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The New Leader

IN THIS ISSUE:

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Progressive Labor Party Taking Form

LABOR PARTY IS BIG QUESTION AT EL PASO

Organization of Women in Industry Will Also Be Considered by A. F. of L.

Shall the American Federation of Labor throw its official support to the formation of an American Labor party? That is the question that will dominate all others in the annual convention of the Federation which opens November 17 in El Paso, Texas.

The Labor party question, so often the subject of hard fighting in A. F. of L. conventions, will come to the fore with greater vigor than in any recent year. Flushed with the victory in rolling up a vote of 5,000,000 for La Follette and Wheeler, certain of the Labor elements are set on continuing Labor's independent political activities in a permanent form.

The discussion on the Labor party question is expected to come on the consideration of the report of the Executive Council on its support of La Follette. That this section of the report will be adopted seems certain. But representatives of the machinists, other railroad unions and the needle trades unions, among others, are expected to take the lead in demanding that Labor continue to align itself behind a party of its own.

As usual, great interest at this time attaches to the position to be taken by President Samuel Gompers, who, incidentally, is scheduled for reelection to the Presidency. It is not expected by those who are "in the know" that President Gompers will reverse his traditional position of opposition to the A. F. of L. participation in a Labor party.

Nevertheless, it is admitted on all sides that the obstacles to a Labor party which were well-nigh insurmountable in other years, have been materially weakened and possibly eliminated by the support of the La Follette-Wheeler candidacy by the A. F. of L.

Another matter of great importance in the convention will be consideration of the problem of organizing work among the 3,500,000 women now employed in American industry. A special commission has been studying the question of organizing these working women in Labor unions and the result of its labors will be presented to the convention. The commission included representatives of the many trades where women have become employed in great numbers, such as the textile, cigar and garment industries.

Following the convention, the delegates will cross the Mexican border to Juarez, where they will hold a joint session with the Mexican Labor congress. The delegates to both conventions will then journey to Mexico City where they will be the guests of the Mexican Government on the occasion of the inauguration of President-elect Plutarco Elias Calles, elected on a Labor and Socialist ticket.

"This year's convention will be larger than the one held at Portland, Oregon, in 1923," said Secretary Frank Morrison. "It will be the first convention of the Federation ever held in the State of Texas. Another innovation will be an exchange of joint sessions for one day with the Mexican Federation of Labor, which will be holding its convention at the same time in Juarez, just across the border line."

"The executive council report, including that of President Gompers and myself, will show the membership of the Federation has successfully resisted all attacks of the enemies of Labor and that the finances are in good shape."

Three Mass Meetings In Rand School Will Protest Militarism

There will be three mass meetings in the Rand School building, 7 East 15th street, during National Educational Week, to protest against the militarization of the Educational work of the country.

The meetings will be on November 19, "Education for What?," November 21, "Social Recreation and Youth," and November 22, at 3:15 p. m., on "Community Ideals."

The speakers at the first meeting will be Dr. William H. Kilpatrick, Dr. Henry R. Linville and Algernon Lee. The second will be addressed by Norman Thomas, Mrs. Mary Simkhovich and Marius Hansome, and at the third the speakers will be Harry Dana, Roger Baldwin and Charles Solomon.

Police Chief Faces Vision of Paying Damages for Suppression of Speech

CAP MAKERS IN A. F. L. AGAIN

Jurisdictional Controversy With United Hatters Is Amicably Adjusted.

The jurisdictional controversy between the United Hatters and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers has now ended to the mutual satisfaction of both organizations. An agreement determining the jurisdictional demarcations of each international union has just been signed by both organizations and sanctioned by the American Federation of Labor, thus happily closing the jurisdictional controversy and cementing the ties of friendship between both organizations. The agreement assures the cooperation of both international unions of the headgear industry, to bring about the complete organization of all the workers of this industry under the jurisdiction of the respective international unions.

The first steps towards the conclusion of the present agreement were made by the national conventions of both organizations in 1923. The convention of the United Hatters, which was held in April, 1923, adopted a resolution expressing the desire of the membership to relinquish the jurisdiction over the millinery trade. It drew up certain propositions for a jurisdictional agreement, the gist of which was:

"That the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers release their membership now engaged in the men's hat industry—straw, Panama, wool and felt—and turn same over to the United Hatters, using as a base Plan B as submitted . . . by the Cap Makers' organization during the period of their conference" (with the United Hatters).

Provided this condition has been carried out, the United Hatters agreed:

"That the entire millinery jurisdiction will be turned over to the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America with the exception of the Locals in Boston and Chicago."

The convention of the Cap Makers' organization was held in May, 1923. It gave careful consideration to the decision of the United Hatters' Convention and adopted a resolution welcoming "the spirit of the resolution of the Eighth Convention of the United Hatters as supplying a basis for a settlement," but objecting to that part of the resolution of the United Hatters which wanted to make an exception for their locals in Boston and Chicago, so that those two locals may be retained by the United Hatters while the entire millinery trade will be transferred to the cap makers.

Upon the adjournment of both conventions the representatives of both international unions had several conferences and, being unable to come to an understanding with regard to the two Hatters' Millinery Locals in Boston and Chicago, they finally agreed to submit the question to a decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. In May, 1924, the Executive Council at its meeting in Montreal granted a hearing to the representatives of both organizations and then adopted the following decision:

"The decision of the Executive Council is that jurisdiction over all millinery workers be given to the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers in view of the fact that the Executive Officers of the United Hatters of North America have stated before this council that the hatters have freely relinquished jurisdiction over these workers. This will include the two locals that the United Hatters of North America have pledged themselves to keep within their organization."

After this decision was rendered the representatives of both organizations took up the question of arranging for an agreement specifying the jurisdictional demarcations of both organizations. Plan B mentioned in the resolution of the United Hatters, which was approved by the convention of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers held in May, 1923, was taken as a basis. The main provisions agreed upon are that all factories of men's felt, (Continued on page 2)

Suit Grew Out of Arrest of Socialist Party Candidate in Brooklyn.

Richard E. Enright, New York City's literary Chief of Police, is faced with the vision of having to pay damages to a former Socialist candidate as a result of the Police Department's wanton denial of the rights of free speech a few years ago.

The New York Appellate Division has handed down a unanimous decision reversing a judgment in favor of Police Commissioner Enright, obtained in the County Court of Kings County, in an action in which Louis P. Goldberg, Socialist lawyer, was the plaintiff.

The case reached the Appellate Division on a previous appeal and at that time the same tribunal unanimously reversed the lower court which had rendered a decision against Goldberg.

The case arose out of the arrest in October, 1919, of Louis P. Goldberg for addressing in Yiddish a street meeting under the auspices of the Tenants' Union, for which he was volunteer counsel at the time. The arrest, it is contended, was made under an order issued by Enright which prohibited the use of any language but English at such gatherings.

Goldberg was placed under bail in the police station and subsequently discharged in the Magistrate's Court on the ground that he had violated no law.

An action for false arrest and imprisonment was thereupon commenced by Goldberg against Enright, the officer who had made the arrest, and the lieutenant who had held the Socialist lawyer. When the case came up for trial the first time, Goldberg was non-suited. A successful appeal was taken, the Appellate Court holding unanimously that the issuance of the order was unlawful and an invasion of Goldberg's constitutional rights.

The action was again brought on for trial, and when all the testimony was in the court dismissed the complaint against Enright on the ground that he had not been sufficiently connected with the issuance of the order and on the further ground that there was not enough evidence that Goldberg had been arrested under a particular order alleged to have been issued by the Police Commissioner.

A second successful appeal was taken, the Appellate Court reversing the lower court in every respect. Charles Solomon, Goldberg's law partner, argued the second appeal. Goldberg was the Socialist candidate for Judge when he was arrested.

Hemstitchers and Pleaters Will Hold Elections

The Hemstitchers, Tuckers and Pleaters' Union, Local 41, I. L. G. W. U., will hold elections for two business agents to serve for the next term, on November 20, at the union headquarters, 6 West 21st street. All members are called upon to participate. Only good standing members will be permitted to vote.

SOCIALIST IS SHOT



LUIS MORONES

Morones, Mexican Labor Leader, Seriously Wounded During Gun-Play in Chamber of Deputies.

MEXICO CITY.—Luis Morones, President of the Mexican Federation of Labor, is in a serious condition as the result of a pistol fight in the Chamber of Deputies, of which he is a member. More than 200 shots were fired.

Morones has been a lifelong Socialist and is well known to the American Socialist and Labor leaders. A few years ago he came to the office of The New York Call with \$1,000 which the Mexican Federation of Labor had donated to the American Labor and Socialist daily.

E. D. MOREL DEAD IN LONDON

Noted Socialist Scholar and Editor Passes Away Suddenly.

LONDON.—Edmund D. Morel, M. P., prominent Socialist M. P., and editor of the monthly Foreign Affairs, died at his Devonshire residence November 12.

Morel, as a pacifist, has been prominent in British political circles for twenty years. He jumped into fame in 1904 when he organized the Congo Reform Association and took a leading part in the campaign against Congo misrule. He was subsequently a Liberal, but joined the Independent Labor party in 1918.

During the war his pacifistic attitude got him a jail sentence. In 1922 he had the pleasure of defeating Winston Churchill in Dundee. He was re-elected in 1923 and 1924. Last January Premier MacDonald and several other members of the Government urged Morel for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Tamiment Reunion

On Sunday afternoon, November 16, at 2:30 p. m., Camp Tamiment will hold its first reunion of the season in the Pennsylvania Hotel Ballroom, 33rd street and Seventh avenue, N. Y. C.

Next Week

Ernst Toller: *The Brilliant Young German Poet and Playwright Has Written a New Play, a Vivid Picture of the Horror of War. The Prologue, "The Death Parade," Will be Published for the First Time in The New Leader.*

Bertha Hale White: *The National Secretary of the Socialist Party Has Written a Concise, Suggestive Socialist Estimate of the Election Results.*

Luigi Antonini: *"Why I Left the Workers' Party," An American Labor Leader, in a Refreshing and Delightful Style, Tells of His Adventures In and Out of "American Communism."*

J. R. Smallwood: *"Countess and Comrade," An Interview With the Countess Karolyi.*

Colen Meyer: *The Rise and Fate of a Progressive Student Movement in One of Our Leading Colleges.*

William M. Feigenbaum: *An Exclusive Interview With President Calles of Mexico.*

Adam Coaldigger: *"A Bad Case of Bankeritis."*

G. G. Desmond: *"Swans and Starlings," a Revealing Nature and Educational Study.*

The First Socialist Cross-Word Puzzle.

Book Reviews by James Oneal, Norman Thomas, Frank R. Crosswaith. S. A. De Witt's "Chatter-Box." A Page of Vital Editorials.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler's "Roads to Freedom" will begin in the issue of November 29. See Particulars on Page 3.

UNITS ORGANIZED IN MANY CITIES THROUGH NATION

C. P. P. A. Executive Council Will Meet in Washington, December 12.

A new nation-wide party of trade unionists, Socialists and Progressives is taking form.

From a score of cities, San Francisco, Cleveland, New York, St. Paul, St. Louis among them, come reports of the election machinery of the La Follette-Wheeler Progressive party being overhauled and reorganized as a permanent progressive party.

The Labor press of the nation indicates the general trend toward the formation of a Labor party which has been set in motion by the huge vote for the La Follette-Wheeler ticket. This will be reflected at the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor, where the Labor party discussion is expected to bulk large.

A meeting of the Executive Council of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, the backbone of the La Follette movement, will be held December 12 in Washington, D. C. It was originally scheduled for the latter part of this month, but has been postponed in order to permit the Labor members of the council to be present at the A. F. of L. Convention.

The December meeting will lay plans for a larger general convention to be held in January at which the question of organizing a third party will be thrashed out and a decision arrived at.

Following are typical comments from the Labor press of the nation: The Cleveland Citizen says:

"From every section of the city come enthusiastic demands that the Independent Progressive party, which has made such an auspicious beginning despite the lack of organization and financial support, become a permanent political movement."

"Everyone who cogitates for a moment recognizes the fact that the aggressive, zealous campaign that has been waged by an organization that had no existence four months ago in overthrowing the political machines that were half a century or more in building was a stupendous victory."

"Likewise every man and woman who believes in the principles of the trade union movement as reflected on the political field by the Progressive party is confident that with a year of preparation ahead it will be no difficult task to acquire complete control of the Governmental machinery of this municipality and insure a square deal for the whole people in the future."

"While this issue of The Citizen is being printed the Executive Committee of the Independent Progressive party is in session to formulate plans to guarantee the permanency of the movement and the program decided upon will be given publicity immediately."

Labor, official railroad union organ, says:

"The big fact is: 5,000,000 Americans went to the polls last Tuesday and voted for Progressive candidates and Progressive principles."

"Two years from now we must face the enemy again—that time in a Congressional election."

"We must prepare for that contest, and for the contests which will follow."

"Our organization, which was so obviously weak in this campaign, must be strengthened. Arrangements must be made to get the Progressive gospel to all the people. That means more and better progressive newspapers and magazines."

With firm faith in the justice of our cause, we must close ranks and move forward."

The Toledo Union Leader says:

"In the face of conditions the committee in charge of the campaign feels encouraged and the work of organization under the C. P. P. A. will go on, it is assured by Victor S. Gauthier, chairman. A meeting will be held soon to plan the future course of the forces lined up against reaction in this country."

The Illinois Miner, official miner's organ of that State, says:

"The vote given La Follette, while disappointing to his supporters, is the nucleus of a progressive party which will be formed following the election."

KINGS ORGANIZES NEW PARTY

New York Progressives Will Hold Conference This Saturday.

Steps looking to the permanent functioning of the La Follette-Wheeler forces of King's County, Brooklyn, were taken at a special meeting of the campaign committee executive council Monday night, with about twenty-five present.

It was decided to perpetuate the organization under the name of the Progressive party, and to formulate plans of action, the following committee was appointed: Alfred J. Boulton, former Register of King's County; Rufus L. Perry, leading Negro lawyer of Brooklyn; L. K. Mayers, Robert H. Haskell, Mrs. A. Solan, and Joseph Viola, executive secretary of the Socialist Party of King's County.

A conference of all the La Follette elements of New York State will be held Saturday evening, November 15, at the Civic Club, to perfect a permanent organization of the Progressive party in that State.

The conference call has been sent out by Arthur Garfield Hays, State chairman of the La Follette-Wheeler campaign committee. It is in accord with the statement by Congressman John M. Nelson, national campaign manager, who urged that the Progressive organizations formed during the campaign be kept intact in a permanent form.

Among those who will take part in the conference Saturday will be the La Follette-Wheeler State campaign committee, the New York City campaign committee, the county campaign committees, and a number of active La Follette workers who have been invited to attend.

BUFFALO PROGRESSIVES MOVE TO ORGANIZE A PERMANENT PARTY

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Shortly after election the La Follette and Wheeler Campaign Committee of Buffalo and Erie County met to consider the future of the progressive movement. La Follette polled 30,000 votes in Buffalo and his county vote exceeded 35,000 votes. It was the consensus of opinion that some sort of permanent organization be affected to hold together the elements who worked together in the campaign. After some discussion temporary officers were elected as follows: Chairman, Dr. John Nathansohn, and Secretary, Robert A. Hoffman.

A motion was carried to elect a Committee of fifteen to constitute a temporary organization committee, such committee having the power to add to its numbers to a maximum of twenty-seven. Only four Socialists were elected to this committee as the Socialists announced that they had no desire to control this new party but would expect the Labor and liberal forces to take the lead for the creation of a permanent party modeled after the British Labor Party.

The committee elected was as follows: Councilman Frank C. Perkins, Frederick H. Holtz, Edward Zaremba, Robert A. Hoffman, Miss C. Bredel, Charles H. Roth, Miss Amy R. Juegling, Irving M. Weiss, P. J. Simmonds, Leg Morgan, Dr. John Nathansohn, George Brown, Christopher Meyer, John L. Pier, and Christian Koelbl. At the first meeting of the committee, George H. Wade and Martin B. Heisler were added as members. Plans are being formulated to maintain a permanent organization which will send delegates to the January Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action pledged to the creation of a real progressive party of hand and brain workers.

COOPERATIVE LEAGUE IN SESSION

Appoints Health Committee to Work Out Standards for Employees in Cooperatives.

The Fourth Cooperative Congress ended its three days' sessions in New York City with a dinner at the Cooperative Cafeteria. The speakers of the evening were A. E. Goss, head master of the Washington State Grange, whose topic was "The Farmers and the Cooperative Movement," and Eskel Ronn, manager of the Cooperative Central Exchange, a wholesale doing an annual business of more than \$625,000 among Finnish cooperators in the Northwest.

Saturday's session of the Congress was a business session with reports of officers and committees. A new constitution was adopted providing for representation in the league for various forms of consumers' cooperative societies. The league is organized under the cooperative law of the State of New York. The constitution provides for a board of from fifteen to twenty-one members, recognizing geographical location as far as possible. The new constitution also provides a system of initiative, referendum and recall for the organization of district leagues with proper representation.

Members elected to the Board of Directors for the next two years were J. P. Warbasse and Cedric Long of New York, Severi Alanne of Wisconsin, A. E. Goss of Seattle, Washington, Albert Sonnichsen of Connecticut, H. T. Nordby of Minnesota, Eskel Ronn of Wisconsin, John Walket of Illinois, A. Workkul of New York, A. W. Warriner of Illinois and Waldemar Neimela of Boston. Six of these members succeed themselves.

The following resolutions were passed: A resolution authorizing the appointment of a Health Committee to work in cooperation with the Workers' Health Bureau in formulating a code of safeguards which shall serve as a standard to insure the maximum health protection to workers in cooperative enterprises; a resolution endorsing the effort to reconstruct the Federal Farm Loan Act to the end that it may be made more genuinely cooperative, and to permit stockholders to control their own property; a resolution recommending the patronage of the various

Cooperative Head



DR. JAMES P. WARBASSE
PRESIDENT THE CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE
UNDERWOOD - UNDERWOOD

cooperative banks throughout the United States, banks now numbering 35 with total assets of more than 135 millions of dollars; and a resolution urging closer working relations between trade unions and cooperative societies. A resolution on cooperative education provides for a national organizer, for more assistance to district leagues and for assistance to the Northern States League in its effort to establish a correspondence school. A resolution on finance provides for a standing budget committee of nine for the Cooperative League.

Eighty-nine delegates attended the convention representing 180 cooperative organizations from nineteen different States. There were also eighteen fraternal delegates representing nineteen Labor unions and other organizations helpful to cooperation. The secretary in his report called attention to the increase in the number of cooperative societies in the past two years. Of the 333 societies affiliated with the Cooperative League, the Franklin Creamery of Minnesota is the largest. This society does an annual business of \$3,500,000. Twenty-two other societies affiliated with the League have an annual turnover of more than \$200,000 each, the total business done by cooperatives affiliated with the League being \$15,000,000.

The Congress adjourned subject to the call of the Board of Directors. Minneapolis will probably be the place of the next Congress.

MILL WORKERS VETO BOSSES' "UNION"

'Industrial Democracy' Proposal Fails to Allure Men and Women in Rhode Island.

By ART SHIELDS

CROMPTON, R. I.—Polish workers, who predominate in the big Crompton company velvet and corduroy mills here, have voted down their employer's proposal for a company union. The company union is politely called a plan for industrial democracy by Frank Richmond, the aged owner, and he announces that he will continue the agitation until he converts the workers to the idea.

A stiff fight is being made against the company union idea by the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union, which has an active local in the Pawtuxet Valley, and which recently won a strike for higher wages in the Crompton dye house. The company union Pawtuxet Valley employers are urging is modeled after the one that has just accepted a ten per cent cut in wages in the Amoskeag works at Manchester, N. H. It gives the employers final decision on all questions. Under the proposed plan the Crompton workers would elect only one of three bodies, the House of Representatives. A settlement of grievances effected in the House is reviewed by a Senate, which has a majority of overseers, as foremen are called here, and a minority of operatives. Final decision rests with the Cabinet, consisting of the owner and superintendent.

Unless the industrial democracy plan is put through, a wage cut in this company's plants does not seem likely in the near future. The workers are in a mood to fight back as they did in the nine-month strike of 1922 when a wage cut was defeated. And the Crompton company is relatively busy as compared to neighboring mills of the B. B. & R. Knight Company, which have done nothing for months. The Crompton mills are on two reduced shifts for the weavers, spinners and carders and a 54-hour week for the dyers.

The dyers' conditions illustrate the hard lot of the New England textile worker who is supposed to be enjoying the benefits of a Republican tariff and other G. O. P. legislation. The 54-hour week is part of their Republican comfort. A 48-hour week law was invalidated when a Republican Secretary of State failed to sign it. And the dye house workers' full dinner pail, such as he can fill on an average of \$23 a week, he has to empty in the intervals of work. He gets no time off for lunch in the Crompton mill. The dyeing machinery must be kept going, so the worker has to grab his food as he can, without taking time to rest or to clean off the poisonous chemicals in which he toils.

A typical dye house worker is pale and frequently afflicted with a bad cough. He breathes the confined atmosphere, saturated with unhealthy fumes, and his clogged feet slosh about in poisonous liquid. Usually the dye house worker is too tired and depressed at the day's end to consider organization. In the Crompton plants, however, they are the best organized group of workers. None of the cotton mill work is healthy. In the weaving, carding and spinning departments ventilation is kept at a minimum while the air is kept warm and moist. The humidifiers use the Pawtuxet River water, polluted by the dye houses of mills further up the valley. Pulmonary diseases are common.

