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G. P.

George and Abe—Dirty Trick
on Davis—Dean Doty of De
Witt—Predestination and
Yiddish—Learn It or
Lump It.

By Paul Hanna

Betty is a plumpish woman of
fifty years, about two-thirds white
and the rest Negro. She was reared
in the South and is now the general
cleaner in a New York apartment
house. Last week she was explain-
ing to a lady tenant and the janitor
why a damaged fireplace could not
be fixed the next day.

"I went to see O'Brien about it,
missus, but seems him and his men
can't work tomorrow. Some kind
of a holiday, they says. I never
seen the like! If it ain't a Jew
holiday it's a Irish holiday every
time a body turns 'round."

"Why, Betty!" the lady tenant ex-
claimed. "Do you mean you don't
know what tomorrow is? You, of
all people!"

"Deed I don't know, missus. I
don't know nothin' much," she sud-
denly apologized. "Kin it be
George Washington's day, you sup-
pose?"

"Huh!" cried the janitor, "George
Washington's birthday's on Feb-
ruary 28. You ought to know
that!"

"Betty," the lady tenant persisted,
"did you never hear of Abraham
Lincoln, the man who freed your
people? Haven't you seen the public
statues of him, his hands resting on
the heads of little Negro children?
Tomorrow is his birthday, you
know."

Betty studied the hallway floor
with embarrassed eyes.

"Mebbe I heard of him, missus.
I don't know. I was raised down
South, missus. I don't know much."

Time has played a shabby trick
on Secretary of Labor Davis.

For years he has been piling wood
on the fire that was to purify Amer-
ica.

He wants to finger-print all aliens.
He wants to register aliens and
make them report to the police.

He has helped spread the doctrine
that freedom is imperilled by the
foreign-born.

That made a lot of patriots forget
that Mr. Davis is himself an im-
migrant. Perhaps it made Mr. Davis
forget it, too.

But the New York Federation of
Women's Clubs didn't forget. And
last week those devoted ladies
launched a demand that "no person
except a natural-born citizen of the
United States shall be eligible to
be a Justice of the Supreme Court,
a member of the Cabinet, or a
Speaker of the House of Represent-
atives."

Another saint crucified by the
people he was trying to save!

Every day the show gets funnier.
"D. D. D." (Dean Doty of De Witt)
pulled some great slapstick stuff
the other day. Radicalism in the
schools made him do it.

"I don't know what I'd do if I
had a son to educate," he cried. "I
dare say I'd send him to a private
school and get Calvin Coolidge to
teach him. But since Coolidge has
been flirting with Borah, I'm getting
suspicious of him."

And while the audience was still
groggily from that one "D. D. D."
knocked 'em for a row of totem
poles with this one:

"Radicalism has seeped into the
churches. I am a Presbyterian, but
I'll have to admit that my church
is as red as any of the rest."
Predestination!

When Jake Kabotchnik changed
his family name to Cabot, with the
consent of a Philadelphia court,
then "pure and simple" American-
ism might have known enough to
throw up the sponge.

It was true enough when the
Harvard boys sang it twenty years
ago, that in old Boston

"The Lowells speak only to Cabots
And the Cabots speak only to God."

But when the Philadelphia verdict
came through, college youths saw
the handwriting on the wall and re-
vised the ditty to read:

"The Lowells speak only to Cabots,
And the Cabots speak Yiddish, by
God!"

And Davis, Doty and the Fed-
erated Ladies must either learn it
or lump it!

For a century and a half this
country has been rolling along un-
der the banner of theoretical free-
dom, equality and so forth. Some
of our best people want to stop it
now, but we've gathered so much
momentum that they can't sock on
the brakes—not all at once.

New Jersey Town Builds Haven For Union Baiting Manufacturers

Organizers of Labor Are Run Out of Town, Is the Boast of Bosses

By Edward Levinson

Something new out of Jersey!

Viewed from its grimy railroad yard, South River, New
Jersey, is hardly the kind of town that would make you take
your eyes off your newspaper.

"Another factory town," is the thought provoked by a cur-
sory glance at its soot-blackened buildings, its muddy river.

Yet to dismiss it so would be
doing an injustice to South River's
proud Chamber of Commerce.

For South River, New Jersey,
means to have its name written in
sparkling letters in the annals of

the country as the nursery of "a
great idea."

South River knows its worth and,
like the up-and-coming American
town it is, it isn't ashamed to say so.
Witness an "ad" in the New York
Times and other leading journals
recently. This "ad" portrayed
South River as a very haven of a
place in which "to locate your fac-
tory."

"Wonderful factory sites," "fine
gas, water, sewage and electrical
service," "thirty miles from New
York City," "excellent rail service,"
"a progressive borough council with
its ears to the ground in the interest
of our manufacturers," and "one of
the few taxless boroughs in the
country." Thus runs the Chamber
of Commerce hallelujahs.

But the great idea is none of
these.
Let Mr. W. A. Allfair, President
of the Chamber of Commerce, tell
it:

"This town has an abundance
of unorganized labor. There has
not been a strike of any charac-
ter within fifteen years. There is
no union here of any kind among
the laboring class of people, or
semi-skilled laborers."

Mr. Allfair grows expansive and
confidential when he thinks he is
talking to the correct kind of per-
son, a prospective factory owner in
the little town with the great idea.
One of his proudest boasts is the re-
markable cooperation that exists be-
tween troubled manufacturers and
the borough officials.

"There have been several in-
stances," according to the Chamber
of Commerce president, "in which
Labor agitators from different sec-
tions of the country have come in
here, but the Borough authorities
have taken the matter in hand, and
they have yet to make a foothold."

There was the time when Labor
organizers tried to organize needle
workers into a union. Of this Mr.
Allfair says:

"Sometime within the past year
or so, Labor agitators visited South
River to organize the needle indus-
try in a union organization."

The ears of the ever-alert police
department were to the ground,
however:

"The authorities were advised
that these leaders were in town by
the Chamber of Commerce, and the
result was that the Chief of Police
notified the people who had come
here from New York to organize
this movement that they would be
allowed thirty minutes in which to
leave town," President Allfair de-
clared. After a pause in which to
permit the efficiency of this situa-
tion to win its due appreciation, he
added:

"And they left immediately."

Some time ago union organizers
in brick plants across the river
threatened to ruffle the smooth in-
dustrial waters of South River.

"Two years ago," Mr. Allfair says,
"one of our large brick plants across
the river from South River, at
Sayreville, was disturbed by Labor
leaders from New York who at-
tempted to form Labor unions
among the brick makers."

"The result was that the Borough
authorities, with the Chamber of
Commerce, took a leading part in
the matter, and the strike was
beaten, and the Sayre and Fisher
Company are today operating as an
open shop."

Cap Makers
For Labor Party

The United Cloth Hat and Cap
Makers' Union will be represented
at the Chicago conference by Sec-
retary Max Zuckerman, General
Board Member Percy Ginsburg,
and J. Lisitsky, secretary of Local
47. They have been instructed by
their General Executive Board to
work for a Labor party in accor-
dance with the spirit of the resolu-
tion adopted by the last convention
of the International.

HAND OF FASCIST IN TRESCA TRIAL REVEALED

U. S. District Attorney's
Office Admits Prince Cae-
tani Instituted Proceed-
ings—Sentence Is Com-
muted.

With President Coolidge's com-
mutation of Carlo Tresca's prison
term to four months, there came
this week the first official admission
of Fascist influence behind the
prosecution and conviction of the
well-known Italian radical.

The indictment against Tresca
was based on a complaint made
to the District Attorney's office
by Gelasio Caetani, Ambassador
of the Fascist Government here
at the time of the trial, it was
admitted by Assistant U. S. Dis-
trict Attorney Maxwell S. Mat-
tuck.

Caetani, who has since returned
to Italy, complained to the U. S.
authorities against an article in
Tresca's paper, *Il Martello*, headed
"Down With the Monarchy." When
the case came to trial, however, he
was convicted on a count which al-
leged his magazine had carried an
advertisement of a book on birth
control in violation of the Post Of-
fice laws. The "ad" in question did
not appear in *Il Martello* until a
month after Tresca's arrest.

Tresca's original sentence was
for a term of a year and a day.
The added day left him subject to
deportation upon his release from
the Atlanta Penitentiary, where he
is incarcerated at present. The re-
duction of the term makes it im-
possible to deport him.

FRENCH BANKERS TURN TRAITORS

PARIS—French millionaires are
giving a great demonstration of
"patriotism" this week. To save
themselves from money loss they
have shipped out of the country no
less than 200,000,000 francs, it is
estimated, during the past thirty
days.

This furious panic among finan-
ciers has driven French money to
new low levels in foreign exchange,
and is in curious contrast with the
bourgeois doctrine that a nation's
currency is its life-blood, and that
whoever does anything to damage
it is a traitor.

When the franc fell three months
ago it was attributed to a "German
plot" and the Government borrowed
\$100,000,000 from Morgan & Co.
to save France from destruction.
Today, however, we are told that
the French financiers are justified
in shipping their wealth abroad to
escape heavy taxes and a possible
capital levy by the Herriot ministry.
Side by side with the implied
confession that the Government is
hopelessly bankrupt, the millionaire
politician, Louis Loucheur, urges
that now is the time to float a new
French loan of \$200,000,000 in the
United States.

Recount Order In Porto Rico Ignored By Attorney General

SAN JUAN, P. R.—Amazement and indignation has been caused
throughout the ranks of Labor in Porto Rico by the action of the Island
Attorney General in resisting an order from the courts calling for a
recount of the ballots cast in the Fajardo and Yauco districts.

In an effort to find out if the
Washington Government supports
this defiance of the Porto Rican
court, Bolivar Pagan, a member of
the Insular Censoring Board, has
cabled a protest to President Cool-
idge in which he states:

"In spite of a judgment and a
peremptory order issued by the Dis-
trict Court of San Juan calling for a
recount of ballots in the municipali-
ties of Fajardo and Yauco, to ascer-
tain the extent of election frauds
committed there, the Attorney Gen-
eral opposes such action."

Election frauds committed by the
reactionary forces all over the
Island last November constitute a

Socialist, Progressive Conventions Consider Forming A New Party

CHICAGO.—This is the program of the most important
week-end in many years of Labor and Socialist activity:

Friday—

1. The national committee of
the Conference for Progress-
ive Political Action will
meet. At this meeting
recommendations will be
framed as to a new party,
which will very likely be
the final decision of the
convention.
2. The standard railroad
unions of the country, in-
cluding the Brotherhoods
and the rail unions in the
A. F. of L., will convene to
frame their stand on the
question of a new party.
3. The national committee of
the women's section of the
C. P. P. A. will also con-
sider their possible rela-
tions to a new party.

Saturday—

1. The convention of the Con-
ference for Progressive Pol-
itical Action will convene,
attended by more than 500
delegates representing every
section of the Labor, So-
cialist, and Progressive
movement.
2. The eleventh national con-
vention of the Socialist Party
will convene. About sev-
enty-five delegates are ex-
pected. The convention
will be opened by National
Chairman Eugene V. Debs.

Sunday—

1. The C. P. P. A. will con-
tinue in session to act on
the question of a third
party, and, failing the or-
ganization of a new party,
draw its plans for future
action.
2. The convention of the So-
cialist Party will consider
and pass upon the results
of the C. P. P. A. con-
vention.
3. During the afternoon, the
Socialist Party will stage a
huge mass meeting and
demonstration in Ashland
Auditorium. Eugene V.
Debs and other prominent
Socialist leaders will report
on and discuss the results
of the two conventions.

Hillquit and
Onal From N. Y.

Morris Hillquit and James Onal
are here representing the New York
Socialist Party. In the Socialist
Party convention, Hillquit represents
the Boroughs of New York and the
Bronx, while Onal was elected to
represent the remainder of the State.
Julius Gerber is an alternate for
Comrade Hillquit, and Mrs. Theresa
B. Wiley an alternate for Comrade
Onal.

Pursuant to the expressed senti-
(Continued on page 2)

LEAGUE FIGHTS VIENNA LABOR

Gradual Strangulation of
City Is Price for Loyalty
to Socialism.

VIENNA.—Prejudice, coercion and
gradual strangulation by the League
of Nations is the price Austria is be-
ing forced to pay for loyalty to the
Socialist Party in this city.

Socialist sentiment, strong through-
out the country, is absolutely domi-
nant in the capital city, where the
party controls the municipal offices
and has imposed heavy taxes upon
the profiteers for the benefit of the
working class.

In spite of heavy outlays for the
building of model tenements and
other measures of working-class re-
lief, the Socialist administration has
accumulated a surplus of some \$20-
000,000 in the public treasury. And
whereas the conquering Allies robbed
Vienna of nearly all its surrounding
territory and left it at the mercy of
foreign charity, the present unfore-
seen situation is that the masses in
Vienna under Socialist control find
themselves better off than the rural
provinces are with the "right" par-
ties in control, backed by the League
of Nations.

Pressure being exerted by the
League is to make the Vienna Social-
ist administration turn over to the
National Government (controlled by
conservatives) a larger share of the
taxes collected in Vienna. The effect
of this change would be, first, to
cripple the working-class relief pro-
gram in Vienna, and second, to give
the League financiers a better chance
to exploit the nation's resources and
control its policies.

'Proof of this coercive policy is
seen in the fact that while Socialist
Austria and reactionary Hungary re-
cently submitted almost identical
plans for relief to the League of Na-
tions, the Hungarian plea has been
granted and the Austrian plea turned
down. In this way plain notice is
served upon Austria that the screws
will be tightened until Vienna stops
voting the Socialist ticket.

WAR RUMOR BASED ON BRITISH WOOL BUYING

WELLINGTON, N. Z.—Rumors
of an approaching war in Europe
and Asia have appeared in New
Zealand during the past few
months. Reports of coming con-
flict are based upon the action of
British Government agents in se-
cretly buying up the entire output
of wool in this country.

Active wool buying by the Im-
perial Government, it is recalled
here, has usually preceded a mili-
tary undertaking on a large scale,
calling for an extraordinary num-
ber of uniforms.

Local military men who pretend
to know say that the next center
of war will be in Asia Minor,
where British and French interests
are already in severe conflict, with
oil territory, protection of the Suez
Canal, and the Russian push to-
ward India deeply involved.

In this connection, attention is
called to the threatening mobil-
ization by Turkey and Greece, with
France and England disarming
their hands and purposes behind
the first named Governments. Old
army men hold the view that a
new war in Asia Minor, once be-
gun, will not terminate before a
half dozen large powers, including
Russia and Japan, have become in-
volved and a prolonged struggle
waged for the domination of Asia.

CONVENTIONS ON IN CHICAGO

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of the Socialist locals, Hillquit and O'Neal were also to represent the New York Socialist organization at the C. P. P. A. convention. Inasmuch as Hillquit is one of the delegates of the National Socialist Party to the C. P. P. A. the New York State Executive Committee has substituted Hillquit's alternate, Comrade Gerber, to represent, with Comrade O'Neal, the Socialists of New York State at the C. P. P. A. convention.

Schenectady Sends Herbert Merrill

Herbert Merrill, State Secretary of the New York Socialists and an ex-officio delegate to the Socialist Party convention, is here to represent the Schenectady Trades Assembly at the C. P. P. A. convention.

Fred Sanders has been elected to represent a Syracuse cooperative at the C. P. P. A. convention. Ray Newkirk will sit in that convention as a delegate of the La Follette-Wheeler Club of Utica.

Buffalo Sends Dr. Nathanson

The Progressive party of Erie County unanimously voted to send a delegate to the Chicago Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The delegate is the chairman of the party, Dr. John Nathanson. Dr. Nathanson was a delegate to the Cleveland C. P. P. A. convention and also to the Albany C. P. P. A. convention last August. During the campaign he was chairman of the speakers' committee of the La Follette campaign in Erie County. While not a Socialist nor a member at any time of any radical group, Dr. Nathanson spoke at Socialist soap-box meetings in Buffalo during the campaign. He is wholeheartedly in favor of a real independent party to represent the producing elements in America.

Martin B. Heisler has been elected by a farmers' organization at Alden, New York, as a delegate to the Chicago C. P. P. A. convention.

Reading For A Labor Party

The Socialists of Reading are willing to affiliate with a third party movement providing it is a real Labor party, according to a decision reached at the last regular meeting of Local No. 1. The secretary was instructed to send a telegram to the C. P. P. A. Conference urging the creation of a nation-wide Labor party.

READ IT IN THE NEW LEADER Begin It Next Week!

By the Author of "The Jungle":
"MAMMONART"
An Essay in (Economic) Interpretation
By Upton Sinclair

"Mammonart" studies the artists from a point of view entirely new; asking how they get their living, and what they do for it; turning their pockets inside out, seeing what is in them and where it comes from.

"Mammonart" puts to painters, sculptors, poets, novelists, dramatists and composers the question already put to priests and preachers, editors and journalists, college presidents and professors, school superintendents and teachers: WHO OWNS YOU, AND WHY? "Mammonart" examines Art and Literature as instruments of propaganda and repression, employed by ruling classes of the community; as weapons of attack, employed by new classes rising into power.

"Mammonart" challenges the great ones now honored by critical authority, and asks to what extent they are servants of ruling-class prestige and instruments of ruling-class safety.

"Mammonart" asserts that mankind is today under the spell of utterly false conceptions of what Art is and should be; of utterly vicious and perverted standards of beauty and dignity in all the arts.

"Mammonart" is a history of culture, and also a battle-cry.

The New Leader has arranged for serial publication of this most remarkable of all Upton Sinclair's great works. We will begin publication next week. The only way to insure against missing any of these searching articles is to become a regular subscriber to The New Leader. We cannot guarantee to supply back numbers.

Subscribe now to The New Leader, and begin

"MAMMONART"
By Upton Sinclair
IN OUR NEXT ISSUE.

News Ticker Talk— A Weekly Digest

The world is getting better all the time, said Elihu Root on his eightieth birthday. To prove it, he says elections are far more honest now than they were when he was active in politics.

Treaty signed between Japanese Empire and Soviet Russia provides for a big naval base at Vladivostok

and combined effort by Russia, Japan and China to oust America, England and France from the Orient, according to rumors current in Berlin.

Mother Goose rhymes are a menace to morals, an instigator of drunkenness and a teacher of bad manners, in the opinion of Winifred Sackville Stoner, natural education expert. "Little Jack Horner" ate with his fingers, "Rock-a-bye, Baby," scares children, and "Old King Cole" was a sot, she declares. The lady has written some jingles which are better than Mother Goose, she thinks.

"Big Bill" Haywood turned up in a news dispatch from Chicago which said he was reported back in the United States and preparing to do his time at Leavenworth. Rumor denied two days later by a cable from Moscow, which says Haywood is lecturing to raise money from Russians to help working-class prisoners in other countries!

Fear of a filibuster by insurgents that would smother the Muscle Shoals grab and other legislation is voiced by Republican leaders at Washington. Senate rules make it possible for the filibuster to strangle all bills except regular appropriations, in the rush before Congress dies on March 4.

"The United States never fought a war of defence," Carrie Chapman Catt told a Palm Beach audience. "We started the American Revolution. The Spanish-American War was started ostensibly to give liberty to an oppressed people, but after the war millions of acres of sugar lands had passed into American hands. People who agree that individual killing is a crime are taught by propaganda that collective killing is a noble thing. Patriotism formerly meant love of country; now it means constant preparation for war. A pacifist used to be a person who believed in peace; now he is a 'traitor' who would join hands with Communists and overthrow the Government."

Ku Klux Klan makes formal application at Toronto for permission to make the Dominion of Canada "one hundred per cent American" by ridding the country of Negroes, Catholics, Jews and foreigners.

Highly sexed stage performances on Broadway provoke outburst by reformers and cause talk of police or other censorship to correct the alleged abuse. Situation is highly complicated by the fact that big theatrical magnates make heavy contributions to both Republican and Democratic campaign funds and are therefore immune from ordinary prosecution by the Tammany city government or the G. O. P. State Assembly.

Floyd Collins found dead in Kentucky cave by rescue crew which had labored eighteen days to reach and free him from heavy rock which held his leg in merciless vice.

