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of the Socialist and La-
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SOCIALISTS TAKE LABOR PARTY STANDARD WHEN C. P. P. A. AND LIBERALS FALTER

CHICAGO.—Out of the three great national progressive and Labor conventions, the Socialist Party has emerged as the standard-bearer of independent political action by America's workers.

The C. P. P. A. met Saturday and adjourned without taking any action on a new party. Later that day all in the Conference who favored a new party re-convened. The Socialists offered their proposal for an American Labor party. Liberals, mild progressives and La Folletteites urged a liberal party.

The proposal for a liberal party won the votes of the majority. The first act of the new liberal party was to turn over its organization to five old party-progressives in Congress.

The Socialist Party convened Monday. Acting on a resolution drawn by Eugene V. Debs and Morris Hillquit, the party severed its connections with the C. P. P. A. and refused to join the liberal party. It sounded a call for the workers to rally around the Socialist Party as the only true expression of independent political action by the working classes and real progressives of the nation.

In a ringing appeal to the American toiling and producing masses to rally to the party of their class, the National Convention of the Socialist Party in session at Chicago adopted the following

STATEMENT ON PARTY POLICY

"The convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action, held in the city of Chicago Feb. 21 and 22, has met and adjourned. We regret having to announce that the convention disappointed the hopes of those who expected it to lay the foundation and set in operation the machinery of an independent Labor party in the United States. The time seemed to have come for the organization of such a party but soon after the convention assembled it became apparent that the wide disagreement among the delegates as to its basic principles would defeat all efforts to launch a party committed definitely to independent political action in the interest of the producing classes.

"At the very beginning of the proceedings the railroad unions, which constituted the great bulk of membership represented by the Conference and gave such prestige and promise to the movement, withdrew from the convention. Their leaders declared that they had no mandate to commit their organizations to independent political action and that they would therefore continue their non-partisan policy in political affairs.

"The remaining delegates with but few exceptions were neither representative of the producing classes nor in harmony among themselves as to the kind of a party to be organized.

Middle Class Party

"Following adjournment of the Conference after the withdrawal of the railroad brotherhoods, the remaining sessions were attended by those only who favored the organization of a new party, and these delegates constituted an entirely different body from that composing the original Conference. It is true that they decided to form a new party but it was clear that the party to be so organized was far more likely to be a liberal party composed of the middle classes than a militant political organization of the toiling and producing masses of America.

"The Socialist Party, be it said,

consistently cooperated with the Conference for Progressive Political Action from the day of its inception and gave its whole-hearted support to the independent candidacy of Senators La Follette and Wheeler in the recent campaign. In both the Conference and the campaign the Socialists gave their time, their means and their energy, freely and unselfishly to meet their obligation and to achieve the end in view. They did not bargain for advantage of any kind, nor did they expect or receive any political compensation whatsoever.

"The Socialists served the movement from a high sense of duty, believing thoroughly in its value for the political education of the producing classes and hoping that in time it would develop into a powerful political instrument in the hands of the American workers, agricultural as well as industrial, mental as well as manual, in the protection of their interests and the promotion of their welfare in their struggle against exploitation and for their ultimate emancipation."

Labor Party Needed

"For the Socialists are profoundly convinced that there is no escape nor substantial relief for the American people from the economic and political domination of the greedy special interests of which they are now the victims, save alone through the laboring masses, organized as a powerful, irresistible political force throughout the nation, boldly challenging the corrupt and oppressive misrule of the pirating oligarchy (Continued on page 2)

Enthusiased Delegates Clear Socialist Party of Debt

CHICAGO.—A debt of \$5,000 that has been hanging over the National Office was wiped out at a banquet given to delegates to the Socialist Party Monday night. Remarkable as some demonstrations have been at previous convention banquets there has been nothing to compare with this one. The spirit, the enthusiasm and the willingness to give were undoubtedly the outcome of the convention's decision to not follow the abortive movement organized by remnants of the C. P. P. A. conference last Sunday.

Delegates who attended the Cleveland banquet last year made comparisons. When that dinner was held the party's decision on the nomination of La Follette had been forecast by the debate a few hours before. In the midst of wild enthusiasm, the delegates contributed \$3,000 to the campaign fund.

In Chicago the situation was different. The appeal made at the banquet was not for a campaign fund but to clear the slate of debts. If there is any form of party activity that is difficult it is the effort to raise funds to pay for debts, yet the feeling and spirit of this convention were such that within one hour \$5,013 was pledged to the National Office and nearly one thousand of this was handed over in cash.

Another contrast that occurred to the delegates was the debt reported to the C. P. P. A. conference. This debt was the same amount as that of the Socialist Party. Although

the former had nearly eight-fold more delegates than the Socialist conference and represented millions of organized workers and farmers the C. P. P. A. could raise only a small portion of the amount required to pay off its debts. One of its last actions was the passing of a motion that the new party inherit this debt. There was not the profound convictions at the Lexington Hotel that were displayed in the remarkable demonstration at the Socialist banquet that night.

William E. Cunnea served as toastmaster, and when he rose to introduce the speakers over 300 enthusiastic Socialists were seated. Among the speakers were Mayor Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, Cameron King of San Francisco, Mollie Friedman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, Sam Levine of the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Barney Berlyn, the 82-year-old veteran Chicago Socialist, Morris Hillquit of New York, Leo Harkins of Pennsylvania, James O'Neal of New York and Eugene V. Debs. Mrs. William J. Van Nessen of Pennsylvania, who has entertained many Socialist gatherings with her wonderful singing, contributed two solos.

A telegram was read from Morris Sigman and Abraham Baroff of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union extending greetings to Eugene V. Debs. This affectionate message was greeted by prolonged applause.

Material Not at Hand For a Labor Party, Eugene V. Debs Declares

CHICAGO.—The large auditorium of the Car Workers' Union on Ashland Boulevard was nearly filled with an enthusiastic audience that came to hear Eugene V. Debs Sunday afternoon.

Since early morning a heavy fog and a cold rain had made the day one of the most uncomfortable this winter. Had the weather been more inviting the great auditorium would have been packed to greet the man who went to prison for his views.

State Secretary Snow introduced B. Charney Vladeck as chairman of the meeting. Upon the platform were a number of delegates to the Socialist Party convention and Rafael Abramowitz, representing the Social Democratic Party of Russia.

James O'Neal of New York was the first speaker, and was followed by George Kirkpatrick of the National Office, who made a very dramatic plea for contributions from the audience.

Upon Debs' appearance in the hall the great audience gave him a hearty reception, cheering for several minutes as he made his way to the platform. Two little girls carrying a large cluster of flowers slowly walked up the platform. The audience broke into another demonstration as Debs received the flowers and kissed the children.

Chairman Vladeck paid a stirring tribute to Debs when presenting him to the audience. Debs began to speak when the audience caught sight of a young woman walking to the platform bearing a cake with numerous tiny candles. Another roar came from the audience during the presentation of the cake and the speaker was finally able to proceed.

He began by saying that his (Continued on Page 2)

N. J. Socialists Called To Enter Fight for Gubernatorial Ticket

State Secretary Robert Leemans has sent the following letter to Socialists of his State, New Jersey:

As the American Labor party for which we have been working and hoping has failed to materialize, the Socialist Party remains, as it was in the past, the only effective political expression of the workers of America. We are again going it alone, and while we may regret that organized Labor is not yet ready to take the step which it will have to ultimately, let us at least be thankful that the issue is again clear-cut. So long as there was still hope for an American Labor party, many earnest and sincere comrades felt that they were furthering the cause by assisting the mushroom, so-called "Progressive," parties which sprang up here and there. But now that organized Labor has definitely abandoned, for the time being at any rate, the idea of an American Labor party, it is clear that any new "Progressive" party, however well-intentioned, can be but a mildly liberal organization, seeking not to abolish capitalism, but merely to make it "be nice." No Socialist can now be undecided as to where his duty lies. The party expects once more the undivided allegiance and service of its members. We worked unselfishly and unapologetically for the candidates of the C. P. P. A. The result has not been what we hoped. Let us now, at once, take advantage of the contacts we made during the recent campaign, and in Essex, Camden, Bergen, Passaic, Union and Hudson counties, and elsewhere, proceed immediately to enroll in our party the forward-looking persons with whom we have maintained contact since election. This is to be a gubernatorial year, and we also wish to run Assembly candidates in every county. We must build up our organization immediately if we are to wage an effective campaign. Let us imbibe again a little of the crusading spirit which has been somewhat lacking of late, and make this the banner year for Socialism in New Jersey.

ROBERT LEEMANS,
State Secretary.

By JAMES ONEAL

CHICAGO.—What was the most momentous national Socialist Party Convention held since the Emergency Convention of 1917 adjourned on Tuesday at one o'clock. The spirit of optimism and enthusiasm that has inspired the delegates since they left the Hotel Lexington gathering on Sunday continued into the last session and they are the most hopeful Socialists that ever returned to their homes from a national convention.

The last session had not proceeded far when the chairman announced that John T. Whitlock, of Chicago, an active party member, desired the floor to make a statement. Although impatient to hear the draft of a statement regarding the party's attitude towards the C. P. P. A. which the committee of five was ready to report, the floor was granted to Comrade Whitlock. In a few brief words he stated that he extremely regretted that he had been unable to get to the banquet but that he was happy to contribute \$1,000 to the party fund.

This announcement was greeted with cheers, and as Whitlock reached the top of the hall he was grabbed by Debs who extended an affectionate greeting. This contribution follows another one of \$25 a month for each month this year which Comrade Whitlock has pledged, and it means that the party starts its program of rebuilding clear of all debts and ready to call the members to the great work that is now ahead.

King Suggests New Appeal

George E. Roewer, Jr., was elected chairman and W. J. VanNessen vice-chairman. Murray King of Minnesota was granted the floor to present a proposal of a number of Minnesota Socialists to start a popular propaganda paper modeled upon the old Appeal to Reason, asking merely the approval of Socialists as well as cooperation.

In the discussion that followed, participated in by Cameron King, Edmund Melms and Morris Hillquit, it was decided not to encourage private ventures by Comrades, however much they may want to serve the movement. Hillquit voiced the general sentiment when he said that the tendency of such ventures is to build up a power which eventually escapes the control of the party. He believed that in our rebuilding of the party we should start right and not repeat old mistakes, pointing out that in other countries the Socialists keep control of institutions by the party, using the income of

Hillquit and O'Neal To Report on Chicago To Local N. Y. Tuesday

Members of Local New York of the Socialist Party will have an opportunity to hear the report of their delegates to the Chicago conventions this Tuesday night in the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th street.

Morris Hillquit and James O'Neal will report on the C. P. P. A. party and Socialist conventions. They will bring a special message from Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman of the party.

those that are successful to help the weak institutions and thus strengthening the whole movement.

Walter Hutchins, of the resolutions committee, reported a resolution expressing sympathy for the organizations of the working class in Russia and the members who are imprisoned and exiled by the Communist dictatorship. Newman, of New Jersey, was not quite satisfied with the resolution. He labored under the misapprehension that Socialists had joined in the civil war against the Bolsheviks. Hillquit and O'Neal, participated in the discussion, pointing out that the reverse was true, that the Socialists had joined the Soviet armies. Hillquit made the further point that the dictatorship had granted amnesty to the Czarist factions while our own comrades were still persecuted. The resolution was then adopted without a dissenting vote.

A resolution proposing to increase the dues of members was tabled without discussion.

At this point Delegate Hillquit arose to announce that the morning (Continued on page 2)

Paul Hanna, New Leader's Managing Editor, Is Dead

His many friends in the Socialist and Labor movement were shocked this week to hear of the death of Paul Hanna, managing editor of The New Leader, and a well-known journalist in the radical and progressive movement. Hanna's death came suddenly Tuesday morning after an acute illness of one day. It was caused by an ulcer in his stomach. He had been suffering from stomach ailments for some years. Death came at his home, 39 West 37th Street. His wife, Rosa Laddon Hanna, and Mrs. Adolph Warsaw, were by his side.

Interment took place Thursday at Oxford, Pa., which was the scene of Comrade Hanna's boyhood days. The funeral was attended by many friends from Philadelphia and New York City.

Paul Wallace Hanna was born November 25, 1882, at Russellville, Pa. His father was a farmer, a miller and a Government clerk. His son received his early education in primary schools near Chester, Pa., and in grammar schools at Philadelphia and Washington, D. C.

Hanna began to earn his living at the age of 11 as a farm hand. Later, in turn, he worked as a ma-

chine shop apprentice, a mechanical optician and optometrist, an amateur rancher in Wyoming and Colorado. During the building of the Canal, he was a Government clerk at Panama. Later he joined in a gold hunt in Nevada. All this was between 1899 and 1907.

Entering on newspaper work, he was employed by the Washington Herald, the Oakland Tribune, the San Francisco Call, the Philadelphia Evening Telegram and the New York Call. For a number of years he was Washington correspondent of the Federated Press, the New York Call and the London Daily Herald. During this time, he attracted much attention by boldly challenging the method by which the State Department, through innuendoes and inspired stories, repeatedly misled the American reading public. For this he and Laurence Todd were expelled from interviews with Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby.

In recent years Hanna visited Mexico, engaging in educational work there. A member of the Socialist party in Philadelphia for many years, Hanna took up his duties as managing editor of The New Leader two months ago.

IN THE NEW LEADER

NEXT WEEK AND AFTER:

McAlister Coleman: A Week in West Virginia. A Day by Day Account of America's Industrial Storm-Center in this Famous Journalist's Brilliant Manner.

R. R. Abramowitz: The Bolshevik Crisis. In His First Article to Appear in an English Paper, Comrade Abramowitz Brings a Wealth of New Information on the Ever-Absorbing Question of Russia.

Eugene V. Debs: The Hundred Percenters. A Vigorous Inquiry Into Americanism, True and False.

William K. McKibben: Humanity's Side in Opium. The Geneva Conference Interpreted by the Executive Secretary of the White Cross International Anti-Narcotics Society.

Edward Carpenter: A Socialist on Humane Societies. A New Point of View on an Unusual Subject.

Edwin Markham: E. D. Morel. A Poem.

And
James O'Neal: The Chicago Conventions and After.

(MAMMONART, Upton Sinclair's Latest and Greatest Work, Is to Appear Serially in The New Leader. Owing to the Pressure of News of the Chicago Conventions, Publication, Which Was to Begin This Week, Has Been Postponed. Watch for the First Installment in Next Week's Issue of The New Leader.)

CONVENTION MAPS DRIVE FOR GREAT SOCIALIST REVIVAL

(Continued from Page 1)

papers carried the news that Hjalmar Branting, the leading Socialist of Sweden and prominent in the councils of the International, had died. He moved that the following cable be sent to the Swedish party executive:

"The Socialist Party of the United States in national convention assembled, learns with grief of the death of the leader of the Swedish Social Democracy and the valiant champion of the international struggles of the working class, Hjalmar Branting." The motion was agreed to.

The final action of the conference on the C. P. P. A. and the relation of the party to it came upon the report of the committee of five which was read by Eugene V. Debs. The convention hall filled with delegates and visitors from the lobby as it became known that this document was ready for consideration.

Debs read the statement slowly and deliberately after having said that it was drafted by Hillquit. Later Hillquit insisted that he was only partly responsible for the child as Debs had worked over a rough draft of Hillquit's. When Debs obtained the floor during the discussion he observed that he never knew a man who could decline responsibility for his own offspring like Hillquit. "This was great," with roars of laughter.

Aside from a few minor changes in phraseology the statement was adopted unanimously, followed by ringing cheers. It follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF FIVE

On attitude of the Socialist Party to the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the new party.

1. Motion—That the Socialist Party does not affiliate with the new party organized at the Lexington Hotel on Saturday, Feb. 21, 1925. Adopted.

2. State organizations of the Socialist Party may cooperate with bona-fide Labor parties who are such in name as well as in substance and in all efforts to create such parties in the States or locally; provided, however, that the party in all cases maintains its own political integrity and independence, and provided further, that such cooperation is approved by the National Executive Committee. Adopted.

3. That the Socialist Party withdraw from the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

The Conference then adjourned. State secretaries, federation sec-

retaries and the secretary of the Yipsels returned in the afternoon for a conference on organization work and problems.

It is impossible to give any idea in cold print of the exuberant spirits of the delegates as they leave Chicago for their homes. All are certain that the Socialist Party has a splendid future. They

Hillquit Opens Convention

CHICAGO—The national conference of the Socialist Party began its first session in the Douglas Park Auditorium, Monday, at 11 a. m. Executive Secretary Bertha Hale White opened the conference with the roll call, after which Morris Hillquit was elected chairman for the day. Of the fifty odd delegates from twenty States and federations entitled to seats all but a few were present. A large number of party members from various states were also in attendance as they are entitled to participate in discussions but have no vote.

Hillquit observed that it was a pleasure to open the third of the conventions that have been held. In each of the conventions held in the past twenty years it was customary to say that it was a momentous one called to consider momentous questions, and the statement was true each time. It is especially true of this conference.

What we must now consider is whether we shall continue cooperating with the forces we aided last year. "The situation that now faces us is fundamentally different from the situation last year," he said. "Then large sections of the organized workers broke with their political past. There was also a large element of working farmers. Last year we decided, and wisely decided, to go along with the workers. We went into the campaign wholeheartedly. The Socialists were everywhere the backbone of campaign activities."

"Today the situation we face is not what we hoped for. It is not the vote of last year, I mean. We Socialists are accustomed to small beginnings, slow growth and patient endeavor. The vote cast was a notable result, but to others it seemed disappointing and since the election conditions have changed. The railroad unions refuse to go any further and withdrew from yesterday's conference. We remained with other heterogeneous groups who revolved upon the organization of a party the nature

go back to their States to inspire the members with the fruitful work ahead, confident that the Socialist Party has emerged from the complex situation that faced it with its honor and integrity unscathed and that the membership will heartily respond to the call to service that will soon go out from the National Office.

of which is not defined. We no longer face cooperation with working class elements but cooperation with indefinite middle-class elements.

"We have nothing to explain, no apology, no excuse for our course. Our course up to the present has been right and we lost nothing by our cooperation with forces of the working class. On the contrary, we gained a good deal, for we have contributed much to a new political alignment. We gave others an opportunity to learn of our ideals and whatever our decision now may be the Socialist Party remains intact. The Socialist Party stands before the nation today morally and potentially greater than ever. We shall now take up the task of the convention, to rebuild the party, and I know that we will not fail in our task."

Hoan is Vice-Chairman

Hillquit's speech was received with hearty applause, and after election of Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee as vice-chairman, Hillquit, in a few appropriate remarks, invited Eugene V. Debs to address the conference. His address was along the same lines as that of Hillquit except that Debs spoke with tense feeling and an eagerness that bubbled over with enthusiasm because of the great opportunities that face the party today. He had heartily approved the course of the party last year although he had some misgivings. He paid a warm tribute to the devotion and ability of Comrade Hillquit to whom had fallen the difficult task of representing the party in all its activities.

"Recently I felt like an octogenarian snail," said Debs. "Now I feel like a Rocky Mountain goat leaping from crag to crag." After discussing the work of party building he urged that a ringing call should go out to party members and sympathizers. "I am with you to the end," he concluded, "come what may."

Rafael Abramowitz, representing the Social Democratic Party of Russia, was then introduced. It was several minutes before he could proceed after a warm greeting extended to him by Debs on the platform. His address in Russian was devoted to the movement in Russia which was translated by Chairman Hillquit. When Abramowitz concluded, a motion prevailed that the Socialist Party, representing the enlightened workers of the United States, extends its sympathy to the Socialist and working-class prisoners in Russia and its support to the Social Democratic party in its efforts to free the Russian working class from the Bolshevik terror.

Onal of New York obtained recognition to call attention to the fact that Otto F. Branstetter, who had served the party during its most trying period and who had been injured one year ago, had passed away some months later. He moved that the conference rise out of respect to the memory of Branstetter. Delegates and visitors stood in silence for one minute to pay their respects to our late National Secretary.

The convention then proceeded to organize by adopting a set of rules and order of business. The following committees were also elected: Organization, Propaganda and Finance—Snow of Illinois, Mrs. Henry of Indiana, and Merrill of New York. Resolutions—Hutchins of Massachusetts, Sharts of Ohio, and Fall of California. Special Committee to draft statement to membership regarding the C. P. P. A.—Melms of Wisconsin, Hoehn of Missouri, Hillquit of New York, Debs of Indiana, VanNessen of Pennsylvania, Roewer, Jr., of Massachusetts.