When the worker gets home, unhealthy conditions continue. One, two and six family tenements are rented to the workers unfurnished. Few have modern sanitary devices. The only repairs I heard of as made by the company were in the homes of Jacob and Paul Pankiewicz, shot up by State guardsmen in the 1922 strike. Seven shots went through the doors. Since the strike the company put in new doors—to hide evidence of its crimes, workers say. But there are bullet marks which remain. There are scars on the Pankiewicz brothers themselves—Jacob, a father of seven, shot in thigh and ankle, and Paul, shot in the abdomen.

The average wage for all departments, totaling 1,200 workers, is slightly less than \$20 weekly.

Labor Party to Be Organized in Erie, Pa., As Result of Big Vote

ERIE, Pa.—Following a spirited election campaign, which landed La Follette well ahead of Davis in the Presidential race and only a few thousand votes behind Coolidge, the local progressive and Labor forces have decided to immediately organize a Labor party. The vote stood: Coolidge, 9,913; La Follette, 5,417, and Davis, 2,252.

CAP MAKERS IN A. F. L. AGAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

straw, Panama, etc., hats shall be under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America, while all cloth hat, cap and millinery factories shall be under the jurisdiction of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America. It was further understood that the men's body hat trade sometimes branches off into the making of certain women's hand-blocked hats which are made of the same substance and materials as the men's hand-blocked hats, using the same processes of work comprising a purely body process or a hat virtually of one piece of raw product involving practically no needle work at all. It was agreed that factories making entirely and exclusively such women's body hats shall be under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters, because such factories are to be considered as a branching off of the men's body hat trade. The agreement further provides for a mutual system of transfers when work belonging to the jurisdiction of one organization is occasionally done in shops under the jurisdiction of the other organization. The details with regard to this system of transfer are to be arranged by the locals involved.

In accordance with the jurisdictional agreement, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers released the Men's Straw Hatters' Local 45 and urged the local to affiliate with the United Hatters. On the other hand, the United Hatters of North America released their millinery locals in Boston and Chicago and urged these locals to affiliate with the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.

The agreement as drawn up by both organizations was submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting held in Washington on Friday, October 24. General Secretary Martin Lawlor represented the United Hatters of North America, and Editor J. M. Budish represented the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. The Executive Council sanctioned the agreement as fully in accord with its decision and granted the request of the committee of both organizations to make the agreement a part of the report of the Executive Council to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

As soon as both organizations substantially agreed on their jurisdictional demarcations, the Executive Council reinstated the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers in the American Federation of Labor. The Cap Makers were reinstated even before the final agreement was drawn up, namely, on October 14, 1924.

With all the jurisdictional difficulties set aside, the way is now open for an extensive organization campaign to bring all unorganized headgear workers into the respective International Unions.

Plunkett Nominated for U. S. Senate in Conn.

BRIDGEPORT.—Martin F. Plunkett, Socialist State secretary and candidate for Governor in several elections in recent years, was unanimously nominated to make the run for United States Senator at the special election December 16, to fill the vacancy made by the suicide of Senator Brandegee, standpat leader. The nomination was made at a convention held here last Sunday.

Plunkett was State organizer for the La Follette-Wheeler campaign in the recent election, in which nearly 40,000 votes were cast for the joint Socialist and progressive ticket. It is expected that he will get the full support of all La Follette supporters, the La Follette clubs having voted not to enter the Senatorial campaign because of lack of funds. Plunkett

LABOR URGED TO MAKE FIGHT ON 'LOONY' GAS

Five Workers in Standard Oil Plant Meet Death—36 Others Are Ill.

A nationwide campaign by Organized Labor to protect workers against the dangers of gasoline containing lead is urged in a letter sent to State Federations of Labor, Central Labor bodies, and Trade Unions throughout the country by the Workers' Health Bureau, 799 Broadway, New York, following the death of five workers from tetra ethyl lead poisoning at the Standard Oil Company plant in Bayway, New Jersey. These workers became violently insane before death, and thirty-six others are now in the hospital under observation, in more or less precarious condition.

An outstanding point in the Bureau's recommendations is that scientific experts representing Labor shall be included on the committee to make a thorough investigation of this poison. Labor organizations in every State are urged to take immediate action along the following lines:

1. To protest to their State Health Departments and Industrial Commissions against the exposure of workers to gasoline containing lead;
2. To call for an immediate and complete investigation of the working conditions at the Standard Oil Company's Bayway plant, and all other plants where similar experiments or manufacturing is being done;
3. To request that in the investigating committee chosen for this purpose scientific experts representing Labor shall be included;
4. To demand that the sale of gasoline containing lead be stopped immediately and prohibited until the subject can be fully investigated by scientific experts.

The Workers' Health Bureau call to organized Labor is based on a telegram from Prof. Yandell Henderson of Yale, a leading authority on gas poisoning, in which he states that unless "the sale of gasoline containing lead is stopped immediately until the subject is fully investigated by scientific experts there is danger of widespread poisoning among men at gasoline filling stations, garages, repair shops, and even the general public." The Bureau has sent a protest to the New Jersey State Department of Health and the State Industrial Commission demanding that measures be taken to safeguard workers against the poison.

The Bureau's letter to organized Labor bodies declares that the tragedy in New Jersey "is not the first time attention has been called to the dangers of gasoline containing lead. Last year Prof. Henderson warned against the introduction of new poisonous substances in gasoline. This warning, as well as the experience some time ago at the General Motors plant, Dayton, Ohio, where several deaths occurred as a result of tetra ethyl lead has been disregarded. This is particularly significant because the General Motors Company and the Standard Oil Company, New Jersey, are now manufacturing this product jointly as a newly formed corporation."

A statement by the Bureau says: "Once more the health and lives of workers have been sacrificed in the race for profits. The tragedy at the Bayway plant again proves conclusively that Labor must build up a powerful health organization to carry on the fight against health exploitation. The Workers' Health Bureau is Labor's Health Defense. Mechanists, auto-mechanics and garage repairmen are endangered by this new poison. It is up to organized Labor to take immediate action to protect itself against this new occupational hazard and all dangerous working conditions."

was nominated only after the Progressive clubs had voted not to participate in the election, also at a special convention last Sunday.

At the same convention at which that decision was taken, a committee was appointed to draw up plans for a permanent organization of the Progressive party, with Roger Sherman Baldwin of Woodbury as chairman. The committee will report at a special convention to be held soon. Helen Hill Weed, of Norwalk, has been circulating petitions to secure a place on the ballot as an independent candidate, but in view of the action taken by the progressive convention there is some doubt whether she will make the run. During the Presidential campaign Mrs. Weed rendered splendid service to the La Follette-Wheeler organization.

Since the election, however, she has intimated very broadly that she does not think Socialist Party members should be eligible to membership in the permanent organization of the Progressive party. Others share this opinion and it is going to be an issue in the convention which approves plans submitted for a third party in this State.

Lectures

The Community Forum
Park Avenue and 34th Street
Tomorrow (Sun.), 8 P.M.
KATE RICHARDS O'HARE
"The Prison of the Future."

11 A.M.—The Community Church
"Joseph Conrad: His Outlook on Life."

THIS Monday Night!
"IBSEN'S SOCIAL DRAMA"
Literature Lecture and Reading
Given by
DAVID GOODMAN
Park Palace, 5th Ave. & 110th St.
ADMISSION 25c.

The People's Institute
COOPER UNION
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
FRIDAY, NOV. 14
(The Great Mass Movements of History)
"PSYCHOLOGY AND THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY"
SUNDAY, NOV. 16
DR. STANTON COIT
"IS CIVILIZATION DECAYING?"
TUESDAY, NOV. 18
DR. WILLIAM F. OGBURN
"THE CAVE MAN IN THE MODERN CITY"
Eight o'clock Admission Free
OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. & Second Ave.
Sunday, November 16, at 5 P.M.
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Sunday Evening, Nov. 16, at 8:30
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MORE SOCIALIST GAINS SCORED IN GERMANY

Victories for Social-Democrats Presage Big Gains In Coming General Elections.

BERLIN.—Big gains for the Socialists and the Democrats and losses for the Communists and the extreme Right were the features of the election for a new Diet held in the State of Anhalt last Sunday. Like all the recent local elections, the Anhalt result is taken to indicate that the Social Democracy and the Middle parties will score a great victory in the Reichstag elections of December 7 at the expense of the extremists of both ends.

While the Communists lost their two seats last Sunday and the Hitlerites, labeled National Socialists, and the Bloc of the other Right parties lost one seat each, the Socialists added two deputies to their old number of seventeen and the Democrats brought their total number of representatives from six up to nine. Although there may be slight changes in the makeup of the Diet when the official count is made, the Socialists and Democrats are sure of an absolute majority, as they apparently have nineteen and nine seats, respectively, against about a dozen seats held by the bourgeois groups.

The Communist popular vote was cut about 50 per cent.

Dr. Liber to Lecture

The Union Health Center of the I. L. G. W. U., has arranged a course on health for the whole winter. Speaker: Dr. B. Liber, editor of "Rational Living." First talk on Friday, November 14, at 8:30 p. m. sharp. Subject: "What Means Health?" Admission free.

Study Socialism!

With its issue of November 29, The New Leader will begin the publication of "Roads to Freedom," a series of articles by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and well-known author of works on Socialism and related topics.



"Roads to Freedom" is a syllabus for discussion groups, and is in the form of lessons, with references and suggested topics for discussion with each installment.

The New Leader suggests that discussion groups be formed, with these articles as a basis, in every city and town where there are a number of readers. In this way, each town will develop a group of well-grounded and well-read Socialists.

The New Leader will be glad to assist in the organization of groups wherever they are formed, and, wherever possible, will send a representative to take charge at the beginnings of the sessions and get it under way.

There are nine lessons in the series, and a well-organized class will be able to complete its work in a little more than two months. Following the close of the nine lessons, The New Leader will assist these groups in further educational work.

The New Leader offers the following suggestions for the organization of the classes:

1. Decide to organize a class. Not more than twenty-five students should be in each group, and they should not vary greatly in age. That is, a young people's group should not mix its members with a more mature group.

2. Elect a chairman and secretary. The two should secure an adequate meeting-place, and arrange for a meeting every week, preferably Saturday night. The Secretary should report to The New Leader the proceedings of the group.

3. No money is needed, except for the purchase of books for reference, which are not usually expensive. This is not absolutely necessary. The members might tax themselves 50 cents a week in order to accumulate the library. The library should be placed in the meeting-place, or in the headquarters of the local party branch, Yipsel circle, union local, or other meeting-place.

4. Elect a leader. The leader should be a qualified student; and he should read the beginning of each lesson, and preside over the discussion following each lesson.

5. Questions should be answered following each lesson, and essays written on each one. If the leader thinks the essays of sufficient value, he might send them to The New Leader for suggested publication.

The series starts in The New Leader, issue of November 29. Bundles of The New Leader may be obtained at low rates from The New Leader, 7 East 15th street.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPS. BAR POLITICS

Resolution Declares Neutrality Between "Left" and "Right" as Their Policy.

GHENT.—While the general attitude of the International Cooperative Alliance is recognized as being favorable to all movements aimed at the abolition of the capitalist system and the substitution of the cooperative commonwealth, the Alliance will continue to maintain its neutrality among political parties and will not stand for any agitation intended to make the various national units tools of the Communist International or of any other political organization. This position was reaffirmed by a vote of 397 to 183 by the delegates to the eleventh Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance, held in this ancient Belgian city the first week of September as the climax of the wonderful international cooperative exhibition that has been drawing thousands of visitors here all summer long.

The vote was taken on a resolution presented by the English delegation, 150 strong, and strenuously opposed by the Russian delegates, thirty-one in number, reading as follows:

"The Congress considers it necessary to draw attention to the fact that, while according all respect to the autonomy of its affiliated organizations, the Alliance cannot, on its part, allow attacks to be made upon its political and religious neutrality, a fundamental point of its constitution freely accepted by those composing the Alliance.

"The Congress authorizes the Central Committee and the Executive Committee to request and, if necessary, to demand that the affiliated organizations pledge themselves to respect the neutrality of the Alliance and not to attack the right of the national cooperative movements to manage their own affairs freely, without foreign interference.

"In case of necessity, the Executive Committee is to refer the matter to the Central Committee and recommend the taking of all necessary steps."

During the debate preceding the adoption of this resolution, it was brought out that the Russian delegates, headed by Tovaristch Kissen, were anxious to see the Alliance lined up with the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International, but that the majority of those present, while admitting the right of the Russian cooperatives to support a Communist Government in their own country, were determined to save the Alliance from being brought under the control of Moscow and to guarantee to each national group the right of self-determination. The same sentiment was expressed in the passing of a motion approving the action of the Central Committee in working out a plan for formal cooperation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, but pointing out that, in view of the possibility of complications that might infringe upon the Alliance's neutrality, such action was to be held in abeyance. Nevertheless, the motion authorized the continuation of cooperation with the Labor Internationals in specific cases.

The Congress adopted a resolution submitted by Delegate Levy of France pointing out the importance of mobilizing the savings of the co-operators in their own banking institutions and recommending the establishment of a central bureau of investigation and information to enable the cooperative banks of the various countries to harmonize their activities and to work together toward their eventual functioning as an important factor in international cooperative trade.

When several representatives of the Fascista Government of Italy, who at the same time represented Italian Fascista cooperatives, learned that a motion denouncing Fascista methods was likely to be put before the Congress they demanded the privilege of explaining the present situation in the land of Mussolini, but were turned down. Nevertheless, the Congress accepted a suggestion to send a commission to Italy to investigate the position of the cooperatives there.

President Goedhaerts opened the Congress, and H. May, secretary-general, furnished most of the data laid before the delegates. The Alliance embraces seventy-four distinct organizations in thirty countries, with 85,000 units having some 40,000,000 members.

The Congress was preceded by a conference of women co-operators, presided over by Emmy Freundlich, a member of the Austrian National Assembly, at which much emphasis was laid upon the necessity of women playing a more important part in the extension of the co-operative idea.

KAUTSKY ACKNOWLEDGES BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

Karl Kautsky has acknowledged the many greetings received by him on the occasion of his birthday in the following letter:

"Dear Comrades: "I have received such an abundance of congratulations on the occasion of my 70th birthday that it is quite impossible for me to reply by letter even to my most intimate friends. Therefore I ask you to accept these lines of thanks which I address to all.

"The writer is much less aware of the effect of his words than is the orator who comes into personal contact with his audience. This is all the more true of those who are not slaves to sensation or fashion. We know how many editions of our writings are published, but all sold books are not read, neither are all books read understood. Only very rarely do we get an opportunity of gauging the actual effects of our works.

"The celebration of my 70th birthday showed me more impressively than anything which had gone before how many friends I have gained through my thoughts and efforts and how well I have been understood. Unending proofs of affection and trust do not make me arrogant. I retain the knowledge that the strongest powers which have actuated me are not mine; they come from the methods of Marx and the class struggle of the workers. This affords me a never-ending feeling of happiness and strengthens me against all the worries which old age may bring. For this happiness I offer my most hearty thanks to all friends and comrades who have thought of me.

"But still better than any birthday is life itself for the Socialist of today—life with all its struggles and victories.

"I feel happy that my seventieth year comes in a period when nationalism and communism are decaying and Social Democracy is striding ahead towards fresh victories. Victorious elections in Denmark and Sweden, hopeful electoral campaigns in America, Great Britain and Germany! It is a joy to live, not only for those in the twenties but also for those in the seventies if they are lucky enough to be Socialists.

"Again hearty thanks to you all.

"Yours in all sincerity,

"KARL KAUTSKY."

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The vote for President in this city, capital of Minnesota, shows La Follette running close to Coolidge for the lead, and Davis and Communist Foster far in the rear. The vote was as follows: Coolidge 39,576 La Follette 33,225 Davis 8,329 Foster 238

The small vote for Foster is all the more striking because of the intensive Communist propaganda that was carried on in the Twin Cities.

ROCHESTER.—William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for President, polled 375 votes in this city, and 29 more in Monroe county outside of the city. The 404 votes are the result of years of intensive propaganda and intriguing.

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2:30 P. M.—
"Current Trade Union Problems".....PAUL BRISSENDEN
This course will take stock of the current development in trade union politics and tactics.

Sundays, Commencing November 16

10:30 A. M.—
"Psychology of Conflict".....H. A. OVERSTREET
This course will attempt to study one of the central problems of our civilization—the problem of handling conflict.
11:30 A. M.—
"The Industrial Development of Modern Society".....H. J. CARMEN
A study of the development of industrial life in the United States and Europe.

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Wednesdays, Commencing November 19

8:30 P. M.—
"Psychology and the Labor Movement", ALEXANDER FICHANDLER
In this course an attempt will be made to get at fundamental human traits which make men and women behave as they do.

Thursdays, Commencing November 20

8:30 P. M.—
"Economics and the Labor Movement".....SYLVIA KOPALD
This course will attempt to show the purpose of modern industry—its organization.

BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM
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Thursdays, Commencing November 20

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"Psychology and the Labor Movement", ALEXANDER FICHANDLER

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HARLEM UNITY CENTER—P. S. 171
103rd Street, bet. Madison and Fifth Avenues, New York

8:45 P. M.—
"The Trade Union Movement in the U. S.".....THERESA WOLFSON
The Labor Movement everywhere developed side by side with industry. This course will attempt to trace their evolution in the United States.

EAST SIDE UNITY CENTER—P. S. 63
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Wednesdays, Commencing November 19

8:45 P. M.—
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CORPORATION SYNDICALISM

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

It takes a flagrant outrage, like that just put over for the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, to excite enough indignation to get the public thinking. If only perennial looting of the consumers could bring about such a stir, one could well bless the public servants who are frankly accused of being bribed into voting for a raise in rates.

Of course, only a particularly callous member of a public service commission could be so utterly contemptuous of his duty to the public as to hand down a decision increasing rates before the public's case had been presented. It gave every appearance that the size of the favor paid for by the corporation depended upon the day and hour it was to be handed down.

The fact that those who received the tip, that the decision was to be all that the corporation asked for, gambled in its securities, completed the evidence that the whole affair was a gigantic robbery of the public.

Governor Pinchot may be commended for scathingly arraigning the State's Public Service Commission. If he had taken his cue from them, he would have summarily dismissed them as dishonorably as possible, with a mere hint that they

could attempt to justify their brazen conduct if they had any desire to be held up further to scorn. This particular Commission has so generously conceded what every corporation has asked for, and so precipitately, that any punishment less than that is unmerited kindness.

So much for that enormous stench.

Now, what of the beneficiary? The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company is something of a national institution because its guiding spirit, Thomas Mitten, has developed what he considers a new kink in the relations between the men and the management.

Mr. Mitten, of course, is far from right. It is quite common for corporations to sell stock to their employees, even to compel them to buy stock. It is rather general, too, for corporations to provide some sort of alleged legislative instrument through which the voice of the employees is supposed to be heard and heeded in the management.

Needless to say, the Steel Trust, which early initiated this practice of selling stock in the shops, is far from being in the control of the men. Instead, they found it quite proper to strike for redress of griev-

ous wrong. And the rancorous twelve-hour day is terribly tardy in going where men are nearing to be their own masters, smelting iron into the fabulous dividends of this trust.

Likewise, if there is any case where the men in any industry have been given a say, either through union strength, in their conditions of employment, to ignore the conduct of the industry itself entirely, the Sunday magazine sections have been woefully negligent in failing to make a good story out of such incident.

So it is with the Philadelphia Rapid Transit company.

The employees do not now and never will be permitted to purchase enough stock to influence the administration of the property. Mr. Mitten must be a wakeless dreamer to promise otherwise.

Furthermore, the employees are absolutely without voice where there might be serious protest against onerous conditions of employment, such as in compelling one man to act as motorman and conductor of a car doing a rush business. Any semblance of such criticism would mean prompt firing. And every employee knows it.

Naturally the slightest suggestion that the men might join their trades

union, in which they belong if their interests are to be protected, would mean rapid discharge. Everybody knows that.

Mr. Mitten has been perfectly Prussian in his ruthlessness against any independence of attitude among the men. His presumption that he cared about them in any remote extent happens to be based entirely upon his using the men as catspaws. This is so on two counts.

When the Morgan-Stotesbury banking crowd, who fetched Mr. Mitten, thought that gentleman was getting too big for his hat, Mr. Mitten put the men's money into buying stock for his defense. Mr. Mitten scurried around and, with the help of blue bloods of the anti-Stotesbury social set, succeeded in holding control.

Now to help put over the steal of increased fare, Mr. Mitten promises to share the swag with the workers on the cars in better wages. And that is an instance where corporation syndicalism serves to discredit this final phase of capitalist exploitation.

Mr. Mitten's notion is that the only people involved in running a public utility are those on the inside. The head of the corporation comes first. Mr. Mitten and his office

lift a half million a year out of the pockets of the passengers for tendering such public service as continually increasing the rate of fare.

Then come the returns to the stockholders. Mr. Mitten swaps high dividends for proxies to vote to pay Mr. Mitten. That's next.

Then comes wages for those who do the actual work. Only deaf and dumb workers are permitted to hold jobs. Silence alone is golden. With their gagging, Mr. Mitten can talk as he pleases.

This is the combination which loots the public to the merry tune of broken contracts with the city and jumped fares, thanks to the venality of city Councilmen and Public Service Commissioners. It makes manifest how utterly futile it is to expect that a private corporation, even when presumably solicitous about its workers, can be depended upon to serve the public.