Lauri Relander, candidate of the Agrarian party, is elected President

Minn. Farmer-Labor Party Calls Conference on Unity; Communist Party is Barred

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Thanks to their blundering activities, the Communists have lost practically the few remaining friends they had in Minnesota. With the expulsion of two from the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly that body has been reorganized on a basis to include all of Hennepin County. A significant change has also been made in the obligation taken by delegates. It is so worded that it excludes those who advocate violence to accomplish political or economic changes. It is directly aimed at the Workers' (Communist) party, a few members of which often kept the central body in a turmoil.

The call for the unity conference to meet in St. Paul on March 20 has been sent out, and having been excluded from this convention the Communists are now trying to create dissensions. They charge that the trade unions will be excluded from representation and that the conference will dissolve the Farmer-Labor Federation. These charges are baseless considering that the call just issued for the conference provides for the election of delegates by county conventions in which the trade unions will be represented. The Farmer-Labor Federation is mentioned in the call and its Labor sections include the trade unions.

On the other hand, the call states specifically that "in accordance with a resolution unanimously passed at the conference, January 17, which authorized this committee's action, no members of the Workers' (Communist) party will be admitted to this unity conference on March 20."

The standing of Communists in the Ramsey County Division (St. Paul) of the Farmer-Labor Federation also came to a head at its first "legal" convention recently.

The lines were quite clearly drawn at the meeting. It was the occasion for the election of officers and the adoption of a plan of organization and education. The main point at issue was the attitude towards members of the Workers' (Communist) party. This does not mean that the delegates were divided on the question of those that were Communists and those that were not, but rather on the question whether members of the Workers' (Communist) party should be permitted to hold office in the federation.

A few sincere members in Ramsey County still believe in Communist professions of cooperation. Fred Tillquist was elected chairman, A. R. Lewis, vice-chairman, and Fred Seigel, treasurer. These were all put forward by the anti-Communist side. Otto Wangerin, a Communist, slipped through as secretary. He introduced a resolution passed by a small majority in the executive committee condemning the unity conference to be held March 20. Another active Com-

munist supported him, although both are barred by the terms of the call for the March conference.

The Communists could not carry their resolution although they prolonged the discussion to a late hour that the matter was tabled to be taken up at another meeting. In dragging out the discussion to a late hour in the hope of tiring out the members these two men followed a procedure which Communists have followed in other parts of the country.

Meanwhile, William Mahoney, as editor of the Union Advocate, has adopted a unique policy in letting the Communists place their real intentions before the workers of Minnesota. Recently he printed an article of a Minnesota Communist which appeared in the Chicago organ of the Communists in which the writer frankly outlined certain intrigues and "maneuvers" to capture the Farmer-Labor movement. Another article by Earl R. Browder in the same organ charging Mahoney with being an "agent of Minnesota bankers" was given a prominent display in the Union Advocate with an appropriate introduction by Mahoney.

Editor Mahoney, once an ardent advocate of cooperation with the Communists, is also using his editorial columns to point out the impossibility of such cooperation. In the issue of Feb. 5 he said:

"Developments in the economic and political movement of the farmers and workers of Minnesota during the past six months have fully disclosed the intrigues and schemes of the organized Communists. Like the wolf in sheep's clothes, they have hitherto affected innocence and earnestness, and have thereby won the tolerance and confidence of many of the members of the Farmer-Labor movement."

"Only in a crisis have they shown their teeth, but recently a quarrel amongst themselves has caused a lot of howling in the pack and exposed their real nature. In their accusations against one another they confess their plot to capture the Farmer-Labor movement and pervert it from its well defined purposes and practices."

Meantime the news has reached Minnesota that the Italian Communists in New York have been compelled to give up their daily paper, which indicates a marked decline of interest among Italian workers. In the English-speaking field, observers of the movement have also noticed that the Communists have had to combine three monthlies into one. These are the Labor Herald, the Liberator, and the Soviet Russia Pictorial. With their desperate effort to collect sufficient funds to maintain their daily organ in Chicago, this decline in their press convinces many that the whole Communist movement is slowly being liquidated. It is certainly being completely isolated in Minnesota.

Filipino Independence Meeting Monday

Complete independence for the Philippine Islands will be urged at a mass meeting in Cooper Union next Monday evening, the 23rd.

United States Senator King, of Utah, and Bishop Paul Jones, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, will head the list of speakers.

The forthcoming demonstration will be part of a widespread cam-

aign under way by the Fellowship of Reconciliation to remind the American people of the pledge given by Congress to free the Philippines, and to hasten the promised liberation of the islands.

"The Fellowship's activity," Bishop Jones explains, "is strictly non-political. It aims at immediate and unconditional freedom for the Filipinos, by creating a nation-wide public opinion which shall redeem the assurance of independence we have given to that people."

Other speakers who have agreed to address the Cooper Union meeting include Pedro Guevara, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines; Congressman F. A. LaGuardia, of New York, and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of The Crisis. Norman Thomas will preside.

A feature of the occasion will be the singing of folk songs by visiting Filipinos.

In support of the demand for Philippine freedom a cooperating committee has been formed which includes Glenn Frank, Don C. Seitz, John Haynes Holmes, B. W. Huebsch, Oswald Garrison Villard, L. Hollingsworth Wood, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Helen Phelps Stokes, Lewis Gannett, Abraham Lefkowitz, Devere Allen, and James Weldon Johnson.

Members of Congress, in both houses, will increase their own salaries from \$7,500 to \$10,000 a year by the terms of a resolution which the Senate has approved. The same measure would boost the pay of the Vice-President, Speaker of the House and Cabinet members from \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year. This action coincides with announcement by Treasury Department that the national debt upon which the masses now pay interest is more than \$20,000,000,000.

No immediate recognition of Soviet Russia by this country will follow the retirement of Secretary of State Hughes, President Coolidge told the newspapermen. Russia must first "agree to recognize property rights and several other conditions laid down by the State Department," he said.

Count Michael Karolyi, democrat and foe of the Horthy dictatorship in Hungary, was permitted to visit his sick wife in America only after he gave a "voluntary" pledge not to discuss politics here, the State Department announces. His friends hold that Karolyi was forced to suspend the war against Horthy before the American consul would let him start for his wife's bedside in New York.

Lectures

The Community Forum
Park Avenue and 34th Street
Sunday, Feb. 22—8 P. M.
S. K. RATCLIFFE
"Britain in the Orient"

11 A. M.—The Community Church
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"Washington, Lincoln and the Future of American Democracy."

Special—10 A. M.
DR. HARVEY DEE BROWN
Opening Series of Lectures on
"Psychoanalysis and Religion"

The People's Institute COOPER UNION

Friday, February 20
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
(The Great Mass Movements of History)
"To What Extent Is Oppression a Cause of Social Revolt?"

Sunday, February 22
DR. EDW. HOWARD GRIGGS
"Washington, the First American"

Tuesday, February 24
DR. W. I. THOMAS
"The Formation of Racial and National Character"

Eight o'clock Admission Free
OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. & Second Av.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22
8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.
PROF. MARK MAY
"Facts and Fads in Psychology"
7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 339 East 14th Street
LEON B. LAND
"What Is a Consistent Christian?"

THE BUSHWICK FORUM

Ridgewood Mason Temple
BUSHWICK AND GATES, BROOKLYN
Sunday, February 22, at 3 P. M.

"Race Prejudice in America—Its Cause and Cure"

DR. LEON R. LAND
A Southerner, Minister of Unity Church, Brooklyn.

Admission Free
Sponsors of
League for Industrial Democracy
Brooklyn Chapter

RAND SCHOOL of Social Science

7 EAST 15TH ST., NEW YORK
Saturday, February 21st

MEYER LONDON
"RUSSIA"—1:30 p. m.

THEODORE SCHROEDER
"New Morals for Old"—3:30 p. m.

Course Beginning March 2nd
JOSEPH JABLONOWER
"The Drama of Social Conflict"

Six Lectures—\$2.50

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EUGENE V. DEBS HONORED BY VETERANS

Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion Makes Socialist Leader Honorary Member.

Following is a copy of a letter recently received by Comrade Debs from Marvin Gates Sperry, an old railroad man, now President of the Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion. Sperry was decorated by the British Government for gallantry under fire. Note that the organization is just what its name indicates, and that Sperry is not an official military pet of plutocracy.

Sperry knew President Wilson quiet well and had entree to the White House. He went one day in full uniform to President Wilson with fine courage "asking just one favor." Wilson greeted Sperry very kindly and asked:

"Well, Sperry, what is the one thing I can do for you?"

Sperry answered: "Let me go down to Atlanta and finish Gene Debs' term in the penitentiary."

Wilson blushed, wilted and apologetically explained that he could not do that. The friendship between the two men was ended because of Sperry's contempt for Wilson's cold-blooded treatment of the political prisoners.

Here is the letter to Debs, which was accompanied by a certificate of membership and lapel button:

"UNITY, EQUALITY, JUSTICE, PEACE"

National Headquarters, Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion

Washington, D. C.,
January 29, 1925.

Mr. Eugene V. Debs,

Terre Haute, Indiana.

My dear Mr. Debs:

I take pleasure in presenting to you an engraved honorary membership in the Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion, which has been unanimously voted by our National Executive Committee.

This action has been taken as some small measure of appreciation of the work you have done in the interest of the private soldiers and sailors, and all the people of the United States.

Only a very few prominent citizens of the United States are on the honorary membership roll of the Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion.

Klan and Other Mobs Piled Up a Big Score in January

Mob violence and legal persecutions in America furnished a long list of outrages during the first month of 1925. Some of the high spots of violence and injustice, as listed by the American Civil Liberties Union, follow:

Ku Klux and Other Mobs

TENNESSEE. Large rewards have been offered by the Nashville Chamber of Commerce and the Governor of the State for the arrest of the leaders of the mob of alleged Klansmen who took Sam Smith, a Negro boy, from a hospital bed on December 14 and lynched him. Smith was dying from wounds received in a fight with a garage-owner who accused him of stealing.

ALABAMA. Three Negroes, Geo. Ramsey, J. Morgan and W. Ross, were taken from their homes at Gadsden on Jan. 15 and flogged by a mob of unidentified men who charged them with violating the prohibition laws.

ILLINOIS. Herrin was again the scene of Klan warfare on Jan. 24 when four men, including S. Glenn Young, the Klan leader, were killed. State militia were called in to patrol the town.

KANSAS. The State Supreme Court on Jan. 10 issued a writ of ouster against the Ku Klux Klan, holding that the Klan in selling paraphernalia and supplies without a charter was doing business illegally.

PENNSYLVANIA. The trial of Ira Irving, Carnegie constable charged with inciting to riot in connection with the Klan outbreak in August, 1923, resulted in a hung jury on Jan. 21.

ARKANSAS. The last of the eighty-seven Negroes convicted in connection with the Elaine riots of 1919 were pardoned by Governor McRae on Jan. 1.

Criminal Cases

CALIFORNIA. The California Defense Committee reports that there are now eighty-eight men imprisoned in the State under the criminal syndicalism law, the smallest number at any time since the prosecutions began five years ago. There is no one awaiting trial under the law and no one has been arrested.

Whenever the Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion can serve you in any way, please be sure to call on us.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Marvin Gates Sperry,
National President,
Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion.

under it for the last five months. Last year at this time 104 men were in prison and forty-one were awaiting trial.

The Marine Transport Workers' Hall at San Francisco was raided by the police on Dec. 1. Pete Shupert, arrested at the time, was discharged by Judge Golden on Jan. 2.

ALABAMA. The thirteen seamen arrested during the raid on the hall of the Marine Transport Workers at Mobile in November were released on Jan. 7.

IDAHO. A. S. Embree, I. W. W. convicted under the State criminal syndicalism law in 1921, was paroled on Jan. 10 after having served four years of his one to fourteen years' sentence. He was the last of the I. W. W. prisoners in Idaho.

NEW YORK. Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello, entered the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta on Jan. 6, to serve a sentence of one year and one day for publication of a birth control advertisement in his paper. An application for pardon has been sent to the President.

Herbert Mahler, Wm. Moran, Pietro Nigra and Joseph Oates, I. W. W.'s convicted under the Espionage Act during the war and held for deportation, since their release from Leavenworth, were given pardons by President Coolidge the first week in January, in an effort to cancel the deportation orders.

MICHIGAN. Supreme Court Justice Brandeis on Jan. 22 granted a writ of supersedeas to C. E. Ruthenberg whose conviction under the Michigan criminal syndicalism law was recently upheld by the State Supreme Court.

VIRGIN ISLANDS. Rothschild Francis, editor of the Emancipator, was convicted of criminal libel on Jan. 10, and sentenced to thirty days in prison for the publication of an article denouncing an unnamed policeman for brutality. Francis was tried without jury by Judge Washington Williams, whom Francis has opposed politically. The case was appealed.

Civil Cases

WASHINGTON, D. C. The damage suit brought by Clarence Rosenberg against Police Lieutenant O'Day for false arrest during a raid on a Communist meeting in the Capital in 1923 resulted in a verdict for the defendant on Dec. 30.

A decline in interference with civil rights is reported by the Union during 1924 as compared with the two previous years. Fewer free speech prosecutions, police interferences with meetings and cases of mob violence have been reported than in any year since the beginning of the war. The Union accounts for this decline by three factors, the "growing tendency to control public opinion through propaganda; the absence of any serious industrial conflict, and the increased freedom of opinion usual in a Presidential campaign year."

In 1924, the report shows, there were 233 prosecutions involving freedom of speech or assembly by State and local authorities, as against 340 in 1923 and 846 in 1922; 41 cases of mob violence, as against 80 in 1923 and 225 in 1922; 28 meetings interfered with, as against 58 in 1923 and 28 in 1922; and 16 lynchings, as against 28 in 1923 and 61 in 1922. All of the 16 lynchings took place in Southern states, except one in Illinois. The victims were all Negroes.

More membership in the I. W. W. does not constitute a violation of the criminal syndicalist law of Oklahoma, according to a decision just handed down by the Criminal Court of Appeals reversing the conviction of Arthur Berg, an oil worker sentenced in 1923 to ten years in the State penitentiary solely for carrying on I. W. W. membership card. The decision releases Berg from prison, where he has been while the appeal was pending.

Panken and Johnson To Debate Immigration Here Wednesday Night

Great interest is being expressed on all sides in the coming debate Wednesday evening, Feb. 25, between Judge Jacob Panken and Representative Albert Johnson of Washington on the question, "Shall Immigration Be Rigidly Restricted?" The debate will take place at Town Hall, 113 West 43rd street, at 8:30 p.m. Judge Joseph M. Proskauer will act as chairman.

SYRACUSE.—The Progressive Committee of Onondaga County, favoring the formation of a national Progressive party, has suggested a program for such a party. The preamble states: "We advocate the return to the Democracy of the Declaration of Independence, to be achieved by (1) the accomplishment of industrial as well as political democracy; (2) the humanizing of industry; by (3) the preservation or use of the natural resources of America for the benefit of all Americans; and, in foreign policy, by (4) cooperation of all peoples for international peace. We believe that these ends can best be accomplished through a new and independent political party."

PROTEST GAG ON KAROLYI

State Department Exacted Promise From Hungarian Liberal Before Arrival Here.

The State Department's action in prohibiting Count Michael Karolyi, first President of the Hungarian Republic, from speaking or writing on political subjects while in this country, will be protested at a meeting to be held at the Hotel Astor on March 7, under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union, according to an announcement by the Union.

Count Karolyi arrived here on Jan. 8 to visit his wife who has been seriously ill with typhoid. She had come here last October 26 on a lecture tour to help earn money after the confiscation of the Karolyi estates by the Horthy regime in Hungary.

A statement issued by the Union characterized as "ridiculous" the State Department's assertion that Count Karolyi voluntarily pledged himself not to speak or write.

"Count Karolyi," the statement declared, "would hardly close his own mouth. He has specifically stated that those were the only conditions under which he could obtain a visa for the United States. No conditions were imposed in writing, but a verbal agreement was exacted by the American Consul in London on instructions from the State Department in Washington. The gag rule applied by the State Department prevents him from defending himself and his wife against attacks in the Hungarian press of this country. Count Karolyi has lived for two years without restrictions on his right to discuss political matters."

"In so far as the records show, this action of the State Department is unprecedented. There is no warrant either in law or policy for muzzleing the opponents of a foreign Government. This country has been an asylum for such people. Louis Kossuth, Count Karolyi's distinguished compatriot was received with open arms as an opponent of the Hungarian monarchy. We assume that the reversal in our policy is due to the financial relations between American bankers and the Hungarian Government, which would prompt the present State Department to heed the Hungarian Ambassador's protest against admitting Karolyi."

The meeting at the Astor Hotel will be in charge of a special committee and will be addressed by representative speakers. Rev. John Haynes Holmes will preside.

Conference of Teachers On Labor Education

KATONAH, N. Y.—Instructors in the various Labor colleges and workers' classes of the East will gather at their second annual conference at Brookwood Labor College the weekend of Washington's Birthday. Representatives including Dr. Harry Overstreet, Spencer Miller, Jr., Dr. W. H. L. Dana and others, from the Labor colleges of Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Boston and Philadelphia, and from institutions such as the Ladies' Garment Workers' classes, the Miners' Itinerant tutors' projects and the Workers' Education Bureau of America will be present. The report of the proceedings of the previous year has just been published. The conference was authorized by the last two conventions of the American Federation of Teachers. The general subject of the forthcoming conference is Mass Education for Workers.

Can Anybody Help?

The New Leader has received an appeal from a prisoner in one of the Federal prisons for a guitar. This prisoner is vouched for by a number of comrades in the Middle West. If any reader can grant this request, The New Leader will be glad to forward the instrument to the prisoner upon receipt of it.

SENATORS and MECHANICS

When we compare the discussions in the United States Senate in regard to the League of Nations with the consideration of a broken-down car in a roadside garage the contrast is shocking. The rural mechanic thinks scientifically; his only aim is to avail himself of his knowledge of the nature and workings of the car, with a view to making it run once more. The Senator, on the other hand, appears too often to have little idea of the nature and workings of nations, and he relies on rhetoric and appeals to vague fears and hopes or mere partisan animosity. . . . The Senator will . . . unblushingly appeal to policies of a century back, suitable, mayhap, in their day, but now become a warning rather than a guide. The garage man, on the contrary, takes his mechanism as he finds it, and does not allow any mystic respect for the earlier forms of the gas engine to interfere with the needed adjustments.

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will drive the impurities out of your system, will regulate your bowels and liver, will drive away the blues, and you will soon again be cheerful and happy.

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JUDGE JACOB PANKEN

REPRESENTATIVE ALBERT JOHNSON

"Shall Immigration Be Rigidly Restricted?"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25—8:30 P. M.

TOWN HALL, 113 West 43rd Street

PROF. SCOTT NEARING
ADMIRAL W. L. RODGERS

"Is Military Preparedness Necessary?"

Sunday, March 15 at 2:30 P. M.—TOWN HALL



A PAIR of TROUSERS TO ORDER FREE

Many men have the habit to postpone ordering their Easter suits up to the last minute.

To encourage early buyers, The MAJESTIC TAILORING CO. will make a pair of trousers to order free, with every suit you order now.

You select the materials you prefer, and we will make for you

A SUIT TO ORDER

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Superfine

and with each suit you order you get now a pair of trousers to order free. Every garment is made to your individual measure and is guaranteed for QUALITY, STYLE and FIT.

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Corner Orchard St.
2391 Seventh Ave.
bet. 139th & 140th Sts.

38 East 12th St.
bet. Bway & Univ. Pl.
98 Second Ave.
Near 6th St.
953 Southern Blvd.
Near 162nd St.

:-: A Program of Action for The Socialist Party :-:

By EUGENE V. DEBS

It may become my duty as chairman of the National Executive Board to lay certain matters relating to the Socialist Party before you and ask your cooperation in carrying out a program to relieve the party of the impediments which now fetter its activities, and to vastly increase its power and efficiency as the party of the disinherited and exploited in the great struggle now shaking the foundations of capitalist imperialism throughout the world.

The program is a simple one and can be readily carried out; it will have speedy and far-reaching results, and I shall be brief as possible in presenting it for your consideration.