Committee Reports

The afternoon session of the convention Monday proved the most important that has been or will be held because of its consideration of the relations of the party to the C. P. P. A. and the new party proposed at the Lexington Hotel on Sunday.

The matter came up on a preliminary report of the special committee to which it had been referred. The committee had been in session for an hour or more when chairman Hillquit of the committee came into the conference to make this preliminary report. The committee made two recommendations with the view of sounding the opinion of the delegates before drawing up a final report.

The first recommendation was that the Socialist Party should not affiliate with the party to be organized by various progressive groups. In support of the recommendation Hillquit said that it was the unanimous opinion of the committee that in taking the proposed action we do not consider it a reversal of our policy but a reaffirmation of the policy we have always pursued, the

willingness to help in organizing a Labor party.

Vague Progressives Remain
He recited the history of our three years' cooperation, contending that we had cooperated with organizations of the workers but now conditions had changed. The railroad organizations had withdrawn and what was left was a miscellaneous collection of middle-class progressives. We have not changed but the conditions have and no good purpose would be served by going along.

On the other hand, the sentiment and education which we have fostered cannot be disposed of because of what had happened. We propose to maintain the integrity and independence of the Socialist Party and cooperate with genuine Labor parties in cities and states wherever such cooperation can be obtained. The motion not to affiliate with the party organized Sunday was carried unanimously with cheers.

The next amendment was that the party should cooperate with Labor parties in cities and states where organized, provided that such cooperation is on the basis of maintaining the integrity of the Socialist Party. Onal of New York amended the recommendation with the proviso that where State cooperation is proposed the State organization of the party should take action only after obtaining the consent of the National Executive Committee.

Kahn of New York objected on the ground that comrades in the State are better qualified to judge the situation in their State than the party executive and that if a mistake is made it would be the mistake of the State alone.

Newman of New Jersey contended that the experience of the party in his State with an alleged Progressive Labor party made the amendment necessary.

Henry of Indiana supported the

amendment saying that what he had observed in Montana, Idaho and Utah showed the necessity of such a safeguard. Harkins of Pennsylvania also supported the amendment. Hoehn of Missouri talked of the general situation, supporting the general view of the committee.

Onal Amendment Carries

Onal again obtained the floor, stating that the situation in Minnesota is so complex and confusing that if he was a resident of the State he would want to consult the executive and if any mistake was made to have the latter share it with the comrades of the State. The amendment was carried unanimously.

The other recommendation was withdrawn from the C. P. P. A. This was adopted without a dissenting vote.

The other business transacted was the adoption of State Secretary Merrill's resolution regarding radio propaganda which is familiar to New Leader readers, and approving a Yipsel resolution providing for the establishing of Sunday schools for children under Yipsel age with the cooperation of the National Office and the Socialist locals.

There was little discussion over an agenda proposal for holding big demonstrations in a number of sections next summer. It was adopted by a unanimous vote.

There has been some dissatisfaction with the issuing of the Socialist World, the monthly magazine of the party, free to the members and it was decided to place it on a subscription basis.

Another Agenda proposal related to a more vigorous campaign for the release of political prisoners and these unjustly imprisoned for their activities in the Labor struggle. A resolution of Melms of Milwaukee asking that the Milwaukee Leader make a special six-months and yearly rate was adopted.

Statement On Party Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

now in control, in the name of the American people.

"Without such a party all political achievement of the workers is inadequate and ineffective, and true social progress utterly impossible."

"The parties of the capitalists and the middle classes, whether openly reactionary or well-meaning liberal parties, are organically tied up with the existing order of social and economic injustice, and the effort therefore successfully combat its evils under penalty of their own destruction."

"For this reason to add a new party of the middle classes such as the recent convention in its closing sessions, with its diminished attendance, determined upon, no matter how 'progressive' or liberal-minded, would be of no avail to the workers in the long run, but on the contrary divert them from their direct and necessary struggles by holding out illusory hopes which would inevitably end in disappointment and disaster."

Socialists Must Withdraw

"The Socialist Party, finding itself unable to cooperate with the Conference after it had placed itself definitely on record as being opposed to the organization of a Labor party, and thus practically excluded from the Conference, concluded, through its delegates, as the only course consistent with its attitude, to withdraw from further participation in the Conference and to sever entirely its connection with that body."

"The Socialist Party has no regret for the part it played in the proceedings of that movement. It demonstrated to the workers of America its entire freedom from dogmatism and sectarianism, and its sincere desire to serve the cause of Labor and

progress under all possible conditions and circumstances."

"And, moreover, the Socialist Party is still ready and willing to merge its political functions in a genuine independent political party of American workers and will certainly continue to put forth its best efforts to that end. To this it should be added that by specific action of the convention of the Socialist Party, State, county and local organizations of the party are authorized to cooperate as far and as fully as possible with all other bona-fide Labor parties with the consent of the National Executive Committee."

"To have prolonged our party affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action after the withdrawal of the railroad brotherhoods, and after its refusal to stand for a Labor party could have resulted in no conceivable good either to the Conference or to the Socialists, but on the other hand would inevitably have given rise to confusion and complications equally disastrous to all concerned."

"In the light of the facts here presented it is perfectly obvious that so far as the Socialists are concerned the Conference has fulfilled its mission, and we now sever our relations with it and its representatives with no feeling of resentment or unfriendliness, whatever may be our disappointment."

"And now we once more raise high our unswerving banner, and with principles inviolate and ideals undimmed we stand forth as the representatives of the Socialist Party, appealing to the American toiling and producing masses to join us in building up the party of their class, the party standing staunchly and uncompromisingly for their rights and their aspirations, and in speeding the day of its glorious triumph."

Material Not at Hand for a Labor Party, Eugene Debs Declares at Mass Meeting

(Continued from Page 1.)

mother once told him that he was born at nine o'clock in the morning when a terrible storm was raging.

"The tempest has never subsided for me," said Debs, amidst laughter and applause. He was proud of the Socialist Party. Henchmen, mercenaries, persecution could not destroy it. During the war a few deserted, some weakened, but many stood their ground. The party

Broadway Briefs

Word comes from London that Sir James Barrie, who has not written a long play for some years, announces that he has completed the script of a new historical drama founded on the life of Robert Burns, the Scottish poet.

A. L. Erlanger's new Mason Opera House in Los Angeles, California, was opened Monday night with "Seventh Heaven."

Margaret Lawrence and Wallace Edinger are to appear as co-stars in "Spin-Drifts," a new drama by A. E. Thomas, which will be produced early next month by George C. Tyler and Hugh Ford.

Carle Carlton has engaged Olive Tell for his new production of George Agnew Chamberlain's play, "Lost," which will have its premiere at New Haven, Conn., Monday March 2.

lived. It could not be destroyed. "I hope for a Labor party," he said, "but I had little expectations of the conference. The materials are not yet at hand. Once more the Socialist Party calls the workers to its standard and the Party will be rebuilt."

In the course of his remarks he made a stirring plea for the release of political and other prisoners of the Labor struggle, especially mentioning Mooney, Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, Ford and Ruhr, the I. W. W. prisoners in the State of Washington, and also Communists, however much he might disagree with the latter.

The great meeting encouraged the Chicago Socialists and the enthusiasm was catching. The chairman announced that the collection amounted to \$170.65.

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Sunday, Mar. 1—8 P. M.

CARLETON BEALS and SENORA CONCHA JAMES, Mexican Embassy

"Can Mexico Solve Her Problems Unaided?"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

"Does the Cathedral Stand for Religious Unity?"

Special—10 A. M.

DR. HARVEY DEE BROWN

"Psychoanalysis"

The People's Institute

COOPER UNION

Friday, February 27

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

(The Great Mass Movements of History)

"To What Extent Is the Protest Against the Felling of Inferiority a Cause of Social Unrest?"

Sunday, March 1

HORACE J. BRIDGES

"Some Recent American Criticism of Democracy"

Tuesday, March 3

DR. CHAS. R. STOCKARD

"The Basis of Human Likeness and Differences"

Eight o'clock Admission Free

OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

LABOR TEMPLE

14th St. & Second Av.

SUNDAY, MARCH 1

8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Av.

J. A. H. HOPKINS

"The Recent Third Party Convention"

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C. P. P. A. FAILS TO ACT ON NEW PARTY

CHICAGO.—Delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action who arrived Friday night were aware of the divergent opinions which would be represented by the various groups. All day the brotherhood leaders were in session to formulate their attitude upon the main question for which the conference had been called. Friday night it became known that with the exception of Johnston of the machinists the railroad organizations would favor only the continuance of the policy of "non-partisan" political action.

Not even a "third party," as distinguished from a Labor party, appealed to them. It is probable that this decision was forecasted in some way so that La Follette's son would not have the embarrassment of appearing at the conference only to find himself facing a hopeless situation.

At the same time the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, together with prominent party members from other parts of the country, was in session at the Hotel Lexington to formulate its policy in the conference. A striking thing about this conference was the unanimity of opinion in favor of making a strong appeal in the conference for the organization of a Labor party. It was generally agreed that both the present circumstances and the past experience of the C. P. P. A. warranted raising the question and pressing the issue together with trade union delegates who favor a Labor party.

A third view also came to the front, the organization of a third party based upon admission of individual members. This was a proposal favored by J. A. H. Hopkins, of the Committee of 48, and the La Follette followers of Wisconsin. It was supported by a number who have no particular political affiliations on the score of the necessity of a "progressive" party that would "break monopoly" and destroy "special privilege."

That the brotherhood leaders were unaware of what course they would agree upon became evident when chairman Johnston for the first time in three years came to Chicago without an opening address prepared. Not until Saturday morning was he able to have a few sheets ready carrying the remarks that he would consider appropriate after the railroad leaders had reached an agreement. The address itself did not have that confident ring which his utterances at other conferences had. His plea for "moderation" in the discussion that was to come was a frank admission that an important question

would come before the delegates that might bring intemperate remarks.

Fortunately, any fears of an intemperate debate proved groundless. Seldom has a body of men of such divergent opinions conducted a discussion with such good feeling as the debate on the question of a Labor party. It is necessary to emphasize this as American Labor conventions have often been the scene of discussions that have degenerated into abuse and the exchange of personalities.

Chairman Johnston said: "We have met here to consider the general economic and political situation and determine what steps should now be taken to advance the great movement for freedom and democracy in which we are enlisted."

"I do not intend to discuss at any length the results of the great campaign in which we have participated since our last meeting. The facts speak for themselves. In spite of almost insuperable obstacles, we

succeeded in placing the names of our candidates on the ballot in every State except one. We conducted a clean and vigorous campaign. We struck terror in the hearts of the reactionaries of both the old parties. They ceased to fight each other. Throwing off their disguises as Democrats and Republicans, they joined as reactionaries in opposing our ticket.

"They resorted to slander and misrepresentation to deceive the people, and in the last weeks of the campaign sed their control of the banks, the railroads and the industries of the country to intimidate and coerce the voters. Wage-earners were told that the factories would close down and that they would be thrown out of their jobs if La Follette and Wheeler were elected or if the election was thrown into the House. Farmers were told that their mortgages would be foreclosed and that they would not get credit to move their crops if Coolidge was not elected.

tramping the streets vainly hunting for jobs. At the same time, the prices of commodities are advancing rapidly, without materially benefiting either farmers or wage-earners. The price of bread, which has now come under trust control, is being increased, but the farmer is getting only a small part of the increase. The largest part of the advance is being shared by the bread trust, the flour trust, and the wheat speculators. At the same time, the great trusts and corporations are massing their forces to resist the increase of wages necessary to effect this increase in the cost of living.

"The reactionaries are now at the height of their power. They have control of every branch of the Government, and are basking in the sunshine of a great stock market boom. Sooner or later this structure of fictitious prosperity based upon high prices and exorbitant profits will collapse. The higher it is pushed above sound foundations, the greater will be the crash that must inevitably follow. Sooner or later the American people will feel the effects of the politics which are now being pursued by the present Administration. The burdens which are to be shifted from the millionaires and the great corporations to the backs of the ordinary taxpayers will bear down heavily. I do not believe that the American people will long endure those unjust burdens or be deceived by a false prosperity in which they do not participate.

"I hold, therefore, that while the reactionaries are now in the saddle, their power is sure to decline. The Progressive forces, if they act with wisdom, will maintain the allegiance of the five million American citizens who expressed their convictions in the last election, and will gain the support of millions of others who will revolt against the burdens which are now to be placed upon them.

"We may, therefore, move forward with great enthusiasm and confidence in the future. I believe that our action should be governed by moderation and by due deliberation, so that we may be sure that the steps we take will command the support of all the forward-looking citizens of the United States and will be truly representative of the wishes of the rank and file of the Progressive voters.

Propaganda Is Blamed

"Put yourselves in their places and realize how heavily these dire threats, this cruel economic pressure, bore down upon wage-earners with families and upon farmers burdened with debt and just beginning to emerge from the worst depression the present generation has suffered.

"Millions were deceived by the false propaganda distributed by almost the entire daily, weekly and monthly press of the United States. Millions of others could not withstand the threats of their bosses or their bankers, which seemed to endanger their very livelihood. They were stampeded during the last weeks of the campaign by the unfair methods used by our opponents.

"But in the face of all this propaganda, in spite of all these threats, five million American citizens stuck. Five million courageous American men and women defied their bosses and their bankers and voted for La Follette and Wheeler.

"These five million votes were cast by men and women who were convinced of the justice of the cause in which they were enlisted. No one voted the Progressive ticket because his father had done so, or because it was fashionable, or because his vote was purchased. Every vote represented deep convictions and genuine moral courage.

"Reaction has triumphed, and is now using its power to enrich the selfish interests which supported the

Republican ticket and to punish those individuals who dared to expose corruption in high places and demand that those who were guilty should be driven from office. Since the election reactionary Republicans and reactionary Democrats have joined hands to turn over Muscle Shoals, a natural resource of untold potential value, to the power trust. President Coolidge has thrown the full weight of the Administration in support of the bill presented by Senator Underwood and against the bill which would have safeguarded forever the interests of the American people in this great water power. Under the cloak of a false declaration for economy, the reactionaries of both old parties are joining hands to reduce the rate of interest paid to the Government by the railroads, to sell the vessels of the Shipping Board for a fraction of their true value, and to increase the rate of taxation upon small taxpayers, while the super-taxes of the very rich are to be cut in half.

"There is prosperity in Wall Street, but unemployment has not been materially lessened. Skilled and unskilled workers are still

Debs Given Big Ovation

"When I last addressed you, I voiced my deepest convictions regarding the Progressive movement when I said:

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

"I believe that the same spirit should now control our deliberations and guide our actions. Let us move forward, but let us be sure that every step we take is sound and that it leads surely in the direction of true progress and greater happiness and prosperity for all the people."

At one point in the address chairman Johnston departed from his manuscript to observe that "only yesterday the press carried the news that the powers in Congress had deprived Progressives of their committee assignments. The only reason for this was the Progressives' exercise of the God-given rights of citizens to think for themselves."

Considering that he had just scored the two parties of capitalism one wonders why the chairman and those who applauded this statement should regret that the Congressional party machine had ousted these "Progressives."

Saturday

After a debate of less than four hours Saturday afternoon, the Conference for Political Action ended without a record vote being taken upon the three proposals that were before it. The decision came so sudden that delegates were for a moment puzzled over what had happened.

The adjournment came upon a motion made by Sheppard of the conductors, after a speech made by Eugene V. Debs. His motion was that the conference be adjourned and that those who favored the organization of an independent party be invited to return to the hall at an evening session. Morris Hillquit took the floor to second the motion in a gracious speech which was intended and was received as an expression of good feeling for the leaders of the other side who could not agree to a Labor party.

The convention had not completed its organization when it took up the question. The credential committee had made a partial report, seating enough delegates to permit of a discussion while waiting for the complete report of the committee. Because of the sudden adjournment and the record of the delegates going with the conference

officials, no one knows how many delegates were sent to the conference or how many members they represented. It is certain that nearly 400 delegates were sent. The convention hall itself was packed with delegates and visitors who had come to hear the debate.

The mention of the name of Eugene V. Debs as one of the delegates of the Socialist Party brought such cheering and applause that Comrade Debs had to rise and bow his acknowledgments before Cameron King of California could proceed with the reading of the list of delegates.

Sheppard of the conductors obtained the floor and presented the position of the railroad organizations in a brief resolution in favor of continuing the C. P. P. A. upon the lines of non-partisan political action. His motion was seconded by Benjamin C. Marsh, who read a letter from the president of the Farm Labor Union saying that this was one of the most influential and representative organizations of farmers in the country. The substance of the letter was that the farmers would not support an independent party. The letter contained a sentence stating that one reason for this position was that this organization does "considerable business" with old party men, which caused a roar of laughter.

Sheppard continued his remarks, stating that he was heart and soul with the progressive movement. He had expected a political uprising last November but was disappointed with the results. The C. P. P. A. had been non-partisan since its organization and if the delegates wanted to progress without the brotherhoods, it was right.

"Organize your third party, if you desire," he said, "but the principal thing you will need is money. Where will you get it?" he asked. "Give the reactionaries a free hand for two more years," he concluded, "but leave the conference out of consideration if you want to organize a party."

Morris Hillquit obtained the floor and presented the Socialist Party resolution as an amendment.

This Resolution said: The delegates to this convention hereby resolve that a new political party be organized on the following lines:

1. The name of the party shall be the American Labor party. The term Labor to apply to all workers, agricultural as well as industrial, mental as well as manual, and all other citizens who accept the social and political ideals and aspirations of the producing classes.

2. The party shall consist of State organizations constituted on geographical lines in conformity with the election laws of the different States, but the national committee and all State (Continued on Page 4.)

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Meeting for Sacco Here Sunday Afternoon

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Frank Bellanca and Prof. Felice Guadagni, of Boston, are speaking at a mass demonstration for Sacco and Vanzetti at Central Opera House, 67th street, near Third avenue, Sunday, March 1, at 2 p.m. Meetings in other cities on the same date are part of the national campaign as the case goes before the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

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bet. Bway & Univ. Pl.
98 Second Ave.
Near Sixth St.
953 Southern Blvd.
Near 162nd St.

"NEW" PARTY TURNED OVER TO 5 OLD PARTY CONGRESSMEN

(Continued from Page 3)

and local committees shall also admit direct affiliation of organizations of workers and farmers and of progressive political and educational groups who fully accept its program and principles.

3. It shall be definitely committed to the principles of industrial and political democracy and the platform planks of the progressive political platform in the campaign of 1924.

4. It shall uniformly nominate candidates of its own for public office in consistent opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties.

5. A national organization committee shall be elected by this convention charged with the task of organizing State parties on the principles above outlined.

6. A national convention composed of delegates from State organizations and affiliated groups shall be called by the committee in the month of October, 1925, for the purpose of perfecting the organization of the party in all practical details.

7. The national organization committee shall fix the exact date, the place and basis of representation of the convention.

Hillquit said that the Socialist Party proposal was not presented to raise a controversy.

"We have no special objects or ambitions to satisfy," he said. "For three years the Socialists have worked as faithfully for the movement as any other group." At the same time we concede the good intentions of the brotherhood leaders, but, he added, with emphasis, "we believe they are about to commit a tragic error and they will only realize it when it is too late."

This statement brought hearty applause.

"We believe," continued Hillquit, "that this moment has reached the stage where it must go either forward or backward. Playing the game of the old parties is too late this day. We should realize that both the Democratic and Republican parties are absolutely hopeless. From their very nature they are organized for the protection of greed and the exploitation of the masses, which we combat. We have learned little if we have not learned this."

"Just as hopeless is non-partisan political action. Brother Sheppard thinks he is advocating practical politics. It is the most unreal politics conceivable. In 1922 the Progressives elected a number of members to Congress and the conference affirmed credit for it. We cannot prove it and no one can disprove it because it is certain that the tide was running strong then, anyway. What is important is that we have made little progress in ten years because there is no organized force to command those whom you claim belong to you."

