirty years one of the most devoted, whole-souled, unselfish and tireless Socialist propagandists in the East, was given a dinner June 2 at the Manhattan Restaurant, on the eve of his sailing for Europe on a well-earned vacation. All the party workers were there, and inimitable Barney Riley was toastmaster.

Weil is still making soapbox speeches with the same enthusiasm, the same desire to serve, as he was showing when this scribe first heard him, twenty-two years ago—and he was a veteran then. He is responsible for the party's emblem, the Arm and Torch, and the present form of street-corner platform, which he designed. He is the father of Gertrude Weil Klein and Louis E. Weil, two party workers of whom he is inordinately proud.

PIANO FOR SALE

Branch 1, 23rd A. D., will turn over its piano, which was recently purchased, to any Socialist Party branch or circle willing to pay up the balance. It is a comparatively new piano, on which some 150 to \$200 have been paid and on which a hundred odd dollars are still due. The piano is a player, and we have quite a few rolls available. For further information, address Joseph N. Cohen, 970 Hopkinson avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Y. P. S. L. NOTES

With the coming of the summer months the East Side circles are preparing for the usual open-air campaign. The circles are cooperating with the party branches in holding open-air meetings and selling literature. At the last meeting of Circle One arrangements were made to hold several street meetings. The rest of the East Side circles, Seven, Eight and Three, are doing the same. Circle Seven will meet

Saturday evening, where, in addition to planning for the membership campaign, arrangements will be made for their tenth anniversary celebration. The Circle meets at 132 Broome street. Circle Three has recently elected new officers, and as a result of their work the Circle is gaining influence and prestige through the Sixth Assembly District. Circle Eight, its closest neighbor, is also conducting open-air meetings, and from the reports received at the city office these meetings are most successful. During the last month quite a good deal of FREE YOUTHS have been sold at these meetings.

The most encouraging news comes from the northern end of the city. We are pleased to see the newly organized Circle in the Bronx functioning in full force. The interest displayed by the members in the general organization problems is remarkable. Every one is working hard under the leadership of the pleasant little organizer, Comrade Gertrude Slut.

Brooklyn and Brownsville are doing quite well. Circle Two is holding regular meetings every Sunday and having well-planned educational programs. The same applies to Circle Four, which meets every Friday at 218 Van Siclen avenue. Circles One and Six of Williamsburg are keeping in line with the rest of the city. At the last meeting of Circle Six, Comrade Pavloff delivered a lecture on the history of the Socialist movement in the country. A lively discussion followed, in which all of the audience participated. The discussion will be continued this Sunday evening. Comrade Joe Tuvim, candidate for Assembly in that district, will open the discussion with a talk on the Cleveland conference. It is hoped that by that time some definite news will be available. Circle One, Brooklyn, will meet this Friday, and Comrade Switkes, the new executive secretary of the League, will talk on "The Relation of the Circle to the League—What the Circle Can Do for the Whole League."

All circles and members are requested to send in their applications for the League field day, which will be held on July 20 at Pelham Bay Park. Entry blanks can be secured at the League office or from the athletic directors of each Circle. All entries for the events will have to be in by July 14.

The latest issue of Free Youth is ready. Open-air committees are requested to get their bundles for use at street meetings.

A general city membership meeting will be held Sunday afternoon, July 13. Reports will be received from the members of the National Executive Committee, who will meet at Cleveland, July 4. A report of the convention and the C. P. A. will also be given. Plans for work during the coming summer and fall will be discussed. Several definite proposals worked out as a result of the conference held at Tamiment will be considered. Comrade Lee, who was in charge of the conference, will speak on the relation between the Y. P. S. L. and the Rand School. He will also make some definite suggestions on that subject. Comrades are requested to keep that date open.

Party Notes

(Continued From Page 6)

STREET MEETINGS

Monday, July 7: 6th A. D., 7th street and Avenue C; speakers, E. Steinberger and a Jewish speaker. 8th A. D., 2nd street and Second avenue; speakers, Jessie Wallace HUGHAN and Alexander Schwartz. 14th A. D., 72d street and First avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian. 17th A. D., 112th street and Lenox avenue; speaker, Henry Jager.

Tuesday, July 8: 20th A. D., 125th street and Fifth avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian. Wednesday, July 9: 6th A. D., 4th street and Avenue C; speakers, Alex. Schwartz and a Jewish speaker. 16th A. D., 79th street and First avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian. 1st A. D., East Broadway and Jefferson; speakers, E. Steinberger and a Jewish speaker. 3rd A. D., 24th street and Eighth avenue; speaker, Leonard C. Kaye.