The Socialist Party was exceedingly prosperous and making rapid headway when the Super-patriots and Profiteers of Capitalism started the international butchery to slaughter the race and depopulate the world.

Like a wall of granite stood the Socialist Party against the monstrous crime of the bloated masters against the oppressed and exploited people. That sealed its fate. Branded with treason as a hideous thing, it must be destroyed. And from that hour every device that capitalist malice could conceive was employed to kill the party and persecute its members. The weak, faint-hearted and "patriotic" deserted, but the loyal and unafraid stood their ground and saved the party.

No political party in the history of America was ever assailed as viciously, as brutally and as lawlessly, and misrepresented and slandered as shamelessly, as was the Socialist Party by the United States Government and its vile henchmen and mercenaries, official and unofficial, during the World War and the two years immediately following that damnable wicked and atrocious massacre.

Party's Colors Flying

To add to its trials and terrors the violent internal conflict broke out in the party itself, as the result of which the party was torn into warring factions and thousands of its members, demoralized and disgusted, deserted from the ranks.

And still the party lived and kept its colors flying! Reduced to almost a shadow of its former strength it held the fort against the assaults of the foe within and without, proving beyond cavil its unconquerable spirit and its indestructible power.

It was in this fierce struggle and the relentless persecution to which it was subjected that the party was financially bankrupted and overwhelmed with debt which has clung to it like a millstone and paralyzed its activities ever since.

Here let it be stated: First, that through the highly efficient and economical administration of the National Office the party debt has been scaled down to a trifle less than \$5,000.

Second, that after spending three days at the National Office and examining into its affairs I am convinced that there is not an office of any kind anywhere in which there is a more thorough, efficient, painstaking and conscientious discharge of its duties than there is in the National Office of the Socialist Party.

Bertha Hale White, our national secretary, George R. Kirkpatrick, in charge of the literature department, and their three assistants are not limited to the eight-hour day or to the week of six days; they are at their posts early and late and in the service of the party all the days of the week, because to them it is a service of duty, of love and consecration.

Third, that long since the decline in the party, membership and morale has ceased. The storm has now been weathered and the tempest-tossed Ship of Hope, its red banner streaming in the breeze above its battle-scarred decks, is once more pushing bravely toward its destined port.

Fourth, that never before in the nearly twenty-eight years of its existence has there been such an alluring field, such a promising situation, such a marvelous opportunity for the Socialist Party to take its place at the head and front as Labor's champion and the tribune of the people, where it rightly belongs, as there is today. All it needs is the material equipment to match its militant morale, and it will be done.

To Work At Once

Now it is this latter point that challenges me like a devouring flame.

Why stand we idle when we might be arousing the nation and moving the world? Is there any excuse for such supineness and impotency? I know of none.

So let us to work at once and together! And with wholehearted energy and determination that brook no delay and laugh at defeat. Let us immediately provide the equipment, that our party may respond to the demand of the hour and do the work so imperatively needed to educate and organize the workers and prepare the people for industrial democracy and for permanent peace, freedom and happiness.

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee held at Washington in December last, I volunteered as chairman personally to take in hand the matter of ridding the party of the debt that weighed it down like an incubus and prevented its functioning as it should, provided I was so authorized by the committee. The authority was given by a unanimous vote and Comrade Morris Hillquit at once handed me a check for \$100 to start the ball rolling.

I made the statement to the committee and now repeat it that there was no excuse for our party standing still under a load of debt. I stated further that I knew there were from 200 to 500 members and friends of our party who could contribute at once from \$10 to \$100 each to pay off our debt and to put organizers in the field, and not miss a meal or a cigarette on account of it, and that I believed they would do it.

It is in that faith I now make the appeal to those who can to come to the front and contribute their share.

The Geneva Protocol and Disarmament

By LEON JOUHAUX

Vice-President, International Federation of Trade Unions

AFTER discussions which will live in the memory of all of us, the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations has adopted a Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This draft is at the present moment being submitted to the States which are members of the League. Under certain conditions, that is, if the draft should be signed by fifteen states, half of whom have seats on the Council, it will lead to a General Disarmament Conference.

The organization of peace and disarmament is the object of the Protocol, as also of the League of Nations itself, which was primarily formed in order to secure the establishment of permanent peace, and in order that universally recognized rules may govern the relations between the various nations.

The work was begun by the compilation of the pact which the Treaty of Peace conferred upon the League of Nations. This document is indeed the essential one, for it is this which forms the basis of the new international law, the world statutes which have been drawn up for the purpose of providing for the peaceful and orderly collaboration of the nations.

But this document by itself is not enough. It has gaps and it allows of possibilities of wars. It does not quite close the door to war; and again, the obligations which it imposes upon the signatory states are in many cases too general for strict application.

The League of Nations was therefore asked to work out a system which will define, and supplement, the guarantees contained in the pact. Hence the compilation in 1923 of a draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and the adoption, last September, of a draft Protocol on Arbitration, security and the reduction of armaments.

The Reduction of Armaments

The reduction of armaments is expressly provided for in the pact, which assigns to the League of Nations the task of carrying it into effect. This task is an indispensable one, and its necessity was recognized before the World War came to add terrible weight to the fears of those who had long denounced the armaments race. There can be no real and assured peace without such reduction in armaments, or until the peoples have been relieved of the intolerable burden of military preparations, the very weight of which is in itself a terrible threat of war.

But it must be recognized that disarmament is still confronted with many difficulties. Some of these are political, and these we must work hard to dissipate. Others are constitutional, and these are on the way to solution, for international organizations already exist whose business it is to see that conditions are such

Where Every Fourth Man Is a Socialist

There is one large town in the world where every fourth adult is a member of the Socialist Party. This is the inspiring result shown by the recent Divisional Conference of the Socialist Party in Vienna. The membership was 266,415 on June 1, 1924, and is already approaching 300,000. During the past year it increased by 67,300, or 33.8 per cent, the figures of the male membership going up by 26.3 per cent, whilst the women members more than doubled their numbers (55 per cent). Vienna is subdivided into 21 districts, the biggest numbering 27,000 and the smallest 2,000 party members. The Vienna party organization, in stating these figures, makes another appeal to the propagandists: "Every second Socialist voter has been won as a party member; let us win the others."

to free the party and set its feet upon the rock for action. Each contribution will be acknowledged in the columns of the Socialist World.

We can clean up this little job in just thirty days' time and I expect to see it done.

And once free from encumbrance I venture to propose:

A Program of Action

First, that we place as many competent speakers and organizers as possible in the field.

Second, that the coming national convention appoint a committee to cooperate with similar committees of the State of Illinois and the City of Chicago in arranging for a mass convention of the rank and file of

the party (every member in good standing being eligible, the red card to serve as credential—Saturday preferred), to be followed and crowned with a mass demonstration on the day following (Sunday) in Riverview or some other suitable park in the City of Chicago; a general invitation to be extended to all Socialists and their friends everywhere to be in attendance—to come from all directions, by rail, by boat, by aeroplane, automobile, motorcycle, bicycle, buggy, wagon, horseback and afoot, men, women and children!

"Come as the waves come when navies are stranded;

Come as the winds come when forests are rended,"

to join with heart and soul in the

enthusiasm and inspiration of the greatest Socialist demonstration ever held in America.

Third, that at our approaching convention a sinking fund be created for the purpose of securing at the earliest possible day a permanent home for the national headquarters of the party—preferably a spacious home residence with suitable grounds such as may be secured at a reasonable figure in any one of the many suburbs of Chicago. Scores of local Labor unions in Chicago own their own buildings in which to transact their business and there is no reason why our national organization should not be sheltered under its own roof instead of being lodged as a tenant and subject to the greed or whim of a capitalist landlord.

Fourth, that hand in hand with the matter of securing our own national headquarters we proceed to equip the same with a complete printing plant suited to our special purposes, so that we can print our own papers, books, pamphlets, leaflets, documents, and blank forms of all kinds for the National Office as well as for our party locals and the general trade.

A Call to Service

We shall not be able to measure up to our full stature and do our best until we have an official home of our own, a thoroughly equipped national headquarters, including an efficient printing plant, and are thus able to turn a steady stream of Socialist literature into every State, county, city, town, village, hamlet and cross-roads in the country.

Fifth, that the coming convention take measures at the earliest day

portant one, it imposed upon the Council the duty of intervening, not merely in case of war actually broke out but also in cases of political aggression or of disquieting preparations on the part of any State whatsoever.

The whole object of the endeavors of the Commissions of the League of Nations had been to make the treaty effective in the prevention of war. Hence the commissions would have endowed the Council with many new rights which if it was to use for this preventive purpose; it had the right to organize an economic blockade, to specify the forces which each State taking part should provide, to take steps to secure priority of the communications and transports necessary for operations, to lay plans for financial cooperation, etc. . . .

We have always held that the strength of the treaty was derived solely from the moral power engendered by a collective pledge of fifty-four nations to band themselves together to prevent war. Subsidiary agreements made between groups of states should only be the means of applying the universal treaty. They were only an outcome of the European situation, only an inevitable result of the possibilities of war which still existed among the Powers or groups of Powers. But they were only to come into force provided that war did actually break out in spite of all precautions. They were therefore put in as subsidiary operations, and the power to initiate them was conferred upon the Council to give it the necessary means to make its pressure felt and to prevent war from actually breaking out.

The criticism which regards the treaty of mutual assistance as dangerous to international peace is therefore greatly exaggerated. The treaty is in reality an important stage on the road towards European and world organization.

Its ultimate aim had been expressed both in its preamble and in several of its articles. The treaty had no other object than to secure the practical execution of Article 8 of the pact—the progressive reduction of national armaments. No one of the contracting parties could in point of fact demand the assistance of the co-signatories until it had reduced its armaments, in accordance with the scheme which the Council of the League of Nations was to draw up. It could not enjoy any of the rights conferred by the treaty except on these same conditions, and any State which signed the Treaty of Mutual Assistance solemnly pledged itself ipso facto to cooperate in the reduction of armaments which the Council should decide upon.

(To be Concluded Next Week)

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So this is the proposal and the tentative program, and if you are with us, if you really wish to see the Socialist Party take its place as the leader of the American movement in the triumphal march of the International Hosts of Liberation, send your contribution at once that we may wipe clean the slate of party debt, and fare forth anew, redeemed and glorified, on our conquering mission, making Socialism the thrilling, throbbing and inspiring shibboleth of the industrial and social revolution now sweeping over the earth and destined at last to emancipate the countless children of toil, humanize the race, and civilize the world.

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French Debts Again

By NORMAN THOMAS

THE biggest lesson in all this fuss about debts is the folly and danger of imagining that you can ever fight a war and pay for it later. You have to pay as you go in men and machinery.

All you do by loans is to lighten the burden of the better-to-do classes by letting them lend money which ought to be taken by taxation. These loans give them or their heirs a claim on the labor of men and women not even born at the time of the war. No wonder the French do not like the prospect of such payment. But if they repudiate their debt they merely transfer the load to the shoulders of American taxpayers who now pay the interest and will some time pay the principal on the Liberty Loan.

All of which goes to show that there is a good deal to be said on both sides. For the French, it must be said that they paid a terrific price in life and property during the war. For them to pay their debts in full might be a burden greater than they ought to bear, and for a nation, a former companion-in-arms, which by comparison seems rich and powerful and unscarred by the war to insist upon payment seems an ungracious act. Moreover, just as in the case of the German indemnity, to expect of the French and other allies to pay us in full with interest would hurt us rather than help us, because it would mean the dumping of great quantities of goods upon our markets.

On the American side of the question, not only is it true that if the French taxpayers pay nothing American taxpayers must pay all, but also that France received by our help and only by our help Alsace-Lorraine, and other territorial gains, to say nothing of reparations, incomparably more valuable to her than anything we got out of the war. Nor were our services a necessary payment of debt for the help the French gave us in our Revolution. On this point Senator Borah is entirely right. Again, it may be pointed out that perhaps one-fourth of the total loan to France was made after the Armistice, not for immediate war purposes, as the French and some Americans seem to believe, but for restoration and permanent improvements.

None of these points, however, seems to us so serious as the use the French Government has made of our generosity. While France has not paid us, she has spent money on her own military establishment and loans to her allies in an effort to be a kind of overlord of Europe. It is a dangerous business, hurtful to France and to the world's peace. The classes in France best able to pay taxes get off easier than in most European countries. If they had to begin to pay their country's debts some of their swollen ambitions might be restrained.

Finally, the average citizen cannot but suspect the justice of an arrangement by which France pays interest regularly on all her loans contracted through the international bankers, but lets American taxpayers pay interest on what our Government loaned. At the very least, a nation which cannot pay its debts to this Government ought not to be encouraged to go on borrowing great sums through private bankers for further military or imperialistic expenses.

This is plain speech, but it is not meant as unfriendly speech. The best way we can see out of the situation is a friendly conference on reparation, debts and disarmament. We could well afford to forgive all that is owed us if it would help the cause of peace.

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THE TRAGEDY OF RUSSIA

By JAMES ONEAL

THE position of modern Russia in the world's drama is now fairly fixed. It is the greatest tragedy in history. The revolution was sincerely welcomed by the masses all over the world with joy. Within sixty years after the abolition of serfdom Czarism collapsed in ruins. Even the rise of the Bolsheviks to power by an armed uprising did not chill this enthusiasm. It was regarded as a party quarrel, as in fact it was. The organized workers and Socialists of the world continued their sympathetic attitude, hoping that the quarrel would prove only a temporary one.

Then came the civil war and invasions by the imperial powers. Social Democrats and Mensheviks of all types, excepting possibly a handful of former leaders, suspended their criticism of the Soviet rulers. They entered the Soviet armies and fought against Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other generals of the old regime financed by the capitalist Governments of the West, including the United States. All of Russia's resources were poured into the war against the invaders. Essential production was curtailed. Disease followed in the wake of the invading armies. Villages were destroyed, peasants and workers were butchered. Famine followed.

Eventually the imperialist powers and their agents were beaten and Russia could turn to the task of binding up her wounds and resuming production. But gradually the Communists, confident of their own program, assumed more and more dictatorial powers over the masses. Non-Communist parties, at first tolerated, were gradually suppressed, driven underground, their leaders thrown into prison and thousands killed.

The Dictatorship

It soon became apparent that the boasted "dictatorship of the proletariat" was something entirely different. The peasants and workers could not have parties of their own. The workers could not even have trade unions of their own. Only one party was permitted to survive, the Communist party. Even this party was practically a military organization, ruled with iron discipline. To ensure a Communist dictatorship the party underwent periodical "cleansings." That is, before elections every member who expressed the slightest difference of opinion was expelled. Only those who accepted without reservation the decisions reached by a handful of leaders were permitted to remain.

Elections became a farce. With Cheka agents on hand in every fac-

tory and village election and prison yawning for any dissenters, intellectual life was blotted out. Voters became conscripts for the Communist election machine. Lists of candidates are prepared in advance. Voting is open. No man and no group dare risk imprisonment by offering an opposing list of candidates. Here and there in the villages a few "non-partisan" candidates are permitted to go through. These are intended to make an impression abroad.

Meantime affairs in Russia go from bad to worse. Claiming to be exponents of Marxism, the dictators attempt to do what Marx said was impossible. In the "Communist Manifesto," in his "Critique of Political Economy" and in the first preface to the first volume of "Capital," as well as the chapter in this work on the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," Marx contended that the first fundamental requirement of a Socialist transformation of society is the development of a fairly complete system of industrial production. He rejected the idea of "bold leaps" into a future society.

Primitive Russia

Russia was less than sixty years from feudalism. The great mass of the people were devoted to peasant production, using primitive agricultural implements. Outside a few large cities modern industry was unknown. Household production and primitive handicrafts were widespread. Excepting the few cities mentioned, Russia had not advanced farther, industrially, than the United States in 1812.

Before the abortive revolution of 1905 many of the so-called trade unions were benefit societies, a form of organization which has always preceded by several decades a modern trade union movement. Even with the collapse of Czarism and during the honeymoon of the revolution, which gave an impetus to organization, Lozovsky reported only 907 unions and 51 central bodies with a membership of less than 1,500,000 in a population of over 100,000,000. The figures are additional evidence of the low industrial stage of Russia. Moreover, it is certain that a certain percentage of these "unions" were really benefit societies that survived the days of Czarism.

Nevertheless, the Soviet dictatorship proceeded to do what could not be done. After some years of experiment they abandoned the "bold leap" into Socialism and invited the capitalists of the world to accept chivalrous concessions! Even the Communist press of Russia now admits that under the new policy a class of new rich exploiters have appeared.

What is striking about the Russian revolution is that the Bolsheviks, who acquired power in 1917, have brought about a counter-revolution. It is the first case in history where a class or group brought into power by a revolution has itself constituted a counter-revolution. Usually it is a class bearing within it the elements of a new aristocracy of privilege and based upon new property interests that overthrows the revolutionary Government and establishes its agents in power. This happened in the French Revolution. Something like it happened in the United States when the agents of the planters, shipping manufacturers, money and shipping interests of New England framed the Constitution, thus giving them powers to cope with "dangerous" agrarian-mechanic movements that for a time controlled State Legislatures.

The Counter-Revolution

But the Bolsheviks have the distinction of having effected a counter-revolution that is serving the new rich while suppressing the freedom of the masses. No amount of "revolutionary" theorizing can conceal this amazing fact. By their policy of concessions to native and foreign capitalists a "united front" has been formed against the proletarians and the peasants. Discontent is widespread and it is certain that if organization and free elections were granted to the workers and the peasants the Communist party would be overwhelmingly defeated.

The ruling party has decided to stake its existence upon the use of terror and in this policy the Russian tragedy assumes its saddest aspect. Veterans of the revolutionary movement who have spent years in Czarist prisons or in the icy wastes of Siberia are today tortured by their former comrades. Hunger strikes are frequent. Suicide is common. Disease takes its toll. Mass executions of workers have occurred. Life for the masses is what it was under Nicholas except for the members of the Communist party who have come to be a privileged caste.

This brings me to a consideration of the mission of Rafael Abramowitz to the United States. His enemies say that he comes to promote intervention in Russia, that he is an agent of the old Czarist cliques, etc. If this were true, Socialists would have nothing to do with his work. But the charges are false. Abramowitz has come to place the true situation in Russia before the people of this country. His Communist enemies have hurled epithets at him since his arrival and have falsely accused him of ulterior motives.

In order that English-speaking workers may understand his program it may be stated in a few words: The Social Democrats and other non-Communist organizations of workers in Russia do not want intervention. They do not want to substitute a foreign dictatorship for the Communist dictatorship. They want freedom of organization, of press, of meetings, of elections. They have no relations with the Czarist emigres who are hoping for a return of a Romanoff. They will fight any Czarist or imperialist invasions. They represent what they believe to be the immense majority of the workers and peasants of Russia. They want the workers of all countries to protest against the tortures, imprisonment and exile of Russian workers. They want help in their struggles to make Russia really free for the workers and peasants.

What Abramowitz and his comrades represent is a continuance of a party struggle and they want aid in this struggle in the name of the working masses of Russia. They believe that Bolshevism does not represent an enlightened working class and that ruthless killing of those who have other opinions is not and has never been a program of the toilers. They believe that imitation of the savagery of an enraged bourgeois class is not a contribution to the ideals of emancipation but a degradation of these ideals.

Moreover, they believe, as Socialists and enlightened men and women of all countries believe, that the Russian revolution belongs not to a faction but to all the working masses of Russia. Social revolutionaries of all types did not die in Czarist prisons and perish in the snows of Siberia in order that their comrades might also be thus treated by an organized group. If the dead martyrs of Russian freedom could know what has happened to their dearest comrades in the past few years, their great sacrifice would appear to be a grotesque tragedy. Happily these glorious dead can never know.

Finally, it is necessary to urge comrades not to be betrayed into conduct unworthy of the Socialist movement because of recent conduct of Communists at meetings addressed by Comrade Abramowitz. We cannot afford to sink to the ethical standard set by them. Theirs is the only answer they can give. Truth was never answered in any other way. Abramowitz is a master of exposition. He is cool and possesses a mass of convincing information. He will make an impression on those who are honest. Others are not to be considered. His work will help in the emancipation of the working class of Russia and we heartily wish him success in contributing towards the wiping out of the Russian tragedy.