Hillquit went on to say that the progressives elected by non-partisan action were Republicans and Democrats and owed allegiance to their respective parties no matter who contributed to their election. He regretted that Mr. Sheppard was disappointed over the 5,000,000 votes cast for the third party. He urged the delegates to consider that the party was organized in July without funds and had only a few months to create political organizations and

wage a campaign. We had to face two parties of the enemy solidly organized with vast funds at their disposal and the influence of tradition and habit. Yet the new party polled 5,000,000 votes.

"Is all this disappointing?" he asked. Consider the history of the Labor party of Great Britain. In its first election, he said the Labor party polled only 26,000 votes. Its members were not discouraged. Year after year the party grew and increased its vote, increased from a few thousand to 500,000 to millions, until recently it almost swept the country.

"But our friends say that conditions differ in this country," he continued. "I know most of the active

and prominent men on the other side. They are a fine group of men, but fine as they are they are no better than you. You have in yourselves the stuff of which MacDonald, Henderson and others are made."

Hillquit pleaded that if the word goes out that the conference threw cold water on another step forward it will be charged with misleading or stifling the increasing numbers who want a party of Labor. It had been urged that we wait to ascertain whether there is a demand for the party. Shall we wait until we poll 10,000,000 or 15,000,000? If 5,000,000 votes is not sufficient to warrant us going ahead when will we be ready?

Socialists to Continue Fight

"Did you wait until the workers in your industries clamored to be organized?" asked the speaker, followed by a big demonstration. "No, you did not wait. You went ahead in spite of persecution. You worked year after year until you finally have your present organizations. Why do you try to apply different reasoning to the situation that faces us now? What moral right have you to block the willingness of many to go ahead? You have no mandate from your membership to oppose this new step in advance. We Socialists propose to stay in this struggle to the end. We will continue to hold aloft the political ideal of emancipation in this country until our brothers in the struggle are with us."

Hillquit's speech made a marked impression. He was followed by J. A. H. Hopkins of the Committee of 48, who offered an amendment providing for the organization of a progressive party on the basis of individual enrollments. He claimed to have already organized in a number of States, including New York and New Jersey, which caused the delegations from these states to smile. He wanted a party free from any group and open to the admission of all citizens. He contended that the 5,000,000 La Follette voters did not vote for an American Labor party but for a progressive party. Build up the State parties and then hold a national convention was his parting advice.

Manion of the telegraphers complimented Hillquit on his forceful speech and said that he at an early period in his life had been under the influence of Socialist ideals, but pressing this matter now reminded him of those who a few weeks ago believed that the world was about to come to an end. He, too, believed we were going to win last year and he was disappointed. The 5,000,000 votes mean nothing because, in his judgment, 3,000,000 were cast for the man and not the party. The Socialist Party has carried on for thirty-five years and how many members of Congress does it have? What progress has it made? Not enough to encourage us. He was not opposed to Socialist principles, but he wanted to work on lines that lead somewhere and he could not deliver his members to a new party. He urged the delegates not to be misled by the brilliant oratory of any speaker.

Short of Iowa observed that La Follette and Brookhart had been read out of the Republican party and he was through with going to the

back door of the old parties for favors. "The Progressive party is now the third party and is the second party west of the Mississippi." He had profound respect for those in the convention who had risked life and prison for their principles but he favored only a progressive party.

Nickerson of Wisconsin offered a substitute for the whole which provided for a new party without control of any "group or class." The substitute included the calling of a national convention in Cleveland next autumn, delegates to be elected by State conventions in proportion to the vote cast for La Follette last November, and that a committee of five members should be appointed by the chair to make arrangements. He said he came to organize a new party and that he could not go back to his State and say that the voters could not have it. His program was broad enough to take in all groups.

Mrs. Wolff of Texas obtained the floor and said she was humiliated to know that the railroad organizations

had only a negative to offer. "We cannot go back and we must go forward. If the gentlemen of the aristocracy of Labor do not care to go farther we are sorry because we will miss them, but we will carry on just the same." Her reference to an "aristocracy" brought roars of laughter and a number of railroad representatives referred to it to a number of times in a good-natured way later in the proceedings.

Mrs. Ida Beloff of Kansas made a witty speech which added to the good feeling, saying that she regretted the criticism of Hillquit which charged that Hillquit's remarks were only good oratory. "What is oratory?" she asked. "The orator is one who has something to say and many of you have nothing to say. You ask what the Socialists have accomplished in twenty-five years, and we answer that we have made you tolerant of Socialism and probably we will in another twenty-five years make you accept it. We may even give you a backbone. God knows." She knew many railroad men who were ready for a Labor party and urged the leaders to trust the men.

Will Durant of New York agreed that we should have a new party now and suggested that we vote on the matter immediately. Those who favored it could remain and those who were opposed could leave. Let us decide on the name, organization and principles and then go home.

Eugene Brock of the machinists insisted that the C. P. P. A. was formed as a non-partisan organization and as such it should remain. The railroad organizations should not be tied to a party. The delegates now differ as to whether it should be a class party or a progressive party, and if you go ahead you must organize without the railroad organizations. They will throw no obstacles in the way.

Robertson Defends C. P. P. A.

Western Starr of Washington, D. C., made a long and vigorous speech, asserting that it is impossible to organize a party around some personality but that the seed sown last year is now ripe for the harvest. He was tired of the old game of boring within the old parties. On the other hand, he warned against organizing a party with control lodged in organized farmers and workers, returning to this theme time after time until the delegates got restless and he had to retire.

Robertson of the Firemen and Enginemen obtained the floor and forcefully affirmed the view that his organization had supported the C. P. P. A. because it was a non-partisan organization. He drew a contrast between the United States and England, claiming that the trade unions had won more by their methods in this country than the Labor movement had in Great Britain. However, he concluded, if you want a Labor party we will not object but the railroad organizations could not go along.

Eugene V. Debs obtained recognition and he was greeted with great applause as he walked to the platform. He began by observing that he hoped that he was not so selfish as to deny the right of others to honest convictions which he did not share. The paramount question was whether a new party should be or-

ganized and what kind of a party it should be. He favored a party of the working class. A party must be for Capital or for Labor. It could not be for both.

From this point he launched into an exposition of the Socialist view of society and the role of the workers in politics, covering the ground as only Debs can. He was listened to with rapt attention. He was satisfied that hundreds of thousands would respond to a Labor party and that if the question was submitted to the organized workers a big proportion would endorse it. A progressive party could not live. Its death would be certain. A new party standing four-square for the workers and industrial emancipation has a future and only such a party would serve the masses, said Debs, who was greeted with tremendous applause as he concluded.

Sheppard of the Telegraphers again obtained recognition and pre-

sented the motion which ended the conference of the C. P. P. A. The substance of the motion was that the conference should adjourn and that the delegates should assemble at the next session as individuals to consider the proposals before them, those not desiring an independent party to remain away if they saw fit. He supported this in a conciliatory speech that merely emphasized the fraternal feeling that was evident throughout the discussion.

For the Socialists and trade unions that wanted a Labor party, Morris Hillquit agreed to the Sheppard proposal. He observed that it was fine that the railroad leaders had no desire to obstruct those who differed with them and that there would be no attempt at coercion on our part. They recognize our right to have a new party and we recognize their right to disagree with us. He was sure that during the three years that he had been associated with the railroad leaders he had learned a good deal and that he respected their honesty, sincerity and purposes; that he hoped what was before us was not a parting but a coming together later on. He was certain that they would be welcomed in the ranks some time.

Before adjourning the session, Chairman Johnston said he believed what was proposed in the Sheppard motion was the right thing to do. He personally favored a new alignment, but he also recognized that the railroad organizations at this time could not commit themselves to it. The session then adjourned to meet later in the evening.

Saturday Night.

Upon convening as a gathering of individuals Saturday evening some of the delegates to the C. P. P. A. apparently did not understand the status of the meeting. This had to be explained by chairman Johnston. To the surprise of many, the leaders of the brotherhoods returned but they took little part in the discussion, only McGowan of Chicago taking the floor to obtain a statement of the chairman as to what the character and powers of the meeting were.

Considerable time was wasted over methods of procedure, one delegate insisting that the Wisconsin proposal be taken up for consideration. This was objected to by Norman Thomas, of New York, who urged that the discussion proceed under a number of heads, first, that the party be organized; second, whether it shall be a progressive or a Labor party; third, principles and program, and so on. After a discussion lasting till 11 o'clock the meeting adjourned after referring the matter of the method of organization to a committee of seven to report the following morning.

Hayes, of New York, moved that we organize an independent party and the discussion that followed ranged over a wide field, it being difficult to confine delegates to the matter before them.

Motion Made for Labor Party

Hillquit proposed that the platform and principles be those of the party in the last campaign, to which an Iowa delegate objected on the ground that programs and principles varied so widely that a national program was impossible and unnecessary.

Thomas, of New York, in a vigorous speech, insisted on the absurdity of this position, saying that a party must have a set of principles and if we are not ready to declare what the principles are we are not worthy of having a party. The Hillquit motion was agreed to.

Hillquit again obtained the floor and moved to adopt the section of his resolution providing for organization along geographical lines and control of the party by organized groups. He said that we should consider it an asset to organize a Labor party and that it would be suicide to reject it. Assume that the railroad and other organizations later conclude that a Labor party is essential; they will then have a political organization with which they can affiliate as groups. They will bring valuable aid. The Farmer-Labor party is organized geographically but it is also controlled by organized groups of farmers and workers. "My resolution will hold the door open to the organized workers and at the same time provide for geographical organization," he concluded.

Western Starr contended that organized groups in the campaign last year were a festering sore and he would have none of it. The two great handicaps were the railroad organizations and the Socialist Party. There were antagonistic elements included and for thirty years the farmers have been taught to shun the trade unions and the Socialists. "Do you think you can get the farmers by telling them you propose to destroy Capital?" he asked, but as no speaker had suggested its destruction it was impossible to tell what was meant.

Hillquit was asked to explain whether the Socialist Party would give up its organization if his plan was carried. His answer was that the Socialist Party is primarily an educational organization and that in the event of the organization of a Labor Party it would not nominate candidates against the Labor party but would support them.

James Oneal, of New York, spoke

in favor of organized group control, saying that even the two leading parties are controlled by organizations of capital and finance. In Pennsylvania it is apparent that the anthracite mine owners, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the United States Steel Corporation control both parties. What is true of this State is true of other States. Even the Whig and Democratic parties were controlled by the organized slave interests. A party based on individual enrollments would eventually fall into the hands of professional politicians. The only safeguard against this disaster would be control by organizations of the workers.

Durant, of New York, thought that the proposal would merely mean the Socialist Party under another name. His speech, like that of a number of others, was based on the misapprehension that the Socialist Party is now organized on the basis of affiliated groups and that the Socialists desired to impose their form of organization on the new party.

A Pennsylvania delegate representing the Labor party of that State said the experience had proven that the Hillquit form of organization was practical. The Labor party has official standing in Pennsylvania, it is second in a number of counties, and he hoped that the Hillquit proposal would be adopted.

McGowan, of Illinois, again took the floor and stated that this form of organizations would dig the grave of the party. He had his experience with it in Illinois and he wanted no more of it. Moreover, he did not believe that the gathering rep-

resented the progressive sentiment to the country.

Mercer Johnston, of Maryland, expressed the belief that the workers of this country are not ready for an American Labor party like the British Labor party. He wished that the situation were otherwise. He was willing to continue a movement which in fifteen years we would have to kill in order to make way for a Labor party. On the other hand if we go along the lines proposed, the Socialists will "capture" the movement and the word will go out all over the country. We should rather go slow.

Marshall, of Ohio, vigorously urged the defeat of the Hillquit motion, chiefly on the ground that that people living "on the north side of the city of Columbus" do not like trade unions and do not care for a Labor party.

McTeague, representing the Progressive Party of Idaho, said that the Socialists will have to forget their party if this movement ever gets anywhere. Idaho will not stand for any group organization or control. "Forget it. We will not stand for it," he concluded.

Mollie Friedman, of New York, obtained recognition to make the motion which sent the question to a committee of seven to report the following morning. The chairman appointed the committee, consisting of Rower, Jr., Brunson, Hayes of

(Continued on page 6.)

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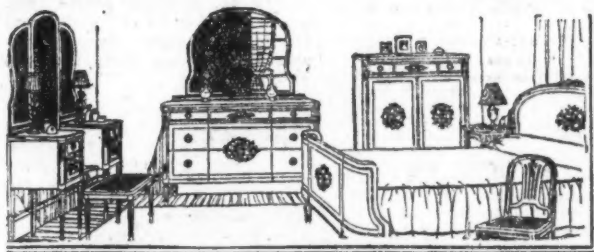
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The Agricultural Collapse: For a Socialist Position

By JAMES D. GRAHAM

THE last campaign saw all parties' platforms bidding for the vote of the farmer, offering him sympathy but little practical relief. The La Follette plank on the agricultural question was the most bankrupt of all. Even our Socialist position on the big farm problem was a long way from being either practical or satisfactory. The way the various parties handled the collapse of the agricultural and stock-raising industries in their platforms would lead one to believe that those who wrote the farmer planks did not know on which end of the cow the horns grow.

Most people are not yet aware that capitalism on the farm is collapsing in the United States and elsewhere, pulling down all lines of business with it. The wheat-raising industry is rapidly going and the cattle-raising business like wise. This was foreseen fourteen years ago by the late James Hill, railroad magnate, who in speeches at State fairs in the Northwest warned the farmers that the wheat and cattle raising industries would leave the United States.

In September, 1923, the Canadian Wheat Growers' Association in convention in Montreal heard a report made by their officers to the effect that within three years the Canadian wheat growers would have a complete monopoly of the British market, thereby displacing United States wheat, and that wheat was being rapidly displaced in Cuba by Canadian wheat. Cattle raisers are in as bad a fix as the wheat growers.

Thirty-five years ago an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease among cattle in Canada caused the British Government to place an embargo on the importation of Canadian cattle, this embargo remaining until two years ago when the Conservative Government which succeeded Lloyd George removed the embargo. The removal of the embargo was immediately felt by the stock raisers of this country. Previous to the removal of the embargo, Canadian beef passed through the Chicago packing-houses en route to Britain; now live cattle are shipped from Canada to Britain direct. This gives the British tanneries raw material, hides from animals slaughtered in Britain, and reduces the amount of leather the British must buy from the tanneries in this country. This is a big item to the stock-raisers as the low price of hides reduces the price received for the live animal. The price of beef hides today is about eighty per cent less than the price of five years ago.

The Cattle Business
It is not only in this country that the cattle-raisers are suffering. Argentina is in as bad a fix, and two years ago the cattle men of that country were petitioning for a special session of their Legislature to pass relief measures for the benefit of the stockmen. The quality of beef raised in South America is much inferior to the beef of North America, and sells on the British market on an average of thirty-five per cent less than the beef raised in this country and Canada. The Argentine cattle-raisers, like progressive stockmen of other countries, are improving the breed of their herds.

The principal markets for thoroughbred live stock of the world are: Leicester (England), Aberdeen and Perth (Scotland). For the past five years heavy purchases of thoroughbred cattle have been made at these markets, and record prices paid by Argentine cattlemen for bulls to improve their herds. If the work that has been done for the past five years by Argentine stock-raisers is continued, a few years from now will see the quality of South American beef equal to that produced in this country, and make

the Argentine farmer a keen competitor of the farmer of this country and Canada in the world's markets.

There has been much talk among the patch-workers in the various political parties that the way to help the farmers is to give them credits, loans at a low rate of interest. Cooperative marketing is also hailed as a remedy for all their ills.

The writer has been a lifelong student of, and believes in, consumers cooperatives. He has spent one whole summer in Britain studying the British cooperatives, yet he is at a loss to understand what is meant by cooperative marketing and how such a thing can possibly solve the problems that are now confronting the agricultural industry of this and other countries. Cooperative marketing is a catch phrase hit on by some of the patch-workers of the present system.

There are some associations that are organized to dispose of the products of the orchards which, in order to increase the market price, destroy wholesale large quantities of the crop in order to create a shortage. This is sabotage on Nature and the consumer with a vengeance. Cooperative marketing, if organized by a lot of ignorant, selfish people, will develop among the tillers of the soil organizations that will work to the detriment of all concerned.

Credit No Solution
Farmers talking among themselves about the proposed remedies of the patch-workers will say: "The farmer has too much credit now; it is credit that has ruined us. We cannot pay the interest on our mortgage, let alone the principal. If there had been less credit the sheriff would not be so busy selling

us out on a foreclosed mortgage. It is a decent price we want for what we produce."

For the past few years the farmers of the Northwest have netted from \$20 to \$25 a head on three-year-old steers shipped to the Chicago stockyards. Of course, the price paid by the packer is more than this, but the railroad has to have a specific divvy for transporting the critter from the farm to Chicago, whether the farmer wins or loses in the transaction.

The writer was in North Dakota and New York in May, 1923, and saw the farmers of North Dakota receive 15 cents a pound for butter, 10 cents a dozen for eggs and 50 cents for a 100 pounds of potatoes, and the people of New York paying 45 cents a pound for butter, 35 cents for a dozen eggs and \$3.50 for 100 pounds of potatoes. At the same time horses were selling in Long Island for \$400 each. The same horses in Montana would not sell for more than \$40 a head.

Diversified farming will not help the situation as the West is too far away from the large centers of population to make diversified farming a success. Dairy farming is urged on the farmer as a sure cure, but dairy farming on a large scale is limited to population, and in a small way means lots of work with little remuneration.

Four years ago farmers of Southern Montana received, at the creameries, 18 cents a pound for butter-fat. At the same time the farmers of County Cork, Ireland, were being paid 36 cents a pound for butter-fat and the Danish farmers were getting 30 cents for a pound of butter-fat. At that time press reports published the news that two steamers had arrived in New York from Copenhagen

with a cargo of butter. Danish creameries, paying 66 2/3 per cent more for butter-fat than the Montana creameries, were able to sell their butter in New York City, while Montana butter had to go into cold storage on account of high freight rates making it prohibitory to ship to the New York market.

The Beet Growers
The sugar-beet growers have been doing fairly well of late years, owing to the war upsetting the German production of beet sugar, and the land of the West, having heavy deposits of alkali, seems to produce beets with a high percentage of sugar. The beet growers receive a minimum price for their beets, with a sliding scale of a bonus according to the wholesale price of sugar in New York during the months of January and February. The higher the price of sugar in New York during these months the larger the bonus paid the beet growers, and the lower the price of sugar the smaller the bonus. There is no uniform price paid for beets, the price varies according to the organization of the farmers in the various districts.

However, the beet-growing industry is going to receive a jolt, possibly the coming season. The refining of sugar in Germany has increased so that German production is a factor in the world markets, and, barring bad climatic conditions, the high price of sugar throughout the world is past, which means a lower price for sugar-beets to the American farmer, as indications are that Hamburg, as before the war, will fix the price of sugar on the world's markets. While the American farmer owns the land upon which the sugar-beets grow, Mexican labor is imported to do all the field work, so that little labor in beet culture

is done by American laborers. With Germany going back to the production of sugar it means that the production of wheat in Germany will also increase.

The German farmer, following the policy of crop rotation, as first advocated in Cambridge, England, a century ago, usually grows wheat on land which the previous year produced sugar-beets and in this way is able to secure a wheat yield of 75 bushels to the acre, which is 50 per cent greater than the best Montana yield on irrigated land, and 200 per cent greater than the average yield in the Northwest.

Wage Workers Affected
The heavy demands for the past eighteen months made by continental Europe for wool has made sheep-raising very profitable at present. However, sheep-raising and wool-growing in the West are conducted by banks and a few big ranchers, and not by a large element of the farming population. While the business is paying at present, still it is unstable and very speculative. A large slump in the price of wool means ruin for many engaged in this line of business.

The situation confronting the farming industry of America is very serious and affects all wage earners. The situation is practically world wide, the British wheat-grower complaining like the farmer of the Northwest. Individualism on the farm is collapsing, and pulling down all business activity with it.

The manufacture of farming implements in the central states is at a standstill. Capital invested in these concerns is earning little, if anything, at present. The banking business has had a terrible grueling in the past four years and is still taking it. Farmers who were worth from

peniless today and many are deep in debt. The well-to-do farmer does not exist in the West at present. The better off a farmer was before the crash the greater was his fall. Newspapers have published stories of great crops of wheat in the West. Such news is false; had there been a bumper crop the price of wheat would not be as high as it is today. Last summer saw a great drought in the West extending from southern California to northern Alberta. This drought is what caused the yield of farm and orchard to be small.