It is the parting word of Republican and Democratic ideas on capitalist industry. It shows the imperative need of change.

A public corporation should not attempt to run a private business.

And a private corporation should not be permitted to run a public business. The public utilities belong to the public.

HOW WALL STREET CAUSES UNEMPLOYMENT

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

Gambling on the Stock Exchange by the members of the Wall Street Gang and the Money Trust is an important cause of hard times and unemployment.

When the Wall Street gamblers buy the securities of any industrial concern they want the price of those securities to go up. The best way to have the price of the securities of any corporation go up is to have its profits go up. The best way to have the profits go up, other things equal, is to have the price of its product go up.

So true is this that the prices of the securities of any group of corporations will go up and down according to the price movements of the products of those corporations, without waiting for reports as to their profits. Thus, when the price of raw copper changes the prices of "the coppers," as the Stock Exchange calls them, i.e., the securities of all the various copper companies, move in sympathy, without waiting for the news from the various copper companies as to their profits. For the stock gamblers know from experience that when the price of copper goes up the profits of the copper producing companies will do so likewise, and they "discount" that increase in the profits of the companies—that is, they rush to buy the securities of the copper producing companies, and so drive up the price of these securities, even before the increase in the price of copper has had a chance to make itself felt in the profits of the copper companies.

Hence if the Wall Street Gang buy stocks, that is, act generally as "bulls" in the stock market, and then prices of commodities go up, then also they can sell out at a higher price and make money. In other words, when the Wall Street Gang have been acting as "bulls" in the stock market, the higher the cost of living for the workers, the better they are satisfied.

But in every gamble there is some taking of chances. Suppose the price of the commodities produced

by the companies in which the Wall Street Gang have bought securities goes down instead of up. Then you might think the stock gamblers would lose. But you would think wrongly. For in the gambling that is carried on in Wall Street when the millionaire gamblers win, they rake in the money; when they lose, they put the loss on the workers.

While the value of any commodity over any considerable period of time is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor needed to produce it, fluctuations in prices over shorter periods are determined by the law of supply and demand. This law is simple enough. Increase the supply and you lower the price; reduce the supply and you raise the price.

So when the Wall Street Gang find that the price of anything they are interested in has gone down, they know it is simply because the workers by hand and brain have been allowed to produce too much. (Too much, that is, from the point of view of the power of the consumers to buy, not from the point of view of the needs and wants of the consumers.) They also know that in order to make the price go up again, so that they can make the expected profits, all they have to do is to reduce the supply. It is not a very difficult thing for them to do this, because through ownership of the stock of the big corporations of the country they control industry pretty completely. So they simply send out orders to the various plant managers to reduce production, and put the workers on short time or lay them off altogether. Thus, by cutting down the supply, they cause the price gradually to rise again, so that they can at last get the profits that they expected. When the price goes up, then they allow the workers to produce again.

Of course all this hurts the con-

sumers. It means that there is no real hope of lower prices. It means that all the interests of the most powerful financiers of the country, all the power and cunning of the Wall Street Gang and the Money Trust, are ranged on the side of increasing the high cost of living, and raising prices faster than wages so that they can get higher profits.

It also hurts the workers. When the workers are laid off or put on short time while the Wall Street Gang are causing production to be reduced, they soon get very hard up. That is when the employers find it easy to cut wages. They find that the workers are unable to offer strong resistance to a wage cut because they have been out of a job or on short time for so long that they need steady work to pay the landlord or the grocer and must have steady work at almost any wage. Many who would like to resist are forced by the necessities of their families to accept the cut in order to get steady work.

In that way the same process of to get higher prices and so higher cutting down on production in order profits stings both the consumer and

the worker. It helps only the Wall Street Gang.

Furthermore, it forces into bankruptcy even the smaller and weaker employers, those who do not have influential connections with the big banks. When prices fall by the operation of the law of supply and demand because of overproduction, the big, rich, powerful corporations can easily stand a shut-down. They cut their expenses by buying little or no raw material and paying no wages or at least reducing their payroll heavily. They gradually sell out their accumulated product when they see a chance to make a good bargain, so that money usually comes in faster than it goes out even when they have their overhead to pay. And, being big, rich and powerful concerns they have sufficient cash in their reserve funds to pay all their outstanding bills even should money happen to come in very slowly.

But the smaller employers, who start in business on a shoe string and have to borrow the money to do it, do not have the necessary reserve funds to pay their bills during the hard times. They may have

money due them more than they owe. But during a period of hard times and unemployment collections are extremely slow, and when their creditors press them they often cannot pay and are forced out of business. So the process of consolidating industry into the hands of the gigantic corporations dominated by the Wall Street Gang and the Money Trust, the monopolists and the profiteers, goes merrily on.

The remedy? Get rid of Wall Street control of industry by having public ownership, beginning with the most important lines of industry like the railroads and electric power. That is the program of La Follette and the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Then gradually extend public ownership and democratic control to the banks, the coal mines, the great steel companies, the textile mills and shoe factories. That is the program of the Socialist Party.

There is no hope in going back to competition. Even if we broke up every trust into lots of smaller companies, the millionaires in the Wall Street Gang could still make all those little companies act like trusts by controlling a majority of the stock of each company instead of simply a majority of the stock of a few big trusts.

The League of Nations Outlaws War

By HENRY W. PINKHAM

A "Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," was on October 2 unanimously recommended for ratification to the several Governments by the Assembly of the League of Nations in session at Geneva. Its purpose is, in the words of Dr. Benes, premier of Czechoslovakia, "to make war impossible. It prohibits wars of every description, and lays down the rule that all disputes shall be settled by pacific means." Aristide Briand, former premier of France, declares it "the most formidable obstacle to war ever devised by the human mind." Representatives of about fifty nations united in urging that this Protocol be adopted by the whole world. But the United States was not represented in the Assembly except by spectators in the gallery! Henry IV said to a laggard nobleman: "Go hang yourself, brave Crillon; we conquered at Arques and you were not there." A splendid victory for the cause of peace has been won. But our country was not there!

Five-sixths of the nations, comprising four-fifths of mankind, are in the League of Nations. Germany, Russia, Turkey, Mexico and the United States remain outside. There is reason to think that Germany will soon seek admission, which will doubtless be granted. The entrance of Russia will probably follow the full recognition of her Government, something that cannot much longer be delayed. Mexico is certain ere long to follow the example of her sister Latin republics on the South. Will the United States continue to hold aloof while thus the rest of the world is politically organized?

Die-hard opponents of our country's joining the League are now misrepresenting the Protocol. In particular it is charged that upon the insistence of the Japanese representatives it was provided that the League might deal with questions declared by the World Court to be solely within the domestic jurisdiction of a nation, such, for example, as immigration, regarding which Japan feels affronted by our present law. It is said that Japan means to use the power of the League to force a change in our immigration policy. This arouses our super-patriots to the valiant declaration that no outsiders shall be permitted to advise us how to manage our own affairs!

The fact is that the Japanese representatives in the Assembly only sought the reaffirmation of the wise provision already in the Covenant of the League (Article XI) by virtue of which the Council or the Assembly may give attention to "any circum-

stance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends." The world has become an economic unit. The interdependence of the several nations constantly increases. Matters that according to existing international law are of domestic jurisdiction—a tariff on foreign goods, an export duty on raw materials, for example—may very seriously affect other peoples. It is well that such things should be open to consideration by an international body. Eventually, of course, more and more of them will be subject to determination by an international body, as international law catches up with actual conditions. It is not determination, however, but only consideration, discussion, of them which is now proposed. Conference can do no harm and is likely to do good. The Japanese suggestion was needed to crown the work of the Assembly which had already declared for the peaceable settlement of all disputes now recognized as properly international, those affecting vital interests or honor not excepted.

The adoption of the Protocol by the great powers in the League will mark the longest step in the direction of world peace that has yet been taken. The smaller nations will certainly adopt it, as many of them have already signed the "optional clause" giving the World Court affirmative jurisdiction in all their disputes with countries that have similarly signed. After an agreement to settle all international controversies, peaceably disarmament will naturally come. The Assembly fixed June 15, 1925, as the date for a Conference for the Reduction of Armaments, to which all nations are to be invited. Unless by May 1 at least three of the Big Four (Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan) and ten other League members have ratified the Protocol, the Council of the League will either cancel the invitations or postpone the Conference. With keenest interest, lovers of peace will watch for the news that the Protocol has been ratified by one after another of the Big Four. Which will be the first?

Thoroughgoing pacifists may object to the pending Protocol that it allows war in resistance to acts of aggression and, under the name of "sanctions," in the execution of a judgment of the Council or Assembly against a faith-breaking nation. It

would indeed be a great improvement if the provisions for the coercion of a wrongdoing country which now clutter up the Covenant and the Protocol should be cut out, and good faith should be taken for granted. The like was done by the wise men who framed our Federal system. They ordained that disputes between our States should be referred to the Supreme Court, and ignored the possibility that certain States might disregard the Court and settle their disputes by war. Unfortunately the World War left a heritage of fear and hate and in many quarters temporarily strengthened the false faith "in reeking tube and iron shard" as means of national security. The toleration of armaments and regional military agreements, although avowedly only for defense or for fulfillment of the obligations of the Covenant or Protocol, is a mistake. Armaments imply distrust, which is sure to be reciprocated, and thus they lead to the wars they are intended to prevent. The coercion of a nation is unsound in principle. Only individuals, not entire peoples, are properly subject to coercion.

After all due qualifications have been made, however, the fact remains that it is very noticeable landmark of human progress that representatives of fifty nations have agreed to ask the Governments of the world to outlaw aggressive war. If there be no aggression, there will be no need of defense, and war will cease. The Protocol provides that in case hostilities have broken out, the Council of the League shall determine which nation is the aggressor, thus remedying a serious defect in the Covenant which seemed to assume that all countries would have immediate intuitive knowledge on this point. Refusal on the part of a warring nation to submit its grievance to arbitration or other procedure of pacific settlement shall brand the nation so refusing as an aggressor. The public opinion of the world will avail to check any such offender against world peace. "Sanctions," either economic or military, are neither necessary nor practicable, and provision for them is worse than useless. Disarmament is vital to peace.

Glorious little Denmark! She is not going to wait for other countries, not even till next June, but proposes to lead them all by disarming completely at once.

The age-long foolishness of war is about to be abolished. Blessed are our eyes that behold this day! . . . The olive waves. With roots deep-set in battle-graves.



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LABOR SOLIDARITY ACROSS THE FRONTIERS

Nearly all current and authorized history is lies. Lies because it makes—by the unfair selection of true facts—mountains of molehills and causes mountains to disappear. Whole centuries of time, as we know, only too frequently appear in history-books as occupied by the amatory intrigues of princes and popes. But later still when we come to the age of the great expansion of machine capitalism, Capital, the prince of this age, has required that historians shall write only of his doings; and so we shall not find any account of the First International in ordinary text books.

All the same, the First International, which culminates in the great explosion of the Paris Commune, does not deserve neglect. It was, more than any other single influence, responsible for the creation of the trade union organizations of France, Spain, Italy and Austria-Hungary. It produced the first organized Socialist body in the United States. It for a while actually united—united in the sense of inducing common action, not merely connecting national movements in triennial congresses—the trade union and Socialist movements of Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland and America. It had, in the realm of Socialist thought, even great victories to record—the definite separation of Socialism from Anarchism and from Proudhonism and other quaint "isms" which we have forgotten, just because the International did kill them stone dead.

In 1864, on September 28, a conference of international working class and Republican delegates was held in St. Martin's Hall (now the John Bull building) in Long Acre. Its object was to protest on behalf of the Poles, who were suffering under the periodic outbursts of Tsarist savagery. Not until that object had been achieved was it suggested that it would be as well to appoint a committee, or in some other way arrange for the repetition of such general meetings as these. It was agreed to appoint a committee, which contained a number of British Trade Unionists, Karl Marx, and Wolff, Mazzini's secretary. This committee argued within itself and eventually Marx's program and rules were adopted and a formal International constituted on November 8 (November is thus the real anniversary, by the way, but it is "Pretty Fanny's way" to celebrate centenaries at the wrong time).

For some time this audacious gesture brought no answer. There was not a regular conference in 1865. The conference of 1866, which was held in Geneva, was attended only by a few Swiss, English and French delegates.

But from 1866 onwards the International began to grow luxuriantly. The Congress advertised it, and, moreover, just before and just after the successful conduct of strikes, the raising of international subscriptions and the turning back of foreign blacklegs showed its real and immediate usefulness. For the First International was not a rather loose, purely political body like the Second

The Story of the First International, Whose Sixtieth Anniversary Is Now Being Observed—The Inspiration Which Built More Than Half the Trade Union Movements of the World.

By R. W. POSTGATE

International: it was both a political party and a trade union. It had in all countries local "sections," like the branches of the Independent Labor party or Communist party today and, as well as these and beside them, trade union branches, both equally an integral part of the International. So you would have in Paris, say, both the "Section of Montmartre" and the "Section of the Bronze workers."

Strength of organization it gained on the Continent from 1864 to 1870, but perhaps its main achievement was the clearing of the heads of the workers. Marx hoped it would be the organ of the revolution. That was not to be, but what it did do was to replace the extraordinary theories that buzzed in the heads of the European workers by a fairly clear program of revolutionary Socialism and workers' control.

What an achievement this was can best be judged by listening to the grotesque Babel of programs offered by the various national sections. The British Trade Unionists, led by Applegarth, desired to extend the benefits of their organizations to the degraded foreigner. They represented small, wealthy, narrow craft Unions, devoted to the Liberal party and the

preservation of industrial peace. By the extension of similar bodies in Europe, the Continent, they thought, would be saved from the monotonous alternation of revolution and oppression, and partake of the benefits of ordered liberty, Liberalism, and sane trade union action.

The French sections supported the program of Proudhon, which was that the State should disappear and the product of his labor belong to the producer, who would exchange it at cost price, that is to say, for a product which had required an equivalent amount of labor-time. This could be achieved by the foundation of a People's Credit Bank. The Belgians, who attended the Conference of 1867, supported the program of M. Jules-Georges-Cesar-Alexandre-Hippolyte Colins (if I recollect his name correctly), in nineteen volumes, to the effect that private property must be retained in capital, factory products, etc.; but land and all immobile wealth should be nationalized. Belief in the human soul should be affirmed and the existence of God denied. The Swiss suspected these revolutionary proposals, which would reduce Europe, they said, to the State of Turkey. The proper program for the workers was the encouragement of

small proprietorship and the adoption of simplified spelling. Later, when Spain and Italy came in, these countries brought a demand for Anarchism and Atheism, and from New York a more distant voice required the introduction of Free Love and Feminism.

To reduce such a clamour to a reasoned and united demand was the work of the First International and of Marx. The task was completed slowly and painfully at the yearly congresses held in Switzerland or Belgium. Sometimes it was advanced by definite resolutions, chosen for their crucial character, as, for example, the resolution demanding land nationalization in 1868. This was carried by seven to one after noisy scenes, and it marked the rout of the small-holders' advocates.

At the same time as it was growing in mind, the International was, despite determined police persecution, growing in size. From 1866 to 1872 we find that it had become an organization of the first rank in France, Germany and Belgium. In Switzerland it was suffering from internal dissensions, but nevertheless dominated all the workers' organizations; in Spain and Italy there was

practically no organization outside it. It is said that in Spain it had 80,000 members and in France 400,000. It had also penetrated to Austria, Denmark, Holland and Portugal. It had reached Australia (Melbourne), and had over forty branches in the United States. In England, it is true, it had lost the allegiance of many Unions, but it had founded a Labor party—the first in English history.

Then why did it die? Two things killed it. The first was the defeat of the Paris Commune, the second the fight between Marx and Bakunin.

The story of the Paris Commune of 1871 is fairly well known to all of us. When the Paris working class was provoked into this insurrection against the French capitalists, Marx, who practically controlled the General Council of the International by now, was filled with the greatest apprehensions. He believed, with good reason, that the experiment could not succeed, and had done his best to check it. Nevertheless, once the working class was on the field, unlike some leaders, he did not forget his class loyalty and make his private misgivings an excuse for not supporting the workers once the battle had irrevocably be-

Sixty Years of Struggle

A RESTORED INTERNATIONAL

By HJALMAR BRANTING
(Socialist Premier of Sweden)

The First International arose sixty years ago from a meeting called to consider the liberation of Poland from the bloody oppression of Tsardom. Thus from the outset the struggle of the workers against the tyranny of capitalism was associated with the effort to secure self-determination for the peoples. The ideal, the goal, was a family of nations led by the workers and using their growing material resources for the development of higher and richer personality. In his inaugural address Marx spoke of the Trinity of Truth, Justice and Honor as the guiding star of the movement.

But this first edifice was destroyed in the storm of the falling Paris Commune. Yet the seed had not fallen on stony ground. Socialist Labor Parties grew up in most countries, in spite of the persecutions and discriminating laws of the age of Bismarck. By 1889 it was again possible to found a new organization, linking up the democratic workers' parties, each possessing its national individuality, yet all united in the common Socialist aim. Amidst vehement controversy as to

the best tactics to employ, the workers parties were penetrating bourgeois society, and establishing and extending their influence in Parliament, on local authorities, and generally in social life. One by one the privileges of the ruling classes have fallen before the onward march of the workers. On the other hand, capitalism gained power as industry developed.

After the Earthquake

Then came the World War, and once more the work of a generation in building up international solidarity was destroyed. In all the fighting nations the first duty seemed to be to protect life and liberty against the forces of destruction. External pressure made the peoples forgetful of the cleavage between the classes, and a truce was established for a short time. Enemy mistrusts were profoundly, and the efforts of neutral Socialist parties towards conciliation met with small success.

But the unity of the international Labor movement is too deeply rooted in the nature of things for its

restoration to fail. Even the calamity of a long and almost universal war could not do more than bring about a temporary break. After the terrible upheaval the stream flows again through the devastated land towards the sea. With the Berne Conference the International sprang up afresh in its old form as an association of independent national Labor parties with a common program. It is true that in the confusion following the war two Internationals were formed, but these were amalgamated at Hamburg in 1923. It was upon the dissensions between the two groups that Moscow built its hopes of dominating the Socialist parties of Europe by the methods of Asiatic despotism.

A Sure and Certain Hope

Today, sixty years after the banner of the First International was raised, we look once more into the future and are more than ever certain of victory. For the first time in history a Labor Government rules the British Empire, and in France a Radical Government it looks for support and cooperation to French

Socialism, emerging strengthened from the elections. The leaders of the mightiest nations of the world are now joining in the endeavor to put an end to the state approaching to war which still continues in spite of the formal conclusion of peace. Within the League of Nations they are trying to pave the way to a new and better era of international confidence and good will.

We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that mankind has far to travel to the Promised Land, where there will be unbroken peace, and where no legacy from an evil past will block the road to prosperity for all. After the black decade through which we have passed, hope and confidence are returning. Even though the day should never come when we can say of the International, "This is the final struggle," yet we re-its sixtieth anniversary, for never before have we traveled so far along the road towards freedom, never before have the prospects been so bright for those who will come after us and will travel yet further.

ERNST TOLLER'S VISION

A Call to the International

Ernst Toller, who has just been released from five years' imprisonment suffered for the part he played in the Munich Soviet, is the author of "The Machine Wreckers" and "Masses and Man."

Comrades! young men and women of the revolution! A terrible experience has come to me, stinging me to draw a comparison at once horrible and mocking: I have seen our era face to face. It was evening, and I stood on the grass in a garden of palms. Rockets shot up into the air, crackling and hissing, many-colored forms of light, shimmering and circling and vanishing in dust. A voice beside me murmured in an ecstasy of joy: "As at the front." And Echo, the woman, dreamily: "As at the front."

And I clenched my hands, and a cry of exhortation was on my lips, a beseeching cry: "You lie! You lie. Remember! Remember! You are beside yourselves, blinded by these circling lights, you are beside yourselves once more! Oh, remember!"

But I was swept away already in the eddying mass, and above us the starry dome of the sky stretched in eternal calm.

Do not be proud, oh man, that you stand here with fists clenched in your hatred of war. What did you do ten years ago? What did you do against the war? German or Frenchman, Englishman or American, what did you do against the war? "Hurrah!" you cried, "Hussa! Eljen! Eviva la guerra!" That is what you did.

Do not be proud, oh woman, that you stand here, knowing more than your unseeing sisters, and accuse the war which robbed you of husband, brother and son. German or Frenchwoman, Englishwoman or American, what did you do against the war? You decked your husband and lover, your brother and son, with summer flowers, your eyes lighted up and, drunk with sweet sorrow, you let him go. You did not fling yourself before the train—you let him go.

Young men and women, what did

you do? Your words were rejoicing, your steps the beat of a drum: Up! to the war!

It is said, we were compelled. Who can compel a man? No one can compel a man. We were blinded, we were slaves! Slaves! We here, all of us, we were slaves, forging shells, brewing the smouldering, murderous poison-gases. All of us, we were slaves, throwing bombs upon tortured towns.

Comrades! Look back! Do you hear in the barbed wire the shrieks of the dying. Do you feel the accusing silence of murdered forests? Do you hear the dull howling of animals deserted?

Men, animals, forests—murdered! murdered! murdered! You millions of dead in the World War! I call to you in this hour. Enemies! Poor victims! Bodies embracing in friendship in the vast common grave of Europe, Asia and Africa!