The Power of Good Breeding

By HERMAN KOBBE

In The New Leader of January 5 appears an interesting paper by Comrade Karapetoff on "The Power of Love and Understanding." The conclusion reached is that humanity should be put under such conditions that there will be less and less occasion to exercise brutal animal propensities, so that more and more accomplishments and satisfaction will result from love and cooperation.

It must not be imagined, however, that the exercise of "love and cooperation" will in itself efface any of the inborn biological or "struggle for existence" traits which we inherit from our brute and (later) savage ancestors. The exercise of gentleness by the parent does not in any degree change the rather savage or even brutal nature of the infant.

This savage or brutal nature is inherited, and the degree of its savagery will depend upon the degree of the same savagery inborn in the parents and so back to our remotest forebears. Beginning life as a savage, the normal child, as he grows older, gradually catches up with modern mankind. But this inborn nature is passed on unmodified by civilization to his own future offspring.

Naturally, brunette families remain brunette. Naturally, broad-shouldered families remain broad-shouldered. Naturally, sly families remain sly. Naturally, tall families remain tall. Naturally, idiotic families remain idiotic. Naturally, hay-feverish families remain hay-feverish. Naturally, homicidal families remain homicidal. And so on for most or all physical and (of course) mental traits. Variations from the family type are mainly due to the fact of intermarriage with other families.

We now come to the big question: "How can the human race be improved?" If families run in grooves, and if none of the parents' good deeds or humane thoughts can be passed on to the offspring, what hope is there for race-improvement? The answer is "Eugenics," or the science and practice of good breeding—good breeding in the stud-farm sense.

Since families always run true to type, it naturally follows that if we could discourage the breeding of "bad" families and encourage the breeding of good families the race would be by so much improved. Court records show that arson, murder, theft, rape, cruelty, and other forms of crime tend to run in families. The convicted criminal is usually a member of a criminal family, often of the same kind of criminals, and is also likely to be a second, third, or fourth-time offender.

Militaristic tendencies also run in families. "Born soldiers," like "conformed drunks" or "incurable firebugs," come in family groups, often father and sons. Prevent the breeding of militaristic families and you will eventually get rid of militarism. Prevent the breeding of firebugs and you will eventually get rid of incendiary fires; and so on for all crimes.

Conversely, encourage the breeding of scientific, artistic, benevolent, peace-loving families, and you will eventually people the earth with their kind.

First helps are already being taken by progressive States to prevent the breeding of imbecile and criminal families, though so far militarists have escaped because they are not yet classified as criminals.

A truly progressive Government would not be content with merely discouraging the bad. It would give positive encouragement to the good: allowances to the best families to cover the whole cost of bringing up children.

Every stock-breeder knows it is hopeless to try to improve bad stock by good stables. The first necessities of a successful business are a good stallion and a good mare. The rest naturally follows. By constantly selecting the fastest runners as parents, each generation can be made a little faster till the limit of horse-speed is attained. So with humans. By constantly eliminating the weak, the vicious and the anti-social from the status of parents, and by constantly encouraging child-rearing among the strong, humane and intelligent, the race can presumably be improved till its natural limit of perfection has been attained.

Good environment in itself does not lead to race-improvement. If the inferior human types continue to breed at a faster rate than the superior types, sooner or later the whole human community must degenerate. Practical eugenics, therefore, seeks to establish a "selective birth-rate" in favor of the superior type. How to bring about such a "selective birth-rate" is the most vitally important problem facing mankind today.

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Has Ghandi Failed?

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A Report of a Lecture by JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

"GANDHI of India has not failed," said John Haynes Holmes, speaking at the Community Church, in commemoration of the anniversary of Gandhi's release from prison. "He has retreated, but only that he may make a new advance." Defeats has this man—one of the greatest statesmen of this time—encountered, humiliation and even betrayal, but he is not disheartened, declaring calmly, "Hope is not lost; God will guide us." He stands today, after the Belgian Congress, the acknowledged head of a movement that is going on, predicated as from the beginning, on non-violence and good will. By the sacrifice of his own personal desires, in certain measure, and the alchemy of his love, he has re-created the spirit of unity among his followers and brought a broader spirit and a new outlook to both leaders and people in India's supreme struggle for national freedom. Mahatma Gandhi has declined to play dictator. Conspicuously and wholeheartedly he has held to his ideals of non-violence—resistance—the refusal to depend on force—even to the point of asserting that he would not attempt to force his wishes upon the country, even when, at the time of an important vote, a narrow margin would have upheld him in such a course."

When Gandhi came out of prison he found a different India from that which he had left in March, 1922, said Mr. Holmes. First, there was the breakdown of the boycotts, excepting in the matter of Khaddar or homespun cloth; secondly, the recrudescence of Hindu-Moslem antagonism; and thirdly, there were definite manifestations of violent-mindedness. The boycotts, in the mind of the speaker, were merely experiments, devices, so to speak, and could be put by without destroying the fibre of the Gandhi ideal. The violence and the communal antagonism were of different nature—of grave portent both for Gandhi and India. Mr. Holmes touched on this violence—less widespread, however, than is generally realized: the religious tension, the reaction of the Government to both, coming to a climax in the ill-advised and misdirected wholesale arrests of more than seventy of the Swaraj party. This wing of the non-cooperation movement holds to non-violence, and this manifestation of uncalled-for Governmental repression and brutality led to what amounted to the virtual surrender by Gandhi of practically his whole pro-

gram in the interests of the party that claimed their right to enter the Councils of State and fight the Government on the political field. "This surrender," the speaker pointed out, a surrender made wholly for the purpose of maintaining national unity, "lies at the bottom of the widespread reports of the failure of Indian non-cooperation." Why should complete success have been expected? he asked. Gandhi was twenty years before his South African fight was accomplished; Ireland has been more than 700 years getting a small measure of self-government. Four or five years is by no means a fair test of a new dynamic and an untried program.

"As a matter of fact," asserted America's leading non-resistant, "the fundamentals of non-cooperation in India remain today unshaken. Non-violence—the crux of the whole program—is intact; the principle of Khaddar is not only retained but much strengthened by the action of the Belgian conference and above all, national unity has been preserved by the wisdom, the selfish-

ness, and the humility of this incomparable leader." "What are such comparatively negligible things as boycotts as set over against the spiritual implications of these accomplishments?" he asked. To be sure the political, social and religious entity that Gandhi aimed for have been only partially achieved, but Gandhi can say: "If we all can love all men, our cause is won." A new spirit possesses India—a desire for independence and a determination to get it by the noblest method ever formulated by the mind of man. This is not failure as the world understands that word. Nor is it Gandhi who has been found wanting.

But what is one to say of the Indian people? They have indeed been weighed and found wanting; they have been shown, thus far, to be unworthy of their great leader. "Gandhi," said the speaker, "made the same mistake that Jesus of Nazareth made in his time—he asked too much of his countrymen, and, like Jesus, when they failed, he laid no blame upon them. India has been

tried too far, and in expiation for its shortcomings the Mahatma has taken the burden of blame to his own shoulders, declaring, however, that he is not disheartened, that hope is not lost, and that still God will lead." This man, said Mr. Holmes, has shown the outstanding attribute of supreme leadership—bringing unity out of disunity, order out of chaos, love out of hate, and all by an unequivocal and persistent allegiance to his ideal of non-violence. From the beginning he has steadfastly followed the letter and the spirit of the non-resistant policy; he has refused to force his views or his desires on the nation; he has kept to his love for all mankind—friend or foe, Indian or Englishman; he has kept his mind sweet, his ideals free and his soul one with God. This man of the East, in other words, has taken the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, which we in the West openly flout. He has accepted it, practiced, proved it.

No, Gandhi has not failed. The non-cooperation movement still lives. India prepares for a new advance.

Blanche Watson.

THE BIGGEST THINGS

Maximus, a Roman Emperor, was famous for his great strength and size; he was almost ten feet high. The tallest building in the world is the Woolworth—measuring 792 feet. The largest ship is the Leviathan; it has a tonnage of 59,957 and it is 950 feet long. The highest mountain peak is Mount Everest in India, China; it is 29,141 feet above sea level. The longest river in the world is the Amazon—3,900 miles. The largest ocean in the world is the Pacific; it has an area of 68,634,000 square miles. The largest planet in the solar system is Jupiter; it has a diameter of 90,000 miles and weighs two and a half times as much as all the other planets put together. The largest star in the universe is Antares, which has a diameter of 400,000,000 miles and is two million trillion miles away. But Anatole France has remarked that if all our distances were reduced to a millionth or billionth of their former values we would not be aware of it. And so, he adds, this immense universe of ours may be but a drop of blood in the veins of some gigantic creature.

A MESSAGE TO THE NEW LEADER

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

PERMIT me to congratulate The New Leader for having carried on so successfully for one year and to wish it a long and successful career.

However admirable The New Leader is in many ways, I feel that the best thing for its future is a slight modification in policy. You seem to be working on the assumption that a Socialist weekly is *per se* a Labor weekly. Unfortunately, that assumption is not well founded in this country and certainly not in this city. If The New Leader expects to be more than a paper for a small sect of the Labor movement, it must make an appeal to the whole Labor movement from right to left. For instance, The New Leader has almost consistently and persistently ignored the activities of the true Labor movement of this city as represented by the Central Trades and Labor Council. When it did comment on its action, it was to criticize some seemingly unwise policy. Whether The New Leader approves or disapproves of what the organized

Labor movement of this city is doing, the readers of The New Leader ought to be given an opportunity to know what it is doing.

My second suggestion for the improvement of The New Leader is to continue its opposition to the Communists as vigorously as ever but without the usual "sting." No one detests their disruptive tactics and philosophy more than I do, nor have many worked harder to frustrate their efforts, but I do believe their viewpoint should be given fair and impartial consideration. The articles must avoid creating the impression that The New Leader has a "Communist Complex." I advocate this not with the hope of making the Communists more reasonable, that seems hardly possible now, but to make your criticism the more effective with your readers.

With these slight modifications in policy and a little more news and lightness in place of the many heavy articles that too few read and still fewer digest or enjoy, I believe The New Leader can become a most potent educational factor in our Labor world.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

Through the States

NATIONAL

Abramowitz Tour

Comrade N. Chanin, Secretary of the Jewish Socialist Verband of America, writes that Comrade Abramowitz begins his lecture tour on Feb. 20, travelling as far as Los Angeles, and planning to return to Europe April 20; that the Jewish Socialist poet, Einhorn, is now visiting many of the larger cities; and that Professor E. Galatsky is now on his return trip from the Pacific Coast (his tour will run almost ten months); and that Comrade S. Levitas, organizer for the Western Bureau, is now in the field organizing in the West and South.

CONNECTICUT

Jasper MacLevy of Bridgeport, and Martin F. Plunkett, State Secretary, were elected delegates to the Chicago conventions.

The committee which has charge of publishing the new monthly bulletin met Saturday, Feb. 14, and elected Martin F. Plunkett, editor; Karl Jurek, circulation manager, and W. E. Davis, treasurer. The Bulletin was changed to Our Commonwealth. The first issue appeared Wednesday, Feb. 18.

Local Hamden held a successful pinocle party Saturday, Feb. 14. The local has raised \$50 toward paying the expenses of the delegates to the Chicago conventions.

The books that were raffled off by Local Hamden were won by John Lindquist of Hamden, and Fred Swartzkopf of Bridgeport.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

The New England District Organization will have a District Convention in March, the day following the Massachusetts Convention of the C. P. P. A.

Final arrangements have been completed for a debate between Clarence Darrow and Scott Nearing to take place at Symphony Hall, Boston, March 24. They are to debate the subject: "Is the Human Race Worth Working For?" Darrow in the negative. Nearing in the affirmative.

Though held under the auspices of the Forum for Public Discussion, the entire profits will go to the Socialist Party for organization purposes. Tickets may be secured at the party headquarters, 64 Pemberton square, Boston.

NEW JERSEY

Only in Essex County are the members asked to give \$1 a month for March, April and May. This is purely an Essex County matter and was included in the minutes of the State Committee meeting merely as part of the report of one of the Essex delegates.

A general activity in the Socialist Party in Essex County is evident. Preparations are being made for a party membership campaign by a personal canvass of members to determine in just what wards and districts they are located, and what each member is willing and able to do towards support of the party. A contest among drive leaders is being arranged, with a cash prize for the one who wins the most points.

The slogan is: "Money, Members and Propaganda," and the objects of the drive are, first, increased membership; second, the raising of an organization fund; and third, putting The New Leader into every Socialist home, thus furnishing a medium for keeping the members in touch with the activities of the party.

Special consideration is being given to organizing the Yipsels. A number of young people have signified their willingness to join. Special organizers will take up this work if conditions seem favorable.

A woman's committee is also being organized to carry on Socialist educational work among the women voters. Activity will commence on these lines, immediately after the National Convention in Chicago.

New York Activities

NEW YORK

A most generous response has followed the appeal for clothing for the evicted striking miners of West Virginia and splendid letters of acknowledgment have come from the officers of the Miners' Union in the affected area, all of which is most gratifying.

The funds provided for the payment of freight on the shipment of goods have all been used. More are needed. Goods still continue to come in. They must be shipped promptly. So we appeal for more clothes and funds to pay the freight. The party cannot pay the entire bill. Let those who can, help, and all can help a little.

Send clothing and money to Joseph D. Cannon, Secretary, Room 505, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

LECTURE NOTES

Bronx

Friday, Feb. 20, August Claessens will lecture on "The Instinct of Workmanship," at 1167 Boston road, Auspices, Socialist Party.

East Side, N. Y.

Sunday, Feb. 22, August Claessens will begin a series of six lectures on "Sociology and Human Nature," at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. The first topic is "The Distribution of Wealth." Auspices, 1st and 2nd A. D., Socialist Party.

BRONX

7th A. D.

The entertainment and dance held last Saturday at headquarters proved to be a huge success. Sam De Witt inspired the Valentine writers. It was a night of romance, hope and happiness. P. J. Murphy acted as toastmaster; G. Friedman and E. Seidel kept the audience busy with lively announcements, and Mrs. Volovick dished out mamma-made cakes.

Each Saturday night at the headquarters, Tremont and Third avenues, there will be games, socials, dancing and as well a good variety of books, magazines and periodicals. Refreshments at very moderate prices will be served. Comrades and friends are invited. The branch will also meet Thursday, Feb. 26.

On Monday, Feb. 23, there will be held an important meeting of the

Newark

Newark Socialists enjoyed an intellectual treat in the form of a lecture on "Anatole France," by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, given at the Berwick Hotel, on Feb. 12. A well-filled hall greeted Mr. Dana. His wit and enthusiasm, together with the real knowledge he had to impart, soon captivated an appreciative audience.

Awakened interest is being shown in the Socialist Party of Newark by the reorganization of the Roseville branch. The old members are coming to the front, and new members are being admitted at each meeting. This branch bids fair to regain its pre-war strength in a short time.

Branch 1 is a headliner with a very encouraging increase in members since the first of the year.

Branch 3 is keeping up its usual record of activities with a well paid up membership. The county organizer says: "We're out to win! Keep your eye on Essex County for the year 1925."

and is out to become the strongest local in New York. The Williamsburg Central Committee has organized a membership committee to be on hand at the Sunday lectures in the Amalgamated Temple, where Comrade Viadeck makes weekly appeals for members, and the Brownsville and East New York Central committee has a committee at the Friday and Sunday lectures at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum where Comrade Shiplacoff makes regular appeals. Other groups are being organized throughout the county and strengthen the present branches, and the county secretary is working on the unorganized districts.

Drive for New Leader

Local Kings County is conducting a drive to have every party member a subscriber of The New Leader. Comrade Arthur Rosenberg, one of the most active members in Brooklyn, has undertaken to canvass the

Brownsville and East New York members, the Williamsburg Central Committee will elect a Comrade to take charge of the work in that section, and the county secretary is communicating with members of the other districts.

The next lecture at the People's Forum, 218 Van Sicklen avenue, will be given Friday evening, Feb. 20. Elizabeth Grew will speak on "Organized Labor and Birth Control," at 8:30 p. m. Admission is free. A musical program will follow. The audience is now crowding each meeting and only early arrivals are guaranteed a seat.

Williamsburg

The Central Committee, including the 4th-14th-6th-13th and 19th A. D. branches, will hold a joint meeting, Saturday, Feb. 21, at 319 Grand street, at 8:30 p. m. Refreshments served without charge.

THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

New recruits for Socialism in Essex County, New Jersey, are to be given a guide book with their entrance into the party. Too many newly-won comrades, joining on a sudden inspiration, sometimes find the functioning of the party, the tremendous implications of its ideals, too great to grasp of a sudden. Full of determination for the Cause, they still are unable to give full scope to their yearning for activity.

Essex County has solved the problem.

Simultaneously with the receipt of their membership card, new members of its branches are being put on the subscription list of The New Leader for four months. For its part, The New Leader has arranged to place each new party member on the subscription list for four months at reduced rates.

Secretary Gustav Schmidt of Branch 1, Newark, reports that the plan is already in operation and as corroboration sends us subscriptions for nine new members, with promises of a steady stream in future weeks. The New Leader extends this offer to all party locals. Make the matter a special order of business at your next branch meeting.

Local King: also plans to put the idea into operation, Executive Secretary Viola reports. Arthur Rosenberg, of the 23rd A. D., Kings, is hard at work and sends in 4 new subscriptions as a starter.

As indispensable as is The New Leader to the Socialist Party branches, it seems to be hardly less necessary to students of Socialism outside the Socialist Party.

The other day the postman brought us a letter from a professor in a Mid-West university. He enclosed 19 subscriptions for The New Leader to go to students in his special seminar in Socialism.

"The New Leader I find indispensable for myself," he writes, "and invaluable as a means of interesting my students in Socialism, in current developments of the movement."

Our professor friend says Dr. Laidler's "Roads to Freedom" were particularly well done. We venture to predict, with entire safety, that Upton Sinclair's "Mammonart," our new serial—starting next week—will fully measure up to the expectations of those who have been accustomed to the excellence of Dr. Laidler's series.

Ferd Sander, of Syracuse, is again near the top of the list of New Leader "sub." hunters. Comrade Sander has bagged three of them and sent them along. W. D. Altman seems intent on keeping things humming in his part of Pennsylvania—Butler and there-

abouts. He has paid for a bundle of 25 for three months.

Birthday greetings from abroad are acknowledged. The Socialist and Labor International, through its weekly press service, notes our birthday and wishes us many more. We can't do less than keep the steam up with the inspiration of the International before us.

Comrade William James Morgan, of New London, Conn., is more than happy handling our renewals in his district. He has a 100 per cent record, having sent in about 20 subs. in three weeks. Comrade G. C. Graves, of Amesbury, Mass., says "present" with 4 subs. From Greenfield, also, the State of our hobby-horse-riding President, two renewals have been received from Comrade W. S. Hutchins.

From Comrade Benton, out Indiana way: "You folks are doing good work for the cause of Socialism through the publication of The New Leader. May it continue from year to year. And I will continue to read it with profit and pleasure."

"If only the poor Dubbs were not so persistently blind!" writes Comrade Mrs. Louise Wernette. Some of the blindness seems to have been dispelled by Comrades William Lipson, Anna Traum, and Joseph Bernstein, who turned in several new subs. and some renewals this week.

WHY SOCIALISM WILL CONQUER

"The failure to answer your other notice was no oversight on our part. We love you workers and the cause, so we could not have been unfaithful; but the blow of 'not having it' has fallen on us. Through no fault of ours we have had losses which has stunned us. If you will send on The New Leader (I don't see how we can do without it) we will send in our subscription as soon as possible."

Montreal, across the border, responds with two renewals—thanks to the devotion of Comrade Herman Reich.

Again let us warn you against missing a single installment of Upton Sinclair's "Mammonart." The only way to get them all is to subscribe today.

WATER POWER

A vote for the Underwood bill turns Muscle Shoals over to the General Electric Co. or some of its subsidiaries, further to increase their monopoly of the natural power sites of America.