The person who was able to irrigate his farm received good yields and big prices for his crops, but irrigated land is limited. Then certain valleys had local rains, which helped. Winter wheat gave a good yield, but spring wheat was a failure. The bumper crops were only in spots. The farmers who received big prices for their wheat had to turn all the money they received over to the banks; therefore the farmers are little better off, except that they were able to pay off the interest on the mortgage. The wheat left the farmer as soon as it was threshed. The speculators and not the farmers are the ones who are making money on the present high price of wheat.

Farmers Have No Solution
Today the farmers are the most reactionary element in the country. They have no solution to offer for the problem that confronts them and have no desire to find a solution. Their whole policy is one of every person for himself and his Satanic Majesty take the hindmost. They have no moral sense of obligations to their creditors, and if they can sabotage a banker they think that they have accomplished something. The farm bloc in Congress and the leaders of the British Conservative party have much in common in their advocacy of a solution of the farm problem—subsidy to the farmer—something that is economically unsound.

At the present time no political party, not even the Progressives, has a program that will relieve the situation. The parties appear not to realize how great the collapse is and what is fundamentally wrong. For the agricultural problem there is not a ray of hope anywhere. All is stygian darkness.

Unemployment west of the Mississippi is on the increase. Hundreds of thousands of the population have left the farms to seek a livelihood in the cities and are taking employment at any kind of wages and poor conditions on the theory that low wages are better than nothing. The trade union movement has suffered a terrible reverse in the West during the past few years, far beyond what the union men of the East are aware of. Wages have been cut, in many cases the workday lengthened and the open shop fast becoming a reality. The United Mine Workers have been defeated in Washington; scab coal mines are now a reality in that State, after years of organization.

A year ago the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railway officials made known their desire to cut the wages of coal miners in Montana \$2.00 a day on day labor and a like cut on contract work, and it was only the militant and efficient leadership of John L. Lewis of the mine workers that prevented this cut in wages being effective. Butte, Montana, considered a few years ago the Gibraltar of unionism in America, is an open-shop town as far as the mine workers are concerned. The lumber workers are organized into scab company unions. The great horde of unorganized unemployed will sweep eastward in quest of work and the Labor movement in the East will have to make a stand or go down also.

A Practical Policy Needed
Much has been written by some Socialist leaders that we must have a new realignment of political forces. It is not a new realignment the Socialist Party needs, but, a bold, definite, practical policy, something that will give hope to the masses, something that the wage worker and farmer will be attracted to and will work for with enthusiasm. We Socialists must admit that for the past few years our party has been a party of resolutions and a negative party. This policy has not produced results. Let us change to a positive party and grow.

A policy should be adopted that will solve the agricultural problem of America. This policy will mean that we take a bold, daring step forward in the advocacy of State Socialism, and this carries with it the railroad question.

Ten years ago the farmer and agricultural question was one that most Socialists looked at with despair. Today the situation is different. Economic conditions have changed the entire problem. Today the agricultural situation offers the key to the advance of Socialism in America.

A committee should be appointed by the Socialist Convention to study the situation and present to the party a plan of action that will be the basis of our campaign for the next Congressional and Presidential elections.

Child Labor—A Symposium

"SAVAGES SHAME US!"

Professor Wilson D. Wallis
Acting Chairman, Department of
Americanization Training and
Anthropology, University of
Minnesota.

Our present system permits a more brutal treatment of children than can be found anywhere in so-called savagery. Not only does it permit it, but more brutal conditions obtain in large sections of our civilization than can be found anywhere among the rude peoples. I say this quite literally and with full sense of professional responsibility. I will retract if anyone will point me to a single tribe—uninfluenced by European civilization—in which children are made to work in any manner which denies them full development. There is no oppressive child labor among American Indians, none among African negro tribes, none in the islands of the Pacific, none in those crude isolated cultures of Australia, of Ceylon or of the Audamar Islands. Children are allowed to live their own lives. I would welcome a return to conditions in this country which would give to every American child as happy a life as the American Indian child could claim.

"ALL ECONOMISTS FAVOR BAN"

Professor Charles A. Ellwood
President of the American Sociological Society.

Only ignorance, misunderstanding, and selfishness can give rise to opposition to the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution. I do not know of a single economist or sociologist of high standing who is opposed to the measure. Socially intelligent people everywhere, from President Coolidge down, acknowledge the need of such an amendment. It is to be hoped that some way will yet be discovered of bringing the well-intentioned people who have lined up against the amendment to reconsider their position.

"ANTI" ARGUMENTS 100 YEARS OLD

Professor Harry A. Barnes
Professor of History of Smith College.

The Child Labor Amendment is so desirable that even its enemies have scarcely dared to attack it on this ground. The charge that it is socialist will not hold water unless one is willing to brand as socialist

all of the legislative progress in regard to social welfare in the last century. The argument that it will interfere with the State control of education seems to me to be very weak. It could affect this matter but slightly in any event, and the burden of proof rests upon those who believe Federal intervention in this field to be disastrous. . . . In general, the arguments against the Child Labor Amendment remind me of the partisan casuistry which characterized the opponents of factory legislation in England 100 years ago.

"WITHOUT RESERVATION"

Dr. Wesley Mitchell
Former President of the American
Statistical Association.

"I support most cordially and without reservation the proposed

Child Labor Amendment. The objections to this measure which are being used by interested parties seem to me obviously arranged to divert attention from the real issue. Certainly no fair-minded person will see anything socialist in the Child Labor Amendment, unless he believes that all legislation for promoting social welfare deserves that adjective. Nor will any sane citizen worry about the dangerous extent of the power thus given to Congress. Of course, Congress has it in its power to pass much detrimental legislation. Whenever any law proves unsatisfactory in its workings, Congress repeals it either of its own initiative or as a result of pressure which the public brings. As for the State control of education, I do not see that it is in any way affected by the proposed amendment in any way."

Socialist Party Notes

CONNECTICUT

The first issue of "Our Commonwealth," the new monthly publication of the Socialist Party of Connecticut, was out Wednesday, Feb. 18.

A meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held at Machinists' Hall, 97 Temple street, New Haven, Sunday, March 1; also a meeting of the Committee that has charge of getting out the New Bulletin.

Jasper McLevy, State Organizer, expects to organize a new Local in Stamford this week. Karl Jursek acted as delegate to the Socialist Party convention in Chicago, in place of Jasper McLevy, who was unable to go.

Anyone wishing to subscribe to our monthly bulletin should send remittance to Karl Jursek (25 cents per year), West Woods road, Mt. Carmel, Connecticut.

BUFFALO

At its last meeting, Local Buffalo, Socialist Party, elected the following officers for 1925: Organizer, Ralph E. Horner; Secretary, Robert A. Hoffman; Treasurer, Charles H. Roth.

In addition to the officers the following will constitute the Executive Committee of the Local: Bessie I. Yokom, Joseph F. Murphy, Charles A. Myers, Lee Morgan, Henry Klein, James Battistoni, L. Kamula, Charles Smith.

Miss Yokom retired as secretary after serving twelve years in that capacity; however, she will continue her activity as a member of the Executive Committee. Socialists in Buffalo desiring to pay dues should communicate with the Treasurer, Charles H. Roth, 950 Clinton street. The office of the Sec-

retary is at 732 Brisbane Building, phone Seneca 3146.

State Secretary Merrill was present at the party meeting and he was urged to send in an organizer which the local Socialists would cooperate with and assist financially.

THE BRONX

Saturday, Feb. 28, and each Saturday night, at the headquarters of the 7th A. D. Tremont and Third avenues, there will be games, sociables, dancing and a good variety of books, magazines, and periodicals. Refreshments at very moderate prices will be served. Comrades and friends are invited. Admission free.

Tuesday, March 3, the 2-4-5 A. D. will hold its momentous banner meeting. Matters of great interest will be discussed and acted on. All members must be present.

Look! Do you know what will happen on March 20? Henry! Don't you know? The Local Ball!! Oh, boy! and what a Ball. Just watch this paper for our advertisements. It starts next week.

Party members take notice. General party meeting takes place on March 9. Previous notice an error.

FRIDAY, Feb. 27

Bronx, N. Y.
August Claessens will lecture on "Incentive and Ambition," at 1187 Boston road, Auspices, Socialist Party, Local Bronx.

BROOKLYN

People's Forum Success
The members of the 22nd A. D. are so enthusiastic about the success of their Forum that additional lectures are being planned. The Forum is the first sign of activity of the branch for some time, and the members feel confident that the party organization will benefit from these lectures by increased membership.

This Friday, Mr. H. W. Laidler will lecture on "Mexico" and certainly no Socialist can afford to miss a lecture on the country whose possession is the goal of American imperialists. A musical program has been arranged to follow the lecture which starts promptly at 8:30 p. m.

Lecture Notices
SUNDAY, March 1
Manhattan
August Claessens will lecture on "Selfishness—Its Nature and Social Control," at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. Auspices, 1st and 2nd A. D.

"OPPOSITION RIDICULOUS"

Professor Benjamin H. Hibbard
Department of Agricultural Economics,
College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin.

The farmers have been made to believe that the United States Government will take control of the employment of all children under eighteen years of age, perhaps forbid them to do labor of any description. This is ridiculous, but even so it is going to have its effect. Another unfortunate feature of the campaign is the sentiment in many sections, for instance in this State, in favor of letting each State take care of its own affairs. Since we have handled the whole child labor situation very well in Wisconsin there is a widespread feeling that the same should be done by other States within their own borders. It seems to me that whenever a movement of general interest such as this is brought to the attention of the people of the nation and a given standard set, or a judgment reached, that we should not be satisfied to allow a minority to lag indefinitely behind. In other words, I should say that in this case we should be a nation rather than a group of States.

"STATE ACTION NOT ENOUGH"

H. L. Lurie
Superintendent of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago.

No matter what might be said to the effect that the problem of child labor should be one exclusively for the local community, it is an unfortunate fact that child laborers, exploited and improperly educated, do not remain in their local communities, but come as adults into communities with higher standards. No matter how high the standards of any State may be, the shifting of population in this country may present it with a problem not of its own making and impossible for it to solve. States that are now receiving an influx of people from other States adjusted to different and in many cases inferior standards of health and living might do well to consider the problem from this angle.

"NO MENACE TO EDUCATION"

Professor Ernest M. Patterson
Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania.

Just why the Child Labor Amendment should be thought of as a dangerous grant of power to Congress I find it hard to understand. There certainly is no more reason for assuming an abuse of power by Congress than by any one of the State Legislatures. The power granted by the amendment is not great, and there is no reason to assume that Congress would exercise it without discretion. In fact, I would have much more confidence in its discretion than in that of our State Legislatures. We would be doing nothing more than making possible uniform and effective treatment of a serious evil. Nor can I see how it would in any way interfere with State control of education.

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HUNGARY

Party Unity Seems Preserved

With the unity of the party seemingly preserved as the result of intervention by the Socialist and Labor International and Premier Bethlen all stirred up over the denunciation of his notorious "peace pact," the outlook for strenuous Socialist agitation and organization in Hungary appears better than at any time since the Bela Kun dictatorship was overthrown in the summer of 1919 and the White Terror instituted under the dictatorship of Admiral Horthy and his "Awakening Magyars."

As has been reported in The New Leader, there has been serious trouble within the Social Democratic party of Hungary for some time because of the signing by Karl Peyer, Stephen Farkas, Franz Miklits and Alexander Propper, prominent party leaders, of an agreement with Count Bethlen and his Cabinet on Dec. 22, 1921, under which the Socialists were to refrain from organizing farm workers to limit their electoral activities, to sever connection with the Hungarian émigrés, to try to counteract the so-called lying stories of terrorism in Hungary and make other weighty concessions in return for the liberation of some political prisoners, the privilege of campaigning in a mild way, and the saving of their cooperatives.

As the facts of this pact gradually became known the party opposition and the exiled Socialists, most of whom live in Vienna, began a campaign against the party chiefs, accusing them of having sold their Socialist birthright for a mess of pottage, and a mighty small one at that, as Count Bethlen freed only a few prisoners and in general was either unwilling or unable to hold the white terrorists in check. The party Executive members replied that it was easy enough to criticize from a safe distance and that they had done what they had thought best for the movement although now blackjacked into signing a mere scrap of paper. Following a meeting of the National Committee in Nov., at which the matter was threshed out, the pact repudiated and the leaders of the opposition threatened with expulsion, the whole affair was put up to the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International, which at its Brussels meeting in Jan. ar-

ranged for a committee to investigate and try to restore party harmony.

This committee, composed of Tom Shaw and Louis de Brouckere for the Socialist Labor International, Karl Kautsky, selected by the Hungarian party Executive, and Otto Bauer, picked by the Opposition and émigré groups, met in Vienna on Jan. 26 and 27, heard all sides of the case presented by ten representatives of the Hungarian Executive, three of the Opposition and four of the émigré groups, drew up a report to be presented to the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor International and obtained declarations for party harmony from everybody concerned.

In its report the committee recites the history of the case, emphasizes the horrible dilemma in which the Hungarian party leaders were placed under the reign of terror which finally forced them temporarily to abandon their Socialist program in the hope of obtaining a little relief for the victims of the Horthy administration and get a breathing spell in which to reorganize the Labor movement, chides both the party executive and the Opposition for going too far in internal disputes, points out that from 1922 on the party leaders openly violated a number of the pact's clauses, just as Count Bethlen did, and that their publication of the agreement last December showed that they no longer considered it binding, and concludes by hoping that now all factions will work together to smooth out the resulting difficulties and present a united front to the enemy.

When the Hungarian representatives returned home and the news of the Vienna meetings was printed, Count Bethlen became very indignant and issued a statement attacking the Socialist Labor International for its "interference" in a "purely Hungarian" affair and threatening to force the Hungarian Socialist leaders to live up to the pact in spite of their denunciation of it. Then the National Committee met, listened to reports of the Vienna meeting by both regular and opposition delegates, heard Deputy Propper and others remind Count Bethlen that the Premier was poorly qualified to talk about political morality, and finally unanimously approved the party management's statement upholding the work of the investigating committee, although averring

that the Socialist Labor International had not interfered in internal Hungarian party affairs. All the members seemed to think that if the declarations made in Vienna were lived up to, all would soon be well in party life. The National Committee also decided to work together with the Democratic Bloc in the coming municipal elections.

The statements made by the various factions to the International's committee in Vienna follow.

The delegates of the Hungarian Party Executive declare:

"That the Hungarian party Executive has not for a considerable time held itself bound by the arrangement made under the pressure of circumstances with the Bethlen Government in the year 1921.

"The Hungarian party Executive recognizes the right of every member of the party to criticism which is not in the nature of personalities. The Executive will not attempt to expel any member on the ground of holding opposite views from the Executive, so long as these views are expressed in impersonal criticism and not in personal calumnies of individual comrades or in deeds of personal violence. The party Executive naturally cannot agree to the formation of a separate opposition party inside the party. But the Executive does not look upon exchanges of views between comrades who are in opposition to the policy of the Executive as a separate organization.

"The Hungarian party Executive will as soon as possible call the yearly Congress of the party, and it proposes to bring to an end at this Congress all quarrels that exist in the party by means of action that will reconcile the different points of view inside the party.

"The Hungarian party Executive decided long ago to submit to the next Congress of the party suggestions for changes in the rules of the organization. The Executive will, however, in addition recommend that in the election of delegates to the next Congress the organizations should act as far as possible in a democratic way, wherever the present situation in Hungary renders that possible."

The representatives of the Opposition declare:

"We stand by the party's program and Constitution. We accept the decisions of the majority of the party's organizations as binding upon ourselves and do not intend to form an organized opposition group within the Hungarian party. We reserve to ourselves, however, the fullest right to criticize the policy of the party's Executive and to propagate our views within the ranks of the party. We shall exercise our criticisms impersonally without bitterness and in such a way as to avoid endangering unity and comradeship within the party."

The delegates of the "Világosság" group of emigrants made the following declaration:

"We look upon the maintenance of the unity of the Hungarian Socialist Democracy as the living interest of the Hungarian proletariat. Without giving up the right to free criticism in the Hungarian party, we shall, so far as it concerns us, do everything to strengthen that unity and not to injure it."

The delegate of the Garami-Buchinger emigrants' group made the following declaration:

"We hold it to be the first duty of the Social Democrats who are living in other countries to aid the party, which is struggling in Hungary under the most difficult conditions, in its efforts to consolidate the Hungarian Labor movement, and to make every effort to maintain the unity of the party. We shall, without relinquishing the right of criticism, continue as before to work in this spirit."

SPAIN

Socialists Standing Pat

Due to the repetition of lying rumors to the effect that the Spanish Socialist Party was about to line up with Dictator Rivera and form part of his administration, the Madrid office of the party recently sent the following statement to the London Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International:

"The National committee of the Socialist Party, having examined the general and political situation, and considered the persistent maintenance of an exceptional régime, which was only permitted by the country by virtue of its being a provisional measure, and to which, from the very beginning, our party objected, agrees unanimously to repeat publicly its keen desire for the establishment of new civil forces of a truly liberal character, with all that this would entail, and declares that the working class emphatically demands the establishment of a régime which will enable Spain to free herself from the political burden which prevents her consolidating and giving the necessary authority to her constitutional life.

"This is the principal resolution, adopted at the full meeting of the delegates of the Socialist Party of Spain, which took place in Madrid, Dec. 9 and 10. Unshaken in the Republican character of our declaration, we are able to deny the report that the Socialist Party countenances or supports the monarchy. We are with the working class and against the bourgeoisie, and a sincere current of sympathy exists, and has existed from its foundation, between the General Union of Workers and the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party numbers 8,000 active members, the General Union of Workers, 210,000, and the daily organ, El Socialista, is slowly but surely making progress."

In the Paris Populaire of Jan. 15, E. Santiago, a prominent Spanish Socialist, points out that stories about a split in the Socialist Party in Catalonia are based upon a misconception of conditions there, as the so-called Catalan Socialists, with La Justicia Social as their organ, never did belong to the regular Spanish Socialist Party, while the real Socialist organization in that province, the Catalanian Socialist Regional Federation, is inside the Spanish Socialist Party and in full accord with its program.

"New" Party Formed

(Continued from page 4)

New York, Mrs. Costigan, Mrs. Gordon Norrie and Mrs. George Wolff. It was a tired group of men and women who adjourned and the general impression was that the same divisions that appeared on the floor would be found in the committee.

Sunday Night.

Sunday morning the groups representing opposing views regarding a Labor party conferred in order to determine their course in the final session. As many had expected, the committee of seven to whom the question had been referred could not agree. George E. Roemer, Jr., representing the Socialist and trade union groups in favor of a Labor party, brought in a minority report. The majority reported in favor of an independent party but to consist of State organizations with State autonomy, providing for cooperation with progressive members of Congress and proposing that a national convention of delegates elected by State conventions should meet some time in the fall.

Chairman Johnston opened the session with a rather vague speech advising caution and delay. He urged the need of a more representative gathering and organization of a party that would take in all progressive citizens.

The debate began with a motion by Delegate Hillquit that the minority report be substituted for the majority report, which was supported in an effective speech by the author of the motion. The debate that followed merely resulted in a repetition of arguments made the day before except for the tendency of a few delegates to wander from the real question before them.

The final decision came upon a

Many Unions Elect Delegates to Bakers' Conference This Sunday

Most of the progressive unions of this city have already elected delegates to the conference called in behalf of the bakers' unions for this Sunday, March 1, at the Broadway Central Hotel. This conference is being sponsored by the United Hebrew Trades, and a statement issued by Morris Feinstein, its secretary, points out that the Ward and General Baking Company interests are constantly pushing the union-made products out of the field, with the result that many of the workers are suffering in lack of employment.

It is the primary purpose of this conference to devise ways and means of effectively counteracting this non-union invasion. The bakers' unions of this city have always been in the vanguard of all the progressive unions in the city, and have never failed to give to their utmost to all workers' organizations in need of their assistance.

At this time the bakers are facing the most serious crisis in their entire history. Every Labor organization should be represented at this conference. Such organizations as have not elected delegates as yet can be represented by their officers.