Oh, comrades, when the hour struck it was to a generation that failed. Yes, we have all, all failed. The works of the world have failed. Oh! may that word tear at your heart with the million hands of all who were fruitlessly sacrificed on the battlefields of the world. We failed!

A generation failed, in which the spirit of the International should have burned! Comrade fought against comrade, woman cursed woman. And yet the light did not turn to darkness within us. And yet our heart-beats did not cease.

And then one man arose, Karl Liebknecht. Then the nameless rebels arose, shot down against walls and in trenches.

They remained alive. The war died down. It died of itself, not because of the iron will of the peoples.

And that, oh workers of the earth, was your second sin against the spirit of the International. You might have killed the war after the madness of the first months. You did not do it! You let it live five years, till at last it died of itself.

And now we are burdened with five years of peace. Peace? A great barbed wire entanglement, stretching over the whole world; that is what the peace became. The peoples writhe in it and groan and moan, seeking the dream of peace which was once their joyous heart-beat.

Peace? I hear laughter—whence? From prisons and houses of correction. The laughter of revolutionaries in chains!

Peace? Peace? Do not the masters wage war day by day against the proletarian peoples? An unwavering, unending war?

Wake up, you peoples, wake up! There is a way! There is a way! Working peoples of the earth, unite! Unite!

The foundation of your lives is

Why should we hate one another? What benefit have we derived from this mutual hatred? Have we not sprung from a common lot? Are not our wants and faculties the same? Is not the sign of brotherhood stamped upon the brow of each? Has not Nature inspired us all with the same yearning towards higher things? Let us love one another. Human creatures are born to love. Let us unite—and, united, we shall be strong.—Mazzini.

A society cannot be founded only on the pursuit of pleasure and power; a society can only be founded on respect for liberty and justice.—Paine.

gun. The International took a full part in the Paris Commune and had some fifteen members on it, though the attempts made by Marx to direct its affairs from London were not successful.

When the Commune fell the members of the International were included in the general massacre. The frightful slaughter which devastated Paris had as its object, and very nearly achieved, the extinction of revolutionary Socialism by the murder of every individual holding its tenets. The massacre without doubt went into tens of thousands, and the International received a staggering blow—a "blood-letting" from which it never recovered.

But it might have recovered if the other national sections had had the vitality to support it. That they had not was due to the Marx-Bakunin quarrel. Bakunin from Geneva and Marx from London were occupied in working in precisely opposite directions. Bakunin, a man of great personal force rather than intellect, was trying to turn the International into an anarchist body. He seriously believed that the smashing of the State and of all order (Continued on Page 11)

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

New York Activities

NEW YORK STATE

The State Executive Committee will meet Sunday at 10 a. m., at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, Room 505. Norman Thomas, candidate for Governor in the recent elections, will be present, and the campaign will be discussed and campaign affairs will be closed up. Plans will also be made for future activities.

Most of the members of the S. E. C. are members of the La Follette State committee and will attend the meeting Saturday night at the Civic Club, at which action will be taken looking toward the organization of the Labor party in the State on a permanent basis.

BUFFALO

Buffalo gave La Follette a total of 30,484 votes, of which 22,467 were contributed through the Socialist ticket and 8,017 by the Progressives. The Socialist candidate for Governor, the Rev. Norman Thomas, received only 9,239 votes in the city and his running mates on the State ticket substantially the same. Complete Socialist returns follow:

President, La Follette, 22,467; Governor, Thomas, 9,239; Lieutenant-Governor, Solomon, 9,148; Secretary of State, Crosswell, 9,643; Comptroller, Wiley, 9,879; State Treasurer, Vandenbosch, 9,615; Attorney-General, Waldman, 9,078; State Engineer, Karapetoff, 9,074; Surrogate, Weiss, 9,626; County Clerk, Hahn, 9,336; County Treasurer, Taylor, 9,888.

Fortieth Congress district—Reynolds, 3,414; 41st Congress district, Ehrenfried, 4,365; 42nd Congress district, Juengling, 1,515; 48th Senate district, Roth, 3,553; 50th Senate district, Griesinger, 2,150; First Assembly district, Diliberto, 1,086; Second Assembly district, Taylor, 1,506; Third Assembly district, Hoffman, 1,300; Fourth Assembly district, Murphy, 1,489; Fifth Assembly district, Kuppel, 1,931; Sixth Assembly district, Morgan, 1,523; Seventh Assembly district, Dawson, 854.

NEW YORK COUNTY

Notice, Members, Local New York. There will be a general party meeting of Local New York, Tuesday, November 25, at 8 p. m., at the Rand School.

Every party member should make it an imperative duty to attend this meeting. Future policy will be discussed and plans made to carry on the work. Other things can wait. This meeting is the more important. The party will not cease to function if you should fail to come, but it will function more satisfactorily if it has the benefit of your presence and counsel. Admission by paid up red card.

THANKSGIVING BARN DANCE

Given by 8th A. D.

The 8th A. D. has arranged a barn dance for Thanksgiving evening, Wednesday, November 26, at its large headquarters, 207 East 10th street. An elaborate program has been arranged the talent for which will be announced in the next issue of The New Leader. Other branches are requested to cooperate by not arranging any affairs for that evening.

A meeting of the branch will be held this Friday evening, November 14, at which Norman Thomas will lecture.

BRONX

Local Bronx County, Socialist Party has had a splendid revival in spirit, activity and general cooperation in campaign work. More than thirty open air meetings were held each week during October, and five capacity hall meetings were put across with great enthusiasm. Under

the generalship of our old veteran leader, Patrick J. Murphy, the forces went into the campaign with high spirits; young and old members hustled out to man the many meetings while two automobiles donated and chauffeured by Isidore Chernetzky and Ben Horowitz carried the speakers from corner to corner in all parts of the Bronx. The speakers threw themselves into the battle with energy and fine enthusiasm and kept the numerous crowds that greeted them satisfied that the Socialist Party in the Bronx is a virile and dominant factor in that County and destined to capture it in the very near future.

Particularly fine work was done by Isidore Phillips, Abraham Tuvim, Samuel A. DeWitt, Morris Ginet, Max B. Walder, Esther Friedman, Henry Jager, Samuel Orr, Charles A. Kruse, Edmund Seidel, Oscar Pick, Alex. Kanasy, Louis Dickstein, Emanuel Deutch, Alexander Tendler, Fred Paulitsch, Geo. Dobseavage, Tes Friedman, Philip Umstadter, and August Claessens, constituted the battery of speakers and all but two of this list are Bronx County's home talent.

Local Bronx is now preparing its program for intensive organization and educational work immediately after election day, and its membership is determined to get our organi-

zation into the pink of condition for the Mayoralty campaign next year. The first big event is on Sunday evening, November 23, at the Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, at 7 p. m. This is a Get-together Banquet and Joy Fest, at which will gather all of the active comrades of Local Bronx, all of the candidates and guests from other locals. An evening of jollification and inspiration is promised and several surprises will be sprung. The admission charge to this affair is two dollars per plate.

BROOKLYN

THEATRE PARTY WEDNESDAY
Local Kings County will hold the second of its theatre parties next Wednesday, November 19, at the Provincetown Theatre, McDougal street near Fourth. The attraction this week will be Eugene O'Neill's great series of one act plays entitled "S. S. Glencairn," which is one of the artistic successes of the year.

The first party, held October 29, was a huge success, socially and financially and contributed materially to the funds of the party in Brooklyn. The second party, it is expected, will be an even greater success, and will be the beginning of a series of theatre parties to continue throughout the year. Tickets

are \$2.20 and can be secured from Joseph F. Viola, 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn.

BROWNSVILLE'S SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL

The apple of the eye of Brownsville's radical and progressive movement, the Socialist Sunday School, will register pupils on Sunday, November 16, at 10 a. m., in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, and children may be registered every Sunday morning thereafter. This will mark the eighteenth season of the school, which has contributed in a large measure in making Brownsville the hotbed of Socialism in the East, a reputation which it honestly deserves. Many of the most active workers in the Brownsville movement were former students in this school, where the history of the working class, its successes and failures, its labor in defeat and victory, and its future hopes and aspirations, have been taught.

Children will be admitted between the ages of eight to sixteen, and all parents are urged to send or bring their children down this Sunday. The fee is nominal, about twenty-five cents for the entire school year, not enough to pay for postage stamps, as all of the teachers contribute their services free.

NEW JERSEY

August Claessens of New York will begin a series of six lectures for the Socialist Party of Camden Saturday night, November 15, at Maennerchor Hall, 1031 North 27th street. The courses will be on Social Problems, and will be open to all Socialist Party members and their friends. The lectures will continue for six successive Saturday nights.

The State Executive Committee will meet at State Headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, at 8 o'clock on Saturday evening, November 15, to decide on the place, date and basis of representation for the Special State Convention which is to elect the delegates to the National Convention of the C. P. P. A. The Committee will also consider the possibility of engaging a full-time organizer for the State, who will conduct study classes in the evenings in the larger cities.

Modern institutions plant their roots in the period of barbarism, into which their germs were transmitted from the previous period of savagery. They have had a lineal descent through the ages.—Lewis H. Morgan.

On The International Front

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

DENMARK

Nina Bang Bars Jingo Music
Danish Jingoists, who are not very numerous but are sometimes quite noisy, received a rude shock the other day when their favorite battle song, "Kong Christian," was cut out of the program of a gala performance in the Royal Opera House in Copenhagen by order of Nina Bang, Minister of Education in Premier Stauning's Socialist Cabinet. In explaining why she had barred the overture containing the Nationalist piece, Mrs. Bang, as reported in the Berlin Vossische Zeitung of October 18, said:

"At gala performances which I attend as host in my character of Minister of Education, the theatre must not afford occasion for demonstrations of any kind. The overture of 'Elverhoj' has always been featured in monarchist and nationalist demonstrations. I don't wish to take part in such things, neither do I wish to have my guests forced to do so. It would not occur to me to compel anybody to listen to the 'Internationale,' and it is just as unjustified to force anybody to be present at demonstrations for the war madness. The theatre belongs to the whole people. It is an art temple devoted to nothing but art. Nobody must be disturbed when he wishes to enjoy art in peace and quiet. Of course, I don't interfere with the program of the theatre, but

ARGENTINA

Help for Italian Comrades
Practical steps toward helping the Unitarian Socialist Party of Italy in its fight against Fascism were taken at a special meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Argentina held September 5 in Buenos Aires. After hearing how hard the Italian Socialists had to struggle to keep their leading daily paper, La Giustizia di Milan, alive in the face of Fascist raids and suppression, the Committee voted unanimously to donate 1,000 pesos (about \$370 at present exchange rates) to that paper and to appeal to all the local secretaries of the party to circulate lists for financial aid for the Italian Socialist movement.

The plan for getting in closer touch with the Socialists of Brazil and Chile adopted by the committee on August 18 was reaffirmed and it was announced that Senator Juan B. Justo would make a study trip to Brazil as soon as feasible, while Deputy A. de Tomaso would do the same with Chile. Dr. Justo recently resigned from the Executive Committee because of lack of time due to his having taken charge of the management of La Vanguardia, the Buenos Aires Socialist daily. There will be an extraordinary national convention in Cordoba, January 4, 5 and 6, 1925.

RUMANIA

Persecution of Socialists Continues
That there has been no change in the anti-Socialist campaign being carried on by the Rumanian authorities, sometimes under the pretext of fighting Russian Bolshevism, is evidenced by the following report summarized from Bucharest bourgeois papers by the London office of the Socialist and Labor International:
"The anti-war demonstrations were forbidden. A meeting at which the Socialist Party and the trade unions had intended to discuss unemployment and the cost of living was forbidden by order of the Cabinet. Persons distributing leaflets were arrested and some of them were brought before the military courts."

The party headquarters was searched and 200 persons who had met to honor the memory of a Socialist poet were locked up for half the night. The party paper, Lumea Noua, has been systematically confiscated and even the announcement of a series of lectures was prohibited.

One Bucharest capitalist newspaper recently remarked that such persecution of a movement whose representatives in some of the Western European States held the fate of Governments in their hands would be more likely to turn Rumanian workers toward Bolshevism than to check its spread.

AUSTRIA

Regular Army Stays Socialist
Despite the desperate efforts of the Clerical Minister of Defense, Herr Vaugin, to wean the rank and file of the little Austrian regular army away from the Socialist faith which makes them a mainstay of the Republic, the results of the recent election of representatives in the army councils and in the Ministry of Defense resulted in an overwhelming victory for the candidates of the Military Association (the Socialist organization) over those of the Defense League (the organization made up largely of soldiers expelled from the Socialist group). Of 13,933 votes cast, the Socialists polled 11,404 and elected 225 representatives, against twenty-three for their opponents. Ever since the Socialist Minister of Defense, Julius Deutsch, was succeeded by Herr Vaugin, the Socialist soldiers have been made the objects of petty persecutions and the recruiting officers have tried to pick up Clerical partisans, while rejecting Socialists and trade union men on slight pretexts, but the Clerical drive has been a fizzle. Even among the officers and "non-coms" of the Austrian army the percentage of Socialists is high.

HUNGARY

Terrorism Still Unchecked
That the hopes of sanguine Hungarian Labor leaders for a modification of the Horthy reign of terror to be brought about by the presence of an American Commissioner Gen-

eral of the League of Nations and the pressure of civilized European public opinion were quite unwarranted is evidenced by the following dispatch sent from Budapest on October 6 to the Prager Presse:

"The Social Democrats arranged numerous meetings for Sunday, most of which were dissolved by the police. In Budapest the Social Democratic Deputy Rosenstein wanted to address the German-speaking voters in German, but this was not allowed by the police agent. This interference by the official aroused great indignation among the Germans. Later Deputy Emmerich Szabo spoke in Hungarian about the activities of the Social Democratic Deputies in Parliament. The Social Democratic meeting was dissolved because Deputy Batiz severely criticized the crooked work in the Housing Bureau and in the issuing of export and import permits."

Apparently the only place where there is free speech in Hungary is in the National Assembly, as Budapest and Vienna papers give lengthy accounts of the spirit with which the two dozen Socialist deputies attack the Awakening Magyars and Race Protectors (100 per cent Hungarian Ku Kluxers) for their excesses against Labor leaders and Jews and vainly try to make Premier Bethlen keep some of his promises regarding free speech and the improvement of economic conditions. In the meantime, Jeremiah Smith of Boston, the Commissioner General, is reported to be living comfortably in a villa belonging to Count Bethlen's sister-in-law and sending out optimistic financial reports, apparently oblivious of the political situation.

FRANCE

Socialists Continue to Gain
Le Populaire of October 15 reports that in supplementary municipal elections in the working class commune of Pré-Saint-Gervais the Communist list came in ahead on the first ballot, with 956 votes to 915 for the Socialist list, but that on the second ballot, when the Radicals, who had cast 528 votes, the first turn, were out of the running, the Socialists won, with 1,336 votes, against 1,063 for the Communists. The feature of a special election held in the Porte St. Martin quarter of Paris on October 19 was a cut of more than 50 per cent in the Communist vote, compared with that of May 11, while the Nationalist Bloc's strength fell from 3,000 to 1,700. The three parties composing the Left Bloc cast 2,330 votes and, as the Radical and Republican-Socialist candidates were withdrawn for the second balloting, the election of the Socialist candidate to the council was counted assured.

Reports of local elections held during the past few weeks in France show a steady gain in Socialist strength at the expense of the bourgeois and Communist parties. In the special by-election for the Chamber of Deputies in the Basses-Alpes by the death of Aillaud, the Socialist elected by the Left Bloc on May 11, Dr. Gardiol, the Socialist candidate, won with 10,258 votes, against 9,055 for the Left Republicans and 732 for the Communists. In a supplementary election in Marseilles for the General Council of the Department, the Socialist candidate got 2,065 votes against 1,338 for the bourgeois candidate and 336 for the Communists.

In Seclin, in the Department of the Nord, three municipal councillors have been elected. On the first ballot the Socialists cast 451 votes, the Communists 487, and the Republicans 666. Refusing an offer of a couple of seats by the Republicans as the price of withdrawing its candidates in the second ballot, the Socialist section approached the Communists with a proposal for a combined list carrying only one Socialist, but was turned down without much ceremony. Then the Socialists withdrew and two Communists and one Republican were elected.

BELGIUM

Death of Emile Hubert
The Belgian Labor party has lost one of its old and devoted comrades by the death of Emile Hubert at the age of 73. In the 'nineties he was Secretary of the Administrative Council of the Maison du Peuple at Brussels. His funeral was a great demonstration of the working class of the Belgian capital.




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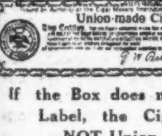
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MORRIS STOLMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

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

Office 321 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

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Local No. 2, I. L. G. W. U.

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MEYER PERLSTEIN, Administrator.

Telephone: Madison Square, 5590-5391

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LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416

Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 78 Delancey Street, n. 8 P. M.

Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.

ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary

ABRAHAM DELMON, Chairman of the Executive Board. SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION

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

Office, 16 West 21st St. Watkins 7950

The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings

are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.

MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman. I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.

Brooklyn—E. 17th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.

B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.

Salvatore Ninpo, Manager-Secretary.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 29th St. Madison Sq. 147

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.

D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Dressmakers

Union, Local 59, I. L. G. W. U.

Amalgated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board

Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street, Telephone 7748—Watkins

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

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Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.

MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

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LEON RECH, Fin. Sec'y.

RE-COUNT MAY ELECT MOONEY TO CONGRESS

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Organized Labor forces in Kanawha county stood loyally in support of Fred Mooney and he is running neck and neck with the candidate backed by both old party machines, the scab coal masters, the open shoppers, the Labor traitors, and the combined slush funds. It will take a recount to decide the contest.

Crooked election officers in several of the Charleston precincts robbed Mooney of several hundred votes, more than enough to have insured his election. The next grand jury may have the opportunity of hearing some of the violations of the law in these precincts.

According to reports given out by the machine with five precincts missing the vote between B. Brown and Mooney stands: Brown 24,516, Mooney 24,107.

Mooney won the nomination on the Republican ticket last spring with the machine against him and soon after the fall campaign was begun he was called into a conference and informed by the spokesman for the party bosses that he must resign from the ticket, which he refused to do. Since that time he was marked for slaughter. The Charleston Mail, the Republican organ omitted his name from the list of candidates and gave him no support whatever.

The two old party bosses entered into a deal to trade him for a preferred Democratic candidate and the party workers made an active canvass against him, supported by some so-called Labor leaders and the open shop advocates.

Scott Nearing Starts Current Events Course at the Rand School This Saturday, Nov. 15

On Saturday, November 15, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will begin his Current Events Class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. These lectures are held each week in the Debs Auditorium. At each session, Dr. Nearing discusses some recent event in this country or abroad which has figured largely in the news, analyzes its causes and relation to the general trend of everyday life. His topic for the first lecture will be "The Recent Elections."

At the close of the lecture, an opportunity is given for questions. At 11 a. m., Dr. Nearing is also beginning a class in "Dynamic Sociology," based on the theories of Lester F. Ward. Dr. Nearing has just returned from a month's trip in the Southwest and Mexico.

At 3:30 p. m., the first session of the Saturday afternoon Camaraderie will be held. Tea is served at 3:30 and will be followed at four by J. Vint Laughland, founder of the first Community Church, Liverpool, and twice Labor party candidate for Parliament, who will discuss the question, "Is Religion Social or Anti-Social?"

On Monday evening, November 17, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. August Claessens is beginning his course on "Public Speaking and Debating." This includes instruction and training in the preparation as well as the delivery of original speeches. Also on Tuesday evening, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Claessens is beginning a course on "The Elements of Social Progress," which will include such topics as the following: "Evolution of Society," "Man's Wants, Desires and Passions," "The Psychic and Cultural Factors," "The Environmental Element," "Man Makes His Own History, But . . . ?," "The Measure of Progress."

The Physical Education Department announces that there are still a number of lockers open for new members. This refers to those desiring to undertake physical correction and recreational work, as well as social and team games. Classes held for women under the direction of Blanche Blum. Classes for men are directed by Richard Blechschmidt. Both men's and women's classes are entitled to Recreation Evening on Wednesday. Further details given at the Rand School office.

SHIRT WORKERS WIN VICTORY

The shirt workers of New York have won human conditions in their industry as the result of a short strike which started October 16. The strike was called because of the repeated violations of the existing agreement on the part of the manufacturers and contractors during the last year. The only step left was to strike until sufficient assurance could be gotten from both manufacturers and contractors that the agreement will be lived up to.

Aldo Cursi, the manager of the Shirt Makers' Union of Greater New York now reports that 90 per cent of the workers have gone back to work victorious. Agreements have been signed with the New York Shirt Manufacturers' Association, composed of 70 members, many of whom are amongst the largest in the city, the New York Shirt Contractors' Association of 60 members, the latter having placed a \$5,000 cash security to keep their agreement in good faith, and many individual manufacturers and contractors.

The significant gains for the workers in this strike are the following: first, the union has extended its control over many new shops and "open shop" nests in Ridgewood, Greenpoint and Jamaica. Large concerns such as A. Baratz of Greenpoint, employing about 350 workers, and Pilotky Brothers of Harlem, employing 200, have for the first time been unionized. The union has gained about 2,000 new members. Second, the registration of organized shops, a system in which every employer can only do business with such others as the union is informed of, this will give the union control of the situation, and will help to standardize the industry. Third, the wages were increased considerably. Many collar workers were also organized, this being a new branch of the union. The union is continuing a vigorous drive to thoroughly organize all the shirt workers of Greater New York and vicinity.