A vote for the Norris bill means that the Government will continue its great work at Muscle Shoals.

I am for the Norris bill because it will give the people of the Southern States cheap power. I am for the Norris bill because if Congress adopts that policy at Muscle Shoals it means that the Government will build the St. Lawrence Canal, which will move the Atlantic Ocean a thousand miles inland to the great city of Chicago. I am for the Norris bill because it will help pass a bill to build the great dam to store the flood waters of the Colorado River that will be a factor in the development of the mighty resources of our Southwestern States. I am for the Norris bill because I believe that if it is passed it means that the Government is going to adopt a general policy of improvement of the inland rivers in every part of our country and, in connection with that great work, the building of power dams, so essential to the progress, prosperity and happiness of the American people.—Senator Gooding, Idaho.

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Office, 16 West 21st St. Telephone: Watkins 7980

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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 8 P. M.
Brooklyn—187th St. & 3rd Avenue 1st & 3rd Thursday at 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
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7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082

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ED. GOTTFESMAN, Secy-Treas.

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Italian Dressmakers' Union

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.

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LOUIS ANTONINI, Secretary.

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117 Second Avenue

TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7106-7

A. SNYDER, Manager

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

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1054

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BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS' UNION

UNION LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.

1 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3487

Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union

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Secy-Treas.

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A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."

Office: 44 East 15th Street. Stuyvesant 5536.

Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.

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

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

Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 5887

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OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.

Office 355 Broadway Ave. Bklyn. Stage 10180

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Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.

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Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.

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NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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GENERAL OFFICE: 62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408

CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman. OSSIP WAINSKY, General Manager

Police Fail to Cow 15,000 Garment Strikers

Despite the arrest of fourteen pickets and the continued molesting of other strike pickets by the police and gangsters hired by the employers, victory is near in the strike of 15,000 dress and underwear workers in New York City this week.

Nine girls were arrested by a policeman on a charge of "walking three abreast." They were discharged when arraigned in court. According to the strike leaders similar annoyances on the part of the police are the rule.

Notwithstanding these hindrances, however, the union has been able to announce that a number of employers have already signed the new agreement which calls for a twenty per cent wage raise and recognition of the union.

Iron Workers Fight Steel Trust

The New York Locals of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers are waging a vigorous strike against the builders associated with the Iron League, a subsidiary of the powerful Steel Trust. The workers have completely tied up construction on large buildings, among them the Telephone Company and the Standard Oil Company buildings.

The workers are demanding the union scale of wages of \$12 a day and union recognition. All attempts

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway.

Phone: Orchard 6639

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.

PETER MONAT, Manager.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Y. M. C. B. 161st St.

Melrose 7630

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FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union.

Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn.

Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.

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N. FINE, Vice-President.

E. WINEN, Sec. Secy.

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FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION LOCAL 2, F. I. U. A. S.

Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn.

Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.

FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARLOS, President

Secretary

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

7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7678

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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 523). Phone Spring 2258-2939

ALDO CURSI, Manager.

H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.

Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.

Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.

Local 242—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.

Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.

Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.

These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

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

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America

Up-town Office: 10 West 47th street. Phone FITZROY 6784

Downtown Office: 210 East 6th street. Phone ORCHARD 1042

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OF GREATER NEW YORK

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ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, Sec. Secy.

BENNY WEXLER, Vice-Pres.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15

Executive Board meets every Monday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

A. SOFFER, Chairman.

L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.

H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

F. STAUD, Chairman.

H. SOMIN, Vice-Chairman.

H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 10

Executive Board meets every Monday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

M. KLIEGER, Chairman.

H. WEXLER, Vice-Chairman.

ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 5

Executive Board meets every Wednesday at 6:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.

S. COHEN, Chairman.

H. BEGON, Vice-Chairman.

E. TALIA, Secretary.

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1206

Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.

LOUIS SMITH, President.

MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPET, ANNA MUSCAT, Secretary.

HERMAN WICKER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

TRADE UNION TOPICS

to replace the strikers with scabs have failed in spite of the fact that the New York newspapers have claimed that construction is going on with strike-breakers.

About 5,000 men are on strike, all of them members of the Structural Iron Workers' Locals 40 and 361, and the Ornamental Iron Workers' Local 52, Derricks and Riggers' Local 197 and the Machinery Movers' Local 170.

The strike is being directed by the officers of the international union, in direct charge of P. J. Moran, International President.

Communist "Unity" Endangers Bookbinders

A small Communist group in the Bookbinders' Union, Local 25, of this city, failing to disrupt the union from the inside, have resorted to smashing the union from the outside. They organized a so-called "Hebrew Bookbinders' Social Club," which is calling mass meetings advertised in the Communist papers, and at these meetings attempt to have union members leave the union and join them.

The union itself has only recently secured the best agreement from the employers they have ever had, getting a 44-hour week and a considerable increase in wages. It has been pointed out by various faithful union members that this attempt to now break up the union will tend to serve the interests of the bosses by inevitably weakening the only bona-fide union in the trade.

Printers Strike Against Novoye Russkoye Slovo

The compositors of the Novoye Russkoye Slovo have declared a strike against this newspaper which has repeatedly violated its agreement with the American Hebrew Typographical Local 69.

The newspaper has generally been a reactionary one in its policy, but has recently issued statements charging that this strike is a plot on the part of the Communists to wreck their paper and that the Socialist movement is not in sympathy with its strikers.

A statement issued by H. Rosenson points out that this is not the case, and that these charges of the strike being a Communist plot is silly and are only an attempt to dodge the issue.

This strike is

Shadow of Dollar Falls on Canada

Does American or British influence dominate the labor life of Canada? "F. C." may not say the final word on that point, but this part of his discussion with various writers in the Socialist press of Canada is full of meat and entertainment for readers in the United States.

By F. C.

THE real wages of the American workers are double that of Britain. And the standard of living—access to those feasible, immediate, material things on which "C" bases his philosophy of proletarian progress—is correspondingly higher. The vicissitudes of unemployment are no greater in America than in Europe.

That this fact is common knowledge to the workers of Britain—and for that matter Canada—is manifested by their eagerness to enter the clutches of the Yankee "octopus." The British quota is long since exhausted. The progressive degradation of the European workers is a fact, and as true of England as when Jack London wrote "The People of the Abyss."

As to the interest of the Canadian workers being best served by breaking away from the A. F. of L. and linking up with the British movement—and this matter has a bearing on an Empire Labor policy—such action on their part would be quite in accord with their economic interests if they had a habit of seeking jobs overseas. But it is not "feasible." It is to the "barren" land of American capitalism that the Canadian workers go, in large and increasing numbers, to seek a job. Outside of a few weak branches of the Amalgamated Carpenters and one local union of wireless operators there are no British Labor unions in Canada. Economic determinism or racial solidarity. Which?

Passing, for the moment, the fact of Canada's economic dependence and military inferiority to the U. S. A., we will examine this inferred racial solidarity of Canada with Great Britain. It is a statistical fact that 83 per cent of the recruits for the first Canadian contingent raised in 1914 were British-born. Up until the passage of the Conscription Act in 1917 the majority of recruits were natives of the mother country. Yet 77.5 per cent of the population are native-born Canadians, while only slightly over 12 per cent are British-born. The balance of the population is about evenly divided between Americans and "others." (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1922.)

Conscription in Canada

The Canadian-born citizens did not spring to arms at the first roll of Drake's drum; a more insistent call, in the form of a Conscription Act, was necessary to remind them that the Empire was in danger. Consider Quebec and its large French-Canadian population—approximately one-fourth of the entire Dominion. They look upon the English as intruders in "their" country. Even the awful fate overshadowing "La Belle France" during the late war left them unmoved. The Conscription Act in Quebec was practically a dead letter. And in the Maritime Provinces, where the population is at a standstill due to emigration to the U. S., despite the high birth rate, there you will find many descendants of victims of the Highland clearances and hear the story, handed down from generation to generation, of how their ancestors were put ashore on the rocky beaches of New Scotland from British men-of-war, each head of a family "getting a hatful of oats" to transform into "mush" or to use as their means of production.

In the Maritime Provinces, there is a movement afoot the object of which is to abrogate the Articles of Confederation, disjoin from the Dominion Government and negotiate a separate treaty with the U. S. A. The fishing industry of these provinces is hard hit by American protective duties. By obtaining the free entry of fish to the American market through means of a reciprocal agreement—the proponents of such a course argue—the depopulation through emigration to the States would be checked by increased employment at home. Even annexation to the U. S. A. has been suggested as the only remedy for their economic troubles.

Population

It is asserted that there are more native-born Canadians now resident in the U. S. A. than in Canada. Every Canadian census has shown a deficit from the estimated number, based on immigration and natural increase. The census of 1911 reported 1,000,000, and that of 1921 1,300,000 "missing." The soldiers killed in France being accounted for, experts claim that the population of Canada in 1921 should have been 15,000,000 instead of 8,000,000. Their figures are based on the total immigration and the average rate of natural increase. The Province of Quebec has the highest birth rate of any civilized country. Where have the "missing" gone? To the U. S. A.!

Canada, from every fundamental aspect, economic, geographic, commercial, financial, military, even psychological, is much more a part of Maine, Michigan or Montana, than it is of Northumberland, Devon or Scotland. The psychology of the

"Empire Unity" No Match for Yankee Influence in North America, Australia and South Africa, Writer Holds.

Canadian born has a closer affinity with that of his American neighbor than with his Empire co-heirs. The agriculturists and fishermen of the Eastern and Maritime Provinces, the "tin lizzie peasantry" of the prairies, or the stump ranchers of the Pacific slope, in their outlook on life, their aims and ideals, are as like their kind in the Republic to the South as Judy O'Grady and the Colonel's lady. "Once a worker always a worker" has no place in their common creed, by the dollar ye shall conquer.

That all pacifist philosophers are not just "keeping their eye" on Britain is evinced by Bertrand Russell's declaration that "An empire of American finance over the entire planet is the nightmare prospect of the entire world." And it is an empire based on something more substantial than military adventures, the subjugation and direct plundering of backward peoples, etc. The power of American finance is based upon the most highly developed industrial apparatus the world has yet seen. Within the confines of the U. S. A.—the largest integral economic and political unit in the history of modern States—are contained all resources necessary to the maintenance of modern civilization.

American Imperialism

If there is anything in historic materialism, then in America rather than Britain are to be found these highest developments of capitalist production which Marx postulated as the antecedent of Socialism. "Cheapness," according to Herr Marx, "is the weapon which batters down all Chinese walls," or words to that effect. That the U. S. A. has

effected that weapon through mass production methods, improved technique, great natural resources and the most vigorous and productive working class in history, is demonstrated by America's unique position as a world power. Already eleven Latin-American republics have capitulated to the American Empire. Canada and Australia are irresistibly drawn within its orbit and away from the influence of Britain.

Canada and Australia rejected the offer of Inter-Empire preferential tariffs, deferring in the main to American interests, the latter country repaying the solicitude of Rockefeller's ex-humанизер of industry, MacKenzie King, by increasing the duty on Canadian wheat from thirty to forty-two cents per bushel. Hughes, the war premier of Australia, toured the States appealing for American support to maintain a "White Australia." His visit was coincident with the recent Japanese exclusion agitation, and its culmination. A publicity agent of the Australian Government, through syndicated articles in the American press, is making a further appeal for an American guarantee against Japanese aggression.

Dictatorship of Dollar

Not Britain or France, but a force more powerful than both combined—the U. S. A.—stands forth as the real world conqueror. To maintain the capitalist system, Britain and Europe must bow before the American Empire and accept its mandates. We see evidence of this fact in the Labor Government accepting the Dawes Report—the dictatorship of the dollar. British governmental policies, of whatever political com-

The New Leader Mail Bag

Should Organize New Party

Editor, The New Leader:
The nearly five million votes cast for La Follette justifies the organization of a new permanent party at the coming convention of the C. P. P. A. The vote would have been larger if there had been no legal technicalities in the way of getting the La Follette electors on the ballot. If we can poll five million votes with only a temporary organization, with not much funds, nor much time in which to make a campaign, I think it shows that the people are ready for a new party. If the two old parties are as much alike as two peas in a pod, as Mr. La Follette said they were (which they are), then to vote for either one is a vote for all the corruption and injustices of our political system, for each one has had at different times full power to change it but have not done so. Therefore, it is folly to try them any longer. Besides, they oppose the public ownership of public utilities and natural resources, the initiative, referendum and recall, which are the only measures that can give the people justice and democracy. A new party that will not advocate these fundamentals is not worth organizing.

The recent election and the recent votes in the Senate on the Muscle Shoals question show that the capitalistic elements of both parties will stand together to defeat the interest of the people. The election also shows that the people must be informed so that they cannot be fooled, and the sooner we organize and get to doing that work the sooner it will be accomplished. If the convention as at first constituted votes against the organization of a new party and one-third of the delegates are in favor of it, that one-third should get together after adjournment in a convention of their own and organize one. They have as much right to do it as all of them have, and I hope they will do it.

If one-third of the voters who voted for La Follette will get together in a dues-paying organization and nominate candidates in every precinct, the two old parties will be driven together by 1928. Then in the next battle there is a possibility of our winning. I trust all Progressives will use their influence to that end.

B. S. COX.

Shubuta, Miss.

The Judicial Veto

Editor, The New Leader:

A writer in The New Leader said he was convinced that the framers of the Constitution did not intend to give the Supreme Court the power to nullify acts of Congress. This power is not given in the Constitution. James Madison and James Wilson seemed to want the

Supreme Court to have a hand, with the President, in a veto power. At three different times one of these men moved that all, or a "convenient number," of the members of this court should have some veto power. Every time these motions were negatived. The delegates from each respective State voted as one. The first vote was "Aye, 3; No, 8." The second was "Aye, 3; No, 4; divided, 2; not voting, 1." The third vote stood "Aye, 3; No, 8."

These statements are from Madison's "Journal of the Constitutional Convention," included in "Elliot's Debates." Many people believe that the Supreme Court has a constitutional right to nullify laws; others believe that the framers of the Constitution were willing that the court should have this power. There is the proof that the framers deliberately refused to give the court the power. Chief Justice John Marshall—active in getting this power for the court—once said (Ware vs. Hylton, 3 Dallas 211): "The judicial authority can have no right to question the validity of a law unless such jurisdiction is expressly given by the Constitution." No competent person or body of persons has ever given this power; it was usurped by the Supreme Court.

Not only this, but its appellate jurisdiction is not absolute. Congress can make a law and deny the "right of appeal" to the Supreme Court, for appellate jurisdiction is "with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress may make." So says the Constitution in Article 3, Section 2, Paragraph 2. Victor Berger knew this when he made a part of one of his bills read: "The Supreme Court shall not have the power to review this Act."

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plexion, Liberal, Conservative or Labor, are of necessity circumscribed by the material conditions extant in Britain. There, in the one-time workshop of the world, now somewhat antiquated and with a declining business, forty odd millions of people are cooped up. Dependent on outside sources for far the greater part of their food supplies and raw material, "credit" must be sustained or they starve. Many of these bases of supply are situated in countries, subjugated and exploited by the Empire, which are anxious to enter business on their own account. No vital policies of social reconstruction can be initiated in the "tight" little island—to which the present masters of America are opposed.

The workers of Canada are bound by economic ties to the "Republic" whether they like it or not. Policies or philosophies based on racial ties or Imperial traditions are apt to turn away when confronted with the decrees of economic evolution. From the Western Clarion, Vancouver, B. C.

It is because at all times and in all countries there were people who did not fear either prison or death that it has been possible to propagate new ideas, and to bring our poor humanity some little relief to its misery.—Gustave Herve.

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The Realm of Books

Poems of Revolt

A Review by JAMES STEPHENS

POEMS OF REVOLT. By Joan Beauchamp. London: The Labour Publishing Co. 2s. 6d.

SELECTED POEMS OF HERBERT TRENCH. London: Jonathan Cape. 4s. 6d.

THE majority of verse-collections are made in the name of Beauty—an exacting mistress, and of so many a variety of moods that anything and everything may be considered fit for or even good enough for her. She, properly, is the unknown god, for every man sees her in his own image, and will woo or appease her with the best that he has got. His best may be poor enough, but to love beauty, even ignorantly, or to love the neighbor, even ignorantly, are substantial, are fruitful deeds. The anthologist is the critic in his most important function. He dares to select, and to say: "These I consider to be the representative poems of their time, and these special poems I select as most adequately representing their several authors." It is a valiant claim, and if it is not made by real knowledge and real taste, it is made by a vanity that is equivalent to, but at the other pole of, these qualities.

Miss Beauchamp has gathered the verse that makes up her "Poems of Revolt" with quite another care than directs the average anthologist. Usefulness, rather than beauty, has been her touchstone: and the consequence is, as it must be, that her collection is more readable, more varied and beautiful than many anthologies can be. It does represent the poets chosen also, not perhaps in their fullness, but certainly in that area and in these qualities which Miss Beauchamp has at heart, and which they, though it be intermittently, had greatly at heart also. The drums of war beat through her book. It is not so much the war of the oppressed as it is the splendid challenging of those who hate that there should be oppression, and who protest in a hundred moods of eagerness and violence and humor against all that is degrading or inhuman in our common life. I think that this book is worth a dozen of the usual anthologies. It is a feast of courage and generosity: it is a challenging book in the best sense of that word, and every poem in it is worth a dozen of the dulcet caterwaulings that pass current for poetry, and with which every anthology is well packed.

In his preface to the selected poems of the late Herbert Trench, Mr. Williams writes modestly and agreeably of the author. He gives a short account of the poet, and is content, as perhaps Herbert Trench himself was, to let the future judge a work towards which the present has exhibited some indifference. Mr. Williams does state that Trench's more ambitious poems are less concerned "with the present, the particular and the individual, than with the wider territories of universal and racial hopes, dreams, ideals and ambitions."

The person of whom these statements may be affirmed must be a man of genius, and this Herbert Trench was not. His actual talent lay at another extreme than is indicated by these quotations, and had he been content to sing simply, and of simple or simpler things, he might have been a pleasant and companionable, although never a great, poet. He had the will to poetry as others have the will to power, but poetry will yield to violence nothing but her words. His method was what is wrongly called classical. It is the belief that what has been done before can be done again if it is done as it was done before. It is an unconscious, almost an innocent, plagiarism, and it is responsible for nine-tenths of the bad verse that is poured upon the world. Knowledge is a wonderful thing, and can never put itself, nor be put, in the wrong, but learning can be a tactless thing. There is an eighteenth-line poem here on the "Death of an Infant": surely a subject that may be simple or poignant or passionate, or all three of these, but that does not call for learning's aid severe; and yet this poem mentions aconites, the gate of the living—hope—gold—pires of Nineveh—voices calling from cloud and minaret—dreams. But when Mr. Trench forgot his learned sock, when he sang simply, he could sing sweetly and tenderly, as in—

Almond, wild almond,
Give counsel to me,
And hush thy fierce lover
The wind in the tree.

Like the flower on thy branches
The heart in me springs
With ails and upliftings
And hundreds of wings.

There are here no learned moods and no literary cadences. Or, as in "Lindisfarne":

Our Seer, the net-mender,
The day that he died.

The Negro In Carolina

A Review by FRANK CROSSWATH

THE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION. By A. A. Taylor. Washington, D. C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. \$2.00.

FOR generations yet unborn, the American Negro will be plagued by the survival of many myths and half truths told about him during the period of slavery and in the days immediately following the overthrow of that system.

These mythical ideas about the Negro were turned loose upon the world, mainly by the slave-holders and those who defended them—in a natural desire to justify the social and economic system rooted in chattel slavery.

The conduct of the slave-holders in this instance is not new; on the contrary, it is the age-long method employed by those who occupy a position of dominance, to discredit those dominated and thereby perpetuate their domination. History literally bubbles over with examples of the false philosophy of ruling classes. Religion, color, nationality and other differences have been utilized in this scheme of "protective coloration" used by the master-class in all ages to make secure and permanent its rulership. But I question whether history affords another example of such propaganda being conducted with the vehemence and consistency, and with such utter disregard for at least a semblance of truth, as in the case of the American Negro.