Shirt-Makers Call Strike on 5 Shops

Strikes or stoppages have been called by the Shirt Makers' Union, in order to enforce the agreement entered into last October.

The firms affected by the move made by the Union are: The Emmerson Shirt Co., The Dresswell Shirt Co., The Realart Shirt Co., The Samco Shirt Co., The Rainbow Shirt Corp., The Eton Shirt Co.

Some of these houses are independent, others are members of the United Shirt Manufacturers' Association.

Aldo Cursi, manager of the Shirt Makers' Union, states that the step was made necessary because of the

attitude of some of the members of the Association; such as the Samco Shirt Co., the Eton Shirt Co., etc., who, when called before the arbitrator for the market, to answer charges of violation of the agreement, failed to appear and sent their resignation to the Association.

The United Shirt Manufacturers' Association is undoubtedly not in sympathy with such members as the Samco Shirt Co., the Eton Shirt Co., etc., who sent in their resignations to forestall expulsion from the association.

As to the Union, it will at all times enforce the agreement entered into last October, both with the independent manufacturers and with the Association and also the decision of the Arbitrator, even if strikes or stoppages are necessary to accomplish this purpose.

A GERMAN PERIODICAL

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

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Lexington 4540

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Brooklyn—174th St. & 3rd Avenue 1st & 3rd Thursday at 8 P. M.
Bklyn—105 Montross Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.
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LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147.

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Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street. Telephone 7745-Watkins.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934

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

Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5586

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OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10

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Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.

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CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman. OSSIP WAINSKY, General Manager

Labor International Leaves Door Open To Russian Unions On World Unity

AMSTERDAM—After all the exchanges of letters between Amsterdam and Moscow and the printing of numerous interviews in the Socialist and Labor press of the world in which representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Red Trade Union International said what they thought about the prospects for unity in the trade union movement of the world, the actual situation is the same as it was last June when the Vienna congress of the I. F. T. U. adopted a resolution expressing regret at the absence of the Russian trade unions and authorizing the Amsterdam Bureau to continue negotiations for bringing them to accept the rules of the I. F. T. U. In other words, as soon as the leaders of the Russian unions are ready to discuss the terms of their admission to the I. F. T. U., which implies a scrapping of the Red Trade Union International, negotiations will begin, not before.

This is the net result of the debate over the Russian problem which occupied most of the session of the General Council of the I. F. T. U.

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 Office, 501 E. 161st St.

Brooklyn. Phone: 7830

CARL GRABNER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

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Office and Headquarters, 319 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: 7734

Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.

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S. FINE, Vice-President.

E. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec'y.

E. WENNEIS, Fin. Sec'y.

H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION, Local 3, I. L. G. W. U.

Office and Headquarters, 319 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. N. Y. Tel. Stage 2226

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

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Secretary.

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M. ULLMAN, Sec'y.

A. Schwab, Vice-Pres.

Chas. Berman, Sec'y-Treas.

LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

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H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.

Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.

Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.

Local 241—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: 59 West 27th Street. Phone Fitzroy 6754

Downtown Office: 210 East 5th Street. Phone Orchard 1042

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Office: 22 East 22nd Street. Phone Caledonia 0350

Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office

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BENNY WEXLER, Vice-Pres.

Sec. Sec'y.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION LOCAL 13

Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 25 East 22nd St.

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I. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.

H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 25 East 22nd St.

M. KLEIGER, Chairman.

B. WEXLER, Vice-Chairman.

ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION LOCAL 1

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M. at 25 East 22nd St.

F. STARR, Chairman.

H. SOMINS, Vice-Chairman.

H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION LOCAL 8

Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. at 25 East 22nd St.

S. COHEN, Chairman.

H. BEGOUN, Vice-Chairman.

E. TALL, Secretary.

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office and Headquarters, 2 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1298

Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.

LOUIS SMITH, President.

MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPER, ANNA MUSKANT, Treasurer. Fin. Sec'y.

HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

held here Feb. 5 to 7. Comparison of the motion adopted, by a vote of 14 to 5, by the General Council, with the Vienna resolution admits of no other conclusion. The General Council's motion, which was put forward by R. Stenhuis, head of the Dutch Federation of Labor, and G. Smit, secretary of the Clerks' International, as a compromise, after a motion by the British members for an unconditional meeting with the Russians had been rejected, 12 to 6, and Jan Oudegeest, one of the three secretaries of the I. F. T. U., had withdrawn a resolution calling for the immediate breaking off of all negotiations with Moscow, reads as follows:

"The General Council of the I. F. T. U., after having examined the correspondence between the I. F. T. U. and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, instructs the Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U. to inform the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions that the I. F. T. U. is prepared to admit the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions when they express their desire to this effect.

"The I. F. T. U. also declares itself prepared to convene a conference in Amsterdam with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions with a view to an exchange of opinions as soon as possible after the All-Russian Council intimates its desire to be admitted to the I. F. T. U."

The resolution passed unanimously at Vienna last June read:

"This Congress, having considered the report recording the negotiations between the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. and the All-Russian Trade Union Council, regrets the continued absence of the Russian Trade Union Organizations from the International Federation, due to their refusal to accept the rules and constitution approved by the accredited representatives of the principal trade unions throughout the world.

"The Congress recommends the Bureau to continue consultations, in so far as this is compatible with the dignity of the I. F. T. U., with the

object of securing the inclusion of Russia in the international trade union movement through the necessary acceptance of the Federation rules and conditions."

To cover the possibility of the Russian unions accepting the conditions laid down by the General Council at Amsterdam it was decided that the Bureau should represent the I. F. T. U. in any negotiations with the Russians, reinforced by Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation; Fred Bramley, of the British Trade Unions; Peter Grassmann, vice-president of the German General Federation of Trade Unions, and Z. Zulawski, head of the Polish Federation of Labor.

Upon a suggestion by C. Mertens, of the Belgian Federation of Labor, it was noted in the record of the proceedings that both A. A. Purcell, president of the I. F. T. U., and Fred Bramley had spoken against the calling of a world congress of representatives of the two union internationals as the next step toward eventual unity.

Although there were sharp clashes of opinions between the British members of the General Council and some of the Continental members over the advisability of treating with the Russian unions because of the danger of thus promoting the Communist campaign of disruption, the meeting passed off harmoniously and the hopes of some of the British and European capitalist newspapers for a split in the I. F. T. U. were disappointed.

The next move is up to Moscow, but judging from a communication sent out from there, following a meeting of the All-Russian Trade Union Council on Jan. 30, the chances of the Russian unions accepting the Amsterdam conditions are slim. The letter, signed by Tomsky and Dogadov, president and secretary, respectively, of the Russian organization, emphasizes the need of a conference between delegates from their body and the I. F. T. U., but says nothing about a desire to join the I. F. T. U.

Rand School Activities

On Saturday, Feb. 28, at 1:30 p. m. ex-Congressman Meyer London will continue his discussions of "Russia, the Old and the New," in the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. At 3:30 p. m., Mrs. Sidonie Gruenberg, Director of the Federation for Child Study and author of "Your Child, Today and Tomorrow," "Sons and Daughters," etc., will discuss the "Problem of the Child."

On Monday, March 2, at 8:30 p. m., Joseph Jablonowicz is beginning a six session course on "The Drama of Social Conflict." This course will study the group of modern

ern dramas which deal with social problems. The difference between the modern drama and the dramas of the Greeks and the Elizabethans will be considered, and plays of Ibsen, Hauptmann and Galsworthy will be examined in detail.

B. Charney Vladeck of the Forward will discuss Topics of the Times on Wednesday evening at 8:30 p. m. Also on that evening, August Claessens will give the third lecture in his course on Sex and Society. He will take up the question of Marriage and Economics, with consideration of the physical urge, the economic barriers, reactions of men and women, sex as a commodity, legalized prostitution, free love and other problems, and the Socialist view of the whole question.

Clement Wood is discussing Chesterton and Wells in his Contemporary Fiction lectures that evening.

Holmes at Debate

Rev. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church has agreed to act as chairman of the debate between Admiral W. L. Rodgers and Scott Nearing on Sunday afternoon, March 15, at 2:30 p. m., at Town Hall. The question is: "Resolved, Military Preparedness Is Necessary for the General Welfare of the People of the United States." Admiral Rodgers will take the affirmative, Prof. Nearing will take the negative. Tickets are now on sale at the Rand School.

Gym Notes

A basketball class for men has just been formed by the Physical Education Department of the school, to be held Thursdays, 6:30 to 7:30 p. m. This is in addition to the regular men's and women's courses in gymnastics and games. The Wednesday recreation class for adults is free to all members of the gymnasium course. Children, ages 9 to 14 years, meet every Saturday for interpretative dancing with Miss Hewlett in the gymnasium at 4:30 p. m. Mothers are invited to visit these classes.

N. Y. Joint Council CAP MAKERS

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

Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9840-1-2

Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday

Joseph Roberts, E. Eisenstein, J. Bach, Manager. Sec. Secretary. Fin. Sec'y.

Local 1 (Operators)

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

MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)

Meetings every 1

-:- The Geneva Protocol and Disarmament -:-

II

By LEON JOUHAUX

Vice-President, International Federation of Trade Unions

The Draft Protocol
In the course of 1924, before the meeting of the Fifth Assembly, 18 governments had adopted the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance; but various others had rejected it, foremost among them was Great Britain, whose refusal was so emphatic that it seemed very doubtful whether she could be induced to reconsider her decision, even should the treaty be modified very considerably.

There was reason to fear, therefore, that some of the ground gained by the organizations created by the League of Nations would be lost. But, thanks to the excellent pacifist spirit of the chief delegations, notably the heads of the British and French Governments, this proved not to be the case.

From these discussions, which will be fresh in the memory of all of us, resulted the Draft Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, the chief features of which we are now analyzing.

First of all, what is the special object of the form which has now been given to it? Its main characteristic is the desire to fill up the gaps in the pact of the League of Nations. Thus, it stipulates that the Council of the League of Nations must be unanimous in declaring that one State is guilty of aggression against another, and it must also be unanimous in recommending sanctions against the aggressor. It did not, however, prohibit all war since, according to the terms of Article 15, in case the Council should prove powerless to secure the unanimous acceptance of its solution of a dispute, "the members of the League should reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice."

In order to fill up these gaps, the text prepared at Geneva makes appeal to two general principles: the prohibition of the war of aggression and compulsory arbitration.

In no case will any State which has signed the Protocol have the right to undertake an offensive war on its own account, either against another signatory State or against a State which is not a signatory, but which, in such case, would accept all the liabilities of the Protocol.

Compulsory arbitration is the essential basis of the proposed system. It is applied to the settlement of all international disputes without exception, and, should this prove impossible, it is used to fix the responsibility, and to designate the aggressor, upon whom must be brought to bear the collective solidarity of the other Powers.

The Arbitration Procedure

The term "arbitration" is in the Protocol used in a slightly different sense from its usual meaning. It is not merely used as in the terms of the Hague conferences, of the "settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." The system adopted by the Fifth Assembly contains certain innovations. Arbitration forms part of an extensive machinery for the maintenance of peace, which is built up under the aegis and the management of the Council of the League of Nations. It assumes a political character, instead of being as before merely a question of law, so that the arbitrators will be unable to refuse to make their decisions even if international law furnishes no rule or principle applicable to the particular case at issue; it does not rest merely on the honesty of the parties, for it is buttressed by an international organization expressly created to enforce respect for it.

The procedure laid down is such that it cannot be frustrated by any lack of goodwill on the part of some one of the parties.

If the dispute submitted to the Council of the League of Nations proves to be insoluble by the latter body, the Council will call upon the parties to resort to settlement by court of justice or by arbitration; if the parties should refuse to do this, an Arbitration Committee will be constituted, even should only one of the parties propose it; this committee will as far as possible consist of members upon whose appointment the two parties to the dispute shall agree; or, if this proves impossible, the members will be appointed by the Council, after the expiration of a certain period of time fixed by it.

Should neither party propose arbitration, the Council will recommend its investigation of the dispute; the signatory States will undertake to submit to the settlement which shall be unanimously decided upon by the other members of the League (namely, those not concerned in the dispute); if the Council itself is unable to reach any unanimous decision, it will itself submit the question to arbitration.

"The signatory States (Article 4, Section 6) undertake that they will carry out in full good faith any judicial sentence or arbitral award that may be rendered and that they will comply, as provided in paragraph 3 above, with the solutions recommended by the Council. In the event of a State failing to carry out the above undertakings, the Council shall exert all its influence to secure compliance therewith. If it fails therein, it shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto, in accordance with the provision contained at the end of Article 13' of the Covenant."

Should a State in disregard of the above undertakings resort to war, the sanctions provided for by Article 16 of the Covenant, interpreted in the manner indicated in the present Protocol, shall immediately become applicable to it."

Before passing on, we must explain the part played in this machinery by the Court of International Justice of The Hague. The Protocol makes recourse to the Court compulsory for four categories of questions as laid down in Article 36 of its Rules (interpretation of treaties; any point of international law; any *de facto* point which would constitute a violation of an international obligation; and the nature and extent of the reparations due in consequence of failure to meet an international obligation), with the exception of the special reservations which any State may make concerning this or that question which comes under one or another of those categories. The parties may also themselves submit to the Court a dispute belonging to some other category, and the Court's decision will bind them equally. The Court is thus constituted a compulsory Court of Appeal for the other arbitration bodies.

To resume, The procedure takes account of three possibilities: compulsory arbitration asked for by one only of the parties; a unanimous decision of the Council; and compulsory arbitration imposed by the Council. But in all these three cases international disputes cannot fail to terminate in some peaceful settlement, whether this settlement is arrived at by judgment of the Court of Justice, or by the award of a Committee of Arbitration, or by declaration of the Council. And the settlement thus obtained must be observed.

The Mechanism of the Sanctions
To secure the execution of the above, and to apply, if necessary, the sanctions provided against the aggressor, the first point of importance is to decide which of the states is to be regarded as guilty of aggression.

Article 10 defines this as follows: "Every State which resorts to war in violation of the undertakings contained in the Covenant or in the present Protocol; or which violates the rules laid down for a demilitarized zone; or which refuses to submit the dispute to the procedure of pacific settlement, or to comply with a judicial sentence, or arbitral award, or with a unanimous recommendation of the Council; or which violates provisional measures enjoined by the Council; or which has disregarded an arbitral award recognizing that the dispute arises out of a matter of a domestic nature; or which refuses to accept the armistice or violates its terms in the event of hostilities having broken out."

In all these cases, the State acting in the specific way is presumed to be the aggressor. All, therefore, that the Council has to do is to state the fact, and to enjoin upon the signatory states the necessity of the immediate application of the prescribed sanctions.

What are these sanctions?
Article 11 states them as follows: "As soon as the Council has called upon the signatory States to apply sanctions, as provided in the last paragraph of Article 10 of the present Protocol, the obligations of the said States, in regard to the sanctions of all kinds mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 16 of the Covenant, will immediately become operative in order that such sanctions may forthwith be employed against the aggressor."

"Those obligations shall be interpreted as obliging each of the signatory States to cooperate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in resistance to any act of aggression, in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow."

The rest of the article is a recapitulation of the obligations for mutual support existing between the states participating in these measures; these were prescribed in the last part of Article 16 of the pact.

The sanctions are therefore of two kinds:
Those which are economic and financial are general in character; they will be applied in accordance with schemes to be drawn up by the economic and financial organizations of the League of Nations.

As to the military sanctions to be applied at the same time, these are of a more restricted nature, the participation of the states being subordinated to their geographical situation or to the strength of their armaments.

The Council will receive the League and open to all members of undertakings made by the various Powers in this respect.

Special agreements, registered and published by the Secretariat of the League who desire to adhere to them, may be concluded between certain states who may desire to provide each other with mutual guarantees against aggression.

This is the complementary guarantee which had already been introduced into the mutual Treaty of Assistance. In the same way, the Protocol recognizes the creation of demilitarized zones which may be placed under international control organized by the Council.

The machinery also has a place for the principle of the prevention of conflicts. Article 7 treats of threats of aggression. If a dispute breaks out between two States, these States should not proceed to increase their armaments and armies, or take any other step towards "military, naval, air, industrial or economic mobilization." It will be the duty of the Council to see that this is not done, and any violation of these pledges may lead to measures being taken against the guilty State, after it has refused to obey the summons of the Council, "these measures to be taken with a view to end as soon as possible a situation of a nature to threaten the peace of the world."

This, then, is the mechanism provided to ensure the prevention of war and it is of a nature to augment the permanent activities of the League of Nations in connection with the safeguarding of peace. This regulation, which has perhaps obtained less attention than it deserves, is one of the chief features of the scheme.

The Reduction of Armaments

The reduction of armaments is provided for in Article 17: "The signatory States undertake to participate in an International Conference for the Reduction of Armaments which shall be convened by the Council and shall meet at Geneva on Monday, June 15, 1925. All other States, whether members of the League or not, shall be invited to this Conference."

These are the chief provisions of the Protocol of Geneva.
They are not hasty decisions. They are the outcome of four years of work. Four successive Assemblies have dealt with the problem. In the intervals between their meetings, the preparatory commissions have worked out all the details of the decisions.

The Treaty of Mutual Assistance was a preliminary stage; it gave rise to the idea of assistance in case of aggression, and pointed the way to the creation of machinery for international assistance. The Fifth Assembly had but to continue this work, and to supplement it by adding the essential features, i. e., compulsory arbitration and recourse to the Court of Justice, measures which have long been demanded by our movement.

The Protocol, or a System of Alliances?

Will political reasons lead some Governments to reject this attempt?
We do not think that any reasons which can be brought forward will stand the light of reason.

On the other hand, our experience is that the foes of the scheme, in attacking it, propose to resort to that most dangerous system of private alliances, pacts of security between groups of States, with a view to establishing a balance of power. The whole of modern history goes to prove the peril of these combinations of powers to prove that, instead of leading the way to any reduction of armaments, they only

tend to foster preparations for war.

The draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance has also been attacked on the ground of the private agreements. Is it really desired to revert to these agreements without the guarantee and the limitation which they would have if they were part of a general system? No such principle can be accepted. It would ruin all the principles upon which the organization of peace and of the new international law is based, and all the efforts which have hitherto been made to replace the reign of international justice by that of international violence.

Again, it is said that distant countries who are afraid of being drawn into the net of European complications may be tempted to see in these private alliances, in which they have no part, comparative security for themselves, with the result that they will refuse to take any definite pledges for fear of being drawn into a European conflagration. This would be a great mistake on their part. The experience of the last war has shown that a war between the great Powers gradually spreads over the whole world, like leprosy; if any fresh catastrophe of the same kind arose, no one would escape it.

(Continued on Page 11)

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The Realm of Books

Social Relief Down the Ages

A Review by MARIE LAMBIN

SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By Stuart Alfred Queen. Philadelphia: J. S. Lippincott.

DR. QUEEN'S book on social work is distinctly a statement of the viewpoint of the younger generation of social workers with its conclusions justified by an outline of the history of social work from medieval times to the present. The author has endeavored to show the relation of social work to other aspects of the social process, to emphasize the profound influence which economic conditions and public opinion have both exerted upon its development. Social work is regarded as merely one strand in the process of social development, reflecting the point of view of the community rather than controlling it.

A unique outline has been followed in the organization of the material by working back from the present instead of presenting a chronological narrative. Whether this has aided in making the historical content better serve the purpose of understanding contemporary social work is problematical; for younger readers it will probably be more satisfactory than for those who are already familiar with the content of modern social work. Thus, Part I discusses present tendencies in social work, covering such topics as its professionalization, the correlation of social agencies, preventive and constructive programs. Part II discusses nineteenth century humanitarianism, as it was affected by the Industrial Revolution and the laissez-faire attitude towards social reform. Part III is devoted to the English Poor Law, and developments therefrom; Part IV, to the medieval church and philanthropy; Part V, to mutual aid in medieval communities.

Dr. Queen contends that social work should have professional standing precisely like that of medicine and the law and that its connection with charity, uplift, benevolence and bourgeois sympathy must be severed. He defines it as "the art of adjusting personal relationships" and makes the plea that the term "social worker" be reserved for persons who are trained in scientific methods of dealing with difficult problems of human relationship. How many people would be excluded from the field if this definition were adhered to! The road to this desirable status for social work lies through the formulation of constructive programs instead of merely remedial or preventive ones. Dr. Queen cites among several examples of this shift towards a scientific point of view the field of vocational education, which no longer is thought of as a means of preventing poverty, but as a means of increasing the economic value of people's working power, no matter of what class.