Garment Workers Will Celebrate Re-opening of Their University

Hundreds of members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and instructors connected with the Educational Department, will assemble Friday night in the auditorium of the Washington Irving High School, 15th street and Irving Place, where they will celebrate the re-opening of the Workers' University and the Unity Centers of their union.

A musical program has been arranged with Misha Piatro, the celebrated violinist, the International Chorus of one hundred voices under the direction of Leo Low, and Anna Bernstein and Bella Schiff, soloists.

On Saturday, November 15, the classes of the Workers' University that will be held in the Washington Irving High School will open. At 1:30 p. m. B. J. R. Stolper will start his course on "Clear Voices in Literature." The subject of his first lecture will be "Aristotle France: The Skill and Subtlety of French Irony."

On the same day Paul Brissenden will begin his course on "Current Trade Union Problems." Sunday, November 16, at 10:30 a. m. Prof. Overstreet will start his course on "Psychology of Conflict." At 11:30 a. m. on the same day Dr. H. J. Carman will start his course on "The Industrial Development of Modern Society."

Classes of the Workers' University will also meet in the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street: On Wednesday, November 19, at 6:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler will start a course in "Psychology and the Labor Movement."

On Thursday beginning November 20 at 6:30, Dr. Sylvia Kopold will begin her course on "Economics and the Labor Movement." The courses in the Unity Centers will start on Tuesday, November 18. On this day at 8:45 p. m. in the Bronx Unity Center, P. S. 61, Crotona Park East and Charlotte street, Dr. Kopold will start her course on "Economics and the Labor Movement." On Wednesday, November 19, 8:45 p. m., in the East Side Unity Center, P. S. 63, Fourth

street and First avenue, A. L. Wilbert will start his course on "Social and Economic Forces in American History." On the same night at 8:45 p. m. a course in "The Trade Union Movement in the United States," will be started by Miss Theresa Wolfson, in the Harlem Unity Center, P. S. 171, 103rd street between Madison and Fifth avenues. These courses will be continued at the same place and time throughout the year, free to members of the I. L. G. W. U. More courses will be announced later.

Women's Peace Society Urges Army Be Abolished

The Women's Peace Society sent the following telegram to President Coolidge:

"Whereas the events of ten years ago have brought home to the world a realization of the dangerous character of armaments as a cause of war; and whereas proposals to abolish the army and navy have recently been considered by the Governments of Denmark and Great Britain, and whereas representatives of forty-seven countries meeting in Geneva have decided that war should be outlawed; and whereas the recurrence of Armistice Day provides an appropriate occasion for assuring the nations of the world of the pacific intentions of the American people, be it Resolved—That the members of the Women's Peace Society respectfully urge the President and Congress to devote the coming eleventh of November to a serious consideration of the need for the abolition of the army and navy of the United States as a great example for other nations to follow."

Beginning Saturday, November 8, and through Armistice Day, the Women's Peace Society distributed fliers at every busy thoroughfare. The program of the Women's Peace Society calls for immediate, universal and complete disarmament.

Socialist Elected Mayor of Haledon

William Brueckmann was elected Mayor of Haledon, N. J., by a majority of 147 votes in the most hotly contested election ever held there. Brueckmann ran as a Socialist and Progressive and his sole opponent, Thomas M. Kreiger, ran endorsement. The official vote was Brueckmann 775; Kreiger 628.

Brueckmann was elected Mayor as a Republican with Democratic as a Socialist three times, in 1912, 1914, 1916, and refused renomination for the election of 1918.

The borough had fallen under the control of the Republicans since 1918 and the Socialists had not put up any opposition until this election.

The vote for President in the Borough of Haledon was, Coolidge 728, La Follette 596, and Davis 64. The vote for Congress was, Senator, Rep., 739; Callahan, Dem., 97, and Hubschmitt, Soc., 465. Brueckmann is remembered as the mayor of Haledon who saved the situation for the silk strikers in 1913, when the Paterson authorities denied them the right of free speech and assemblage, and arrested strike speakers right and left. Haledon is right across the line from Paterson, and at Brueckmann's express invitation, fully 25,000 silk workers crossed over the line and held meetings every Sunday under the auspices of the Mayor himself.

In the entire County, including Paterson and Passaic, the vote was, Coolidge, 43,434; La Follette, 14,090; Davis, 11,714; Foster, 275. For Congress, Frank Hubschmitt, Socialist, polled 2,969, to 768 in 1922. A permanent labor party will soon be formed.

European Socialists Here to Attend A. F. of L. Convention in El Paso

Four of the greatest captains of European Labor arrived in the United States early this week as fraternal delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Mexican Federation of Labor, and the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and the formal inauguration of President-elect P. E. Calles in Mexico City. They are Peter Grassman, Vice-president of the German Federation of Labor, member of the Reichstag from the Social Democratic party, and member of the National Economic Council; and his secretary, Walter Maschke, secretary of the German Federation of Labor; C. T. Cramp, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, Britain, chairman of the Executive Council of the British Labor party, and chairman of the administrative committee of the Labor and Socialist International, and A. B. Swales, secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain, one of the leaders of the British Labor movement. Comrade Grassman, who is one of the greatest Labor leaders in Europe, represents the Hamburg electoral constituency that was so long held by August Bebel, the famous Socialist.

Grocery Clerks Winning

Monday morning last, 1,500 grocery clerks responded to the call of the Grocery and Dairy Clerks' Union of Greater New York to strike against those establishments that did not renew their agreements with the union, and many "open shop" stores. Within a few days about 500 stores signed agreements yielding the workers' demands. By Wednesday, about 1,000 workers returned to work under union conditions.

A statement issued by Samuel Heller, secretary of the union, points out that this strike has for the first time in the history of the union organized sections of the city that have always been difficult to reach. The membership of the union has been doubled so far and the strike will be continued with all the strength of the organization to unionize all the grocery and dairy store employees in the entire city. The strike committee managing the strike consists of Hyman Amilin, President, K. Fine, Morris Kuvent and Louis Cohen.

The United Hebrew Trades are giving their full backing to the strike and Morris Finestone, secretary, is devoting his full time at the clerks' union headquarters, which is located at 204 East Broadway.

Louis Waldman and Miss Bernstein Married

Louis Waldman, Socialist attorney and candidate for Secretary of State at the last election, on the afternoon of Saturday, November 1, was married to Miss Belle Bernstein at the office of the county clerk in Brooklyn, and then he went to Quakertown, where he made a speech in the evening for the party. Following the meeting, the couple went to Lakewood, and returned home a week later. Mrs. Waldman is a lawyer and is associated with her husband in the practice of their common profession.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 401 E. 161st St.

Madison 7690

CARL GRABBER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union.

Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn.

Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.

M. REISS, President.

S. FINE, Vice-President.

FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.

E. WENNER, Fin. Sec'y.

H. KALNIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

2 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7678

Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month

G. LEVINE, Pres.

A. SCHWARTZ, Chas. Hazan, Sec. Sec'y.

LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent.

CAP MAKERS

of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.

Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 0660-1-2

Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday

Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, L. Bahr, Manager Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)

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

MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)

Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday

Executive Board Every Monday

G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASSLANSKY, President.

SOL HANDMAN, L. DAER, Rec. Sec'y.

Fin. Sec'y.

All meetings are held in the Head-gear Workers Lyceum

(Beethoven Hall) 21st East 5th St.

MILLINERY & LADIES' STRAW HAT WORKERS' UNION, Local 24

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America

Up-town Office: 60 West 27th street, Phone Fitzroy 4734

Down-town Office: 210 East 5th street. Phone Orchard 1942

Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Up-town Office

SAUL SCHULMAN, B. LEVITAN, ALEX. ROSE, Chairman Exec. Bd. Rec. Sec'y. Fin. Sec'y-Treas.

ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, I. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Caledonia 0350

Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office

H. BEGOON, Chairman ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager

ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, Rec. Sec'y. WILLIAM CHERNIACK, Vice-Pres.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Plans for Regulating Emigration

Creation of an international office for immigration and emigration, competent to collect information and to give advice on regulation, such office to be attached to the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, is the feature of a resolution adopted at a conference of thirty-seven union representatives from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Italy and Palestine held under the auspices of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, September 29 and 30. Other measures of immediate relief for the chaotic condition of the international labor market caused by the World War suggested in the resolution include regulation of the movement of workers through agreements among the various trade union national centers, under the supervision of the I. F. T. U.; equality of treatment of workers without distinction of nationality, agreements among countries of immigration and emigration laying down the rights and duties of workers' organizations, compulsory membership of immigrant workers in the organizations of the countries of immigration, collection and distribution by the I. F. T. U. of material on this question and the establishment in every country of national and district joint bodies, upon which labor must be represented, for the regulation of the recruiting and emigrating of workers. The conference urges the Executive of the I. F. T. U. to speed up its investigations of emigration, so as to give the national federations of labor a chance to express their views and to facilitate some action toward control of a post-war problem that is causing much hardship and bitterness. C. Mertens of Belgium presided over the conference, which was welcomed to Prague by Minister Habrmann, head of the Welfare Ministry of Czechoslovakia and E. Tayerle of the Czech Federation of Labor. Much regret was expressed at the absence of labor representatives from the United States.

For International Labor College

In line with resolutions adopted at the Second International Workers' Educational Conference, held in Oxford last August, J. W. Brown (England), C. Mertens (Belgium), R. Weinmann (Germany) and M. Janiaux (Belgium), members of the International Workers' Educational Committee, met in Heyst-sur-Mer, Belgium, on October 11 to consider getting the International Labor Educational movement financed. It was resolved to create an educational fund in 1925 by means of

affiliation fees, and, if these can be arranged, grants from national centers, individual unions and international trade secretariats; also collections in labor organizations and the sale of picture postcards and stamps. It is left to the different countries to make their own decisions as to the methods best suited to them. Part of the fund is to be earmarked for the founding of an International Labor College. Other resolutions provided for the holding of single-language summer schools next summer, the issue of an International Labor song-book, the establishment of international correspondence courses, inquiries into the use of Esperanto for international correspondence and the value of the movies for educational purposes, outside of school.

Plans Eight-Hour Day Label

Taking the Union label agitation in the United States as its model, the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions suggests that a similar system might be used to put economic pressure upon countries which refuse to ratify the eight-hour day convention of the Washington International Labor Conference. For instance, goods exported from recalcitrant countries would be considered as not O. K. unless they bore a label showing that they had been manufactured under eight-hour conditions, such label to be controlled by the trade unions of the countries concerned. Non-labeled goods would be refused transit by the transportation workers of the country of destination, or even of a transit country, and in case they were semi-manufactured articles, the workers would refuse to finish them. It is admitted that close cooperation among the various unions is necessary and that a lot of preparatory educational work must be done before definite action is decided upon, but it is insisted that the plan is far from visionary.

Stone Workers Against Fusion

A proposal to amalgamate with the Building Workers International was voted down, thirty-three to seventeen, at a congress of the Stone Workers' International attended by delegates from eleven European countries and held in Lugano last month. A resolution presented by the Street Construction Workers' League of Holland calling for organization of the workers in the street and road building industry into a single union was adopted, twenty-seven to twenty-one. Robert Kolb, of Zurich, was re-elected international secretary and a commission consisting of stone workers in Italy, Belgium and Germany was

For Emigration Regulation — International Labor College — Eight-Hour Label Planned — Stone Workers Against Fusion — Teachers Favor Unity — Swiss Squelch Communists

named to study general and international questions. According to the latest published reports the organizations forming the Stone Workers' International have about 146,000 members.

Teachers' International for Unity

In an appeal issued from the general headquarters in Paris of the International of Educational Workers and printed in *L'Humanité*, of October 10, teachers in every country are urged to line up with their union organizations and to work for the strengthening of the International for the fight against the Dawes reparations plan, Facismo and clericalism. It is pointed out that the International is independent of both the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red Trade Union International and that at its second congress, held in Brussels last August, ten countries were represented, with about 600,000 members. Of these some 520,000 belong to the Russian Teachers' Federation, according to a statement made at the congress by Delegate Apletin of that organization. The International of Educational Workers was founded at a convention held in Paris in 1922, and while the majority of its leaders seem to be pro-Moscow, it includes some unions affiliated with Amsterdam. The secretaries are Vernoeht (France), Van de Moortel (Belgium), and Geisenberg (Germany), and the Executive Committee is made up of Apletin (Russia), Bontreux (France), Correas (Spain), Clement (Luxembourg), Korostelev (Russia), and Zanetta (Italy).

Swiss Unions Squelch Communists

Further confirmation of the decline of the influence of Communists in the Swiss labor movement was afforded by happenings at the congress of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions held in Lucerne, September 13 and 15. Because of the activities of its leaders in promoting the formation of Communist "cells", the Zurich section of the Metal Workers' Union was excluded from its national organization some time before the congress. This caused the introduction of a resolution by a Zurich delegate condemning such exclusions, but it was turned down by a huge majority after General Secretary Dürr and others had explained that the Zurich metal workers had not been expelled for being Communists, but for having carried on pernicious agitation against the national organization. A motion by a Basel delegate calling for consultations with the Communist party, the same as with the Socialist party, was rejected by a vote of 136 to 35. On the last day of the congress a Schaffhausen delegate offered a resolution welcoming the efforts being made toward uniting the two trade union internationals, but even this was voted down, 122 to 22, after Herman Greulich and Dürr had declared that the Communist union leaders were not sincere in their talk about unity, merely desiring to capture the Amsterdam International. Greulich reminded the Swiss Communists of their loss of strength and advised them to make their death bed speeches, as there would be none of them left at the end of two years. The congress adopted a number of resolutions calling for a renewed fight for social legislation and expressed itself in favor of industrial unionism. The membership of the Swiss Federation of Labor was 51,418 on January 1, last, but, as reported in *The New Leader* of August 23, it has been rising since then, having safely passed the crisis caused by

industrial depression and Communist agitation. The Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions reports that the Swiss Federation has voluntarily increased the affiliation fee of \$4.80 per year per 1,000 members by twenty-five per cent this year.

In an item on international negotiations printed in this column on November 1, it was stated that the Belgium Trade Union Congress had barred Communist "lovers from within from official jobs in the unions." What was written was "Borers from within," but printers seem to have a Freudian complex sometimes.

In all the relations of a life at home and abroad the capitalist system tends constantly to reduce all social activity to the dead level of economic thievery and economic conflict.—G. Moore Bell.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 236
Office and Meeting Room: 106 Seventh Avenue, Phone Chelsea 9549
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Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 P. M.
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2944, Office hours 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M.
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

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62 University Place, Stuyvesant 6538
The Membership Committee of the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Gardinier, Org. Sec. H. Kaplan, Sec.

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Tel. Regent 2455
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LENOX 1874
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Headquarters 366 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 5639
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Executive Board Meets Every Thursday
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175 E. 17th St., Orchard 6259
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Office: 23 WEST 16TH STREET
Regular Meetings Every 2nd Thursday at L. L. G. W. Auditorium, 3 W. 16th St.
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UNION DIRECTORY

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

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Office: 239 EAST 84th STREET LOCAL 84 Telephone Lenox 4589
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple
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BRICKLAYERS UNION

Local No. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 940 Willoughby Ave., Phone 4621 Stage.
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening
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United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 5674.
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HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y, JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL 335
Office and Headquarters, 13 St. Mark's Place. Dry Dock—4865
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United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

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Regular meetings every Monday evening
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United Brotherhood of CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA

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Office and Meeting Room at Volkmars Hall, 270 Prospect Street, Long Island City
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Lenox 7622
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Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

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Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.
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Socialism and Capitalism

Upon one thing Socialists and anti-Socialists are agreed: Private enterprise, i.e., capitalism, has made this country what it is (writes Tom Dickson, M. P., in *Glasgow Forward*.)

Capitalism controls industry, but it is the community as a whole which has to maintain the men capitalism cannot employ.

Capitalism uses the worker when he can produce profit, but refuses to feed him when his working days are done; the community has to make good the neglect.

Capitalism gives us mangled bodies from the factory, the workshop, and the mine, and public beneficence has to provide the infirmaries to heal them.

Capitalism controls the food supplies, but it is the public rates which pay inspectors to ensure that we are not poisoned.

Capitalism and private enterprise have given us the slums, the back lands, and the sunless, airless hovels, but from the common purse comes

the maintenance of hospitals and sanatoria to deal with the victims.

Capitalism empties its industrial refuse into the country's rivers and streams, but it is the community's task to cleanse them.

Capitalism befools the landscape with ghastly mountains of rubbish and leaves gaping holes in the bosom of mother earth in the search for coal and stone and clay, but it is the purse-strings of the general ratepayer that must be unloosed to sweeten the desert places.

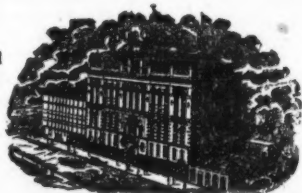
Capitalism pays wages that leave children unshod, ill clad, and underfed, and it is the communal hand that must tend them.

Capitalism, and its failure to meet human needs, turns men to robbery and theft, but the nation as a whole must pay for police and courts and prisons.

Capitalism, with its international competitions and rivalries, leads to wars and slaughter, but it is the nation as a whole that pays the price in treasure and in blood.

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A Repetition of History

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN ENGLISH HISTORY. By Philip Anthony Brown, M. A. With an Introduction by Professor Gilbert Murray. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. \$3.

Reading this book with the World War in perspective, one is tempted to admit that history repeats itself. The rise of the French masses and the overthrow of the monarchy and feudalism brought to England the same reaction which the Russian Revolution brought to the allied nations. In fact, the same reaction found its way to the United States. The fright of our nascent ruling classes brought about the Alien and Sedition Acts under the administration of the elder Adams.

There were enough deep grievances in British life to nourish radical agitation for reform of abuses without the inspiration of the French Revolution. In fact, the agitation in England was already under way when the French rising burst upon the world. Men were agitating for the relief of the workers afflicted with vice, pauperism and crime. Common lands were being enclosed, workers were being thrown upon public charity, and children were being set to work in the mills. Taxation was heavy to pay for the American war. Election boroughs were purchased like fish at the market. Strikers were flogged and trials without jury were common. The pay of sailors was the same as in the reign of Charles II. They were impressed into the service and flogged for the least indiscretion. Women were still publicly whipped at the cart's tail and children were condemned to death for petty thefts. The struggles of the English handloom weaver "in his agony appeared as the menace of a dangerous animal against an innocent community."

This was English society when French feudalism fell into the hands of its starvelings. The British reform societies took new courage when they saw the old regime fall in ruins. Corresponding societies grew in number and the old societies increased in membership. They resorted to public meetings, distribution of literature, establishment of papers and circulation of petitions, but the ruling classes saw or pretended to see in all this a conspiracy with the French Jacobins to destroy British society. British reaction turned to arbitrary and illegal arrests and trials, perjured testimony of spies and informers to silence the leaders of the popular movement and to destroy the reform organizations. Judges threw caution to the winds and openly sided with the prosecution. Prominent leaders were deported to Botany Bay and others were given long terms of imprisonment. Burke hurled his anathemas against the reformers and the French revolutionists. Espionage legislation penalized public meetings and any words "inciting to hatred of the Government." Lecture rooms where po-

litical questions were discussed were declared to be disorderly houses. Mob psychology was encouraged. Reform became a "suspected word." The ruling classes conceded nothing.

It is all so familiar. A change of scene and of names and we imagine we are living in the reign of Woodrow Wilson. England was filled with spies and "patriotic" informers. Defense societies and security leagues similar to our own were organized by "gentlemen of property." When the struggle became hot and tested the faith of leading reformers there were Spargos and Wallings who deserted and went over to serve the ruling classes. There were also a few fools, like our modern Communists, who secretly urged armed insurrection and an imitation of the French revolt. The analogy is still more striking in the fact that one of these "revolutionaries," Robert Watt, who urged the seizure of the castle, post office and banks of Edinburgh, proved to be a Government agent!

Not a detail is missing. French Jacobinism produced the same results in England that Russian Bolshevism produced in the United States. The English ruling classes, moreover, had popular support in their illegal acts. Referring to the arbitrary legislation of the period, Francis Place said that "Infamous as these laws were they were popular measures." The same must be admitted of the war and "emergency" legislation in this country. It is the sad truth that while the Wilson uplifters were yoking the masses to the magnates of Capital and finance the yoked ones regarded the "moral forces of the world" as the redeemer of mankind. Thus the analogy between the two periods is complete.

There is much more to this book than this analogy. The author shows how the French Revolution, affected not only the politics of the time but also British art and literature. Its influence on the work of Cowper, Burns, Blake, Wordsworth, Southey and others is traced and interpreted with a penetration and insight that materially enhances the value of the book. As an episode in British history it is an informing study of how ruling classes can coerce opinions and conjure spooks and goblins in support of their class privileges. Many Republican speakers and editors during the last month of the recent campaign employed the same technique in their attacks on the third party.

A sad aspect of this work is the fact that its author, a young man of 29, was killed in the war in 1915. His work shows fine historical discrimination and judgment and it is certain that had he lived he would have contributed much of value in the field of social and economic history. He loved to teach history and economics to workers and the British Labor movement suffered an irreparable loss when one night in November, 1915, he fell, shot through both thighs.

Fanciful Glamour

MARIPOSA. By Henry Baerlein. New York: Boni & Liveright.

The trend of modern fiction usually leads far from pure romanticism. However, in the case of Henry Baerlein's "Mariposa," our tale retains its fanciful glamour throughout.