Thursday, July 10: 3rd A. D., Sheridan square; speaker, Richard Boyajian.

Friday, July 11: 6th A. D., 5th street and Avenue B; speaker, William Karlin. 4th A. D., Grand and Pitt streets; speakers, Henry Fruchter and a Jewish speaker. 8th A. D., 7th street and Second avenue; speaker, Samuel Beardsley. 5th A. D., 35th street and 8th avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian.

Saturday, July 12: 16th A. D., 86th street and 3rd avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian. (Afternoon): 1st A. D., Rutgers square; speakers, Henry Jager and a Jewish speaker.

DUES STAMP SALES

In June, 1924, Local New York sold 1,080 dues stamps, the largest number sold in a single month in years. This splendid result was due to the circularizing of members and branches by the Managing Committee of Local New York, urging members to pay up back dues. In addition, the Local raised on pledges and donations \$25 and contributed \$314 to the fund to pay the expenses of our delegates to Cleveland.

During the month there were sixty street meetings, all well attended. The expenses for the meetings were \$150.

More money is needed, and comrades are urged to send donations for propaganda work immediately to 7 East 15th street. The committee, consisting of Algernon Lee, Herman Volk, and Julius Gerber, has been laying money out for current expenses out of their own pockets. Every cent that comes in will be spent for propaganda.

The 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D., having received a rebate of \$40.35 for dues stamps sold to its members,

promptly donated that sum to the office of Local New York. Other branches are invited to consider that noble example.

1ST AND 2ND A. D.

At the last meeting of the branch the following officers were elected for next term: Benjamin Needleman, organizer; A. Scall, financial secretary; J. Goldberg, recording secretary; P. Rothberg, treasurer. Members to Central committee: J. Leventhal, S. Plotkin, H. Cohen. Executive Committee of Branch: J. Korn, S. Plotkin, J. Leventhal, H. Seltzer, L. Golden, Ben Needleman, A. Scall, J. Goldberg.

The branch is holding its annual excursion on Saturday afternoon, August 16. All party branches and radical organizations are urged to keep the date open. Further announcements will appear in The New Leader.

A Concert and Package Party will be held this Saturday evening, July 5, at eight p. m., East Side Socialist Centre, 204 East Broadway. Well-known stars from the Jewish and English stage will appear. This affair is run for the benefit of the National Office of the Socialist Party. All members of the party are urged to be present. A grand time is assured to all.

THE BRONX

The Executive Committee will meet Monday, July 7, at headquarters. The sub-committees on organization, entertainment and campaign are expected to outline the work contemplated by them. Comrade Wechsler of the Jewish Verband reported securing several substantial donations from sympathizers towards defraying the expenses of renovating the headquarters.

The Executive Secretary has notified all branches that the State Executive Committee has called for a referendum on the question of merging the Locals in the Greater City. The ballots are now in the Local headquarters. This referendum must be in the hands of the State Secretary on or before July 19, 1924.

At the last meeting of branch Seven, several comrades who have allowed their membership to lapse through neglect and apathy settled up all arrears. This awakening of some of the old comrades is mainly due to the systematic circularizing by the organization committee of Branch Seven and by personal visits by some members of the committee who intend to carry on this work until every member has expressed his or her definite decision as regards the Socialist Party.

Combined Branches 2-4-5 will meet Tuesday, July 15, 1924. Comrade Paulitsch has secured a member of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain to address the meeting. All pending applications for

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Saturday, July 5, 1924

THE DEMOCRATS STRADDLE THE ISSUE

THE Democratic party, at the convention that was to give it its greatest opportunity, met the one big issue before it and straddled.

No one expected the Donkey to take a courageous stand on any vital issue. That would be contrary to its history and the history of all capitalist parties. But on the issue of specifically by name denouncing the Ku Klux Klan it showed itself to be a congeries of self-seeking politicians, each group looking out for itself and devil take the hindmost.

Officially, the convention, by a tiny majority, takes a stand opposed to naming the Klan by name. That suits the Imperial Wizard, who directed his band of intimidating ruffians from a suite in the McAlpin Hotel. The Democratic party, by a few fractions of votes, has been bulldozed and threatened by the fear of political disaster to stand for the American white-clad Black Hundreds. So far so bad. But what of the hundreds—within a few fractional votes of a majority—who wanted to name the Klan by name? Who were they?