Science, theology, history, all have been perverted and drawn upon to contribute their quota in the defense of chattel slavery; until today, over a half a century after emancipation, men yet cling to these false notions about the Negro, and many people still firmly believe them true. One of the most outstanding and persistent falsehoods charged against the Negro is, that during the period of reconstruction, having been freed and elevated to citizenship, he proved his incapacity for full exercise of the duties and responsibilities of such citizenship by instituting, in those states where he was elected to office, a veritable reign of terror and thievery. These who make these charges either ignore completely or minimize greatly the wholesome and lasting contributions of the Negro during the hectic days of reconstruction in the South.

Little by little, however, these myths and falsehoods are giving way to facts and truths, and the part played by the American Negro in the reconstruction of the South following the Civil War is being given its rightful place in the literature and history of our country.

Dr. Taylor's book "The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction" is one of many books dealing with the subject generally, which have made their not too widely observed appearances within the past few years; Dr. Du Bois' "Gift of Black Folk" is another of these that is worthy of mention.

This work of Dr. Taylor is a masterpiece of painstaking and careful chronicling of important facts. When in due time prejudice and ignorance shall have given way to intelligence and an enlightened appreciation of man by his fellows, America in general and the now grossly misrepresented Negro race in particular will remember with gratitude and pride Dr. Taylor and his monumental accomplishment in the interest of truth and accuracy.

The book is an arsenal filled with facts which the friends of the Negro and the lovers of truth can effectively use to offset the false claims and derogatory charges constantly being made against the Negro by the organized and unorganized Klansmen with which America today abounds.

In distinct contrast to the majority of the various contributions on this subject, Dr. Taylor's work does not bear the earmarks of the controversialist. The author apparently has no axe to grind and seeks to convey only a true picture of this immensely interesting period in American history by an exhaustive and searching study of contemporaneous sources, free from prejudices and racial partisanship. He neither accuses nor excuses, he simply states the facts as they are. In this lies the great merit of his work and the service which he renders not alone

to the conscientious student of history but also to his race.

Dr. Taylor marshals the facts to show that the Negro in South Carolina largely was desirous, and even anxious, to have the well-educated element of the white race participate in the government of the State. This element, having lost the war, was disgruntled and, consequently, refused to cooperate and assist in the work of reconstruction. Their refusal, he points out, contributed very largely to the much emphasized and over-exaggerated corruption of this period.

When one considers the almost hopeless degeneracy not alone of the great masses of the Negro but also of the so-called poor whites—"then there were the lowest of all classes, commonly known as 'the whites,' who rivaled the Negro in ignorance but surpassed him in vice and cunning. These numbered about 150,000"—one is almost astonished at the not inconsiderable progressive measures which were affected during this period, and of which so little is known generally.

If one bears in mind, also, the forlorn economic condition of the Negro at the end of the Civil War, one can well understand the feeble resistance which the half educated Negro of more or less influence among his own people offered to the wiles of that past-master in political corruption—the Northern Carpet-bagger. How anyone can expect that immediately following emancipation, the Negro race as a whole would show all the fitness and aptitude for citizenship and self-government that come only with experience and years of unhampered development is beyond the imagination of this reviewer. That the Negro—did well is attested to by many fair-minded writers on the subject.

Carl Schurz, writing from the scene in South Carolina in 1865 said: "The transition of the Southern Negro from slavery to freedom was untarnished by any deeds of blood, and the apprehension so extensively entertained and so pathetically declaimed upon by many, that the sudden and general emancipation of the slaves would at once result in 'all the horrors of St. Domingo,' proved utterly groundless. . . . in this respect the emancipated slaves of the South can challenge comparison with any race long held in servitude and suddenly set free."

"The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction" should find wide circulation and meet with ready readers throughout the length and breadth of this land and wherever men thirst for truth and knowledge.

The book deals with the political, social and religious forces at work in South Carolina during the reconstruction period, and is divided into fourteen chapters covering over 300 pages, between which the author has painted a vivid and arresting picture of all the elements at work in the State. To quote from the jacket of the book: "There were missionaries proselytizing the freed men, teachers enlightening them, speculators defrauding them, and, of course, politicians corrupting them."

Notes on Books

Boni & Liveright announce for early publication:

Fiction—"The Grand Inquisitor," by Donald Douglas; "Mr. Godly Beside Himself," by Gerald Bullett, author of "Street of the Eyes"; "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," translated by Herbert A. Giles; "Lucienne," by Jules Romains, translated, with a foreword by Waldo Frank; and "The Story of Wilbur the Hat," by Hendrik Willem Van Loon.

Poetry—Richard Le Gallienne's "Anthology of American Verse" and "The Collected Poems of H. D."; "Other Non-Fiction—"The Story of the World's Literature," by John Macy; "The New Spirit," by V. F. Calverton, with an introduction by Ernest Boyd; and "The Bolshevik Myth," by Alexander Berkman, with an introduction by Rebecca West.

Biography—"The Queen of Cooks and Some Kings, the Story of Rosa Lewis," as told to Mary Lawton; "The Life of Sam Martin," by Anna Schoelkopf, with a preface by Mr. Honoré Pueyrredon, Argentine Ambassador to the United States; and "Troubadour," an autobiography by Alfred Kreymerberg. This month D'Annunzio's "Child of Pleasure," with an introduction by Ernest Boyd, and "South Wind," by Norman Douglas, will be added to the Modern Library.

For immediate publication the Duttons announce a new volume in their Today and Tomorrow Series entitled "The Passing of the Phantoms." The author is Charles T. Patton, professor of anatomy in the University of Sheffield, and he endeavors to set forth what seems to him the only reasonable religion possible to the modern student of natural science. He deals with the evidences of the evolution of man's mental powers, of his moral sense and of human morality.

The same house announces for early publication: "The Mental Growth and Development of Children in Relation to Rate of Growth in Bodily Development," by Buford J. Johnson, professor of psychology in John Hopkins University and formerly psychologist to the Bureau of Educational Experiments, New York City; a new volume in their Today and Tomorrow Series by J. B. S. Haldane under the title "Callinicus."

Recent Verse

A Review by DAVID P. BERENBERG

A FAR LAND. By Martha Ostenso. New York: Thomas Seltzer. \$1.50.

POEMS FOR THE NEW AGE. By Simon Felshin. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

TUTANKHAMEN AND AFTER. By William Ellery Leonard. New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc. \$1.50.

MARTHA OSTENSO is the winner of the Curtis Brown prize of \$13,500 for a novel. This will insure something of a sale for her volume of verse, "A Far Land," and a more careful reading of her poems than first volumes usually receive. It is by no means an even collection that she presents. She is very sensitive to color and the first eight or ten poems, color images, beautifully arranged, serve to carry ideas not in the least noteworthy. Thereafter, the standard of the volume distinctly sinks until it reaches bottom in some childish poems about Cicely, who, apparently, is the poet herself in childhood. Lack of maturity and lack of care in editing and selecting mar this first volume. There is no doubt at all that Miss Ostenso is a poet. It is, therefore, all the more to be regretted that she has included so many unworthy poems.

Mr. Felshin's volume betrays the same unevenness. After reading his introductory poem, "The Red Burial" and "Lenin," I felt tempted to throw the book aside, for these are emphatically not poetry. I am glad that I resisted this temptation, for otherwise I would have missed his really fine poem, "My Father," and some of the fine lines scattered here and there throughout the poems. What Mr. Felshin has not yet learned is that free verse is not an escape from discipline, but that, on the contrary, it imposes a severe discipline of its own. Too frequently his lines sink into dull prose. Neither has he learned that enthusiasm and fervor cannot raise unpoetic ideas to the level of poetry.

"Our enemies say:
Lenin, the dictator.
Our answer is:
Lenin, the leader."

The wisecracks say:
It's all over with Russia.
But we answer:
Leninism lives.

These lines may pass as poetry in the Daily Worker, but Mr. Felshin will regret having published them if he turns out to be the poet that I think is buried in him. This too, is a volume that would have benefited by vigorous and judicious blue-penciling. It seems to me that it is just as important to learn what to throw away as it is to study form and technique.

Mr. Leonard's "Tutankhamen" is not all he thinks it is. He says in a prefatory note that with the exception of "The Lynching Bee" and some privately printed poems, this volume contains the best of his serious verse composed in recent years. He will not find many to agree with him in this. In fact, there is nothing in the volume that rises to the level of "The Pied Piper" which is contained in the volume, "The Lynching Bee." While it is impossible to complain of Mr. Leonard's technical achievements, nothing in the volume stirs me in the least, and poetry ought to stir me. The sonnet series on William Shakespeare is adulatory and dull. There is nothing in "Shell-Shock," in "The Beggar," and in "The Quaker Meeting House" that he has not said before and said equally well. Here and there the volume contains a lyric like "Cytherea" and "Afterthought" which betray a musical gift seldom otherwise seen in this volume or in those other works of the poet that have come to hand.

"Defense of Chemical Warfare," and "Sex and Civilization," by Paul Bousfield.

One of the most important books in Harper's Public Health Series, "Child Hygiene," by Dr. S. Josephine Baker, will be published early in March. Dr. Baker is at present a lecturer in child hygiene at Columbia University and a member of the Committee on Health of the League of Nations. She is a consultant in child hygiene of the United States Public Health Service and the New York State Department of Health, and is a former president of the American Child Health Association.

"Faith of Our Fathers," a novel which tells the story of a young minister who is broken by the worldliness and political intrigue of the Church, and which is the work of a minister's daughter, Dorothy Walworth Garman, will be published by Harpers on the fifth of March.

"The Kilmessy Press and William Morris, Master Craftsman," is written by H. Halliday Sparling, who was in intimate contact with Morris for ten years and shared in many of his activities. "Two Plays," by the Irish dramatist, Sean O'Casey, will be brought out in February. They are "Juno" and "The Paycock" and "The Shadow of a Gunman," and they show some striking scenes from common life during the recent chaos in Ireland, when death was lurking outside every door. Both of these are Macmillan books.

A Liberal Judge

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

CONSTITUTIONAL DOCTRINES OF JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. By Dorsey Richardson. Ph. D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES is regarded as one of the most liberal men who have sat on the Supreme Bench since the Civil War. Hoary precedents and legal traditions rendered obsolete by the advance of human society are not sacred in his view. The law is a growing thing. It must be changed and modified as economic and social conditions change. It must not be a dead hand laid upon the present. It must not check human progress. If old ideas survive the conditions that gave them birth we have an example of the dead ruling the living.

Interpretation of the law is not the only duty of the judge. It is also the duty of the courts "to note the change in the very nature of society, and to do away with the theories of the past that are erroneously being applied to the present." If this means anything at all it means that judges must know something of economics and the social sciences in general which interpret the world in which we live. It is evident that the judge cannot adapt the law to this changing society unless he understands what is changing and why it is changing.

However, this evolutionary conception of the law is not necessarily a liberal view as the author seems to think. It can be liberal and it can be reactionary. It all depends upon the view of the courts whether it will be the one or the other. It would not be true to say that conservative judges do not cast aside or modify old theories and precedents. It is their general tendency to preserve the archaic, but they are just as quick to throw aside the old if this is necessary to protect the economic interests bound up with their social philosophy. They certainly have economic and social views like the rest of us. In fact, Justice Holmes himself said on one

occasion that "The Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics," thus implying that other judges do interpret modern institutions in terms of the Englishman's individualist philosophy. Spencer vested competitive capitalism with the halo of science and his views still appear in many court decisions.

One needs only to recall the readiness with which the Supreme Court responded to the social and economic philosophy of slave owners and their intellectual supporters to understand how the social philosophy of judges will influence their decisions.

Wiping out archaic legal formulas and advancing new doctrines is a method, not necessarily a program or an indication of social outlook. The method may serve ruling classes and conservatism or it may serve the masses and human progress. It all depends upon the social and economic opinions of the judges whether the method will serve one aim or the other. In fact, the Supreme Court has ventured into many new fields of interpretation and doctrine since the Civil War in order to adapt an eighteenth-century charter to the needs of a competitive capitalism at first and then of the greater consolidated capitalism of the twentieth century.

Justice Holmes probably disclaims any social or economic creed. His conservative associates no doubt also enter a disclaimer on this score, but the fact remains that his opinions are more modern and more progressive than those of the average judge. They are more sympathetic with the trend towards democracy and more tolerant of ideas and opinions suggestive of social and economic change. One cannot account for this difference except on the ground that the social philosophy of Justice Holmes is more progressive than most judges.

Readers of this monograph will find in it an interesting survey of Justice Holmes' constitutional doctrines and an interpretation of the reasoning he employs in reaching his conclusions.

The Algebraic Life

A Review by THERESA STICH

WE. By Eugene Zamiatin. Translated from the Russian by Gregory Zilboorg. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.

EUGENE ZAMIATIN grieves—grieves over the tragedy of a mechanized humanity—a humanity which has been purged of all thought, feeling, originality and individuality. But he conceals his suffering under a cloak of satire and transforms into a highly amusing comedy the hurt that eats into his soul.

We are transplanted into a fairy-land of happiness—perfect, transparent, unclouded—quiet, cool, sane. It is no longer necessary to think or feel—all that is taken care of by the carefully prepared Table of Hours. Contented, blissfully smiling (always smiling!) beings, thousands of them working together in exact algebraic rhythm. Every human emotion has been sublimated to its mathematical equation and let him beware who dares to be "different!"

For what is happiness if not freedom from annoying thoughts, feelings, desires? "Desires are tortures, are they not? It is clear, therefore, that happiness is where there are no longer any desires—not a single desire any more . . ."

But we—poor, deluded fools—some of us delight in torture . . . we do not want salvation! We must think, though thinking makes us bitter; we must love, though loving makes us sad; we must create—though creating may destroy us!

We laugh, again and again, as we read through the pages of "We"—but our laughter is choked with tears. We suffer with our hero through his many seemingly ludicrous mishaps—all of which are detailed with a delicacy, a humor, and a depth of feeling which delight and torment. "We" leaves us with a sad, unsettled feeling, a poignant realization of the truths which we are not always honest enough to face. Those of us who have made countless efforts just simply to "be ourselves" will find in this volume an answering echo to the mourning in our hearts.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Literature—TOO MUCH MONEY. A Play. By Israel Zangwill. New York: Macmillan. A YEAR OF PROPHECY. By H. G. Wells. New York: Macmillan. THE BEST POEMS OF 1924. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. THE HOUSE INTO WHICH WE ARE BORN. By Jacques Copeau. New York: Theatre Arts, Inc.

Miscellaneous—THE MENTAL AGILITY BOOK. An Encyclopedia of Educational Puzzles and Parlor Games. By Ralph Albertson. New York: Albert and Charles Boni.

WHEN IT WAS LIGHT. The Message from the Stars. By Henry Lee Stoddard. Chicago: Yogi Publication Society.

Resurrected

A Review by JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

THE DISCOVERY. By Frances Sheridan. Modernized by Aldous Huxley. New York: Dornin. \$2.

THIS play, by the mother of the famous author of "The Rivals," is brought forward with an apologetic preface and in a modern adaptation by Aldous Huxley; it is a typical comedy of the days of fluttering hearts and laces, of the time when Life was summed up in the phrases:

"Carry your mistress's monkey a spider,
Go flea dogs, and read romances."

Petulant's words to Millamant when Charles the Second lightheaded on the throne. . . . What more does any man?

"The ghost of poor Mrs. Sheridan, meanwhile, has every right to feel indignant." These words from the preface linger with us while we read the volume, and we are inclined on the whole to agree with Mr. Huxley, for the adaptation hardly brings the comedy up to date. It is pleasant enough reading, but seems quaintly flavored with the dried rose leaves and cinnamon of days gone by; we should have preferred the sentimentality expected of such plays to the ironing out process attempted by the young Englishman. The play would then be in character; like a fragile old court-lady we can still imagine flirting behind her fan, delicately lingering and continuing the memories of a time that has faded. Put such a one in fashions of today, and she becomes at once a mere unhappy hag.

What can the plot of the play be, other than the love intrigues of a young couple whose parents, for financial considerations, destined them to other ends? With disguise and complication upon complication, how can it end save in the unraveling of all difficulties, the disentanglement of all knotty problems, and the gaiety of a pre-nuptial dance? With a dance in the hearts of the players, a dance and a faint, stirring sadness—a dance and an echo in the hearts of the readers, the book may be put aside, but the memories of days that it summons will linger like the perfume of a 'kerchief pressed to the face after she once wore it has forever gone.

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book obtainable at the
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D R A M A



LAURA HOPE CREWS

plays the title role in the Theatre Guild production of Milne's "Ariadne," opening Monday night at the Garrick.

"The Dark Angel"

Smartness and Tragedy
Mix in Drama of Love
and War at Longacre

"Perhaps I am old-fashioned," says Lady Beaumont when somebody wants another game of Mah Jong, "but I still feel things ought to be different on Sunday—let's make it bridge."

Dear old Oscar Wilde must smile in his corner of the cynic's heaven when Auriol Lee speaks that English country-house line in the new play at the Longacre. For had Wilde lived long enough for paths to catch up with the wit in his character, we should say that the mysterious "H. B. Trevelyan" was only a domino for the aged Oscar. Wrap "Lady Windermere's Fan" and "A Woman of No Importance" in the shroud of their creator and put them in a warm, dry place to ripen for a generation, then lift the lid and "The Dark Angel" will fly out. Trailing the apparition comes Lord "Franny" Beaumont, cad and bounder, who cringes under his wife's abuse, whining, "I know I'm a rotter, but don't suppose that knowing it makes it easier to endure."

"Old Fashioned" is the keynote of this drama. So far out of date, really, that the bobbed heads around us jerked with convulsion at Kitty Fahnestock's confession in the second act and wet their handkerchiefs during the last scene like so many sentimental girls of thirty years ago. How silly they must have felt when they got home and recalled that they were modern, hard-boiled Americans!

"The Dark Angel" has a beginning and an end. Its prologue shows Kitty Fahnestock and her soldier lover, Hilary Trent, in bed together at a sea-coast inn, forty minutes before he must dash back to the battle front in Flanders. Six years later Trent is still missing and Kitty is in love with Gerald Shannon. Then Trent is found to be hiding away in a little village, a blind survivor of the war, determined that Kitty shall not be hampered by her pledge to marry him. That quiet scene in which Trent first tries to conceal his affliction before he drives Kitty away with Shannon, and then fumbles at his piano to find the music of a French marching song, fills to the brim the urn of emotion which every honest drama of the heart must set before an audience.

Robert Milton, producer, made sure of strong wings for "The Dark Angel" when he selected the cast to play it. Patricia Collins is beautiful and appealing at every turn of the gripping story. She and Reginald Mason, as Hilary Trent, carry their audience along with sympathy and complete understanding from the war-time epilogue of clandestine love to the big renunciation tragedy six years later. The "catty" and indulgent Lady Beaumont of Auriol Lee contrasts enjoyably with Kitty's smart but genial father, Sir Evelyn Fahnestock, done by Stanley Logan. Claud Allister remains more than likeable as the dissolute weakling, Lord Beaumont. Elsie Mackay fits nicely into the wit and beauty requirements of Madge Wilmerding, and John

Labor Party Sunday Evenings London Theatrical Manager Lends His Theatre

ARTHUR BOURCHIER has placed the Strand Theatre at the disposal of the Independent Labor party on Sunday nights for "the expression of the ideals of Labor not only in speech, but by music, drama, and art in its highest forms." Both Mr. and Mrs. Bouchier have joined the Labor party, and Mrs. Bouchier is actively serving on the committee responsible for the organization of the Sunday evening gatherings.

"Mr. Bouchier is allowing us the use of his theatre without charge, and is himself bearing all the costs of light, heating, etc.," said A. Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor party. "His generosity enables us to plan this new venture on novel and ambitious lines. The object we are aiming at is not ordinary political propaganda. Socialism, as we see it, stands not only for bread but for beauty. The Sunday evenings for the people at the Strand Theatre are being planned to respond to the unsatisfied craving for beauty here and now, as well as to point the way to a civilization where there will be both bread and beauty for all. Mr. Bouchier's handsome offer permits us to make all the seats free."