Most naive of all creatures is the beautiful and captivating little Spanish dancer. Her career begins in Andalusia where she is dancing at an Inn and is discovered by a kindly Englishman, Mr. Wainwright. Mariposa's own words about her dancing are:

"I never was and I shall never be one of those mighty dancers who can speak with all their body, twisting it about and saying with it not only what a serenade and his mandoline can sing and what the maiden through the iron bars can murmur in reply, but also what is whispered by the night around them. God in His mercy did not think it good to make me such a dancer, filled with poetry and eloquence; all that I could accomplish was to stand behind a real dancer—she had five or six of us who in a semi-circle were about her and who, like the branches of a palm-tree, moved

now this way and now that way, but did not attract the audience's eye, because they had so little meaning. I was one of those. I swayed from side to side, and if on one great night a thing I will describe to you had not occurred I should be swaying still."

Under the protection of Mr. Wainwright, Mariposa and her mother travel to London. This irresistible child is a great delight to London and her adventures there prove quite diverting. Refreshing bits of irony and sarcasm through Mariposa's mother, an illiterate but clever peasant woman, are thrust at the English people and their customs.

Nor does Mariposa fail to see the world in her travels. Is it possible Mr. Baerlein had in mind a moving picture scenario when he brings Mariposa to America? It seems very likely—since after a brief, undescribed stay she returns to her native Seville, marries her banderillo and swims in bliss.

F. M.

Class hatred! I say God help the rich if ever the day should come when the workers hate them one-hundredth part as much as they hate the working men on whom they live. —Jerome K. Jerome.

The eternal question HOW TO BE FREE and HAPPY!

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Edited by M. A. JAGENDORF

Here is an anthology of fourteen short plays for children from six to sixteen. It is complete with illustrations for simple stage settings and costumes. Among the writers who contribute plays are, Joseph T. Shipley, John Farrar, Nina Purdy and Rowe Wright.

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So This is Horror?

A Review by D. P. BERENBERG

CHALK FACE. By Waldo Frank. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.00.

The story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde has interested more writers than Robert Louis Stevenson. It is not, therefore, surprising that Waldo Frank's preoccupation with abnormal psychology should have led him to attempt to recast Stevenson's immortal idea. It may be that his failure to be chilled by the later work is due to my long acquaintance with the earlier horror story. It may also be that Mr. Frank's genius does not tower quite so high as that of Mr. Stevenson.

There are, of course, differences in technique and in conception between the two works. The Mr. Hyde who is the alter ego of Dr. Jekyll can function only when Dr. Jekyll ceases to exist; these two are opposite phases of one personality, and, while they exist side by side, Stevenson cannot imagine them acting simultaneously. A strain of mysticism, that I have heretofore not suspected in Mr. Frank, suggests to him the possibility of a complete dissociation of personality; of a material protection of the evil personality and its embodiment in a person not quite human, who yet functions apart from his unknowing partner.

As a literary framework, this idea opens limitless possibilities, some of which Mr. Frank has used. We then get the phenomenon of a series of murders committed by the will of Dr. Mark, the subject of this study, embodied in the person of a man with a chalk white face, while the real Dr. Mark goes innocently about his business. And yet innocently is hardly the word to use, because a vision of what is happening, or a premonition of what is about to happen, is always present in the subject's mind. There is a great straining toward the effect of horror in that one of the murders committed by Dr. Mark's will has for its victim a man whom Dr. Mark does not even know and who is yet his sole rival for the love of the woman who has touched Mark's imagination.

We are dealing here with a theory familiar to even the most casual readers of the Freudian literature. Chalk Face, the horrible white criminal, is the uncensored will in all of us. But our very familiarity with the thought serves to lessen the anguish. Indeed, the horror so

How America Lives

A Review by NORMAN THOMAS

HOW AMERICA LIVES. A Handbook of Industrial Facts. By Harry W. Laidler. Published by the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. 10 cents a copy. Special rates for bundle orders.

Visitors to America, even Labor visitors, are quite likely to go home and write in glowing terms of the prosperity of all classes of our citizens. Having narrowly escaped death in the endless procession of our automobiles, these visitors leap to the conclusion that somehow or other we have rid ourselves of poverty. This comforting reflection is meat and bread to Americans of the better-to-do classes. It helps them to justify things as they are. One of our standard jokes has to do with the vast wealth of the plumber or the bricklayer.

Unfortunately, statistics do not bear out this rosy picture. The United States is a country of child labor, unemployment, terrific waste through expenditures on past and prospective wars, industrial accidents, preventable sickness and miserable housing.

Heretofore thoughtful Americans have known these things in a general way but they have not had specific facts in any compact and convenient form. Dr. Laidler has supplied a general need by collecting in less than forty pages the latest facts on the income of farmers and workers, the living standard, unemployment, military expenditures, child labor, preventable sickness, deaths and accidents, undernourishment, illiteracy, and housing, unjust distribution of wealth and the wastes of industry. It is not likely that many readers will finish his pamphlet at a single sitting, but thousands of Americans, especially American workers, ought to have these facts where they can turn to them. Yes, and they ought to read them slowly and let their imaginations play on what these figures mean in terms of human well-being.

If once we begin quoting we shall not know where to stop. Two of the most significant facts brought

loudly advertised on the jacket never comes off.

It is interesting to note that, for the time being at least, Mr. Frank has returned to the use of intelligible English. I am grateful to him for not having added the horror of his "Broom" style to this mystery story.

Tower of Glass

The pleasure was not mine of hearing Bertrand Russell's lecture here last May when he revealed to members of the Young People's Socialist League "How To Be Free and Happy." But if I missed that rare delight then, I feel somehow adequately repaid in reading the lecture as brought out between covers by the Rand School (75 cents). For the reading is a voyage of discovery in more ways than one. First, Mr. Russell's prose retains all the lustre of glowing speech. Again, while the spirited passages were intended for a collected audience, the marvellous implications of his ideas, the fertility of his thoughts, are caught more easily in the quiet of one's room than in the tense atmosphere of a public hall.

Mr. Russell may be concerned with a simple thing—how to increase man's happiness—and, in that regard, he is merely a descendant of seers gone before; but I have rarely met with so complete, and yet so concise an indictment of our Puritanic, industrial age, so engagingly put, and with a simply stated remedy, so plausibly applicable to the disease.

Mr. Russell would have his epigram, but it will stand any test. "I say in the spiritual world we want individualism. It is in the material world that we want Socialism. We have Socialism now in the spiritual world and we have individualism now in the material world."

In short, Mr. Russell condemns the hold of mass psychology, mass education, mass influences upon the spirit of the individual. He believes in Socialism to insure the individual a decent minimum of material things, but he points out that the material concern is not the important thing; rather, there must be no frustration of the emotions, the impulses, the desires of each human being (as long as they do not collide with another's). And this can be brought about only by the elimination of fear, by the throttling of greed and jealousy and hate—man, to be free and happy, must be idle a great part of the day and adventure, if only in mind and spirit, from sun to sun, unafraid of tomorrow, unconcerned with a fortune for posterity, expanding in love, kindness and all the positive emotions.

He points out that poverty and riches alike are destructive agents and that happiness is almost purely an accord between man's realization of what is worth while and his self-discipline in eliminating any doubt as to his power to attain it.

If any man wants to drink from the fount of courage, here is the opportunity.

"The Story of My Heart," the autobiography of Richard Jefferies, the English mystic who died in the '80's, has just been brought out in a new edition by Dutton (\$4). Thirty-six woodcuts by Ethelbert White reveal the character of the strange soul almost as curiously as the text.

It is a perturbing text—perturbing because of its admixture of fine courage, forceful and somewhat original thinking and more than a decent amount of hysteria. Amateurs in the newer psychology would not want a better "case" to illustrate one form of neurosis or another, but should they find only that, they would be anaesthetic to a feeling and its expression that often scales the summits of beauty and power. The hysteria, however, is there, and it results in endless repetition of the simple message of the author.

He recognizes that the organization of society for profit and not for service destroys leisure and thought and causes the expenditure of energy which could be more beneficially utilized in building up the spirit and fortifying the soul of man. He feels the healing virtues of nature and revels in the naked beauty of well-informed humanity. To him no guiding divinity exists—all happenings are by chance and doing good produces no better reward than doing evil. Man, therefore, must rely upon himself, by his intensity of thought and desire create a world for himself of beauty and happiness.

RICHARD ROHMAN.

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book obtainable at the

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7 EAST 15th STREET

New York City

A Single Tax Novel

THE LORD OF THE SEA. By M. P. Shiel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

"Henry George . . . probably the most penetrating of men," I have always felt it my business to discover new demonstrations of his demonstrated theorem." M. P. Shiel has written. "The Lord of the Sea," is intended as one of these demonstrations. Never was there a stranger offspring than this intellectual child of "Progress and Poverty."

The Single Tax idea is clothed in a highly fantastic series of cloaks. The color and materials are always rich and expertly woven. Just as Kings and Capitalists have arrogated to themselves the earth and the riches thereof, Shiel's hero sets up a Kingdom of the Sea, pronouncing his dominion to be to the expanses of the oceans. The rapid development of circumstances following the growth of a final decline of the dynasty of the sea may be compared to the tales of Melville and Jules Verne. For the most part, however, Shiel approaches methods all his own. On the whole, regardless of the demonstration it aims to give of the Single Tax theory, the story should have a ready appeal to all who like a fast moving story.

The Lord of the Sea is the first work of Mathew Phipps Shiel to be published in America. For it, Carl Van Cechten has written an introduction. The fulfillment of Alfred A. Knopf's promise of more to come will be eagerly awaited by those who have read the present volume.

States. By James Beck. New York: Dutton.

The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia. By A. F. P. Dennis. New York: Dutton. \$5.

How To Be Free and Happy. By Bertrand Russell. New York: Rand School. 75 cents.

Drama and Mankind. By Haleott Glover. Boston: Small, Maynard. \$3.50.

On the Art of the Theatre. By Gordon Craig. Boston: Small, Maynard. \$3.

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--- D R A M A ---

Municipal Movies in Norway

Profits Used for Endowment of Libraries and Symphony Orchestras

NINETY per cent of the Norwegian motion picture theatres, says a writer in the Christian Science Monitor, are now run by the municipalities. The excess profit of the ticket revenue of theatres run in this way has, to a large extent, been used for the building of large modern motion picture theatres in Norwegian towns, and for the advancement of cultural purposes. Thus in many cities libraries have been supported with money from the motion picture theatres, while in others symphony orchestras have been subsidized by them.

Christians in behind the rest of the country owing to a settlement whereby the motion picture theatres are run by the municipality and the private

owners in common. In this way the demands of the public have not been sufficiently complied with. On the other hand, the net surplus revenue of the motion picture theatres in Christiania used for cultural purposes is very large.

The municipal motion picture theatres have established a joint film bureau which provides them with the season's productions, in competition with private bureaus. They have also formed a national association where the interests of the country's municipally-owned motion picture theatres are discussed. At a recent meeting this association decided to start producing Norwegian films. The necessary capital will be raised gradually by the setting aside of a certain percentage of the gross revenue of all municipal motion picture theatres in the country.

In spite of certain outstanding advantages, Norway has not as yet been able to establish a motion picture industry of any merit. A few experimental productions have been made, among them two Hamsun productions, "Pan" and "The Growth of the Soil," but with modified success. In the first instance capital has been lacking, in the second the necessary technical experience has been absent. When the Association of Municipal Motion Picture Theatres in time enters the field of the producer, experts will, it is expected, be summoned from abroad until the time when Norwegians themselves will have acquired the necessary experience.

The question of censorship has been much discussed in Norway. Educators and parents urged that the films should be censored, and this resulted ten years ago in the appointment of a public censor. Films are now divided into two classes and some are forbidden to children under sixteen. During the ten years in which the Norwegian film censorship has operated, \$500,000 worth of films have been censored, of which about 1,000,000 meters have been discarded. According to the film censors the quality of films has improved greatly in recent years.



FRANCINE LARRIMORE comes to the 39th Street Theatre in a new play by Cosmo Hamilton, entitled "Parasites." The opening is scheduled for next Wednesday

Gemier and Players from the Odeon National Theatre

"L'Homme Qui Assassina" and "Le Procureur Hallers" Show Fine Work of French Group at Jolson's Theatre

In a sincere and intelligent speech, M. Gemier, leader of the group from the Theatre National de l'Odeon, which Lee Shubert has brought over from Paris, sponsored by an official committee representing the Department of State, M. Gemier declared that his company was not acquainted with the American art of bluffing; they were here to give straightforward efforts, their best. Modestly, the star opened with a play that showed him among his comrades, instead of isolated on a pinnacle that would leave the others in the shadow. While this deprived us, for the time, of seeing more than a medium of his own reserved, dignified performance, it gave us greater opportunities of observing a better company than usually accompanies a foreign star to America. The women especially were finished performers; Mme. Germaine Reuser, acting with an ease and intelligent interpretation that helped considerably to raise the tone of the play.

Unfortunately the play needed help; the first selections of the Grand Guignol and the Odeon companies have both been unfortunate. "The Man Who Killed," adapted from a story by Claude Farrere, while played in a quiet, restrained key, is nonetheless typical melodrama, of a brutal husband who gets a cynical friend to help betray an innocent wife—who falls, as so many innocent women do, into the trap set by the villain, giving her love to the plotting friend of her husband instead of to the devoted, faithful colonel who protects her at the end. The double sacrifice called for at the close, raises the play from the old ten-twenty-third category; but it is essentially bald for all that. The scenery is better than that of the average foreign company, and when the better plays that have been announced are presented, we shall doubtless have performances that are completely and genuinely worth seeing. For those who do not understand French, and who have lost the habit of patient sub-

mission, since the Moscow Art Theatre is no longer the vogue, a good opportunity to see an excellent actor, comes with the presentation of "The Merchant of Venice," which they probably will be able to follow, even in the foreign tongue.

An effective presentation again graced a play that might have been better chosen, for the second bill of the National Odeon Theatre, at Al Jolson's. M. Gemier has the part of an attorney who, from overwork, goes into a psychic condition that sends him off nights as "the Prince," head of a band of Parisian thieves. He leads the gang into his own house, where complications finally awaken him to a realization of his actions; in the words of the doctor: "In this type of case, to remember is to heal." The plot itself develops obviously, with the usual preliminary discussion of other cases of the sort, at which the present victim pines. The second act, in the den of the thieves, is a good bit of ensemble work, with excitement that needs no interpreter.

The piece gives M. Gemier a good opportunity to display his ability; his lack of self-consciousness is genuine, not, as in the case of so many of our actors, carried with an under-swagger, a conscious unconsciousness. But he relied, for the effects of his transformation, rather on body than on facial changes, doing the part of the thief with the stiff manner of a sleep-walker. Once again the women of the company displayed their excellence, giving a performance that was admirably suited to the parts. Of the men, in addition to M. Gemier, Andre Varannes stood out as a capable and intelligent performer. But whoever selects the plays for these foreign companies seems to have an exaggerated idea of the stupidity or complaisance of the American audience. The program of the second week, with genuine plays, will probably be entertaining.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE DESERT FLOWER," by Don Mullaly, author of "Conscience," will open at the Longacre Theatre Monday evening, under the direction of A. H. Woods, in association with the Shuberts. Helen MacKellar is featured. The supporting cast includes Brandon Peters, Elwood Bostwick, Warda Howard, Clyde Veaux and Dorothy Walters.

THEATRE NATIONAL DE L'ODEON OF FRANCE, with Gemier, at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre, presents next week three new productions and a repetition of the outstanding play of the first week's list. Monday and Tuesday nights, and Tuesday matinee, Gemier is seen as Shylock in "The Merchant of Venice," in the French version by Lucien Nepoty. Moliere's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" on Wednesday and Saturday evenings and Saturday matinee. "Monsieur Beverly" is by Georges Berr and Louis Verneuil; Thursday night, Friday night, Lenormand's, "L'Homme et ses Fantomes" will be acted for the last time.

"NEW BROOMS," a new comedy, will open at the Fulton Theatre Monday night, produced by Frank Craven—his debut as producer. Mr. Craven appears in the triple role of author, director and producer. The cast includes Robert McWade, Blyth Daly, Robert Keith, Jack Deveraux, Helen Weathersby and Harry Leighton.

TUESDAY

"THE MASTER BUILDER," by Ibsen, will open the season at the Bramhall Playhouse, presented by Butler Davenport, who will also play the leading role.

WEDNESDAY

"PARASITES," a new Cosmo Hamilton play, will come to the 39th Street Theatre, with Francine Larrimore featured. Lee Shubert is the producer. The supporting company includes Clifton Webb, Theresa Maxwell Conover, Max Figman, Cecil Humphreys, Mary Hone, Franklin Pangborn and Beatrice Swanson. John Harwood staged the production. The settings are by Rolio Wayne.



H. B. WARNER is back on Broadway in Max Marcin's melodrama, "Silence," at the National Theatre.

Bramhall Theatre opens Season Tuesday Ibsen's "The Master Builder," Opening Play

FOUR bills are announced for the new season of the Bramhall Theatre Club, 27th street at Lexington avenue. Ibsen's "The Master Builder," will be the opening play given on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday afternoon. This will be followed after three weeks by a bill of three one-act plays; "Trying It On," an English farce; "The Pretentious Young Ladies," "Les Precieuses Ridicules" by Moliere, and Davenport's "The Father's Sons," a piece of killing, which takes place in an army tent in "No Man's Land," and which Davenport first read publicly at a benefit he gave in 1918 for Kate Richards O'Hare.

The third play will be Bulwer-Lytton's "Richelieu," and the last of this series will be "Deferred Payment," a drama in three acts by Davenport. The membership to the Club is one dollar for the season, the tickets are a dollar for each play to the members; a dollar and a half for their guests. Later on, "The Father," by Strindberg, and "Uncle Vanya," by Chekov, will be given. Davenport is reading plays by D'Annunzio, Chekov, Gorky, Andreiev and Davenport on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings of this week. These readings are free.

"He Who Gets Slapped," Ushers in Fifth Anniversary at Capitol Theatre.

The Fifth Anniversary program at the Capitol Theatre this week is one that carries along fully the high standard to which the Capitol has accustomed its patrons. The feature picture, "He Who Gets Slapped," is a picturization of the Andreyev play the Theatre Guild presented some years ago. Under the guiding genius of Victor Seastrom, the picturization loses none of the subtlety of the original play. Lon Chaney, as "He," shows himself to be something very much more than a contortionist. The finer shades of Andreyev's poignant drama are used to full advantage by him. In the supporting cast, Tully Marshall is particularly worthy of special mention. The Capitol Orchestra, in its usually spirited manner, gives a good performance of Tachakovsky's "1812" Overture. The audience showed its appreciation, likewise, of the ballet danced to the score of "Dance of the Hours."

Gemier Announces Repertoire for Last Week

"The Taming of the Shrew" on Monday night, November 24, and Thursday matinee and night. "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" Tuesday night, November 25. Beaumarchais' "Le Mariage de Figaro," Wednesday night and Saturday matinee. "The Merchant of Venice" Friday and Saturday nights. Before returning to France, Gemier and the Odeon players will appear for one week each in Philadelphia and Boston and possibly in Montreal.



PERCY MARMONT plays a leading role in "K—The Unknown," a new feature film at the Cameo Theatre, Sunday.

Roseland will hold its Arabian Nights Ball—the Eighth Annual—Wednesday night. Vincent Lopez and his Pennsylvania Orchestra come to Roseland for a return engagement on the night of Wednesday, December 3.

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

WINTER GARDEN
MATS., TUES., THURS. & SAT., 2:30.
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THE PASSING SHOW
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ASTOR
45th Street and Broadway
EVENINGS 8:30.
MATINEES THURS. and SAT., 2:30.
2nd ANNUAL PRODUCTION
ARTISTS AND MODELS
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WOODS MOST FAMOUS REVUE
50 MODELS from the STUDIOS
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MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY

JOLSON'S 59th St. MON. at 8
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Mr. LEE SHUBERT Presents
GEMIER
and the World Famous
Theatre National de l'Odeon of France
By permission of the French Government and with the official cognisance of the United States Government
Mon. and Tues. Evs. Tues. Mat. Wed. and Sat. Evs. Sat. Mat. Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme
Thursday Evening (Only Time) Monsieur Beverly
By Georges Berr and Louis Verneuil
Friday Evening (Last Time) L'Homme et ses Fantomes
Week of November 24—Last Week
Mon., Tues., Evs., Sat. Mat.; LE MARIAGE DE FIGARO; Wed., Thurs., Evs., (Thanksgiving) Mat.; TAMING OF THE SHREW; Fri. Evs.; MERCHANT OF VENICE; Sat. Evs.; LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME.
Nights: Orch. \$5.50; \$3.30; Mezz. \$2.75; Bal. \$1.65; \$1.10. Matinees: Orch. \$3.00; \$2.75; Mezz. \$2.75; Bal. \$1.65; \$1.10.