A few—a pitiful few—stood for religious liberty for its own sake. Mr. Underwood, reactionary Bourbon that he is, at least had the Bourbon gallantry to stand for the principle of religious liberty at great cost to himself; but the majority of the anti-Klan votes were the cohorts of the Tammany Halls of the big cities, who were voting, not for a principle, but for their own self-protection. "It is not the business of Rabbis or Cardinals," said Rabbi Wise, "to denounce the Klan." But if it were not for the Brennans, the Foleys, the Kennas and Coughlins, themselves being assailed by their fellow Democrats, the Democratic party would stand overwhelmingly on the side of the sheeted cowards, the latter-day Torquemadas!

What is the Democratic party? It is a group of groups after the swag, after public office, sinking their differences only so that each selfish group may aid every other to get into office. Klansman and Tammany cohorts eagerly willing to support each other, each in its own preserves, willing to sink all principle, if only both sides might get in. Only a vast upheaval in the public mind, too significant to be ignored, compelled them to face an issue that embarrasses them both.

Did Tammany ever rise in revolt against Negro lynching by the Democratic States of the South? Did the South ever rise to protest against the organized lusting of Tammany Hall? Did Hinky Dink and Tom Foley and Norman Mack and Bathhouse John ever protest against grave wrong to millions of people—when it was not themselves being wronged? Did the Democratic party, or any part of the Democratic party, EVER take a stand for religious liberty AS SUCH, or for human liberty for its own sake? Did Bryan ever raise his great and eloquent voice to protect the Negroes of the South? Did Tammany ever protect the underpaid, overworked, bedeviled wage slaves before it was politically profitable to pretend to do so?

Shameless, corrupt, greedy, famishing for the fleshpots—that is what the Democracy is; and by the side of the solitary gallantry of the few brave Underwoods and Patangalls, the action of the vast majority stands out with magnified shamelessness.

No hope of relief from intolerable wrongs can be found in the Democratic party and its bands of self-seeking spoliemen. There is no hope for the toiling, suffering masses, except in a party of their own, based on the enlightened self-interest of the masses. There alone lies freedom.

For once we agree with Mr. Fred Marvin of the New York Commercial. At a meeting of Kiwanis clubs in Denver, he boasts, he called upon the 5,000 he-men present to pledge themselves to "register and vote," and see to it that only candidates they can approve are nominated and elected. Good. Now let all the workers and working farmers and their families follow Marvin's advice and register and vote only in their own interest, and we'll be suited first rate.

THE INDICTMENTS—AT LAST

WELL, at last the Dohenys, Sinclair and Fall are indicted. Unkind people may say that the indictments of these gentlemen was timed to impress the people that it doesn't need a Democratic adminis-

tration to punish wrongdoing, even by a former Republican official. But be that as it may, no one will quarrel with the accomplished fact.

Yet, there are considerations that cannot be ignored.

Four years ago, the Democratic convention was in session in San Francisco with Edward L. Doheny as one of its big figures—one of its then "Big Four." Today, his attorney, Mr. McAdoo, is one of the outstanding Democratic candidates before the convention. Four years ago, Mr. Fall was not only a Republican senator, he was one of the "best minds," one of the insiders, one of the favored few who steered the Republican ship. Little enough political satisfaction for either gang, no matter how much Mr. Coolidge may sternly say that he will punish the guilty, whether they are Republicans or not; no matter how much the Smith rooters yell "Oil, Oil!" whenever McAdoo's name is mentioned.

The big, thundering fact is that, as a nation, under Republican or Democratic rule, we are committed to the principle of private exploitation of natural resources; that both old parties are opposed in principle to using the wealth of the nation for the good of the people. That this principle, to which both old gangs are committed, makes oil scandals as inevitable as the rising of the sun.

Only a policy of development of the nation's wealth IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION, only the principle that human beings, the men and women who do the work of the world, come first, only the repudiation of the principle that the making of dollars is the sole objective of the nation's life, will save us from oil scandals—and similar crimes—in the future.

And no one can make such a principle effective except the working people themselves, organized in their own party.

The Interstate Commerce Commission reports that the number of wage-workers employed on steam railways in the United States has been materially diminished during the last year, and that wages of those still employed have been slightly reduced. In March, 1923, the number employed was 1,816,479, and in March of this year it was 1,760,268—that is, more than 56,000 were turned out. In March last the average wage for the month was \$140.60, and this March it was \$137.10—a reduction of \$3.50, or about 2½ per cent. The total monthly payroll was cut down to the tune of \$14,000,000. All of which shows that we are "getting back to normalcy."

THE AMERICAN INQUISITION

SO many American educational institutions are annexed as departments of big Capital and finance that it is refreshing to read the address of Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar, who took for his subject "The American Inquisition." Four chief principles of this inquisition he enumerated as Luskism, the inquisition of free speech; Lodgeism, the inquisition of international intercourse; Denbyism, the inquisition of pacifism; and Bryanism, the inquisition of science.