The discussion in Chapter 13 regarding philanthropy and the Christian Church is perhaps the most illuminating in the book. The very interesting point is made that the giving and receiving of alms by members of the Catholic Church was an act of mutual service and reciprocity.

"By giving alms to the poor, helpless and wandering folk, the donors hoped to secure eternal salvation. Not only did the beggars help to make eternal bliss certain by accepting the gifts of respectable folk, they also offered prayers for their benefactors which were supposed to be efficacious in saving the soul from Hell and shortening its stay in Purgatory. Hence, medieval almsgiving was not merely charity; it was an exchange of services. Bread, clothing and shelter were traded for prayers and credits in the heavenly ledger. The whole thing was very much like a commercial transaction. It was an economic function that made possible the extension of relief to those who did not belong to one's own group."

According to Dr. Queen, modern social work has developed out of such giving of alms to the stranger, the outcast and the barbarian, but it has its roots also in the mutual aid rendered by the primary social group to its own members. The ancient Jewish religious philanthropic complex out of which so much modern American charity has arisen, and the Chinese family clan system are perhaps the most familiar examples. Such mutual aid covered every possible need in an isolated and static community, but it was limited to the members of the community and made no provision for the wanderer. The Industrial Revolution, which so profoundly affected English and Continental life, caused the break-up of such static communities and increased the number of persons who were detached from their primary groups. To meet their needs, organized social work arose and it has been frantically endeavoring ever

since to expand to the proportions demanded by an industrial civilization with its extraordinarily mobile population. The type of service rendered by the old mutual aid societies never entirely disappeared. Even in America, where community life is most fluid, we have had a considerable number of such organizations for sickness and death insurance, for recreational activities, founded by the immigrants. These, however, have all been outside the definitely recognized field of social work. But within the present generation those charged with the administration of charity have slowly come to realize the values and the desirability of mutual aid. There is a growing understanding of the interrelation of the two types of service and this accounts for the increasing emphasis on community organization, recreation programs, social insurance and the like.

Dr. Queen thus sums up the status of modern social work:

"From the middle-class humanitarians of the nineteenth century, social work has received financial backing for making social experiments; it has learned principles of organization and administration; it has acquired techniques for dealing with a variety of practical problems. From the development of the English Poor Law, it has inherited the idea of national responsibility for the problem of poverty and the notion that charity as such will never solve them."

"The nineteenth century century humanitarianism has been a curious mixture of maudlin sentimentality, business methods with their lot. On the whole, it has stood for patronage rather than justice, for charity rather than democracy. Social work of the twentieth century has inherited all these handicaps along with the positive achievements of the past."

Dr. Queen concludes that "Social work . . . seems to be in the process of becoming a profession resting more and more on a scientific basis, giving increased attention to . . . constructive work and gradually welding scattered activities into a coherent system of public service."

Not even a casual observer can doubt the need of social work in a complex civilization like our own in which the individual is the social unit, with all that this implies of isolation and lack of fixed relationships and mutual interdependence. Even radical changes in the economic system would not lessen the need for the "artist in human relationships." The interesting development of State social services in Russia has made that point clear. The technique and point of view have changed economic conditions but the profession has remained, as have medicine, the law, and teaching. Dr. Queen has performed a real service in pointing out that social work is not and never has been a static thing, that its technique and development are profoundly influenced by the social philosophy of the period. It must, therefore, reflect the conflict of the radical, the conservative and the liberal points of view, and on the course of that conflict its future development and technique depend.

A First Novel

REARER LOU. By Louis Forgiome. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

BOOKS about sailors and books about the sea; books about gallant ships and heroic captains; many, many books about heroic captains, but books about brave sailors, too; and now a book, a strange, bitter book, a "out reamers and riveters and heater-boys and all the usually inarticulate and untalented about men who give their seemingly limitless strength and endurance to the building of ships. No hurricanes at sea, no adventures in far places, but great derrier lifting overhead, acetylene gas lamps swinging about, in a great bulk of a ship going up in a constant cannonade of riveting and—Reamer Lou, young, full-blooded and hopeful, going about the business of living with a dramatic intensity of feeling that mystifies his superior sweetheart, who is more interested in his table manners or lack of them, and keeps him singularly alone in a naturally gregarious world. His impotent rage at the wasting away of his one close friend, Lithuanian Charlie, a handsome young giant, through the contraction of a venereal disease starts in Reamer Lou's hitherto unphilosophical mind the evolution of a sort of code.

The book, a rugged if somewhat turbulent affair, lacks style and distinction and might almost have been written by Reamer Lou. Whether it really purports to be autobiographical or is simply a story

In the Days of a Prophet

A Review by DAVID P. BERENBERG

JONAH. By Robert Nathan. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. \$2.00.

EVERY now and then a volume falls into my hands that makes me feel that here at last is a thing of beauty which, though it contain flaws, is nevertheless so pleasing that I am not disposed to criticize. Such a volume was Donn Byrne's "Marco Polo," and such a volume, in somewhat the same manner, is "Jonah." The work is entirely imaginative. The biblical Jonah concerns Mr. Nathan hardly more than the historical Polo concerned Mr. Byrne. With a charming simplicity, verging on the naive, we are given a picture of Palestine in the days of the Prophet. We are shown the same disintegrating tendencies in Israel which the moralist awaits today. Where the clumsy hand of the propagandist would have blundered, Mr. Nathan's delicate touch and keen perceptions make us see and feel with the bewildered prophet and his hardly less bewildered God. For God, Himself, is a character in this legend—God, of whom Jonah thinks as a man, but who in Tyre is worshipped as a bull and a dove, whom the fox thinks of as a raven and of whom the whale is sure that he is a whale. A fine and penetrating paragraph is that with which the book closes: "High among the clouds, God turned sadly to Moses. 'You Jews,' He said wearily, 'do not understand beauty. With you, it is either glory or despair.' With you, and with a sigh, He looked westward to the blue Aegean; warm and gold, the sunlight lay over Greece."

The book has many merits and not the least of these is its brevity. The author has all the clearness of vision and all the sureness of touch that a Greek carver in ivory possessed.

The Workers' Friend

(In the New Leader (London) there appears a review of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s book, "The Personal Relation in Industry." It is delicious in its characterization of Rockefeller, and in part follows):

MR. ROCKEFELLER is known throughout the length and breadth of the United States as the working man's friend. His feelings do him honour, though they are but common gratitude. He makes more out of his friend than any other man in the States. No wonder, then, that he feels kindly disposed towards him, so that he has yet found time to tell him how he can find most satisfaction and contentment in his business of making money for Mr. Rockefeller. In this Mr. Rockefeller, Junior, is only carrying on the family tradition, since of Mr. Rockefeller, Senior, we are told by his admiring son that "when motoring about the country he might frequently be found talking with a group of men at the country store in a little village." There you have the man. Affable condescension seems to run in the Rockefeller family.

And so it is that Mr. Rockefeller wishes Labor to be his friend, and to be the friend of Labor. Labor and Capital have the same interest, the common interest of the industry. Let them, therefore, be partners and not enemies. And, besides Labor and Capital, there is the community. The community suffers from these wicked strikes. The community, therefore, must be represented in the governance of industry. Then, indeed, we shall all be happy together, with Labor, Capital, and the community sitting smiling round the table of conciliatory Whitley.

Once upon a time a man made a cake. His friend came and said to him, "As a matter of fact, your cake belongs to me. But I won't take all of it. No! I am an advanced and enlightened man, and, what is more, I am your friend. Therefore I will myself sit with you on a committee to determine what share of your cake shall go to you." By this concession, he thought to himself, I shall get the poor fool to make some more.

written in the first person is something of a mystery to us. Louis Forgiome, as we know him, is a short, slender young man, a college graduate who showed great promise as a writer in college but who came no nearer the actual hazards of reaming and riveting which he so strikingly describes than the office of a shipbuilding concern where he worked as a draughtsman. However, this does not affect the very real pleasure with which we read "Reamer Lou."

G. W. K.

Surveying the States

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

THESE UNITED STATES. Second Series. Edited by Ernest Gruening. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$5.00.

SINCE the end of the world debacle in November, 1918, the queer behavior of the inmates of the United States has attracted the attention of curious intellectuals. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the rough pleasantries of the American Legion, the curious obsessions of the 100 percenters, the rise of ancestor and State worship, the emergence of Main Street culture and other aspects of American "civilization," fostered this investigation. In 1922 a thick volume appeared which presented the views of thirty Americans. On the whole they agreed that we constitute a sick nation arrested in its intellectual development.

That investigation was devoted to special questions, ranging all the way from politics, journalism and law to literature, the arts, sex and the family. One year later the first volume of "These United States" appeared and the second and concluding volume is now before us. These two volumes continue the investigation not by topics but by states, also including a special chapter on New York City and one each on Alaska, Porto Rico and Hawaii. More light is thrown upon the inmates, their institutions and ways of life by this survey of the provinces and the colonies. The two works together offer a fairly good survey of contemporary America, its archaic survivals, its conventions and taboos, its superstitions, its creaking machinery of government, its Polyanna ethics and infantile national disorders.

The first volume surveyed 27 states and the present volume places the rest before us. The net impression left upon the reader is that the States are no more united than are the States of Europe. There is a marked variation in education, superstitions and general outlook upon life. North Carolina may be a "militant mediocracy" as an emancipated native of that province contends, but compared with Vermont and New Hampshire its mediocracy differs only in its militancy. Oklahoma presents another type somewhat tempered by the immigrant rush that settled it, the presence of Indian tribes and the recent discov-

ery of oil which developed a psychology of gambling. Still another type is found in Montana, "land of the copper collar," where copper magnates have been known to buy seats in the Senate, where corporate mastery of politics, government, education and economic life rests upon a bovine mass of voting serfs.

Turn to West Virginia, "a mine-field melodrama," and we get the same impression, only here the spark of freedom has not been snuffed out. Revolt has followed revolt in this imperial domain of mine owners and steel magnates, yet the sheer weight of inertia and lack of understanding contribute to the survival of a class rule protected by private gunmen. Here a mountain folk with their family feuds, fighting traditions and proud code of personal honor, a people accustomed to generations to the freedom of the hills, have their simple life disturbed by the invasion of a capitalist autocracy foreign to all their traditions. Two eras in social development come into conflict. Although within a few hours' ride of Washington, rifles have frequently cracked in the hills as the struggle is waged between the old and the new.

So one may turn from one State to another and find contrasts. These United States are not united either politically, culturally or economically. They present marked contrasts to each other and even regional contrasts within the states in some cases. Taking certain groups together, as the New England, the South Atlantic or North Central States, there is a tendency toward group likeness, but as a whole they do not constitute that symphony which the patriotic orators are wont to glorify. Sprawling over great spaces, many coming of age at different periods like children in a large family, the States remind us more of a kraut band than a symphony.

The contributions to the volume are of varying merit and there are some omissions that leave much to be desired. For example, Theodore Dreiser in his contribution on Indiana mentions many prominent Hoosiers and Terre Haute is mentioned a number of times, yet there is no mention of the name of Eugene V. Debs. Indiana without Debs is to us unthinkable and why he is left out is something we do not understand.

Notes on Books

Macmillan announces for spring publication a new novel by May Sinclair, "The Rector of Wyck." There will also be a new story by Alice Brown, called "The Mystery of Ann"; short stories by James Lane Allen, entitled "The Landmark"; and "The Little Dark Man," Russian tales by Ernest Poole.

New poems by Edwin Arlington Robinson will appear under the title of "Dionysus in Doubt." The fifth volume in the complete edition of Yates will be "Early Poems and Stories." Ridgely Torrence will bring out a volume of his verse, called "Hesperides," and J. G. Neilhard, the Nebraska laureate, the third poem of his American epic cycle—"The Song of the Indian Wars." James Stephens' verse will be brought out in one volume of "Collected Poems"; Vachel Lindsay's "Collected Poems," with his own illustrations, will be ready in March; and a "Golden Treasury of Irish Verse," selected by Lennox Robinson, is promised for April.

"Oxford Poetry, 1924," is published by Appleton this week, as well as Willbur Daniel Steele's new volume of one-act plays, "The Terrible Woman and Other One-Act Plays."

"The New Barbarians," by Willbur C. Abbott, Professor of History at Harvard University, which Little, Brown & Company will publish this month, is a sweeping onslaught against the influences and individuals which Professor Abbott terms as subversive of fundamental American faiths and practices in morals and government.

A new book by Mary Austin, "Everyman's Genius," will be published by Bobbs Merrill, April 15. Mrs. Austin presents the interesting theory that genius is something all of us have, but which only the rare individual realizes.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Literature. FLYING OSP. Stories of New Russia. New York: International Publishers. GOD'S STEPCHILDREN. By Sarah G. Millin. New York: Boni & Liveright.

Social Science. SHARING MANAGEMENT WITH THE WORKERS. By Ben. M. Salekman. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Miscellaneous. SPIRIT AND MUSIC. By H. Ernest Hunt. New York: Dutton. CABLES AND WIRELESS. By George Abel Schreiner. Boston: Stratford Press.

DON'T MISS THIS ONE

ship. Something that will make you think. The whole situation in few words, explaining the only hope of the workers. Something you should read once a month. Get the New Heaven and New Earth idea. Send 10c and receive your copy by return mail, or order a few copies for your friends and neighbors. Only 21.00 per dozen. 50 cents for six.

Brief Reviews

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR. Outline of Plan. James T. Skotwell, Ph.D., LL.D., General Editor. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

THIS outline of an economic and social history of the World War forecasts what is probably the most ambitious historical work ever undertaken. It will include 200 volumes and the first series will be devoted to the European nations. Those who have seen some of the volumes in the "Preliminary Economic Studies of the War" brought out by the same institution will certainly desire to follow the comprehensive history announced in this plan.

The volume before us is an outline of the plan which is explained in an introductory article. The rest of the volume presents a list of editors and editorial boards for each nation, an outline of the work for each nation, a short biography of each editor, a review of the materials for the work in each nation, and the titles of many books to be issued. About twenty-four pages of press reviews and comments conclude this practical introduction to the work.

That this work has great possibilities goes without saying. However, one wonders whether some of the European nations have sufficiently recovered from their plunge into national and racial hatreds to permit an objective and scientific consideration of their history. We imagine that those having a special acquaintance with Russian or German or Hungarian history will closely scrutinize the writers selected for these countries. To obtain scholars who will maintain a scientific perspective it seems to us is one big problem, especially for the nations mentioned. In any event, we shall look forward to the first volumes of this work with considerable interest.

In a pamphlet of forty-five pages printed in English, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic party presents a short history of the evolution of the Socialist movement in Czechoslovakia. Published in 1924, the party had 2,260 organizations with 200,000 members. It publishes six dailies and a number of other organs. There are over 18,000 women members and one daily is published by the party for women. The young people's movement has two organizations, the political sections and the gymnastic unions, the latter having 84,000 members. A Workers' Academy founded by the party in 1897 maintains schools and gives educational courses and lectures to thousands of workmen. The educational work of the party is remarkable in extent, its sixty-seven schools and courses in 1922 being attended by 133,000 students.

The party opposed the proposal to join the Poles in invading Russia and blocked the shipment of war material to the Poles intended for use against Russia. In spite of this important service rendered to Russia, the Communists carried out a split in the Social Democratic Party. Even the collection of over a million crowns for the starving in Russia made no difference in the attitude of Zinoviev and Company.

The pamphlet bears the title of "The Evolution of Socialism in Czechoslovakia" and presents an interesting account of the development of the movement. A section of it will appear in The New Leader in an early issue.

J. O.

MISS PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

By Concordia Merrill. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

Being as how the good little country girl comes to the big, wicked City of London, achieves complete sophistication and success and retains her exquisite innocence and goodness to the end. The writer affects a slightly esoteric style at times but on the whole Miss Pilgrim's Progress is the conventional Cinderella story with a wicked stepmother, spoiled sister, a villain, a Prince 'n everything.

G. W. K.

remained at home." The money issue, 1896: "To hear us then, one would have concluded that handling money was our specialty."

The worker with little education and the worker with much is certain to be impressed with this pamphlet. The price is not stated, but it can be obtained of the Rand School Book Store.

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

RAND BOOK STORE
7 EAST 15th STREET
New York City

DRAMA

A London First Night

It may be said that a play is born upon the first night of its performance in London. There may have been a preliminary appearance in the provinces, or at a stilted matinee, continues F. F. in The Curtain, London, but theatrically it does not exist until placed before the enlightened assembly made up of London first-nighters. These sit in judgment on the play and deliver verdict according to their prejudices, interests or critical acumen.

Who are these privileged beings who thus arraign the British drama? What assessment should be made of this jury (it might almost be spelled Jewry)? In the boxes are to be found the manager, his relations, his backers and the author or authors. In the case of a musical comedy or revue these latter overflow into the front rows of the stalls.

In the auditorium are the critics, mostly jaded old gentlemen with gold-rimmed glasses protecting their play-satiated eyes. They have the gift of forming a quick opinion upon the fare offered, and sometimes express their views forcibly in the bar during the interval. Infinite practice has made it easy for them to adjust these to the policy of their respective papers. There are a few minor journalists in attendance, chubbily youths with horn-rimmed spectacles, who faithfully revise the opinions of their elders. In the stalls are to be found the many friends of the manager and his syndicate. Opulent finance is represented with female relations and friends. A considerable number of out-of-work actors and actresses is to be seen, as well as many "has-beens" of the English stage.

In the dress circle there are more

friends of the management, and more "resting" players. There are also the minor friends of the major actors and actresses and the major friends of the minor actors and actresses. They demonstrate their friendship by thoroughly prepared spontaneous applause.

In the reserved seats upstairs may be noticed the costumer and also the wig-maker who had come to see the joints of the wigs. In the case of a musical play there is the male staff of the management's office come to see the joints of the chorus.

The pit and gallery are filled with women, young and old. They are in quest of emotion, and not finding it in their daily lives they will not deny themselves that hysterical outburst of enthusiastic approval at the fall of the curtain. It is the food of their souls, and it is for this they wait hours outside the playhouse, just as starving people in a famished city line up for bread. In the gallery are a few young men, old in their knowledge of plays. Their delight is to boo and hiss the moment the piece is over. If the play by a rare chance happens to be good they make no noise, but their disappointment is intense. They hold it a grievance to have no excuse in adding their quota to the uproar of the reception.

Such is the general assembly at a first night. Can such a gathering deliver a true verdict upon a play's merits? The opinion that matters comes from the general public, which only begins to attend after the first night. This surely is an argument in favor of postponing the premiere of a play until the second performance.

EXILES

James Joyce's Significant Spiritual Tragedy At the Neighborhood Playhouse

James Joyce's Significant Spiritual Tragedy at the Neighborhood Playhouse

James Joyce, after having for more than a decade held the attention of those who are concerned with the literature of our age, has finally, by the courageous and enterprising Neighborhood Playhouse, attained American performance for his dramatic venture. It is a tragedy of exiles of the spirit, and despite the prophecy of Ezra Pound that it was not a play for the stage, the drama holds and burns into its audience with a tenacity that leaves one exhausted after the beholding.

Richard Rowan is a man who strives to maintain himself at altitudes of human relationship where mankind cannot yet establish firm footing, winning at most a precarious, slipping hold. He believes in complete freedom between lovers; in the faith that rises out of honest purpose; he sees life as a clear, intense stream of light in which all living beings should bathe resplendent. He knows that each man is responsible for his own soul, to himself; he would take upon himself no power over the spirit of body of another. He and the somewhat bewildered Bertha have been living together in fullest love; she gives herself so completely that she accepts his ideas without comprehending them, and lives according to his philosophy. But the frankness and freedom that binds them fails to take account of the fact that Bertha happens to be the type of woman that wants to be commanded and directed; it overlooks also the fact that other men with philosophies more attuned to their sensual desires may be somewhere in the universe, within striking distance of these less earthy ones.