On certain evenings well-known Labor members of Parliament will speak, but good music and some form of art will always be included in the program. Amongst members of Parliament booked are Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, late Minister of Education; Mr. Tom Johnston, Mr. Rosalyn Mitchell (who defeated Mr. Asquith), and Mr. James Maxton (the Clyde leader). The cooperation of a number of well-known actors and actresses has already been secured, including Mr. Arthur Bouchier and Miss Sybil Thorndyke, who will give the trial scene from "The Merchant of Venice" one evening.—Manchester Guardian.

Shaw's Plays Not Banned In Russia

"St. Joan" Passes 100th
Performance In Moscow

THE Rosta Agency states that there is no truth in the report that Mr. Bernard Shaw's play, "St. Joan," has been banned in Moscow. The play is also being performed in Leningrad, states the Reuter dispatch in the Manchester Guardian, while here in Moscow its nineteenth performance is announced for tomorrow at the Kamerny Theatre.

The alleged prohibition was stated to have been taken as a reprisal against Mr. Shaw's "offensive and irreverent" letter to the Izvestia. The Izvestia, however, published Mr. Shaw's letter—contrary to his own expectations—and has declared in its comments that it does not see in it anything either offensive or disrespectful, but only a reflection of a mistaken representation on the part of British educated Socialists of the fundamental principles of the forces of the Russian Revolution. Finally, it can be definitely stated that no measures have been taken against the performance of Mr. Shaw's plays or the publication of his work in Soviet Russia.

"Pierrot the Prodigal" For Special Matinees

"Pierrot the Prodigal" ("L'Enfant Prodigue"), Michel Carre's ("L'Enfant prodigue" which the Actors' Theatre is preparing with Laurette Taylor in the title part, will be presented at the 48th Street Theatre for a series of special matinees on Tuesdays and Fridays, beginning Tuesday, March 3. George Copeland will render the Wormser Score.

Williams satisfies as Kitty's second lover, Gerald Shannon. The somewhat difficult countryside characters of Minnie Mitcham and Tom Trowbridge win deserved applause as done by Joan Maclean and Barry O'Neill, and Florence Edney is fine as the half-gypsy serving-woman, Roma. It is a cast distinguished by perfect adaptation and the ability to cooperate. P. H.



HELEN CHANDLER

will have the role of Hedvig in the Actors' Theatre revival of Ibsen's "Wild Duck," opening at the 48th Street Theatre Tuesday.

Mellow Melodrama

"The Rat" Frisks About
the Haunts of Paris
At the Colonial

If "David L'Estrange" hides the names of a prominent actress and actor, as authors of "The Rat," it is quite clear, none the less, that they have used well-tried material for this melodrama of the Parisian slums. The lass who, despite her vile surroundings, is brought up in white purity by the chief of the thieves of the quarter; the wealthy siren who would lead him from the simple honesty of his own kind—where he stole merely to make a living, not for profit, and where he did not sell his soul for cash; the detective head who makes all arrangements for the debaucheries of the noble who desires the pure young Odile; and this noble himself—caught at the moment and killed by the Rat, whereupon Odile takes the guilt upon herself: what elements here are not of the veriest melodramatic stew-pot?

Yet the editors slipped up on a number of details persons of the theatre should not miss. The Rat is the center of interest throughout the early sections of the play; then he is suddenly subordinated to Odile, whose possible death for murder when she is shielding the Rat reduces him to a kneeling, suffering incompetent, praying for her and to her. Then certain items purely technical, yet symptomatic of conditions in too many plays, may be noted. We are told, to show that Odile is living purely, that the Rat's "one room" is partitioned off; we find him living in two whole rooms plus an extensive alcove. The siren yields to Odile's plea to carry to safety in the country the Rat, who has been protesting his guilt at court; then we hear that every time after this woman's public statement that the Rat appeared, he was thrown out of court; evidently some days have elapsed—yet the siren, by some twist of dramatic expediency, picks out, as the time to try to take the Rat away, ten minutes before the jury is to render its verdict on Odile. Finally, the play is over, and the audience begin putting on their wraps, when the Rat falls at Odile's feet, and she lifts him; yet on the stage they go on talking for a while. Easily made corrections could tighten the play, and at least make the old food more palatable. One gets tired of the same courses, unless they are served distinctively or with new dressing.

Horace Braham, since he changed his name, is acting better, and makes an agile Rat; the cast and the settings are satisfactory. The play's the thing. J. T. S.

"Peter the Great" Carries Fear of a Weakling Across the Stage of the Yiddish Art Theatre

Interest in a play usually centers upon a conflict. There are, perhaps, dramas in which we are held by some other appeal—by the weight of poetic or scenic adornment, by the majesty of great display, or by the attraction of dance and song and vaudeville humor—but in the serious drama we expect and are held by a conflict.

The Yiddish Art Theatre's production of "Peter the Great" loses that sense of the struggle of the great conservative forces by the agent, who drive the weak Alexis against the strong and progressive Peter. Without that sense of desperate conflict, we find but a weakling driven by every whim of his religious aunt, of his ambitious courtier friends, of his bored and sensuous mistress. In the novel, the last of Merszkovsky's great trilogy, from which he has adapted this play, Alexis is "an intelligent man, not like his father, but a man with a comprehending and subtle spirit." In the play he seems not merely weak, but stupid, almost weak of mind as of will; Maurice Swartz plays him as a moron, shifting from weak enjoyment of sensual treats to angry or cringing or weeping cowardice. Such a character can hardly be effective as the chief figure in a drama; we watch rather the procession of events in his unhappy life, until such time as he reaches his miserable end. A pathetic life, indeed, but not wrought into the fervor of drama. W. L.

When "China Rose" reopens at Wal-lack's Theatre on Monday matinee, McCarthy and Moore will be seen as the principal comedians.

Walter Hampden will end his engagement in "Othello" at the Shubert Theatre on Saturday, Feb. 28. He will be seen here again in the role next season.

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THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE VIRGIN OF BETHULIA," by Henri Bernstein, will be presented by Lee Shubert, at the Ambassador Theatre, Monday matinee. This drama, known abroad as "Judith," has been adapted by Gladys Unger and the cast is headed by Julia Hoyt and McKay Morris. The supporting company includes Ann Davis, Thurlow Bergen, Edingham Pinto, George Baxter, Marjorie McClucas, Charles Gibeau, Fred Beane, George N. Price, Lee Beggs, George Rogers and Gus Alexander.

"WHITE COLLARS," a comedy of the American middle class, by Edith Ellis, dramatized from a story by Edgar Franklin, will open at the Cort Theatre, Monday afternoon, presented by Frank Egan. The cast includes John Marston, Claude Silvernail, Mona Kingsley, Frances Underwood, Frederick Burton, Rea Martin, Robert Craig, Cornelia Otis Skinner and Donald McClelland.

"ARIADNE," a new comedy by A. A. Milne, will open at the Garrick Theatre, Monday night—the fourth production of the Theatre Guild this season. In the cast are Laura Hope Crews, Lee Baker, Harry Mestayer, Orlando Daly, Frieda Inescort, Catherine Proctor and Armina Marshall. Philip Moeller directed the play and Carolyn Hancock designed the settings.

"TWO BY TWO," a new comedy, by John Turner and Eugene Woodward, will open at the Selwyn Theatre, Monday night. Jessy Trimble presents the play. The cast includes Charlotte Walker, Lawrence D'Orsay, Maud Durand, Arthur Lewis, Howard Lindsay, Beatrice Harford, Frank L. Frayne and Minnette Buddecke.

TUESDAY

"THE WILD DUCK," by Henrik Ibsen, will open Tuesday evening, at the 48th Street Theatre, presented by the Actors' Theatre. The cast includes Tom Powers, Warburton Gamble, Blanche Yurka, Moffatt Johnston, Cecil Yapp, Pearl Sindelar, Henry Carvill, Thomas Chalmers, and Helen Chandler. Staged by Dudley Digges. Scenes by Joseph Mielziner.

"NIGHT HAWK," a drama by Roland Oliver, will open at the Bijou Theatre, on Tuesday night, sponsored by Mulligan and Trebitsch. The cast will be headed by Mary Newcomb, Byron Beasley, Kathleen Lowry, Leonard Doyle and Kathryn Tracy.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY
B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will include Zena Keefe, the movie star, who will appear in person in a vaudeville novelty, "A Reel Personality," assisted by Jesse Greer. The screen feature will be "Frisolious Sal," with Mae Busch, Eugene O'Brien and Ben Alexander.

The other acts consist of Bill Lorraine and Al Ritz, the Bellis Duo, John Drake and Company, Louise Andrea and Marie Stephens, and others. Thursday evening, the Broadway will have the final Charleston contest with the contestants culled from the winners of the contests at the Moss' neighborhood theatres.

PALACE
Wallace Eddinger, Lilly Morris, Ben Bernie and His Orchestra, Albertina Rasch's new "Pastelle Ballet," Marita and Edward, Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Barry, Irene Ricardo, Willie West, McGinty and company, Chevalier Brothers, General Pisano, and Rose, Ellis and Rose.

HIPPODROME
Baby Peggy, Karyl Norman, with Ken Clark and Bobbie Simonds, the Inaugural Orchestra, Marcel Salinger, "The Land of Fantasy," with Tillis and La Rue, Manuel Vega, May Wirth with Noko, Henry Regal and Company, the Royal Gascoignes, Tillyou and Rogers, the Rose Kress Four, and the Hippodrome ensemble.



ALICE JOYCE
in Zoe Atkins' film version of
"Daddy's Gone A-Hunting," com-
ing to the Capitol Theatre Sun-
day.

There will be a free performance of "Desire Under the Elms" at the Earl Carroll Theatre on Saturday morning for the faculty members of all schools, colleges and universities in New York City.



JEFFERSON DE ANGELIS
plays the leading comedy role in
John Cort's musical show, "China
Rose," which reopens at Wal-
lack's Theatre Monday matinee.

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By EDITH ELLIS

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A THRILLING LOVE STORY BY CONSTANCE COLLIER AND IVOR NOVELLO

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"Not since 'The Merry Widow' has there
been anything that so completely captures
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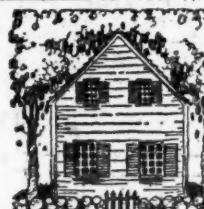
NATJA

An Opera in English in
Score Adapted from

TSCHAIKOWSKY

By KARA HAJOS

"The richest feast for the theatre-
goer which the dramatic stage has of-
fered this season."—Eve. World.



EUGENE ONEILL'S GREATEST PLAY

DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS

WITH
WALTER HUSTON

EARL CARROLL THEATRE 7th Ave. 50 St. Eves. 8:30
Mats. THUR. & SAT. 2:30

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CAPITOL

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AT 51st ST.

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

BEGINNING SUNDAY

A FRANK BORZAGE PRODUCTION

Louis B. Meyer presents

"DADDY'S GONE A-HUNTING"

Adapted from the Stage Play
By ZOE AKINS

— Featuring —

Alice Joyce and Percy Marmont

A METRO-GOLDWYN PICTURE

CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA

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Presentations by ROTHAFEL (PROXY)

B.S. MOSS' B'WAY

Where the crowds all go

ALL NEXT WEEK

The "BIG THRILL" Picture

"FRIVOLOUS SAT"

(FLAMING LOVE)

WITH
Mae Busch, Eugene O'Brien, Mildred
Harris, Ben Alexander and
Tom Santucci

POPULAR MOVIE STAR IN PERSON

ZENA KEEFE

AND OTHER ACTS

Thursday Evening (B. S. Moss' Thea-
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CHARLTON CONTEST

Held Over for
A Third Week!

Owing to the great
popular success of
CHARLEY'S AUNT
at the Colony Thea-
tre, Broadway and
53rd Street, the man-
agement announces
that the run of this
picture will be con-
tinued a third week,
starting next Sunday.

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Mats. 35¢-50¢-85¢
Eves. 60¢-85¢-99¢

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Produced by
CHRISTIE

The WORLD'S FUNNIEST MOTION PICTURE

Enough
to make
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laugh

Bronx Amusements

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149th St., E. of 34 Ave.
POP. PRICES: Mats., Wed., & Sat.

BEGINNING MONDAY MATINEE

A. H. WOODS presents

AN OVERNIGHT SENSATION

CONSCIENCE

— WITH —

LILLIAN FOSTER

By DON MULLALLY

250 Times at the Belmont Theatre,
(No Love Story Like It)

Extra Matinee Washington's Birthday

Week of March 2

"THE GOOSE HANGS HIGH" with
Norman Trevor, Mrs. Thomas Whiffen

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

N. Y. SYMPHONY

FIRST APPEARANCE OF

BRUNO WALTER

GUEST CONDUCTOR

CARNEGIE HALL (Thursday Aft., Feb. 26,
Friday Eve., Feb. 27)

Soloist
EDUARD ZATHUREZKY

WAGNER-MENDLSOHN - BEETHOVEN
GEO. ENGLER, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

AEOLIAN HALL, Tues. Aft., Feb. 24, at 8.
SONG RECITAL—KATHLEEN HART

BIBB

Mr. DAN & MABEL (Steinway Piano)

Lucille Upton has rejoined the cast
of Earl Carroll's "The Rat," at the
Colonial Theatre.

When "Hell's Bells" moves to Daly's
Theatre on March 2, Miriam Battista
will join the cast as understudy to
Violet Dunn. Miss Battista is now
fourteen years of age.

Other operas next week: "Pagliacci"
and "Coq d'Inde" Wednesday evening,
the former with Marie and Johnson,
the latter with Sabaneeva, Wakefield,
Diaz and Didur.

"Rheingold," Thursday afternoon,
with Larsen-Todsen, Mueller, Taucher
and Bohnen. "Falstaff," Thursday
evening, with Alda, Bori, Scotti and
Tibbett. "Die Meistersinger," Friday,
with Berthger, Wakefield, Taucher and
Schorr. "Giovanni Galluresse," Satur-
day afternoon, with Mueller, Bonetti,
Lauri-Volpi and Danise. "Gioconda,"
Saturday night, with Peralta, Gordon,
Gigli and DeLuca. Verdi's "Requiem,"
directed by Serafini, will be sung at Sun-
day night's concert.

Music Notes

Josef Hofman will give a recital
Monday afternoon, at the Hotel Roose-
velt, for the benefit of the Bryn Mawr
Music Fund and the City Music League.

The National Polish Symphony Or-
chestra, under the direction of Stanis-
law Namyrowski, will give its first
concert in this country, Sunday after-
noon, at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Dusolina Giannini is giving her first
song recital at Carnegie Hall, on Sat-
urday evening, Feb. 28.

Grace Divine, mezzo-soprano, will
make her debut in song recital Friday
evening, Feb. 27, in Aeolian Hall.

Reinald Warrenrath will give his sec-
ond song recital, Monday afternoon, in
Carnegie Hall.

Martha Phillips will appear in song
recital at Aeolian Hall, on Tuesday
evening.

McKAY MORRIS

in "The Virgin of Bethulia," by
Henri Bernstein, which will open
Monday afternoon at the Amba-
sador Theatre.

**Revival of "Rheingold" At
Metropolitan Thursday**

"Carmen" as a matinee, on Washing-
ton's Birthday, will open the seven-
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--: DRAMA --:

Old Music Made New

"Natja," Operetta from Tschaiakowsky's Music, Well
Adapted at the Knickerbocker Theatre

A hundred years ago, in England,
two theatres had the monopoly rights
for the presentation of drama; all
others, when they wished to give per-
formances, let us say, of Shakespeare,
had to disguise the play by setting it
to music. Somewhat the opposite
course seems to be the fashion today,
when audiences are won for music
through the device of adapting Schu-
bert or Offenbach, and now Tschaikow-
sky, to musical comedy or operetta
librettos. One might look forward to
such a presentation with some doubt
as to its success; can music lovers be
tempted to hear what they may well
think is a defiling of their favorites;
on the other hand, will jazz addicts
take their musical comedy on a class-
ical foundation? The answer must be
that, in judging, one should forget that
the composer is a famous man and go
ready for an evening's entertainment.

There is no doubt that the Whitekeys
supply good entertainment in "Natja,"
at the Knickerbocker. Karl Hajos has
arranged excellent musical effects, and
the staging, by Edgar MacGregor, is
appropriate and thorough. The chor-
uses are well managed, graceful and
what is unusual—possessed of good
voices for ensembles good to hear.
Madeline Collins was very effective,
both in her singing and her acting, as
Natja; Mary Mellish as the Czarina
displayed a pleasing voice and person-
ality. The men, also, sang well; though
the best effects were those of the
humorous couple, Matthew Hanley and
especially Alexander Clark. These two,
among other things, had a clever Gil-
bert-and-Sullivan-like song and dance,
"You'll Have to Guess," beginning
I know a lot.

The story upon which the music is
woven is that of Catherine the Great's
voyage to the Crimea, to investigate
conditions there; and the efforts of
her favorite to deceive her, both as
sovereign and as lover. It is a tale
pleasantly developed, with a woman
matching her wits to save her country
from this unscrupulous man, and of
course succeeding. The lyrics are the
weakest part of the production, being,
save for one or two, on the level of
the popular song of the usual musical
comedy—above which most of the play
towers. The heroine's solo runs:
Shall I tell my secret revealing,
Tell him all my heart is concealing?
Then he'll know that he's won my
heart!
Tell him all my fond heart is saying.
And lines of the sort run through
the songs of the play. But the story
flows evenly and with delightful melody
and movement, so that despite the lack
of beauty in the words there is enjoy-
ment in the evening that makes this
presentation of Tschaiakowsky well
worth while. J. T. S.



MARY MELLISH,
formerly of Metropolitan Opera,
is singing the role of Catherine
II in "Natja," the delightful op-
eretta, with music by Tschaikow-
sky, now at the Knickerbocker.

Pictures Aid In
Preventing War

Commerce Bureau Head
Credits Films as Pacifier

Motion pictures are making nations
friendly and thus preventing war.
In an address before the Conference
on the Cause and Cure of War, recently
held at Washington, Dr. Julius Klein,
head of the Bureau of Foreign and
Domestic Commerce of the Department
of Commerce, said:
"It is no exaggeration to describe
the international trade in motion pic-
tures as one of the great contributions
toward mutual understanding. The bet-
ter types of such pictures, going abroad
in increasing quantity, are accomplish-
ing a profoundly helpful service in
clearing away misconceptions and dis-
torted ideas as to the manners and
customs of other peoples.
"Likewise, the widespread expansion
of the uses of radio will serve as an
invaluable force in drawing the world
into closer and more friendly relation-
ship."

**"Conscience," With
Lillian Foster, at the
Bronx Opera House**

"Conscience," by Don Mullally, comes
to the Bronx Opera House, Monday
matinee for a week's stay. Lillian Fos-
ter heads the cast as at the Belmont
Theatre. Others in the company in-
clude Ray Collins, Robert Robson,
Rosemary King, Robert Cavanaugh and
S. K. Fried.

"The Goose Hangs High," headed by
Norman Trevor and Mrs. Thomas Whif-
fen, will be the following attraction.

Jane Cowl will close in "The Depths"
at the Broadhurst Theatre Saturday
and will tour briefly in "Romeo and
Juliet." "Badges" will move from the
Ambassador to the Broadhurst for a
single week.

The Actors' Theatre will transfer
Bernard Shaw's "Candida" to the El-
tinge Theatre for a limited engage-
ment, beginning with Monday matinee's
performance.

--: MUSIC --:

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Why I Am Working for the
Socialist Movement

By S. H. STILLE

(This article is the first of three that Comrade Stille will write for
The New Leader. It serves as an introduction to two articles on organi-
zation of the Socialist Party. Comrade Stille has had remarkable suc-
cess in rebuilding party organizations up-State. In every town and city
in which he has worked he has rebuilt the local organization from a hand-
ful to a hundred or more active members. His experience and methods
should prove invaluable to Socialists in other parts of the country.)

SOcialism means to me,
and I think it should mean
to every one who embraces the
cause, a system of government
and management of the affairs
of men and State that will give
to the masses culture, refine-
ment, education, art, beautiful
homes—in fact, all that goes to
make life worth while and en-
joyable in our sojourn.