Bryanism he considered the most dangerous because that "tyranny which would suppress the teaching of truth disclosed by scientific method injures not only the present but future generations." Already the movement to prevent the teaching of evolution in the schools has produced a situation where large sections of the country seem "to have reverted to a sixteenth century point of view beside which Calvin's ways were modern."

Luskism, with its fear of free thought, and Denbyism, with its official propaganda of militarism, are closely akin to

Bryanism. Dr. MacCracken presented the whole intellectual reaction as a revival of the Inquisition. The address was presented in the form of a history topic written by a student in the University of Tokio in the year 2,224. Looking backward to the present period, he looks upon the American Inquisition as we today look upon the Inquisition of a few hundred years ago.

Dr. MacCracken has dared the inquisitors of politics, militarism and religious reaction. This requires considerable courage, and it is all too rare in educational institutions. Reduced to vassalage by contributions by our Babbitts and exploiters, often obtaining revenues from investments in the exploitation of Labor, thousands of schools, colleges and universities are barren of any real intellectual life. They become agencies for teaching Pollyanna ethics, the politics of a decadent capitalism, and turning out empty heads unfitted to understand the world in which they live.

The realtors, bankers, railroad bandits and corporation lawyers will keep their eyes on the suspect at Poughkeepsie. A man with a mind of his own in an American school is a rare bird, one that cannot be tolerated by the "democracy" which our ruling classes represent.

The fine art of promoting the hire learning has a supporter in John D. Jr., who has given \$500,000 to the division of Fine Arts of Harvard University. The fine art of politics will also receive his attention this year.

Five Souls

By W. N. EWER

I was a peasant of the Polish plain;
I left my plow because the message ran—
"Russia, in danger, needed every man
To save her from the Teuton"—and was slain.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I was a Tyrolean, a mountaineer,
I gladly left my mountain home to fight
Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite—
And died in Poland on a Cossack spear.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I worked in Lyons at my weaver's loom,
When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled
His felon blow at France and at the world;
Then I went forth to Belgium—and my doom.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main,
Until the Fatherland, begirt by foes
Lusting her downfall, called me, and I rose
Swift to the call—and died in fair Lorraine.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde;
There came a sudden word of wars declared,
Of Belgium, peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
Asking our aid; I joined the ranks—and died.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

The New Declaration of Independence



THE Chatter-Box

MORE SONNETS TO A DARK LADY

Yet you must know how absence would be wise

To one so frail as I am in a storm;
You with the depth of thunder in your eyes,
You with a tethered lightning in your form.

So you come pirouetting through my dreams—

Staid dreams, good dreams, like prim reception rooms—

Tumbling your hair in moon-combed mountain streams,

Tossing your arms about like wind-blown plumes.

Though I have hung my house with cross and saint

So that no Pagan thing may venture in,
You enter, laughing down my stern complaint,
And dance until the stolid ikons spin.

So, for an hour of wanton revelry,
We are what silly reason dars not be. . .

POETRY PRIZE ANNOUNCEMENT FOR JUNE

The \$10 prize for the best poem printed in this column has been awarded to I. Goodman for his (or her) "Ballade of Brady Town," which appeared June 21, 1924. Honorable mention is given to John Bridge, for his "Ebb and Flow"; to Freda Ricus, for her "Servility," and to Ray G. for her quatrain, "Men and God."

We still have money to burn on the altar of the Muse, so the contest is on for July. Remember, poetry is best when short, if not sweet—in this column, anyway.

Personal Notes

We see by the shipping news that our old friend Joe Weil, of Brooklyn, is slated to cross the briny deep for a trip to Europe. Seems to us Joe has been saving up these thirty years for a vacation. We never knew him to take ten minutes away from the grindstone of existence or the buzz-saw of Socialism. If ever a Comrade is deserving of a real, hearty "Bon Voyage," Joe is. Well, here goes—three lusty cheers; hip, hip, Joseph A. Weil!

Jim Oneal is conventioning in Cleveland, and so we noticed Billy Feigenbaum shoving a Tamiment leaflet into his breast pocket. It's always that way—when the cat's away.

Last week was our most profitable one in many moons. Only had to pay two dinner checks. Understand that a couple of new dailies have started in New York, and so, temporarily at least, the Byrons and Horace Greeleys are buying their own.

One month from date we fear, however, we shall be enjoined, summoned, and otherwise extra-legally forced into a dinner engagement (at our expense) to meet twelve unemployed scribes, who in one Babel of a chorus will explain severally how the paper would have out-Hearsted Hearst had they been in charge, etc., etc.