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ALWAYS THE BEST SUNDAY ENTERTAINMENT IN N. Y.
BIG BILL OF ALL-FEATURE ACTS
SMOKING PERMITTED IN ALL PARTS OF THE HOUSE

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Thea., 41st St., E. of Bway
Eves. 8:30. Mats. 2:30.
MATINEES THURS. and SAT.
Mr. & Mrs. COBURN
TUMPHANT COMEDY
OF LOVE AND LAUGHTER
THE FARMER'S WIFE
"Full of Laughs. Must be recommended as one of the worth whiles of the season."—Alon Dole, N. Y. American.
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49th St. THEATRE 49th St. & 5th Ave. 8:30
Sensational Comedy
THE WEREWOLF
MATINEES WED. and SAT., 2:30.
BEST SEATS, \$2
"Naughty, but never cheap or vulgar. Provides excellent, sophisticated fun to any one who is not hypocrite enough to pretend it doesn't."—George Jean Nathan in Judge.
MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY

AMBASSADOR 49th W. of Bway
EVENINGS 8:30.
MATINEES WED. and SAT., 2:30.
FAY BAIANTER
(Reopened with an ALL-STAR CAST)
DREAM GIRL
WITH WALTER WOOLF
George J. HUFFMAN
MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY

LONGACRE THEATRE 41st St. & 5th Ave. 8:30
EVENINGS 8:30. MATS. 2:30.
WED. & SAT. 2:30.
HELEN MACKELLAR in THE DESERT FLOWER
A NEW PLAY OF PRIMITIVE LOVE AND PASSION by DON MULLALLY author of CONSCIENCE
with ROBERT AMES
OPENING MONDAY NIGHT at 8:30

An Unqualified Sensation!
CROSBY GAIGE presents
H. B. WARNER
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"SILENCE"
Sets your nerves tingling and your pulse bounding yet also touches your heart
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"DIXIE to BROADWAY"
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WILL VODERY'S PLANTATION ORCHESTRA
and the most infectious chorus in N.Y.
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ARTHUR HODKINS presents
What Price Glory
PLYMOUTH THEATRE 45th St. & 5th Ave. 8:30
THURS. & SAT. 2:30.
"Real and Ringing and Tierce Good-Humored"—Red Little, New Republic

BELMONT THEATRE 48th St. E. of Bway EVES 8:30
MATINEES THURS. & SAT.
The greatest acting in years in a rare and absorbing play.
A. H. WOODS presents
CONSCIENCE
by DON MULLALLY
with LILLIAN FOSTER

ELTINGE THEATRE 42nd St. EVES 8:30
MATINEES WED. & SAT.
A. H. WOODS presents
ONE OF THE SEASON'S REAL HITS
LOWELL SHEERMAN
"HIGH STAKES"
The witliest play in town
by WILLARD MACK

RITZ THEATRE 48th W. of Bway
Eves. 8:30. Mats. 2:30.
MATINEES WED. and SAT., 2:30.
HASSARD SHORT'S RITZ REVUE
Funniest, Most Satisfying Revue in Town
GOOD BALC. SEATS | Evs. \$3, \$2, \$1. Mats. \$2, \$1.50, \$1.
MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY

The Theatre Guild Presents
The GUARDSMAN
By FRANZ MOLNAR
"One of the 'greatest things in town.'"—Forcy Hammond.
WITH
Lynn Fontanne Alfred Lunt
Helen Westley Dudley Digges
GARRICK THEATRE 35 W. 34th St.
EVS. 8:30. MTS. THURS. & SAT. 2:30.
Moves to the Booth Theatre—Monday, November 25.

The Play that is Making History
Anne NICHOLS RECORD BREAKING COMEDY
3rd YEAR REPUBLIC
HISTORICAL
ABIE'S IRISH ROSE
ANNE NICHOLS' LAUGHING SUCCESS

PIGS
LITTLE—A John Golden Play

Broadway Briefs
The Theatre Guild's production of "The Guardsman" will move to the Booth Theatre on November 24. That same night the Guild's second production, "They Knew What They Wanted," by Sidney Howard, with Richard Bennett and Pauline Lord, will open at the Garrick.

The Fifth Equity Annual Ball will be held at the Hotel Astor this evening. The cards of admission are limited in number, so get yours early.

Irene Bordoni in "Little Miss Bluebeard," will be at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre, beginning Monday.

"Carnival," the new play by Ferenc Molnar, in which Elsie Ferguson will be seen shortly, has been translated by Melville Baker. Mr. Baker adapted "The Swan," the last Molnar play done here.

"The Werewolf," Dr. Rudolph Lothar's continental comedy at the 49th Street Theatre, will be played in five languages, namely, German (originally), English, Spanish, Hungarian and French.

"Monsieur de Cinq Heures," a new comedy by Maurice Hennequin and Pierre Veber, which was produced recently at the Palais Royal in Paris, has been secured by Gilbert Miller and added to the list to be presented this season.

"Lovetime in Heidelberg" New Title
The new musical play by Sigmund Romberg and Dorothy Donnelly, recently produced by the Messrs. Shubert and now running in Philadelphia, will hereafter be called "Lovetime in Heidelberg." The New York engagement will begin on December 1.

Herman Gantvoort has organized a new producing company, Aeon Productions, Inc., and will enter the producing field this season with a new play by Barry Connors, temporarily titled, "Fools' Gold." Mr. Connors is the author of "Strange Bedfellows" and "Applesauce," now running in Chicago, and of "The Dreamers," which A. H. Woods is producing with Ann Harding. Herman Gantvoort is not new to Broadway, being well known in the concert field as a composer.

THEATRES

HUDSON THEATRE • WEST 44th ST. EVG. 8.15 • MANAGER OF THE HOUSE
An absorbing problem absorbingly presented
THE FAIRY
by FREDERICK LONSDALE
with Godfrey Tearle

48th ST. 8TH JOYOUS MONTH

THEATRE
EVS. 8:30
MATS. TUES. & SAT., 2:30.
"Expressing Willie"
RACHEL CROUCHERS' GAY COMEDY
AMONG THE MOST SKILLFUL OF ALL AMERICAN COMEDIES... A REMARKABLE AND BEAUTIFUL PIECE OF WORK. YOU MUST NOT MISS "EXPRESSING WILLIE."
HEYWOOD BROWN, N. Y. WORLD.

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE
149th ST., E. of 3d AVE.
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.
BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
GEORGE BROADHURST Presents
The Laughing Hit of the Season
JIMMY HUSSEY
IN
"IZZY"

Direct from its Successful Run at the Broadhurst Theatre
WEEK OF NOV. 24
"IZZY" BROADHURST
Direct from the Vanderbilt Theatre

YIDDISH ART THEATRE

21TH STREET & MADISON AVE.
Maurice Swartz
A Comedy by C. Gottesfeld
When Will He Die?
FRIDAY, SATURDAY & SUNDAY, MATINEE & EVENING, 2:30 & 8:30.

B. S. MOSS' BEGINNING
CAMEO SUNDAY
BWAY & 42ND ST.
First New York Showing
MARY ROBERTS RINEHART'S
THE UNKNOWN
— WITH —
Virginia Valli & Percy Marmont
New Comedy, Pathe News, Fables
AND
CAMEO THEATRE ORCHESTRA

The Neighborhood Playhouse yields to an overwhelming demand and will continue "The Grand Street Follies," through to and including November 30.
Prices for the Last Two Weeks will be:
Entire Orchestra, \$2.50; Entire Balcony, \$1.50.
Tickets for all performances on sale now.

Neighborhood Playhouse
468 Grand St., Tel. Dry Dock 7516

B.S. MOSS' BWAY
"Where the crowds all go"
ALL NEXT WEEK
First N. Y. Showing
THE SUPER THRILLER
"THE MIDNIGHT EXPRESS"
— WITH —
ELAINE HAMMERSTEIN
Dillon & Parker Revue, Fenton & Fields, AND OTHER
B. F. KEITH ACTS

CAPITOL BROADWAY AT 51st ST.
World's Largest and Foremost Motion Picture Palace—Edw. Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
BEGINNING SUNDAY
2ND BIG WEEK
Victor Seastrom's
HE WHO GETS SLAPPED
with LON CHANEY,
Norma Shearer, John Gilbert and Tully Marshall
A Metro-Goldwyn Picture.
Famous CAPITOL Program
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE
Presentations by BOTHAFEL "BOXY"

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

STATE METROPOLITAN O. H.
To-Morrow at 3 P. M.
SYMPHONY
with JOSEF STRANSKY
Bohemian Program—Smetana-Dvorak
including NEW WORLD
Seats 50c. to \$2.50. Now at Box Office and at STATE SYMPHONY OFFICE, (Steinway.)

Aeolian Hall, Mon. Eve., Nov. 17, at 8:15
HERBERT DITTLER
VIOLINIST
Mgt. London Charlton. (Steinway Piano.)
Aeolian Hall, Sat. Aft., Nov. 22, at 3
HUTCHESON
HAYDEN—MOZART—BEETHOVEN
Mgt. London Charlton. (Steinway Piano.)
Aeolian Hall, Sat. Eve., Nov. 22, at 8:15
NINA TARASOVA
2nd COSTUME RECITAL
Mgt. Haesael & Jones. (Knabe Piano.)

AEOLIAN HALL, Sun. Aft., Nov. 16, at 3.
EMILIO
DE GOGORZA
SONG RECITAL (Steinway Piano.)
Tickets now at box office. Geo. Engles, Mgt.

At the Cinemas
BROADWAY—"The Midnight Express," with Elaine Hammerstein, William Haines and George Nichols.
CAMEO—"K-The Unknown," with Virginia Valli, Marguerite Fisher, Percy Marmont and John Roche.
CAPITOL—"He Who Gets Slapped," from Leonid Andreyev's dramatic play. Lon Chaney, Norma Shearer and John Gilbert play the leads.
RIALTO—"Married Flirts," with Pauline Frederick, Huntley Gordon and Conrad Nagle.
RIVOLI—"Pola Negri in 'Forbidden Paradise'."

TOWN HALL, Wednesday Eve., November 13
MUSICAL EVENT OF THE SEASON
FIRST CONCERT OF
MISCHA ELMAN

AND STRING QUARTET
TICKETS: \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50 & \$3.00.
AT BOX OFFICE AND ELMAN CONCERT DIRECTORS, 728 Aeolian Hall.
Aeolian Hall, Tues. Eve., Nov. 18, at 8:30.
SONG RECITAL
Ernest DAVIS
TENOR
Mgt. DANIEL MATER. (Steinway Piano.)
MANHATTAN MONDAY EVENING, NOV. 17, at 8:15
OPERA HOUSE
One Performance Only
KARSAVINA
QUEEN OF RUSSIAN DANCERS
Assisted by Messrs. Vladimir Gavrilev and Symphony Orchestra. Alexander Smolens, Conductor.
Tickets 75c. to \$2.50. at Box Office.

CARNEGIE HALL, SAT., NOV. 15, AT 8:30
HEIFETZ
VIOLIN RECITAL. (Steinway Piano.)
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Aft., Nov. 22, at 8:30
JOSEF HOFMANN
PIANO RECITAL. (Steinway Piano.)



EMILIO DE GOGORZA
Emilio de Gogorza, baritone, gives his recital Sunday afternoon, at Aeolian Hall. The program will include "Diane Impitoyable," from "Iphigene en Aulide"—C. Gluck; Two Folk Songs from the Basque Provinces, "Zeru Altuna"—John Peel; "The Pretty Creature," H. Laro Wilson; "Stille Traenen," "Mondnacht," "Widmung," R. Schumann; "L'Ange et l'Enfant," "Ninon," Cesar Franck; a group in English and "La Partida," F. M. Alvarez; "Jota," Manuel de Falla; "Polo," Manuel de Falla.

D R A M A

Janet Beecher Back

"The Steam Roller,"
by Laurence Eyre,
at the Princess

It is all Janet Beecher at the new play, "The Steam Roller," at the Princess. The evening is clearly hers. Mr. Laurence Eyre, who wrote "Miss Nelly of N'Orleans," and other successful plays, made a good try, and created an interesting character here, but as a play, "The Steam Roller" fizzles out in the end.

The beautiful, smiling, vivacious—albeit rather plump—Janet—is cast in the role of Amelia Dill, benevolent tyrant of the Dill household and of the Village of West Chester, Pa. She is a leader in community thought—she tells you so herself—and bears down all opposition by her powerful personality. Years ago there had been a William Trimble, whom she had loved. So had her sister, Dorcas (Olive Wyndham). But William had disappeared, and had left two women in mourning. Amelia, the dominating, got William's old father to take her into the house, and when he was gathered to his fathers, he left the old mansion in her charge as co-guardian and legatee and executor and several other things.

There is Roger, William's nephew. There is Kate, Amelia's secretary. There is Dora, whom Amelia had picked as a bride for Roger—although Roger looks with favor upon Kate. And finally, there is William, who comes back to claim his bride, Dorcas. But Amelia wants him herself and produces documents to prove that he had wanted her in the long ago. They are forgeries, and here we begin to see how clumsy the play is; for instead of being a self-deluded woman with visions of grandeur, Amelia reveals herself as a plain villain.

Here is the main weakness of the play. As Miss Beecher revealed the character of the magnificent Amelia, the audience sat up and got ready to cheer a superb piece of character delineation. But as soon as it was seen that she was a conscious fake, a snoop, spying, lying, intriguing wretch, the audience began to lose interest. And there the play ended—except that as a perfunctory matter of form, William tamed Amelia, made her get out of the country to a Chinese mission in Shanghai, married Dorcas and made the mighty one allow Kate and Roger to marry. The cast is excellent. Special mention should be given to Bruce McRae, as William, Lillian Brennard as the snoop, cook, Zella Tiden as Dorcas, the flapper neighbor, in addition to Miss Beecher and Miss Wyndham. Some of the lines are excellent, and the audience had many good laughs.
W. M. F.



HELEN MacKELLAR

will play the leading role in "The Desert Flower," a new play by Don Mullaly, (author of "Conscience"), which opens Monday, at the Longacre Theatre.

Jimmy Hussey in "Izzy,"
at Bronx Opera House

"Izzy," which comes to the Bronx Opera House Monday, from its run at the 39th Street Theatre, is a comedy by Mrs. Trimble Bradley and George Broadhurst, based on the famous "Izzy Iskovitch" stories of George Randolph Chester and Lillian Chester. Jimmy Hussey plays the title role. Others in the cast include Isabelle Lowe, Helene MacKaye, Ralph Locke, Robert Leonard and Ben Taggart.

"Lazybones," direct from the Vanderbilt Theatre, will be the next attraction.

Vaudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY
B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will have the first New York showing of "The Midnight Express," with a cast that includes Elaine Hammerstein, William Haines and George Nichols.
The vaudeville will include the Dillon and Parker Revue, the Griffen Twins, Fenton and Fields, Robinson and Pierce, Stanley and Dormon and other acts.

HIPPODROME

The Royal Siamese Troupe, Donald Brian, Virginia O'Brien and Gita Rice, Mabel Ford and Company, Charles Kellogg, Lillian Lettzel, Lew Holtz, Gaston Palmer, Fred Galetti and Iola Kokin, Russell and Marconi, the Four Casting Stars and the Hippodrome ballet.

MUSIC

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

The programs by the New York Symphony Orchestra, Walter Damrosch conductor, November 20 and 21 at Carnegie Hall follow: Symphony No. 3 in F (Brahms), Concerto in D Minor for two violins (Bach), played by Paul Kochanski and Albert Spaulding, and "Poeme de l'Extase" (Scriabine). The program for the third Sunday afternoon at Aeolian Hall will have Renee Chemet, violinist, in the Concerto in F Minor (Lalo) and Lazar Saminsky who will conduct the final scene from his ballet "Lament of Rachel," for female chorus and orchestra. The orchestral numbers are "Jupiter" symphony (Mozart), and septet for trumpet, piano and strings (Saint-Saens) with Vladimir Drucker and Walter Damrosch playing the individual instruments.

PHILHARMONIC

Tchaikovsky's "Pathetic" Symphony will begin the program the Philharmonic Orchestra tomorrow afternoon, conducted by Willem Van Hoogstraten at Carnegie Hall. The soloist will be Sigismund Stojowski, composer and teacher, who will play his own piano concerto. Beethoven's "Leonore" Overture No. 3, opens the program.
An unfamiliar symphony by Dvorak will be played by the Philharmonic Orchestra at Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening and Friday afternoon. This work is Dvorak's Second Symphony in D Minor. Ravel's "Mother Goose" Suite and the Handel Concerto Grosso in D, complete the program.

STATE SYMPHONY

At the first of the Metropolitan Opera House concerts, to be given tomorrow afternoon, Josef Stransky has arranged a Bohemian program to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Smetana. The program: Three Symphonic Poems. Smetana—"From Bohemia's Fields and Groves," "Vyschrad," "Vltava"; "New World" Symphony, Dvorak.

Music Notes

On Friday evening, November 14, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Herman Epstein is beginning a course entitled, "With the Great Composers," in the Rand School Auditorium. The course will include a sketch of the lives of a number of the great composers of modern times, showing how their works reflect their personal history as well as the spirit of their times. The lectures will be illustrated at the piano, and in some instances the evening will be devoted to a concert for violin, cello and piano, presenting works of Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Schumann, with an explanatory talk. The subject of the closing lecture will be "Music of Our Day, and What Next?"

Herbert Dittler will give a violin recital at Aeolian Hall, Monday evening.

Alexander Brailowsky, the new Russian pianist, will make his debut at Aeolian Hall, Wednesday evening.

Thamar Karsavina, the latest of the Russian dancers to make her debut here, will make another appearance at the Manhattan Opera House, Monday evening.



KARSAVINA,

noted Russian dancer, will give her second dance recital, Monday night, at Manhattan Opera House.

"Der Rosenkavalier," with Jeritza, at Metropolitan

"Gloconda" will open the third week of the Metropolitan Opera season Monday evening with Easton and Gigli. Other operas of the week will be: "Boris Godunoff," Wednesday evening, with Chaliapin; "Aida," Thursday afternoon, with Rothberg and Martinelli; "Der Rosenkavalier," Thursday evening, with Jeritza and Errolle; "Tales of Hoffmann," Friday evening, with Bori and Fleta; "Faust," Saturday matinee, with Alda and Chaliapin; "Madame Butterfly," Saturday night, with Rothberg and Gigli; "Samson et Delila," will be given tomorrow night in concert form with Matzenauer and Oehman.

Music Notes

Alexander Brailowsky, the Russian pianist, will make his American debut at Aeolian Hall, Wednesday evening.

Walter McNally, baritone, a product of Dublin, makes his American debut at the Longacre Theatre, tomorrow night.

Leff Pouishnoff, pianist, will be heard for the first time in America in a recital in Aeolian Hall, Monday afternoon.

Dusolina Giannini will make her first New York appearance of the season on Monday afternoon, at the Waldorf-Astoria, for the benefit of the D. Y. N. T.

Ernest Davis, tenor, will be heard in recital on Tuesday evening, November 18, in Aeolian Hall.

Maximilian Kerbel, tenor, will give his recital this Saturday evening, at Town Hall.

Francis Rogers will present his song recital Sunday afternoon, at Town Hall.

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 MAN WITH THE HOE

By EDWIN MARKHAM

BOWED by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?
Is this the dream He dreamed Who shaped the suns
And marked their ways upon the ancient deep?
Down all the stretch to Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this—
More tongued with curse of the world's blind greed—
More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!
Slave to the wheel of labor, what to him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
What the long reaches of the peaks of song?
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;
Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;
Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned and disinherited,
Cries protest to the Judges of the World,
A protest that is also Prophecy.

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you gave to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched?
How will you ever straighten up this shape;
Touch it again with immortality;
Give back the upward looking and the light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
Make bright the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the Future reckon with this Man?
How answer his brute question in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings
With those who shaped him to the thing he is—
When this dumb Terror shall reply to God,
After the silence of the centuries?

LABOR SOLIDARITY ACROSS THE FRONTIERS

(Continued from Page 5)

would enable the oppressed workers automatically to fly back into anarchic freedom and happiness. To this end he was trying to control the International by a secret Brotherhood of his own followers. He was contemptuous of ordinary democratic forms, and in Switzerland had raised to a fine art the devices of Tammany bosses. He was a genius at packing meetings and forming faked branches to secure an extra vote. His attacks on the central body were steady and spiteful.

Marx and Engels certainly answered spite with spite. The language of both sides is sometimes nearly unprintable, and their assignment of motives is always scandalous. Marx had decided that Bakunin was a police spy, whose aim was to break up the International. He agreed that anarchy was the ultimate aim. "All Socialists," he wrote, "hold anarchy to mean this: Once the aim of the proletarian movement, the abolition of classes, is attained, then the State whose use is to hold the great majority of the producers beneath the yoke of a small exploiting minority, will disappear, and governmental functions become merely administrative functions. But Bakunin's organization reverses this. It proclaims anarchy in the ranks of the workers as the most infallible means of defeating the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. On this pretext it asks the International, at the moment when the old world seeks to crush it, to replace its organization by anarchy. The international police demands nothing better."

When the two forces met in a clash at the next conference, which was held at The Hague in 1872, the parties had become too far embittered for peace to be possible. No discussion of the effects of the Commune's defeat or of any of the problems before the workers took place. As the Commune refugees truly said, the Congress was "lower than can be imagined." A series of disgraceful episodes culminated in the expulsion of the chief Bakunin representative and the transference of the seat of the General Council to New York, the International was split in half, part following Bakunin, part Marx.

The rival halves for a short while held rival congresses, but after the extinction of the Spanish section of revolution of 1873, there could be no more doubt. The International dwindled as fast as it had grown, and the last conference (Philadelphia, 1876), recognized what had

happened, and formally dissolved the organization.

It was not two quarrelsome old men that killed the International. There were deeper causes than personal disputes, or even differences of principle. Both Marx and Bakunin were wrong in one thing—they believed the social revolution much nearer than it was. They were nearly fifty years out, and in that error lies the explanation of the fall of the First, and rise of the Second International.