Under our present capitalistic so-
ciety we have an unjust system in
which a few men, or group of men,
own the factories, mines, railroads
and all the resources of the earth.
The individuals who own the vast
machinery that means life to the
people of the earth reap from the
sale, manufacture and distribution
of the comforts of life great prof-
its counted in swollen fortunes.
These profits give leisure to the
few who own the industrial em-
pires, which in turn gives them
time for culture, refinement, art,
beautiful homes—in fact, all that
makes life worth living.

The privilege of having the finer
things of life today rests in the
ownership of the means of produc-
tion and distribution. Socialism is
that system which will give the
ownership of the above mentioned
powers to the great mass of human-
ity. It will encourage further de-
velopment of the science of the in-
dustrial world, in the harnessing of
electricity and building super-power
plants that will enable the race to
produce sufficient for the comforts
of life, food, shelter and protection,
in much less time than is required
today and under much better
methods and environment. This
would leave to the producers a few
days each week for leisure, which is
the foundation of the finer things
of life.

When a miner or a farmer works
ten or twelve hours per day he
comes home tired and exhausted.
He has no leisure, no time for art
or reading. He becomes a slave
scourged to his dungeon, and there
he crouches like an animal till the
rays of a kindly sun call him forth
to another day of toil under the
wage system. We can now read
in the faces of thousands of the
sons of toil the sad fact that the
workers are deteriorating.

Stand on a street corner some
night, especially Saturday, and
watch the horde of toilers pass. It

makes your heart ache. They are
unconcentrated, uncultured, some-
times illiterate. They do not love art; they
are like dumb driven cattle. They
are the product of a system that
robs them of all the finer things of
life. They produce profits, rent,
and interest, and then are turned
out on the highway of destitution
that leads to a region of poverty.
Often filled with filth of mind and
body, the very soul cries out against
this. Such conditions often vomit
the bloody lava of hell-borne revo-
lutions that cost not only money
but life that is sweet and dear to
all. Surely this will not be the
end. Socialism is the good Samar-
itan that will gather up the
wounded of the world in arms of
affection and devotion and nourish
them back to life and happiness.

The question before us now is,
How to change the ownership of
industry and place it under co-
operative and democratic manage-
ment. Will this be accomplished by
revolution or the saner method of
education or evolutionary forces
that constantly and eternally work
in all planes of organic, religious,
industrial and political evolution?
I love to think the latter will be the
method by which it will be accom-
plished.

The burning question of the hour
is not how will the people act fifty
years from now. It is not a ques-
tion of direct action or the things
over which the right and left wings
quibble.

To me the only question of the
hour is to find comrades who have
the cause at heart, who are devoted
to the Ideal, who love culture, ideal-
ism and all the finer things of life;
who want to really see these things
gradually given to the great masses
of humanity. If we only had men
devoted to the Ideal, to go out in
this world of chaos and organize
the movement and teach men one by
one the better life, we would have
a movement of which we could be
proud. I for one am willing, and
I am devoting all my time to point
the weary toilers to the star that
shines eternally and to the rainbow
painted on the clouds as each day
dies out of the West. I want them
to see beyond the hills and fumes
that a grander order lies just be-
yond. To this end I have dedicated
my life. This is my goal, and until
my body crumbles into dust I shall
not cease my labors. Come, let us
organize our party.

Rand School Activities

Ex-Congressman Meyer London
is continuing his discussion of
"Russia, the Old and the New," at
the Rand School, on Saturdays, at
1:30 p. m. After discussing the
contribution of Peter the Great to
the development of Russia, the re-
sulting territorial expansion and
increase of population by the addi-
tion of the heterogeneous elements,
Mr. London will go into the problems
arising out of the communal owner-
ship of land, and the unsuccessful
attempts to establish private land
ownership. An opportunity for
questions is given at the close of
the lecture.

On Saturday afternoon, at 3:30
p.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, February 21, 1925

REBUILDING THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE NEW LEADER directs special attention of Socialist Party members to the article by Eugene V. Debs on another page. His contribution to the important theme of party building will be given special attention at the Chicago convention of the Party. Together with other suggestions offered, the convention will no doubt formulate plans for extensive Party organization and by the end of the year the membership should be materially increased.

No matter what is done at Chicago by the C. P. A. the Socialist Party must extend its activities and rebuild its branch and State organizations. No more important work faces it at this time. The old dissensions that weakened the party have spent their force, they are no longer issues with us, and the field is clear for an organization with the intelligent outlook and program of the Socialist Party. Every Party member should hold himself in readiness to respond to the call for work that will certainly be issued by the convention next week.

THE TRESCA CASE

CARLO TRESCA, sentenced to prison for one year and a day, has his sentence commuted to four months by President Coolidge, and thus ends one chapter in a case that is contemptible to say the least. Originally indicted for printing an article against the Italian monarchy described as "obscene," indicted upon the initiative of the Italian Ambassador at Washington, then tried and convicted upon another charge—the printing of a birth control advertisement—Assistant United States Attorney Mattuck now admits for the first time that Tresca was tried on complaint of the Italian Ambassador.

Another aspect of the case is interesting. Tresca eliminated the advertisement when informed that it was unavailable, but two other Italian editors ran it. Their papers were not excluded from the mails and they were not indicted. The conclusion is obvious. The black hand of the Italian Fascist reached across the Atlantic through the Italian Ambassador and placed Tresca in the Federal prison because of his attacks upon the bands of Italian assassins who rule Italy by force.

Justice has not been done by the commutation of sentence. Commutation implies guilt, but admits that the punishment is severe. What Tresca is entitled to is a pardon and immediate release. Short of this he remains a victim of Mussolini's vengeance. Moreover, Tresca's continued imprisonment is admission that European dictators may use American courts to suppress men on American soil who seek to arouse their countrymen against an oligarchy in the homeland.

AUSTRIA, HUNGARY AND THE LEAGUE

A RECENT Vienna news cable outlines the dissatisfaction of the Austrian Government over its recent negotiations with the League of Nations at Geneva. Austria's petitions for financial aid were almost the same as the petitions of Hungary. The Hungarian request was for the most part granted while Austria was conceded only one item in her request.

The difference in the treatment of the two nations is revealed further on in the dispatch. Vienna is a powerful Socialist center "which makes the League of Nations distrust Austria." Socialist control of Vienna has been acquired by patient and

peaceful education and organization of the masses. On the other hand, Hungary is a dictatorship representing the old aristocracy and great land owners. It came into power by violence. It has no mandate from the Hungarian masses. It is smeared with the blood of thousands tortured and massacred by Horthy's bands. It is guilty of inhuman atrocities that only find a parallel in the early religious wars.

This blood-spattered regime of Horthy and his bandits gets aid from the League, but Austria must suffer because the workers of Vienna do not support the former ruling classes. No other reason can be ascribed for this unequal treatment of the two nations. That it is a forecast of what the workers must endure in any country where they obtain a large measure of control is certain.

HUGHES MUZZLES FREEDOM

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES is bidding us good-bye. And his farewell message to Americans is an official proclamation that no friend of freedom in Europe shall be allowed to land in this country unless he promises to keep his mouth shut. Count Michael Karolyi is learning about America from Mr. Hughes.

Karolyi tried to establish a republic in Hungary. Hungarians believed him when he told them America was the model they should copy. Then red reaction, followed by white, came and Karolyi was astonished to see official American charity and diplomacy used to uphold the bloody dictatorship of the old Hapsburg admiral, Horthy.

Still Karolyi believed in America. Hungary under Horthy sank into an orgy of cruelty and assassination, directed against the champions of freedom, yet America did not protest. Count Karolyi, in exile, saw his friends murdered, his name slandered and his property confiscated by the usurpers.

America did not protest, but for some queer reason Karolyi still believed in America.

Then the Count's wife, visiting in America, came down with a fever, and underwent an operation to save her life. Karolyi, in London, asked for American permission to visit his wife.

And Charles Evans Hughes, our own Charles, made Karolyi pledge himself, as the price of seeing his stricken wife, that he would not say a word in America about the outrages in Hungary.

Does Count Karolyi still believe in America? Does he maintain his faith that we in this country are not all truthfully represented by Charles Evans Hughes?

And is Mr. Hughes satisfied? Is this insult to freedom, this outrage of American traditions, the thing he really craves to mark his last month in office? If that be so, let us thank him for his candor. The two-faced lawyer tells us which face he likes best. Foul hypocrisy is not ashamed of itself!

GEORGE WASHINGTON

GEORGE WASHINGTON occupies an important place in American history, but he does not have the same appeal to the

A Mexican Picture

Beggars, beggars, everywhere,
Halt, lame, blind;
Stopping you at every step;
Implying you, beseeching you,
In the name of God,
Be kind.
If I gave only one centavo
To every beggar on the street
Who pleads with me
To not forget
The halt, the lame, the blind,
I'd either have to go to Heaven
Or move to warmer climes.

Once I stood before the Falls of Niagara
And asked myself:
"Where Do All These Waters Come From?"
And on the streets of Mexico City,
I continually ask myself:
"Where Do All These Beggars Come From?"

Elizabeth Goldstein.

workers that the name of Lincoln invokes. With the Lees, Masons and Randolphs he represented the tide-water aristocrats of Virginia. A slave owner, he regarded emancipation with favor, but there is no indication that he would have softened or wiped out the bond service of whites.

On the other hand, Washington had the courage to break with the past. Old traditions, institutions and customs had no appeal for him. The wealthiest man in the colonies, he and the other leaders of the upper classes wanted home rule, but they also wanted to rule at home.

The rising of the radical masses in the winter of 1786-7 frightened the ruling gentry. The promises of the revolution proved Dead Sea fruit for the masses, who were reaching for power in a number of colonies. They had no program and where they obtained partial power they made things worse. The critical situation brought quiet conferences between the upper class leaders in which Washington participated. The outcome was the framing of the Constitution which is regarded by many historians as a conservative counter-revolution.

Washington stood for change. So did Lincoln, but there was a marked contrast between the aims of the two men. Of the two, Lincoln has the affection of the working class of our time and for obvious reasons.

THE INDUSTRIAL EXECUTIVE

A MODERN tendency in the evolution of American capitalism is the increasing salaries paid to executives of great industries. Forbes Magazine calls attention to the fact that not so long ago \$100,000 "was sufficient to attract the top-notch executives in any industry." Several now get a million or more. Salaries of fifty to one-hundred thousand dollars are now sometimes spurned. Corporations now offer in addition to a handsome salary a share in the profits earned.

Before the trust era the competent executive was a hired man with a modest salary compared with present standards. He also came in contact with the workers in the industry and this personal contact tended to foster a democratic spirit. Often the owner served as his own executive and came into contact with his employees with the same result.

The present tendency is away from

any such personal contact, while the executive since the beginning of the present century has also become an investor in the corporation. This tendency is certain to tie the official hierarchy to the owners, most of whom are absentee masters who never see their properties. To the extent that executives, technicians and others of the official personnel are bound by ties of economic interest to the owners to that extent will they resist any tendency to introduce industrial democracy in industry.

The evolution at the top of the great industrial dynasties offers a field of interesting study. The greater feudal chiefs are creating lesser barons and giving the latter an important stake in preserving things as they are. The modern executive compared with the executive of thirty years ago represents evolution of a type that must be reckoned with in any forecasts of the future.

THANKS, GENTLEMEN

WE Socialists are profoundly grateful to our ruling classes and their retainers for one service they have rendered. They have identified the Socialist movement with the child Labor amendment. Through the radio, the press and the platform they have advertised our connection with it. They have recalled the fact that we were among the first to demand the emancipation of childhood. They have quoted prominent Socialists and have "charged" them with being advocates of the amendment.

Thanks, gentlemen, many thanks. We could never have reached as many as you have reached. You have helped to give us a standing among thinking and humane men and women that we could not get by our own efforts. You have done, and you are doing, what every ruling class has done. In your stupidity you have played into our hands.

However, it is not your fault. The ruling cliques identified with a social order finally reach a period when they no longer think. They become silly and absurd. Satisfied with their own place in the scheme of things, they want no change. They grow fat and sullen, pompous and ignorant, superstitious and fearful.

Unable to intelligently defend the social order in which their interests are supreme, they conjure spooks and goblins to frighten the multitude. If we propose to take the children away from capitalist despoilers you say that we want to "nationalize" them or that we want to break up the family. Then you pile stupidity on stupidity by shouting to the world that we Socialists have for many decades been urging the release of children from the clutches of your class.

Thanks, gentlemen, again thanks. Your intellectual decline is evident. You are no more intelligent than the slave owners of the South who thought that a few months of war would enable them to perpetuate slavery. Their fate is an image of your future, and as for us—well, we will march on to greater conquests until all mankind is free.

POLYANNA ECONOMICS

ANYBODY who accumulates a few million dollars in this country can win a reputation as an authority on many questions. The knowledge of the man is assumed to be in direct proportion to the amount of cash he accumulates.

Mr. Bernarr Macfadden accumulates a few millions and starts a newspaper. He struts forth as an authority on economics, politics, the transit problem, character building and a few other specialties. He settles that old family quarrel between Brother Labor and Brother Capital by tossing a little advice to both sinners.

To Brother Labor he says: "Every blow aimed at capital in the end strikes the labor market. It is capital that hires the laborer, and when there is no capital, or if the capital is afraid to invest, Labor cannot find a market for itself."

To Brother Capital he says: "Capital undoubtedly at times is greedy—offensively so; and the same can sometimes be said of Labor when the unions proceed to use the big stick that they now possess through organization. Capital represents the breath of life for Labor, and Labor represents the breath of life for Capital."

Any human being who can obtain an intelligent idea of what all this means is a fortunate bird. It is nothing more than a juggling of platitudes, a trifling with the most serious economic relationships of modern society. If there is an idea at all expressed it is the view that "Labor" and "Capital" are both prompted by pure cupidness at times and if each will only be "good" things will be all right. The writer even ascribes a personality to Capital in one breath and in another uses the word to apply to material or money. "Capital hires Labor" in one sentence and in another Labor "is its breath."

THE Chatter-Box

To Circe

Oh, lash me as the tempest whips the seas,
Or burn me on your sacrificial fires;
Be pitiless with me, if it may please
The strangest portion of your strange desires;

But leave me as I am. And make no spell
Of fulsome flattery or poisoned wine...
The love I bear you will not breathe in hell,
Nor burn beneath the bristle of a swine.

Pity the "Good Bad Woman" and the "Ladies of the Evening." Time was when they pounded the sidewalks of New York, caught between their pandering devils and the bluecoats. Then the Civic and Soul Saving Societies had them hounded into the East River and Hoboken.

But War Prosperity came and the scarlet dames learned the efficacy of apartments in the select sections of the city, with more or less safety from official vulturedom. For years, Riverside Drive and Upper Broadway were honeycombed with "love nests."

Until one day the theatrical magnates, maddened with the inroads of radio and the movies, decided to dramatize the sin-life of Gotham.

And now, we have an invasion of brothel plays that for sheer filth threatens to put all the "stags," "smokers," and burlesque shows out of business.

This exploitation of an age-old economic ulcer for theatre profits is ghoulish. And while we most earnestly protest against the police or civil authorities suppressing them, we do believe that an outraged public decency should starve them off the stage.

Plays like the "Good Bad Woman" or "Ladies of the Evening" are not only of wretched literary value, but there is an unwholesome odor about them that should attract only scavengers and sex-morons to their offal.

Unfortunately, these shows are prospering, only because a great number of American playgoers—ah, well! Why heap more unpleasantness upon an all too unsavory subject?

Song

When you were a fawn in the woodlands,
And I was a bird on a tree,
I warbled my song in the morn mist
To tranquil that wild melody.

You drank of the dew with the sunlight,
The spirit of morn you caressed,
Made captive my sensuous music,
And purged it of passioned unrest.

No longer the blaze and abandon,
The fever begotten of night;
My song is ethereal spirit,
A thing for the dawn and the light.

Frances Wexler.

The Sage

He was an old man,
A very old man;
His hair was white,
White as the snow
On the hillside in the country.
And he read his books by the fireside;
All day long he read his books,
Slowly stroking
His long white beard.
Never did he speak
Except in monosyllables.
If anyone came to him asking questions:
"Shall I do this?"
Or, "Would you do that?"
He would peer at them a moment
And quietly answer,
"Yes,"
Or "No,"
And resume his reading.

His brevity puzzled the people;
They could not understand,
Therefore they thought him very wise.
They came for miles and miles
To ask him:
"Shall I do this?"
Or "Would you do that?"
And he would answer them
"Yes" or "No"—
No more—no less—
And return to his books.

His fame spread.
The people said,
"He is an exceedingly wise man."
They never noticed that following
Each "yes" would be a "no."
And the next time "yes" again.
You see
He was an old man,
And very deaf,
And he liked to read his books.

William Closson Emory.

We happened to be in West Virginia last week, and because of the proximity to the scene of poor Collins' death trap, the hotel conversation was replete with speculation as to the unfortunate explorer's fate.

Back in the hills from the hotel, thousands of miners were fighting the winter blasts and hunger with rags and crusts. They were striking. And when they were working, thousands of them were going down daily to the black pits with the fate of Collins facing them every moment of the day. The records of coal mine disasters in the daily prints, when hundreds are choked out of life at a time, never carry more than a few sticks of type for a day or two. For many weeks this Collins' tragedy has carried the news throughout the world with catastrophic importance.

When hundreds of miners are killed at work because of faulty safeguards and profit-seeking treachery, the news must be kept down, or else public opinion may see some virtue in the miners fighting for higher wages and better working conditions.

When one daring explorer is caught in a cave and crushed through two weeks of frantic rescue work, that is News—and Human Interest Stuff.

Poor Collins, we say sorrowfully. But God! what shall we say about the miners?

S. A. DE WITT.

The Serf

By ESTON EVERETT ERICSON

The wagon stopped. Then through the open gate
The farm team dragged . . . 'Twas Pete
returning late
From town. Unharnessing the team, he led
Them to the barn, an eyesore of a shed,
Straw-thatched . . . He cursed the wickless lantern; sought
The buckles in the dark, and, pulling taut
The tie-ropes, plodded slowly toward the thing
That served him for a house. (One rainy spring,
When hopes were high, he'd planned to build
And dug an ample cellar, now half-filled
With thistles and debris. And as Pete walked
On past, out of the dusk its wide mouth
mocked
At all his addled plans.)
A thing, I said,
By Pete himself . . . And hoping for a crop
To fill those bins, he scrawled PETE BAR-
KAS, PROP.,
Above the door. But rooms once meant for
wheat
Now served as place to cook and sleep and
eat.
Beside the stove his wife stood deep in
thought;
She'd washed for Greens six months, but
felt she ought
To tell them to go hang, for they'd begun
To splice pyjamas, counting them as one.
But this year's crop was light, the cows
were dry—
With taxes to be paid, and clothes to buy,
Dry-landers' wives can't do quite as they
please,
For dollars are as scarce out there as trees.
Across the table Joyce. With busy pen
She made her outline: who and where and
when.
Pete came in whistling—stopping short to
say,
"Hoy! Ma and Joyce! How's it go today?"
Matilda scarce looked up, but using fork
Tried both to dodge the grease and turn
the pork.
This done, she took the sizzling supper up,
And poured the steaming tea into the cup.
All through the meal Pete sat without a
word.
But looked down at the cloth, or slowly
stirred
His tea. The meal was finished soon. Pete
lit
His pipe . . . Then cleared his throat a bit
And said, "Hard luck in Willow Springs
today."
"What's that?" (his wife) "Green's took the
stuff away?"
"No, no, he gave me time—renewed the
seven notes.
But kept out all the rakin's . . . both the
wheat and oats."
(These rakings were the meagre little yield
The women folks had gleaned from off the
field:
A bunch the header missed, or barges
spilled;
Not much, God knows, but Pete had willed
That proceeds from such grain should be
Pin money for the women.) Angrily
Matilda spoke: "You let Green take that
wheat
That Joyce and I slaved over in the heat—
You know how we need clothes but just like
you
To offer Green my wash-tub wages, too!"
Then speaks up Joyce: "My Gosh, folks, do
be still
An hour or so—then you can row until
Daylight, but I must get this history
done."
"Alexander II freed the serfs in 1861."