Richard is fully aware of the insinuating slyness with which his friend Robert is moving toward the seduction of Bertha. He allows the two to grow more and more friendly; what right has he to interfere? He goes to Robert before the rendezvous to tell him that Bertha has hidden nothing, and to insist that whatever they do—and they are free to do as they will—is to be done frankly and fully, in clear acknowledgment. Then, despite Bertha's last call for an order from Richard, he leaves her to make her own decision. She is not so strong as the power of sex.

The tragedy of the play rises, not from any rejection on Richard's part of this faithless wife; in fact, she and Robert assure him that all was inno-



PATTI HARROLD, a leading member of Al Jolson's company, in "Big Boy," the musical comedy now straining the capacity of the Winter Garden.

cent. His suffering lies in his inability to be sure whether they are playing the game of life on the same level of square dealing as he; and from his own innate lack of reconciliation, his struggle, unendingly unsuccessful, between his philosophy and his love. Behind him, two sinister figures, lie his father, with a sense of humor and an understanding, and his more relentless mother, with her religion and her implacable soul. These two dead beings are fighting in the son (the struggle that lives in Joyce himself); Richard needs some of his mother's hardness herewith to fight her ideas. In the background, too, is a cousin of Robert's, a girl who could have understood the writer Richard, but who herself is torn with a conflict and bound by a repression that makes it impossible for her to give fully of herself. And Richard, while believing in complete freedom, seems spiritually to require complete surrender. Out of the complexity of this man's being, out of his innate forces and the high-mindedness of their application in his life, grows a tragedy intense and lofty as the immeasurable justice of God, revealed in the infinite hopes and despair of man. To this the Neighborhood Playhouse has given dignified and earnest presentation, so that "Exiles" is probably the most powerful and significant drama now being presented in New York.

J. T. S.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"SKY HIGH," a new musical show, Willie Howard featured, comes to the Shubert Theatre, Monday night, presented by the Messrs. Shubert. Harold Atteridge and Captain Harry Graham have adapted the piece from the English production known as "Whirled Into Happiness." The score is by Robert Stolz, Alfred Goodman, Carlton Kelsey and Maurice Rubens. Leading members of the large cast include Joyce Barbour, Vannessi, Florenz Ames, Ann Milburn and Mercer Templeton.

TUESDAY

"STARLIGHT," a new play by Gladys Unger, with Doris Keane in the leading role, opens at the Broadhurst Theatre, Tuesday night, presented by Frank Egan in association with Charles Frohman, Inc. Other players include Charles Meredith, Florence Short, Frederick Vogeding, Stanley Jessup, Frank Dawson, Philip Wood, Forbes Dawson and Richard Bowler. The production was designed by Frederick Jones, 3d, and Ruth Brenner.

"PIERROT THE PRODIGAL," Michel Carré's pantomime, with Laurette Taylor in the title role, will be given for a series of Tuesday and Friday matinees at the 48th Street Theatre, beginning Tuesday, presented by the Actors' Theatre, George Copeland, concert pianist, interpreting the Andre Wormser score. The cast includes Galina Kopermak, Ivan Lazareff, Clarence Derwent, and Michelle Burani. Staged by Otokar Bartik. Settings by Livingston Platt.

"LOUIE 14TH," a musical show, with Leon Errol, is Mr. Ziegfeld's latest production, scheduled for the Cosmopolitan Theatre, opening Tuesday evening. The book and lyrics are by Arthur Wimperis; music by Sigmund Romberg.

"THE COMPLEX," a Freudian drama, by Louis E. Bisch, is announced for matinees at the Booth Theatre, on Tuesday and Friday of next week. It is the offering of The Reed Producers, Inc. Dorothy Hall heads the cast.

WEDNESDAY

"MICHEL AUCLAIR," a new play from the French of Charles Villard (author of "S. S. Tenacity"), opens Wednesday night at the Provincetown Playhouse.



DORIS KEANE

returns to Broadway in a new play, "Starlight," by Gladys Unger, opening at the Broadhurst Theatre, Tuesday night.

"Houses of Sand" Love Drama at the Hudson Bridges Gap Between Japan and America

There are things in common between "Houses of Sand" and "The House That Jack Built." Both have plots that everyone can understand and that millions of people like. The new play at the Hudson Theatre has also two pairs of lovers, some pretty Japanese costumes and the happiest kind of an ending.

In addition to the old and familiar, however, "Houses of Sand" displays something new for Broadway and so completely desirable that Socialists ought to be glad to support it. There are no preachy places in the dialogue, but the play as a whole combats the notion that the United States must go to war against Japan as quickly as possible.

The hero in this play is a New York lad who does not know his mother was a Japanese woman. The heroine is a Japanese girl whose uncle tells us racial differences are chiefly a matter of early training, but who doesn't want to expose his niece to the fury of a stupid prejudice. Before three acts are ended the audience (critics, excepted) loses all patience with 100 per centism, both white and yellow, and claps its approval when the house of Arthur Demarest and the house of Prince Yumato are joined by the wedding of their heirs. This emotion in the theatre does for the cause of international peace what a flood of bad fiction in the magazines has recently done and is still doing for the cause of race hatred and mental preparation for war. G. Marion Burton wrote the play. Vivienne Osborne is very beautiful as the maid of Nippon, Golden Fragrance, and Paul Kelly does well in the role of Arthur Demarest, her lover. George Probert, as Prince Yumato, Gladys Hanson as Mrs. Steele, Elsie Barlett as Dorothy Steele, Edith Shayne and Ethelbert Hale as the parents Demarest. Charles A. Bickford as Hal Schnyder, Naom Kondo as the serving maid, Sachi, and Theodore Westman, Jr., as Eric Ford, compose the rest of the cast. P. H.



WILLIE HOWARD

of the famous Howard Brothers, is starred alone in "Sky High," a new musical show, opening Monday night at the Shubert.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

"I Am the Man," starring Lionel Barrymore, will open at Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday. The vaudeville acts include Jean Bedini, assisted by Rex Story; Edith Clasper and Boys; C. B. Maddock will present James Coughlin in "The Rest Cure," a new comedy with a company of ten; Burt Earle and his California Girl Orchestra; Wanzer and Palmer; Eddie Nelson, and other acts.

"I Am the Man" has a supporting cast including Seena Owen, Flora Le Breton, Gaston Glass and Joe Striker.

PALACE

Bennie Leonard; Trini; William Gaxton; Lillian Shaw; Gordon Dooley and Martha Morton; Lillian Leitels; Bert Lahr and Mercedes; Covan and Ruffin; The Mounters, and Johnson and Baker.

HIPPOTROME

Lupino Lane; Orville Harrold; Magda Brard, assisted by Max Bendix; Jack Denny and his Hotel Astor Orchestra, with Martha Pryor; the Cansino Family; the Arnaut Brothers; May Wirth; Meehna's Dogs; the Avalons; the Hippodrome Corps de Ballet.

The New York Kiwanis Club—280 members—saw Grace George in "She Had To Know," at the Times Square Theatre, Thursday evening.

THEATRES

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

WINTER GARDEN

Eves. 8:30. Mats. Matinees: Tues. & Sat.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST ENTERTAINER

AL JOLSON
"Big Boy"
A JOLSON TRIUMPH

CASINO

29th Street and Broadway

Evenings at 8:30.

Matinees: WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY

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ARTISTS AND MODELS
of 1924
50 Models from the Studios and a GREAT CAST

SHUBERT

Theatre, 44th W. of Br.

Ev. 8:30 Mt. Wed., Sat.

OPENING MONDAY, MARCH 2

WILLIE HOWARD

In the new musical play.

"SKY HIGH"

with Florenz Ames

Joyce Barbour

Ann Milburn Mercer Templeton

AND OTHERS

AMBASSADOR

48th St.,

Evenings: 8:30. Matinees: Wed. and Sat.

MR. LEE SHUBERT presents

THE VIRGIN OF BETHULIA

Adapted from

HENRI BERNSTEIN'S "JUDITH"

By GLADYS UNGER

with

Julia Hoyt and McKay Morris

Actor's Theatre Productions

Ibsen's "The Wild Duck" at 48th St. Theatre. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:30.

The cast includes: Tom Powers, Warburton Gamble, Blanche Yurko, Cecil Yapp, Moffat Johnston, Helen Chandler.

Laurette Taylor in "Pierrot the Prodigal," Michel Carré's pantomime, for a series of Tuesday and Friday matinees at the 48th St. Theatre, beginning Tuesday, March 3d, at 2:30. Seats now.

George Copeland, concert pianist, will interpret the Andre Wormser score. The cast includes: Galina Kopermak, Ivan Lazareff, Clarence Derwent, Michelle Burani.

Staged by Otokar Bartik of Metropolitan Opera Company. Settings by Livingston Platt.

Shaw's "Candida" at Ellinger Theatre, West 42d St. Evs. 8:35. Mats. Wed. and Sat.

The cast includes: Katharine Cornell, Pedro de Cordoba, Richard Bird, Elizabeth Patterson, Ernest Cossart and Gerald Hamer.

CENTURY THEATRE

410-412 W. 4th St.

Evenings 8:30

Weekday Matinee

BEST SEAT \$2.50

THE LOVE SONG

Life's Most OFFENSIVE

Cost: 1 Ensemble of 200 persons

Alexis Kosloff's Ballet of 50

Symphony Orchestra of 50

"MAGNIFICENCE IN MELODY AND MOVEMENT AND COLOR."

—Quinn Martin, World.

JOLSON'S THEA.

50th St. & 7th Av.

Evenings at 8:30

Matinees: Thursday and Saturday

The Most Glorious Musical Play of Our Time!

THE STUDENT PRINCE

IN HEIDELBERG

Staged by JENNIFER

Symphony Orchestra of 40

Singings Chorus of 100

1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th

1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th

GARRICK

45 West 34th St. Evenings: 8:30.

Matinees: Thursday and Saturday, 2:30.

JOY, MOSTLY UNCONFINED

—Osborn, Eve. World

LAURA HOPE CREWS

with

LEE BAKER HARRY WESTATER CATHERINE PROCTOR

ORLANDO DAILY ARMINA MARSHALL

KLAW Thea. 48th St., W. of B'way. Evs. at 8:30. Matinees: Wed. and Sat. 2:30.

THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED

A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOWARD

With a Cast Including

RICHARD BENNETT PAULINE LORD

BOOTH West 46th Street. Evenings at 8:30. Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.

THE GUARDSMAN

A COMEDY BY FRANZ MOLNAR

with

ALFRED LUNT LYNN FONTANNE

and DUDLEY DIGGES

"BEST LIGHT COMEDY OF THE SEASON."

—Heywood, Brown.

"WILL RUN FOR MANY MONTHS."

—Percy Hammond

"THE GUARDSMAN"

ALFRED LUNT LYNN FONTANNE

and DUDLEY DIGGES

"THE GUARDSMAN"

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"THE GUARDSMAN"

ALFRED LUNT LYNN FONTANNE

and DUDLEY DIGGES

HOW CAN YOU GO ON LIVING WITHOUT AIR FOR THREE YEARS

REPUBLIC THEA-W 42nd ST-EVES 8:30

MATS WED. & SAT. 2:30

Katharine Cornell, now playing the title role in the Actors' Theatre production of "Candida" at the Ellinger Theatre, will remain in the Shaw comedy three more weeks, until March 21. After that she opens in "The Green Hat," under the management of A. H. Woods. Her place in "Candida" will be taken by another actress of importance.

Mary Young, now playing in "Dancing Mothers," will be the guest of honor at an afternoon reception to be given by the Drama League, Sunday.

The 100th performance of "The Student Prince" will be celebrated at Jolson's Theatre, tomorrow night.

Martin Beck has purchased the rights to George W. Middleton's new comedy, "When Ships Come In," for production the coming season.

Two additional melodies and a ballet, from Offenbach's "Orpheus aux Enfers" will be introduced in tonight's performance of "The Love Song," at the Century Theatre.

I cannot tell a lie!

"PIGS" is the best fun in town.

John Golden

at THE LITTLE

MATINEES WED. & SAT.

"Lady of the Night" and Tschaiowsky's Fourth Symphony at Capitol

"Lady of the Night," Monta Bell's latest picture, comes to the Capitol Theatre Sunday. Norma Shearer heads the cast. The story is by Adela Rogers K. John. Other players include George K. Arthur, Malcolm McGregor, Dale Fuller, Fred Emelton, Lew Harvey and Betty Morrissey.

The ballet diversissements next week will consist of a Spanish Dance by Leucoua, danced by Doris Niles, and "Noia," a silhouette by Arndt, danced by Alexander Oumansky. Excerpts from Tschaiowsky's "Fourth Symphony" will be played by the orchestra, with David Mendoza wielding the baton.

Messrs. Shubert, in association with George B. McLeelan, yesterday arranged the booking at the Ellinger Theatre for "The Fall Guy," the comedy in which Ernest Truax will be featured. The play opens in Stamford this Friday.

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THEATRES

Neighborhood Playhouse

466 Grand St. Tel. Dry Dock 6118
Evenings (Except Monday) at 8:20
Matinee Saturday at 2:20

"EXILES"

"A Profound Dissection of the Soul."
By James Joyce

Orchestra, \$1.50. Balcony, \$1.00, 75c.

"HILARITY REIGNS in WHITE COLLARS"

"Has both artistry and vigor and is acted to the hilt."—N. Y. Times.

CORT THEATRE WEST 48 ST.
Eves. 8:30. Mat. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

CLEAN FUN

"HELL'S BELLS!"

MOVES TO DALY'S 63d ST. THEATRE
MONDAY, MARCH 2d

KNICKERBOCKER

Broadway at 36th Street
Eves., 8:20. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:30.
Direction A. L. ERLANGER

"Not since 'The Merry Widow' has there been anything that so completely captures the fancy."—Eve. Journal.

NATJA

An Operetta in English
Score Adapted from
TSCHAIKOWSKY
BY KARA HAJOS

"The most beautiful music of any operetta in town."—Stephen Robinson, Eve. Sun.

WALLACK'S THEATRE, WEST 42d ST. TEL. CHICK 0092.
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat.

JOHN CORT'S MUSICAL COMEDY SUCCESS

"CHINA ROSE"

SEATS 6 WEEKS
IN ADVANCE

"MIRTH, MELODY AND BEAUTY."—Eve. World.

EARL CARROLL presents

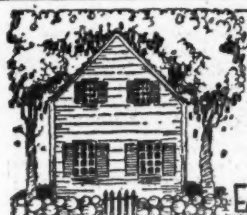
COLONIAL

B'way & 42d St.
Dir. A. L. Erlanger.

THE RAT

Eves. at 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat., at 2:30

A THRILLING LOVE STORY BY CONSTANCE COLLIER and IVOR NOVELLO



EUGENE ONEILL'S GREATEST PLAY

"DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS"

WITH
WALTER HUSTON

EARL CARROLL THEATRE 7th & 5th STS. Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Matinee Next Week: Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

CAPITOL

BROADWAY AT 51st ST.
World's Largest and Foremost Motion Picture Palace—Edw. Sorens, Mgr. Dir.

BEGINNING SUNDAY
with NORMA SHEARER

"LADY OF THE NIGHT"

BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE
Presentations by ROTHAFEL ("BOXY")

B.S. MOSS' B'WAY

"Where the crowds all go"

ALL NEXT WEEK
FIRST NEW YORK SHOWING

Lionel Barrymore

SEENA OWEN & FLORA LABRETTON
IN
"I Am the man"

THRILLING MELODRAMA FROM
THE BOOK OF LIFE.
—AND—
JEAN BEDINI
BERT FARLE & GIRLS
EDITH CANNES & BOYS
"THE REST CURE"—10 People
AND OTHER ACTS

Held Over for A Fourth Week!

Owing to the great
popular success of
CHARLEY'S AUNT
at the Colony Theatre,
Broadway and
42d Street, the management
announces that the run of this
picture will be continued a fourth week,
starting next Sunday.

B.S. MOSS' COLONY

PRICES (EXCEPT SAT. SUN. & HOLIDAYS)
Mats. 2:30 & 5:30
Eves. 6:00 & 8:30

CHARLEY'S AUNT

WITH SYD CHAPLIN
Produced by CHRISTIE
Enough to make you laugh!

THE WORLD'S FUNNIEST MOTION PICTURE

YIDDISH ART THEATRE

57th STREET & MADISON AVE.

MAURICE SWARTZ

IN
"PETER THE GREAT"

A Tragedy in Eight Scenes
By DIMITRY MERZHKOVSKY

FRIDAY, SATURDAY & SUNDAY MATINEE & EVENING, 2:30 & 8:30.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

WILHELM MENDELBERG
CARNegie Hall, Student Concert,
Wed. Eves., 8:30. "EROLICA"—"Ein Heldenleben"

Thurs. Eves., 8:30. Fri. Aft., 2:30
WANDA LANDOWSKA—Mozart Piano
Concerto, E Flat. Bach Prelude to Cantata 174. Adagio from Toccata, arr. Silotti; both first times in America. Beethoven's "Eroica."

Thurs. Aft., 3:15. Brooklyn Academy of Music, All-Tschai-Kowsky. Yolanda Mero, Pianist. ARTHUR JUDSON, Manager. Steinway Piano

Aeolian Hall, Mon. Eves., Mar. 2, at 8:30

CONCERT BY THE STINGWOOD

ENSEMBLE
Mozart, Stravinsky, Prokofiev
Mgt. DANIEL MAYER
Steinway & Knapik Pianos

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th ST., E. of 34 AVE.
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED., & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
THE DRAMATISTS' THEATRE Inc. presents

"THE GOOSE HANGS HIGH"

By Lewis Beach—Staged by J. Forbes
—WITH—
NORMAN TREVOR

MRS. THOMAS WHIFFEN
and famous Rialto Theatre Cast
GREATEST AMERICAN COMEDY

Week of March 9th
RAYMOND HITCHCOCK in "The Soap"

N. Y. SYMPHONY

BRUNO WALTER

GUEST CONDUCTOR

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Aft., Mar. 5, at 2
Fri. Eves., Mar. 6, at 8:30

Mozart's Double Concerto
DUSHKIN and TERTIS
VIOLIN VIOLA

Schreker's "Birthday of the Infants" (1st time in America). Tschai-kowsky's Symphony No. 4. Mendelssohn's Overture Midsummer Night's Dream.
GEORGE ENGLER, Mgr. Steinway Piano.

DRAMA

New Milne Comedy

"Ariadne," Brilliant Piece
With Suggested Depths,
Sparkles at the Garrick

Ariadne had a hard fight against the root of all evil and the bar across Heaven-Gate. Ariadne also has a sense of humor. This quality, which one comes more and more to consider the essential for rendering life endurable to a sensitive intelligence, saves the day for Ariadne and creates another lively success for the Theatre Guild.

Laura Hope Crews plays Ariadne with a genuine participation of that sense of humor; she enters fully into the heroine's feelings and makes them hers, and by irresistible contagion, ours. Well supported, she must nonetheless bear the full burden of the evening, for the play is short and slight, suggesting more than it presents, depending for its charm and its power wholly on the true wife, Ariadne. Friend husband would be indignant at our adjective; how can she be true who was running away with another man, who would be in Spain if he hadn't missed the train? If he hadn't missed the train, they would both now be in Spain!

For Ariadne is trying the husband-cure known in logic as Reductio ad Absurdum, though in matrimony it may have more gruesome ending. Her husband insists on her being hospitable and friendly to his best client, who, Ariadne insists, is a hound—but think of all the business he can bring! To oblige her husband Ariadne is friendly, so friendly that she makes the appointment to meet the client—"friend" for tea, alone, in London. Then she calmly returns upon her husband, his dear sister and his brother-in-law, just after they have read her note telling of her departure. In the face of their frantic anger she is calmly self-possessed; ultimately—through the assistance of her sense of humor—she wins the friendship of her too great dependence upon his sister's advice and opinion, and cures him of his over-reliance for money while preserving the possibility of keeping the wealthy client. Withal, she fills an important and delightfully comedy. W. L.

"The Goose Hangs High" at the Bronx Opera House

"The Goose Hangs High," a typical American comedy by Lewis Beach, will be seen at the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday.

"The Goose Hangs High" is the first production of the Dramatists' Theatre, Inc., a new organization formed by a group of playwrights of which Edward Childs Carpenter is president and James Forbes, director of productions. The cast includes Norman Trevor, Mrs. Thomas Whiffen, Eric Dressler, Lorna Elliott, Elizabeth Wells, Jean Spurney and Guy Standing, Jr. "The Soap" will come to the Bronx, March 9.