Now that beer and the snappy nip of the old days are prohibitive to the wallet of journalism, the only thing the old boys get a real kick from is explaining to us and others what genius was lost to this paper or that when they were fired.

THE RIVER

Beneath the wide Unknown
Of the sky
The river flows,
Silently and forever,
Down to the sea.

Like some endless Enchantment—
Murmuring of far shores,
Of far days,
And the deep secret of Existence.

So often I have watched
Countless passing thousands
Moving forever forward
Along the crowded street:
Faces—faces—faces—
Like the ceaseless flowing of the river
Through the ages.

Oh, you countless faces!
Oh, you low-voiced river!
Shall I never solve
That ceaseless, beautiful mystery
Of Time —?

THEODOCIA PEARCE.

Now starts the exodus of the slaves into the promised land of the Summer Resort Columns. If there were only a Moses to lead them across the Red Sea of misrepresentations, perhaps. . . But we are neither desirous of immortality nor communion with God on the Mount.

Take your choice of any place blindfold, discount the attractions 96 per cent, fortify your digestion with either the determination to starve, or any of the advertised brands of cure-all pills, take along twice as much money as the advertised price per week would total for your stay, and leave all your sense of privacy, decency and manners in the city. All this, with the acquisition of a Christ-like attitude towards suffering and self-punishment, may help you through your vacation.

S. A. DE WITT.

opportunity in the high tide of the revolution. Had they exiled the Ludendorffs and the princelings of the Hohenzollern family and all their conspicuous leaders as well, the German working class would not be facing the peril it does now. . . It is a pity that they have been so tolerant as to invite the intolerance of a gang of parasites who can only bring a revival of Junkerdom at home if their aims are achieved. . .

Anticipating the needs of the Republicans and Democratic parties this year, Judge Winslow holds that the dollar rate for gas is unconstitutional.

HEAVY POLITICAL THINKING

TAMMANY HALL has a brand-new newspaper in New York, the Evening Bulletin, called The Bull for Short. The gifted editor of The Bull is in the act of delivering some heavy thinking and handing the result to the Democratic party in convention assembled.

He doesn't like the League of Nations, and he says so; he says that unless the Democrats want to make the U. S. A. a suburb of Great Britain and turn over the White House to King George for a summer residence, they had better take a wallop out of the League in their platform.

"The League of Nations is a menace," says this political sage. "Today, if it were operating, it would be controlled by red-faggers. Half the nations of Europe are directed today by men who believe that Karl Marx was the one genius produced since the Creation. The other half of Europe is controlled by bloody bandits, thieving capitalists or anaemic monarchs."

Nossir, we don't want no entanglements with capitalists or with people who are fighting capitalism. We have got to be free and independent and the greatest and freest country on God's green footstool, and if any damn Socialist or Bolshevik don't like the deal he's gettin' he knows what he can do. This is the country where any poor boy can get rich if he tends to his business and looks after the boss's interest and don't go foolin' around with people who want to make him feel discontented. And if anybody don't like it here, he can go back to where he came from.

You can't tell the Democrats anything about political philosophy. They know it all; and what they don't know, these great editors will tellum.

Socialism, then, I repeat, comes not to fetter men's energies or destroy their aptitudes, but rather to call them forth and give them abundant opportunity and freedom. It comes not to encourage idleness and vacuous leisure, but to make work a joy and recreation and a means of giving fulness to life and of enriching the commonwealth.—J. Bruce Glasier.

THE GERMAN REACTION

GERMAN Socialists have had problems to face since the armistice that few movements of the working class have had to face. With French imperialism ready to use its conscripts to invade the country, an imperialist treaty serving as a noose to strangle efforts at reconstruction, and hunger of millions being the most pressing problem, their power or partial power has been like that of a giant in chains.

Yet it would seem that from the beginning of the German revolution the German Socialists and trade unions have missed one opportunity which now returns to plague them. They have permitted the old royalist and militarist vermin to strut and intrigue. Today the old gang is more insolent than ever. Moreover, the courts are filled with spineless tools of the old ruling class whose decisions are partial to that class. Demonstrations of the monarchists and militarists are openly held, and these demonstrations play into the hands of those Allied imperialists who seek to strangle Germany.

The tendency of recent court decisions show that it is almost impossible to convict any of the old gang, while Socialists, trade unionists, and Communists are invariably convicted for alleged crimes against the State. Armed organizations of the monarchists are not molested, while similar organizations of the workers now forming are suppressed.

The German workers missed their great