Up till 1871 on the Continent, and up till 1850 in England, the course of working class history is a succession of conspiratorial disturbances. The Socialist movement—with which are still mingled republican and anti-Socialist movements—concentrates its attention on overthrowing capitalist domination. The last and most glorious of these attempts is the Paris Commune. Now, the failure of the Paris Commune proved two things. It proved, firstly, that the bourgeois State was a good deal stronger than was thought. The people of Paris could polish off Louis XVI in 1793, but the capitalist Republic of M. Thiers very nearly wiped out the people of Paris in 1871. Secondly, it proved that the capitalist system had unexpected reservoirs of vitality. Until then it looked as though European capitalism, operating in Europe in what we should call small workshops, had progressed as far as it could. But after the seventies, imperialism gave capitalism a new lease of life. Asia and Africa were seized on and great iron and steel factories sprang up, producing on a vast scale for a world market. The revolution was postponed fifty years.

So the workers had to change their tactics. They could not break their oppressors: they had to bow. They were forced to work within the framework of the existing national States. The National Labor or Socialist Party became the living unit, the Second International when it appeared was merely a machine for occasional consultation, a superior post-office. Within these parties the spirit of reformism began to grow, and Socialists began necessarily to concentrate on palliatives. But this period also had its end. Capitalist imperialism reached its appointed limit in 1914. The period of reformist Socialism ended in an appalling crash. Each national Socialist Party was forced suddenly in the years from 1915 to 1920, to face the forgotten question—"Are you for a workers' revolution, or not?"

So it is that we are nearer to the First International, in our spirit and difficulties, than we were, let us say in 1900.

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Saturday, November 15, 1924

HENRY CABOT LODGE

THE late Henry Cabot Lodge was a scholar in politics. A man of wealth and what is called breeding, a Harvard man, a law graduate and a Ph.D., he could have risen as high as he liked in university work, but he entered partisan politics by deliberate choice, and by deliberate choice he gave his fine mind and talents to petty party politics.

The sterility of conventional politics is nowhere better illustrated than in Mr. Lodge's political career. No guiding principles but the welfare of the Republican party animated him; and even as long ago as 1884, when he was at the height of his early fame as a scholarly historian, the darling white-haired lad of the bourgeoisie of which he was, such an ornament, he refused to join the best elements of his party in protest against the nomination of James G. Blaine, but supported him solely because it was his party duty. No principles in all his career; only loyalty to the hardest, most crass and feelingless political group in the history of our country.

The obituaries of Lodge recount his bitter quarrel with Woodrow Wilson. It was recalled in a number of newspaper accounts that in a campaign speech in 1916, Lodge declared that there had been a "postscript" to the first Lusitania note to the effect that the stiff language of the published note was not to be taken to mean that the difficulties between the United States and Germany could not be smoothed over by negotiation; that, by implication, the stiff language was only for public consumption at home.

President Wilson hotly denied the charge, and Lodge reluctantly withdrew because he could not very well publicly charge that the President was a liar. And yet, Lodge did have the correct story, according to David Lawrence, intimate of Wilson, in his biography published shortly after the War-President's death. Wilson's denial, said Lawrence, was "one of the most remarkable pieces of adroit fencing"—in other words, a lie clothed in words each one of which separately was the truth.

Partisan expediency made Lodge use the story, not a desire to enlighten the country. Partisan expediency made Wilson lie out of it. Partisan expediency, in fact, had a good deal to do with dragging the United States into the war in 1917, and through the years that followed the war. That party expediency was the highest statesmanship of the cultured, brilliant Dr. Lodge.

Lodge and Wilson were closer than most people imagine on the matter of reservations to the peace treaty and the League covenant, but party expediency made each stick to his position and refuse to compromise minor differences. The result being that the technical state of war continued, the terror of A. Mitchell Palmer was loosed, and the country was in chaos—because two men, personally bigger than their parties, refused to see beyond their noses and yield a hair's breadth in party expediency in the interest of their country.

Lodge was a brilliant man, an able man, a gifted man. But he gave himself so completely to a narrow, hard-boiled party, a party without vision, a party without meaning to the masses, that his career was a pitiful, pathetic failure.

He could have had a great career, but of his own choice he lowered himself to the level of his party and he will be so remembered—if he is remembered at all.

NATIONAL JUNKER WEEK

THE use of the harmless National Education Week by the militarists and other reactionaries of the country to work up hysteria and hate is, let us hope, the last flicker of the mob spirit that enslaved the country for years following the outbreak of the war.

It is significant, however, that the scene of action selected by the militarists is the field of education, the first to succumb and the last stand of mobilized hysteria. Children in schools cannot very well stand up in class and denounce their teachers for the poison they are feeding them, and usually teachers are too bulldozed and cowed to offer much resistance to such plans, even when they feel resentment against them.

Education should be free. Education should tend toward teaching children to think, not what to think. But it is unhappily true that education has been contaminated by every kind of propaganda, from senseless hatred of "Huns" and whatever other "enemy" the masters of the country arbitrarily select for their atten-

tion, to the wildest kind of prejudice against every element in the community looking toward a better world and a finer life for mankind. It is true that what goes by the name of education in this country has been used to mobilize the minds of children to think as the lowest, the most reactionary, elements want them to think.

The better elements in the community—not by any means the radicals—have revolted against the disgusting perversion of Education Week. Their protests have not yet reached into the schools. But the educational authorities have heard the protests, just as the Government heard the protests against Goose Step Day two months ago, and it is a safe guess that this is the last time the American Legion, the American Defense Society, the National Security League, William J. Burns, Martin W. Littleton, Clayton R. Lusk, and men and institutions of a similar type, will be considered by those who have charge of national thought as a type to pattern after. Which, after all, is a huge gain, following, as it does, the madness that began with the outbreak of the war.

ARMISTICE DAY—1924

SIX years after that wild, delirious day when the news came that the slaughter had ceased, the world is at last on the high road to peace and decency. But the change for the better has come only within the year just past.

On November 11, 1923, the world was in a sorry state. Misery and sorrow prevailed. The affairs of nations were in the hands of tired old men with no vision. Any moment a match might have set off a spark that would have blown up the world.

The irresponsible Poincaré was dictator of France, and was rattling the sabre in every one of his speeches. The French were in the Ruhr and the Germans were literally starving to death. The foreign affairs of Great Britain were in the hands of the insufferable Curzon, who was driving straight for world disaster. The military popinjay, Rivera, was undisputed dictator in Spain. The barbarian Mussolini was having his way in Italy. Hard-boiled and corrupt politicians had everything their own way in the United States. The outlook was dark. Reaction stalked everywhere, and no light appeared above the horizon.

Consider now the change. Poincaré makes no more Jingo speeches, while the French army marches out of the Ruhr and Germany is going to work. The Fascist murderers have shot their bolt and the end of their day of power is at hand. Revolt against Rivera is shaking Spain. Great Britain has had her day of rule by decadent-minded men, and even though the reactionaries are back in power, no one dared again give control of the foreign affairs of that nation to Curzon; and the shadow of the great work of Ramsay MacDonald will hover over the new regime and prevent the reactionaries from attempting to undo it. In Denmark and Sweden, new Governments rule pledged to a program of peace and disarmament. And even in the United States, while reaction seems to have won a victory, nevertheless it is chastened by the fire it went through last winter and spring; and with an army of 5,000,000 in a new party ready to do battle with it for control of the nation's affairs, where no such party existed a year ago.

Armistice Day, 1924, records the first tangible steps toward peace and freedom; the first advance toward the much advertised ideals that were used to drive the world into war.

But they have been advanced by the despised and persecuted Socialists—the "vaterlandslosen Gesellen," the "Fatherlandless rascals" who would not aid in the advancement of the bloody hell into which the world was plunged in 1914, but who alone can tie up the wounds of the world and make real in fact those ideals that were advanced and betrayed by the war-mongers and exploiters of all the world.

THE COMMUNIST FIASCO

WHILE full returns are not yet available and it is not known what vote was polled for William Z. Foster throughout the country on a straight Communist platform, enough figures are at hand to indicate that the campaign was a complete, absolute and humiliating fiasco.

It was planned to show that the Socialist Party was on the wrong track in its political methods and that the workers would follow correct leadership if that leadership were offered them. A straight Communist ticket was named and a Communist campaign planned. That campaign consisted almost entirely of criticism of the Socialist Party; no other tactics were possible because there is no reason for the existence of the Communist party other than the alleged derelictions of the party from which the Communists originally split.

There are the results: In New York City, 149,333 votes for President on the Socialist ticket; 5,336 on the Communist, after the most violent campaign of denunciation,

Here Is The Hour!

TOILERS, for what have ye toiled?
Not to be slaves as of old!
Tyrannies had to be foiled,
Slaves to be bought not for gold,
Prisons bereft of their bars,
Fetters be finally riven—
That your child might look on the stars:
Even for this have you striven.

Even for this, long ago,
Your father once strove for you,
Even for this time will show
Your child for his child strive too.

Yet in the struggle for power
Every new link of the chain
Has to be forged in its hour—
Here is the hour come again!

Make the near future secure!
See that the past is not spoiled!
If the old toil not endure,
Toilers, for what have ye toiled?

TOMFOOL.

mud-slinging and vituperation in Socialist history. Indicating that those voters who have been educated up to voting Socialist are satisfied with Socialist Party tactics and leadership.

In North Dakota, La Follette 89,180 and Foster 307. In Washington, La Follette 118,236, Foster 221. In the latter State there was violent and energetic Communist propaganda. In Congressional districts in New York where there was the most active campaigning, with "red nights" and oceans of literature, the vote was Socialist 11,000 to 200 Communist in one district and 6,000 to 200 in another.

The Communist movement was launched because certain elements then in the Socialist Party were convinced that the party was pursuing wrong tactics and would therefore not grow. They would show the proper tactics, they said. They created dimensions and splits and organized and reorganized again and again. They had the correct formula, they said. They knew the way the workers were thinking.

And this is the result of their labors—possibly 25,000 votes in the United States to 5,000,000 for the Presidential ticket of the Socialist Party.

The Communists weakened the Socialist Party; they drove out many party workers and discouraged many more by their savage attacks. They created dissensions that made people believe that the Socialist movement was hopelessly divided. They carried on a campaign of vituperation, lying and mud-slinging. And the result was pitiful, miserable failure.

The leaders of this movement, of course, will not admit the fiasco. They consider their microscopic vote a clear mandate to go on and continue their disruptive work. But will the rank and file continue to be fooled by their bombastic leaders? Or will they admit their mistake and rejoin the party they so light-heartedly set out to destroy five years ago?

The Socialist Party, in the face of almost insuperable difficulties, saw its duty and did it to the best of its ability. Its efforts were crowned with success; much of the La Follette vote was due to Socialist efforts. Time has proven the wisdom of the party's stand.

The time has come for the deluded, misled members of the various Communist groups to rejoin their own party, and to go to work for Socialism in the only organization that is working for Socialism.

A LESSON FROM IOWA

SO SENATOR BROOKHART was not defeated—at least on the face of the returns—and the Progressives have not lost his seat in the Senate. But his close shave, pulling through by 1,025 votes in a total of 900,000, is one of the most salutary lessons of the campaign.

Senator Brookhart is one of the reasons that the La Follette movement did not create a party in 1924. Brookhart is technically a Republican, and together with Senators Norris and Borah, Republicans, and a whole crop of Congressmen of both parties, was slated for support by the La Follette people in the campaign for re-election. When the Socialists urged the immediate formation of a party to make the La Follette movement more than a mere political insurgency, the reply was the plea that such action would either drive Brookhart, Norris, Huddleston, and the rest, out of the movement, or it would drive them out of the old party they technically belonged to and thus endanger their re-election. In either case, the cause of progressivism would lose those statesmen. A few legislators in the hand were worth more than a party in the future. That was the argument.

The Socialists were out-voted then, and the party was not formed when La Fol-

lette was nominated. Brookhart got his renomination, and it was expected that with the powerful La Follette movement behind him, and the fact that he was a technical Republican, his election would be a cinch.

Consider now the results: Iowa cast 524,881 votes for Coolidge, 270,809 for Senator La Follette and 153,588 for Mr. Davis, a total of 795,890 against 153,588; about sixteen per cent of the vote for the Democrat. Easy for Brookhart, wasn't it, to win with the backing of the 270,809 La Follette voters and the fact that he was on the ticket of Coolidge, with 524,881?

But it wasn't that easy. For Senator Brookhart got 447,539 to 446,505 for his Democratic opponent. That is, Mr. Steck polled 292,942 votes more than Mr. Davis, and Brookhart polled the full La Follette vote, plus only 176,721 Republican votes; that is, 348,160 Republican voters, two-thirds of the total, failed to vote for their own candidate! In other words, Brookhart's strategy in remaining in the G. O. P. didn't do much good. The enemies of the new movement, the enemies of the workers, can be as "non-partisan" as Mr. Gompers if they have to be, as is shown by this huge Republican defection from their own party to defeat the technical Republican.

Other Progressives were elected because they were Republicans first, Democrats first, and Progressives afterward. Brookhart tried a new tack, and the movement got its most salutary lesson. Let us hope it will be understood.

If the break had been made; if the Socialists had prevailed and a real party with candidates for all offices had been formed last summer, Borah, Huddleston, Norris, Bleasie, Heflin, Jacobstein, and the rest of the Republicans and Democrats who were endorsed, would not have been defeated anyhow; the failure to form a new party did not do James P. Boyle in Schenectady any good—he was given the regular Democratic vote, and 565 additions as a Progressive, and he was badly beaten. And if the party had been formed, it would now have had a legal standing, in every State, and it would be in an infinitely better position today to work for the future than it can possibly be for the next few years.

We rejoice in Senator Brookhart's re-election, but we hope that the lesson of his close shave will not be lost on the national leaders of the new movement.

Sad news from the front. Authentic report of the election in New York from the Communist Daily Worker of Chicago: "Among the former Socialist office holders to be snowed under was Algernon Lee, who found himself on the wrong side of 1,000 when the votes were counted." Indeed, it was worse than that. Lee got exactly 1,000 votes "on the wrong side of 1,000" for Congress, Alderman, Senator, Governor, Dog Catcher and Prothonotary. As a matter of fact, Comrade Lee wasn't running for anything at all. Truth, you know, is a bourgeois virtue with which our Communist step-friends would not sully themselves.

The Post Office Department has raided a Hungarian Communist paper for "incitement to murder and assassination" for an article in which the embattled non-voters were urged "To arms! To arms! Proletarians, march to the elections!" "To demolish the idols you have raised yourselves. Plunge your weapons into the golden idols of capitalism. Bloody shall be the bayonet with the blood of Coolidge, Ebert, Herriot, Zankoff, Primo di Rivera, and Horthy." The spectacle of Communists in New York marching with bayonets to the polls to destroy idols in America, Germany, France, Spain and Hungary is nearly as funny as the Post Office Department charging that an attempt to destroy idols is incitement to assassination.

For thorough-going demagoguery, commend us to the speech-making generals. In competition with them, civilian demagogues are nowhere. Here comes Brigadier-General Drum, of the General Staff, with this impudent utterance: "In the name of your comrades who made the national sacrifice in the World War, we must condemn those who desire to brand them as enemies to humanity." The General knows very well that nobody has ever dreamed of branding the war victims as enemies of humanity. Those whom we do brand are the Big Drums and Brazen Trumpets, in and out of uniform, who urge other men to kill and be killed.

We have not the slightest objection to Secretary Wilbur scrapping the unfinished superdreadnought Washington. The more, the merrier. It does seem a little queer, though, that the ship must be sent to the bottom of the sea, instead of being broken up and her materials put to constructive uses. We take it that turning swords into plowshares and spears in pruning hooks is regarded in Washington as unbusiness-like and perhaps bolshevistic.

THE Chatter-Box

Columbian Anthology

Henry Cabot Lodge

You might have built since it was given to you
To build. Instead, you stood content, a guard
Before the portals of decay.
You made no pretense over your cold choice.
Therein, I honor you.
You were unflinching in your worship of the past,
Staunch in your right to arrogance,
Imperious with your thin kinship to a thin-tipped
Skinflint New England Plymouth Rock breed—
Speaking only to the Cabots,
Who in turn spoke only with God:
So it runs even now, in the stark alleys
Of cotton mill towns.
For all this, which were the most of you,
I have no love, and a great share of hate.
Thank God, you have lived more than your Book's span,

So that God and we have learned by now
How one man can live his full allotted term
And have all power to build and do well—
And do so much to destroy, and make hatred,
And do so little for God or man
In love and understanding.

As I honor you for your unworthiness to our years
Because it wore no mask—
Forgive me my irreverence to your clay,
since I have no
Mock tears for it.
Neither good nor evil shall be interred with it.
Good there never was—and the evil that you have encompassed
All the nameless tombs in Flanders cannot hold.

You might have builded, since to you was given
Great gifts for that. Instead, you held a spear
In guard before the portals of decay.

News Item

LAST OF THE "600" OF THE FAMOUS LIGHT BRIGADE VOTES FOR COOLIDGE

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa, Nov. 4.—Ellis Cutting, dying from paralysis, was brought to the voting booth on a stretcher and cast his vote for Coolidge and Dawes.

On this gem of news, G. B. L. Arner remarks, "Why not read this
'His but to not reason why,
His but to do and die. . . .'
"It certainly involved no exercise of the reasoning faculties to vote for Cal."

Election returns are not all yet in from our district where we endeavored to capture the Assemblyship, so we cannot announce our election nor concede our defeat. So far as we can gather from statistics, some 20,000 working men and women neglected to cast their ballot, or rather mark their crosses, under the Arm and Torch. By some queer trick of fate, it appears that they neglected our emblem altogether and voted under the eagle and star instead. After all the convincing arguments we gave them about the Co-operative Commonwealth and the Good Day to Come, we cannot for the world of us understand how they could fail to vote for us. Something's gone wrong, and until we overcome this dire spell that turns Socialist votes into votes for Tammany Hall and G. O. P. we shall refuse to concede our defeat. Somebody page Merlin the Wizard.

A Tenement

Heavy brooding fills the hall,
And tears are grained in every wall;
Records written by and clear
All who have been tenants here.

Dawn streaks in through broken pane
As workers go for daily gain;
One low rhythm of despair
Beats upon each creaking stair.

Blotted, scraggy women lag
To find relief in gossip's wag;
Children play with block and stick
Where dirt lies insolently thick.

Sunlight never sends a ray
But where its brightness turns to gray;
Yet, within this dark, stone doom,
Beauty holds court in a room.

Goody.

S. A. DE WITT.

Anatole France

As an

Internationalist

By Robert Dell

MANY that knew Anatole France only by his writings must feel that his death leaves a gap that can never be filled. How much more does one feel that when one knew him personally? When the news of his death, which I had been daily expecting and dreading, came at last, my thoughts were not of the great artist, the genius who as a writer of French equalled, if he did not surpass, Voltaire, but of the affectionate friend, the warm-hearted man, whose benevolent cynicism gave him an immense tolerance of human weakness and an intense sympathy with human suffering.

Genius is many-sided, and one might write about Anatole France from many points of view. The side of him that seems most appropriate to this place is his internationalism—perhaps it would be more accurate to say his cosmopolitanism, but I will use the more usual term. He was an internationalist first of all, before he was a Socialist or anything else, and perhaps one of the strongest motives that led him

to Socialism was the belief that, in his own words, "L'union des travailleurs fera la paix du monde" ("The unity of the workers will bring peace to the world").

There can be no doubt about the intensity of his internationalism, which he carried to its logical conclusion. Anatole France was anti-nationalist and anti-patriotic. That is evident from his books. No writer has exposed the follies of patriotism with such scathing irony. He used to say that patriotism was "the worst of all religions."

By patriotism he did not, of course, mean the natural attachment of a man to his native country or—even more reasonably—to his native village, but mystical patriotism—the cult of an abstraction, a "moral person," called England, or France, or Germany. He held that to sacrifice the lives of millions of young men to such an abstraction was even more stupid than wicked.

"La Patrie," he said once, "devours her

own children in order that they may not be deprived of a mother." More than once in his books he says that the only war that has any sense in it is a civil war, since in a civil war the combatants are fighting for some end that they believe to be to their own advantage and know what they are fighting about. In a war between nations the combatants never know what they are fighting about and, if they survive and have the victory, they get no advantage out of it.

People disposed to cry out against this heterodoxy may find, if they look back on history, that there is something in it. The wars that have produced the most satisfactory results have usually been civil wars.

Long before the Great War Anatole France had shown—in Les Opinions de Jérôme Cogniard, if I am not mistaken—that a "war for ideals" is worse than a war of conquest. If a Louis XVI goes to war to grab a particular piece of territory, he estimates the expenditure of money and

men that it is worth and, when the limit has been reached without the end being attained, he concludes that it is not worth while to go on. But, since no war can ever succeed in attaining an ideal, a war for ideals goes on to the bitter end, which may be the ruin of both sides. This seems to me self-evident. Few will deny that it would have been easier to end the last war if the respective Governments had not persuaded their peoples that it was a war for ideals. Nobody can deny that the ideals for which the war was supposed to be fought have not been attained.

It is true that a very few months, in 1915 Anatole France was untrue to his reasoned conviction—why should one blink the fact? Nobody admitted it more frankly than he, or more bitterly regretted it. Never shall I forget that afternoon at a Bachelier, in 1916, when, before a few intimate friends, he spoke of his lapse and said: "Je sais que j'ai été lâche." "I know that I was cowardly." I have never admired and loved him more than at that moment. In that noble confession was revealed the true greatness of his spirit.