MUSIC

"Die Walkure" and "Cog d'Or" on Metropolitan Opera Program

"L'Africana" will have its last performance this season Monday night, with Rethberg, Mario, Gigli and Danise. Other operas next week:

"Romeo at Juliette," Wednesday evening with Bori, Delucchi, Johnson and DeLuca. "Die Walkure," Thursday afternoon with Larsen-Todsen, Rethberg, Laubenthal and Whitehill. "Pagliacci" and "Cog d'Or," Thursday evening, the former with Mario and Martinelli, the latter with Sahaneva, Ryan, Didur and Bloch. "Rigoletto," Friday evening, with Hidalgo, Gordon and DeLuca. "Lohengrin," Saturday matinee, with Mueller, Branzell, Taucher and Schorr. "Falstaff," Saturday night, sung by Bori, Telva, Scotti and Tibbett. "Lucia," Sunday night in concert form with Mario, Anthony, Tokatyan and Ballester.

Julia Hudak at the Manhattan Opera House

Julia Hudak, the Hungarian ballet dancer, whose premiere concert at the Manhattan Opera House last Saturday, Feb. 21, was postponed on account of a sprained ankle, will give two performances next week at the Manhattan, Friday, March 6, and Saturday, March 7.

Julia Hudak, a native of Budapest, at the age of fourteen made her debut as premiere dancer at the Royal Opera House in Milan. Later she was premiere dancer at the Scala Theatre, Milan, Italy, and also at the Casino Opera House in Monte Carlo. Her program will include "The Romance of Ilonka," a Hungarian ballet. She will also present selections from grand opera and "The Dance of the Pope." Miss Hudak is assisted by a Hungarian ballet and symphony orchestra.

Music Notes

The Stringwood Ensemble will make its debut on Monday evening, in Aeolian Hall. The organization consists of the following members: Josef Stopak, first violin; Samuel Kuskin, second violin; Michael Cores, viola; Abram Borodkin, cello; Simeon Bellison, clarinet, and Arthur Loesser, piano.

The Flonzaley Quartet will offer a program of Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms at their third concert, Tuesday evening, at Aeolian Hall.

Oliver Denton will give a program of piano concert with orchestra, Monday evening, at Town Hall.

Francis Macmillan gives his last violin recital of the season, at Carnegie Hall, on Tuesday evening.

Owing to an injured wrist, Ernest Schelling has cancelled his piano recital scheduled for Aeolian Hall on Tuesday afternoon.



LIONEL BARRYMORE
in a new film drama, "I Am the Man," coming to Moss Broadway, Monday.

Theatre Guild School

THE Theatre Guild, with three plays on Broadway, another in rehearsal, and a new theatre being built, is planning further activity—and along a new path. Beginning October 1, there will be a Theatre Guild School at the new Guild Theatre, where special rehearsal rooms have been arranged for it. This school will be under the direction of Winifred Lenihan, who will give up acting for at least a year and a half to manage the school, and under the direct supervision of the Theatre Guild Board of Directors.

The Theatre Guild School is to develop and train genuine talent. While all the applicants will be accepted for the period of one month, at the end of that time eliminations will begin and during the fourteen months' course this process will continue until the Senior term consist of the minimum number of picked students. The work will be carefully planned after analysis of the individual needs of each student. The Senior class will be organized as a playing company—to present a series of plays at the Guild Theatre. The students will also have the opportunity of observing rehearsals and taking some part in the regular productions of the Theatre Guild. The Theatre Guild has always felt that people who give up their whole lives to teaching are soon exhausted and that inspiration should come from actual workers in the theatre. For the Guild has persuaded Miss Lenihan, who has produced several of the plays of the Guild Junior Auxiliary Group, to launch the new school.

With the Orchestras

STATE SYMPHONY

The final Sunday afternoon concert of the State Symphony Orchestra will be given at the Metropolitan Opera House this Sunday. Ignatz Waghalter will conduct Tschai-kowsky's Symphony "Pathétique," Beethoven's Overture "Eroica" and Wagner's "Tannhauser" Overture. The soloist will be Ewald Belousoff, solo cellist of the State Symphony Orchestra, who will render Tschai-kowsky's Variations on a Rococo Theme.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Bruno Walter's first Sunday concert as guest conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra will be given tomorrow afternoon at Aeolian Hall. The program: Overture, "Midsummer Night's Dream," Mendelssohn; Suite after Oscar Wilde's "Birthday of the Infants," Schreker (first time in America); Concerto in E Flat, for violin and viola, Mozart (Messrs. Dushkin and Tartia); Symphony No. 4, in F Minor, Tschai-kowsky.

PHILHARMONIC

The Philharmonic Orchestra, under Mr. Mengelberg's direction, begins tomorrow afternoon at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, when an all-Tschai-kowsky program, consisting of the "Nutcracker" Suite, the G Major Piano Concerto and the Fourth Symphony will be played. At the eighth Students' Concert, at Carnegie Hall, Wednesday evening, the program consists of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony and Strauss' "Ein Heldenleben." Wanda Landowska appears with the Philharmonic at Carnegie Hall, on Thursday evening and Friday afternoon, playing a Mozart piano concerto in E flat. Two rarely heard works of Bach, the Prelude to Cantata No. 174 and the Adagio from the Organ Toccata, orchestrated for strings by Siloti, will be performed, with the "Eroica" symphony of Beethoven closing the program.

Florence Laffert, soprano, will offer a program of German, French and Italian songs at Town Hall, on Thursday evening.

Gisella Neu, Hungarian violinist, will make her debut in recital at Town Hall, Tuesday evening.

Marguerita Sylva will give her third song and operatic entertainment at Wallace's Theatre, Sunday night.

Misha Lavitski will give his final recital of the season in Carnegie Hall, on March 14.

Consummate Idiocy, Damned Foolishness, and Worse

By HENRY W. PINKHAM, Secretary, the Association To Abolish War

WAR is the very limit of human folly, the most idiotic procedure of which men are capable. The brutes are quite incapable of the like: they do not kill their kind collectively and seldom individually. War is doomed, not because it is horrible, not because it is wicked, but because it is foolish. Rousseau said that the rulers of States would refrain from war if they knew their own interests: "They do not need to be good, generous, disinterested, public-spirited, humane. They may be unjust, greedy, putting their own interests above everything else; we only ask that they shall not be fools."

That seems a modest request, perhaps not too much to ask of the people of a country as enlightened as the United States today—"that they shall not be fools." One needs only to look at war in its stark reality to see that fools may be graded thus: first, plain ordinary fools; second, damned fools; third, believers in war.

There is no doctrine so palpably foolish as not to have been accepted by some people somewhere at some time. Today war is generally esteemed the only available means by which in certain circumstances precious human interests can be saved and human progress promoted. The prevalence of this theory does not prove its correctness. In fact, it is sheer nonsense, abysmal folly. Apply a little common sense—just a few grains will suffice—to the subject and you will see that in the nature of the case war is always the worst course that can be chosen. Franklin was right when he said: "There never was a good war or a bad peace." For what is war? It is collective homicide. The immeasurable foolishness of it lies in this undeniable fact, to wit, that a living human being is preferable to a corpse.

War Not Selective

There may be individual exceptions to this statement, as defenders of capital punishment evidently hold. Something may be said for the legal killing by organized society of individuals that have proved themselves dangerous to human life. But in the killing is not selective but indiscriminate. In war good men kill good men by wholesale; choice youth from universities kill choice youth from universities; honest, home-loving workmen kill honest, home-loving workmen; Christians kill Christians. The word that fits such conduct is insanity. Bernard Shaw's remark in the World War was amply justified: "The longer I live, the more firmly I am convinced that the other planets use our earth as their lunatic asylum."

Invariably each belligerent group deems itself righteous and the enemy wicked. In point of fact, however, both sides inevitably sink to practically the same moral level far below the instinctive life of the brutes. The moral order inflicts on each side in the long run approximately the same punishment, which indicates that the transgression of each is approximately the same. History fully warrants the word of the Teacher whom Christians praise but do not follow: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." If war were universal and perpetual, the race would speedily perish from the earth. Human life would be hell in the process of self-destruction.

No idealistic aims can possibly justify the collective destruction of human life. For even of the most commanding ideals it is true, as Jesus said of the Sabbath, that they were made for man and not man for them. However beautiful in themselves, ideals have no authority, value or reality, as far as we know—I here disregard the faith in a future life—save as they are bound up with living men, not corpses. The eye affords a helpful analogy. It is beautiful in itself, but only when it is an organ of the living body. Its function is to serve the life that nourishes it, and it perishes when that life

ceases. To die to save one's eyes would be to sacrifice the greater to the less, and it would not save the eyes! Dying that one's country may live is likewise a self-defeating procedure the character of which is hidden by the unconscious assumption that relatively only a few of the people that constitute a country will ever do it.

A country lives in the minds and hearts of its living citizens, not in corpses. If all the people of a country should die that that country might live, it would not live. If nine-tenths should die, it would be comparatively a very poor sort of country that would survive. Let those who prate how admirable it is to die for a country specify the maximum fraction of the population that may so die advantageously to the country, for evidently there is a limit. The limit being established, it will be well to inquire whether there can be any certainty that it will not be exceeded in the passion that war engenders.

Not Result of War

Doubtless there are certain good things that the World War brought in the immense complex of its consequences. But the net result was immeasurable loss, immeasurable in particular because no one will ever know what potential artists, scientists, poets, inventors, medical discoverers, statesmen, saints and seers, by whom humanity would have been enriched, there were among the millions whom the war turned into corpses. We only know that a large part of the choice youth of the peoples that led the van of human progress have been killed before their promise could be fulfilled, that multitudes more will spend their years with impaired vitality and perverted minds and hearts. The dead can not be brought back to life.

The loss is irreplaceable. Compared with this loss, which falls on both sides with approximate equality, the military issue, victory or defeat, is a trifling matter. Human life is the most precious thing in the world. "There is no wealth but life," said Ruskin; "that country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human lives."

When we succumbed to the general madness and entered the World War, we played the fool. There you have it plain and flat. To avoid another war—adapting Rousseau's language—we do not need to be good, generous, disinterested, public-spirited, humane. We may be unjust, greedy, putting our own interests above everything else; provided only that we shall not be fools.

As the counterpart of Winston Churchill's striking "Shall We Commit Suicide?" let us ask: "Shall We Be Fools?" And further: "Shall We Be Damned Fools?" And still further: "Shall We Be Damned Fools Plus?"

Geneva Protocol

(Continued from Page 8)

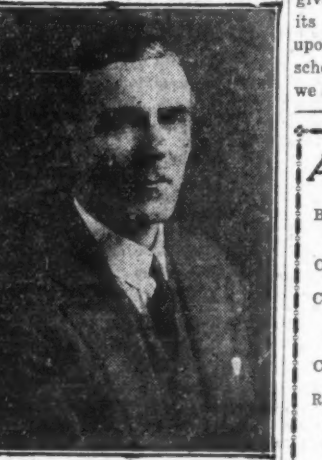
On the contrary: both for the small countries who are strongly pacific in their policy, and for the distant countries which have no frontier problems, the only way of avoiding the consequences of possible war, to which they as well as the rest of the world are exposed, is to impose on all States another and saner kind of frontier, the frontier of mediation, arbitration, and appeal to a Court of Justice. This is the policy which will enable them to stifle any new war at its very outset, and will guarantee their not being somehow drawn into aiding an unjust cause.

We are of opinion, therefore, that the draft Protocol, although it may not in every respect satisfy our desires or ideals, yet can and must receive our support. Its defeat would mean a grave peril, and would be a terrible blow to the cause of peace.

At the present moment, the fate of the draft scheme is still in suspense. The Council of the League of Nations has decided, at the request of the British Government, to postpone the examination of it till March next. We believe that it is the duty of the Labor movement to give its support in every country to its acceptance, and to put pressure upon the Governments to prevent the scheme from being defeated; hence we ask you to pronounce in its favor.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—Lionel Barrymore in "I Am the Man," with Seena Owen and Flora Le Breton. CAMEO—"The Last Laugh," with Emil Jennings. CAPITOL—"Lady of the Night," with Norma Shearer, George K. Arthur and Malcolm McGregor. SYD CHAPLIN, Fourth week. COLONY—"Charley's Aunt," with Syd Chaplin. RIALTO—"Too Many Kisses," from John Monk Saunders' story, "A Maker of Gestures," with Frances Howard and "Harpo" Marx of the Four Marx Brothers. RIVOLI—"Zane Gray's 'The Thundering Herd,'" with William Howard, Jack Holt and Lois Wilson.



NORMAN TREVOR
will play at the Bronx Opera House next week in the successful comedy of American life, "The Goose Hangs High"

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, February 28, 1925

PAUL WALLACE HANNA was brave and gentle, upright, modest, good. His untimely death brings bitter pain to all who knew him; for no one could know him without feeling admiration, trust and love. It is a loss to thousands who never saw his face, to the whole movement for freedom and true civilization. To this movement he had committed himself while yet a very young man, and his devotion to it had grown, through success and through adversity, as the years went by. Dying at forty-two, with his dreams unrealized, his work hardly more than begun, yet Paul Wallace Hanna has lived a full and worth-while life. Sadly, but proudly, we say, "Good-bye, friend and Comrade."

MR. PRESIDENT!

WORD comes from the Capital that President Coolidge is trying to keep his inaugural speech down to 2,000 words.

That ought to be easy. Far fewer words spoken on that occasion are enough to bring immortal fame upon the name of Calvin Coolidge. If he aims at brevity and craves the applause of mankind the President need only recommend next Wednesday afternoon:

Immediate increase in the pay of subordinate civil servants to meet the cost of living;

Immediate cut to one-fourth in sums now spent on the army and navy, and use of the money saved to promote real public works and abolish unemployment forever in the United States;

Immediate adoption of the Child Labor Amendment;

Immediate restoration of the ballot to millions of Negroes disfranchised in the South;

Immediate abolition of the United States Senate;

Immediate abolition of the power of the Supreme Court to nullify acts of Congress;

Immediate withdrawal of all American armed forces in foreign countries, and abolition forthwith of meddling by our bankers and diplomats in the affairs of other countries;

Immediate notice that no American soldier or sailor will be sent to collect or safeguard investments abroad;

Immediate removal by agreement of all barriers to free travel and the free flow of resources between nations;

Immediate decision that the United States shall not take up arms (except to repel actual invaders) until war has been authorized by a vote of the people.

There you are, Mr. President!

Other items might be added, but these will do for a starter.

You are at liberty to paste these thoughts inside your inaugural hat and, without credit to The New Leader, read them aloud from the Capitol steps on March 4th.

AN INFAMOUS BILL

DO you know H. R. 11796? If not, then get acquainted. It is a bill "to facilitate the deportation of any alien any time anybody wants to deport him." It has passed the House and is now in the Senate. If it gets as far as the White House and Coolidge signs it, every blackmaling crook in the land will be thereby invited to browbeat, intimidate, falsely accuse and otherwise "shake down" for cash the alien population of the United States. H. R. 11796 shows how inventive Americans are.

It does away entirely with the old principle that accused persons must

Chicago and After

THE Chicago conferences have come to an end and readers of The New Leader have the results of their deliberation before them. The Conference for Progressive Political Action divided into three groups, the more conservative unions that opposed the organization of a Labor party, middle class elements that wanted a middle class party organized after the model of the two old parties, and the Socialist and trade union delegates who favored the organization of a Labor party with group representation and control.

The reason for this division is obvious. The conservative union leaders fear to take a step in advance. They do not believe that they could carry their members with them and yet they do not seek to sound their organizations to ascertain what the members want. Moreover, they are largely under the influence of the "progressive" members of Congress and are inclined to accept their point of view.

The middle class elements that have decided to hold a convention next summer to organize a "progressive" party have no substantial basis for a third party. They are not united upon a program. They constitute vague and indefinite strivings, so vague that one delegate urged that they should not attempt to formulate a set of principles. It is not likely that even the railroad brotherhoods will participate in the coming "progressive" convention, so that they are deprived of the main strength of the movement. On the other hand, the preliminary plan provides that this third party movement shall be placed in the hands of five "progressive" members of Congress.

The Socialist Party has never at any time concealed its desire for a Labor party. In the first Chicago conference three years ago it stated its position. In succeeding conferences its delegates restated it. We won the respect and confidence of those with whom we disagreed. We parted as friends. We have also won the respect of many thousands of the members of the unions who appreciate our stand for principle. This respect will eventually mature as converts and devoted workers for the one party of Labor in the United States.

There is no need and no justification for questioning the motives of anyone. The Socialist Party is proud of its record and its loyalty to a principle which it will not surrender for the illusive phantom of a success that does not succeed. It is released from what was once a promising movement and it can now turn to the task of rebuilding its own. It has wiped out its debt. It has stated its position in ringing terms. The road is clear to a rebuilt, a greater, a more powerful party of the working class.

We are sure that those who have been waiting for a decision at Chicago will now turn with joy to the tasks ahead.

be regarded as innocent until they are proved guilty. It substitutes a practice whereby every accused alien will stand convicted unless he is able to refute lies as fast as they may be hurled against him.

"Pick out your alien and get ready to skin him," the blackguards are telling each other. "Frame up your tale that he committed some crime long ago and far away; the longer ago, and the farther away you make it the harder it will be for him to prove you are a liar. If you do the job well your victim will see what he is up against, and prefer to pay you a price in private to drop the charge."

H. R. 11796 specifies the charges

that blackmailers should make in order to get quick results. Declare that any alien has shown "moral turpitude" since he was born, that he entered the United States without due inspection, that he has served a year or more in prison or that he harbored or assisted any other alien law-breaker, and he goes into exile if he can't disprove it.

This precious piece of tyranny is retroactive. Acts committed or alleged years before the law was conceived expose the alien to punishment next year or ten years hence. It notifies every alien member of the working class that he must be pleasing in the sight of his employer if he wishes

to remain in America.

In conclusion, there is a drop of burlesque for patriots. Absolution is provided for all these undesirable aliens, if they will hurry to court and swear allegiance to the flag!

WILL THE WORKERS FIGHT?

IF an education is worth fighting for, the American working class had better begin to fight.

Signs multiply that big business and the schools in this country are joining hands to restrict real education to a small minority of the people. The burden of their song is that the average boy and girl does not need more than eight grades of schooling, at the most.

They are quoting statistics to show that "white collar" jobs are available for only ten or fifteen out of every hundred high school graduates. Newspapers are playing up a story about surplus professors and underpaid technical men going back to the big wages in carpentry and plastering. Half the current periodical literature is echoing the refrain that happiness lies in the humble and underpaid walks of life.

City and State Governments, dominated by business influence, are hardening in their resistance to the popular demand for more schools and better paid teachers. Education appropriations are being either actually or proportionately reduced. We are heading back toward "readin', ritin' and 'rithmetic" as a basis of learning adequate for the masses.

If the masses want more they must fight for it.

One faction of the Seventh Day Adventists predicted the end of the world on February 6. The other denies that any date has been set. Why not refer this matter to the great man of Moscow who, like Pathe's Pictorial, "knows all, sees all."

Upon reading The New Leader appeal for aid to the striking West Virginia miners a friend and reader in Bridgewater, Mass., used it as an appeal for aid in his local papers. This Socialist now writes that he has already shipped three barrels of clothing to the miners. Comrades in other cities could follow this example to good advantage. Send shipments direct to Will C. Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer, District 17, U. M. W. of A., 120 1/2 Summers street, Charleston, W. Va.

It may be the sanguinary Soviet, who is a Socialist by profession—Martin W. Littleton in the New York Commercial. That's right, Martin. We even heard of a grocery store that "is a Socialist by profession." Then there is that sanguinary person, Mr. Bolshevik. Ever meet him?

A Negro Klan has been organized in Indiana to unite native-born Negroes against foreign-born Negroes who may contaminate our glorious American ideals. A union between white and black clans is now in order.

Winning Beauty for the People

By A. WILLIAMS-ELLIS

(The Independent Labor Party of Great Britain has had a London theatre placed at its disposal for several weeks, and the first entertainment was a remarkable one in many ways. It inspired Mr. Williams-Ellis to write the following article:)

LAST Sunday at the Strand Theatre the I. L. P. to my mind did a great deal more than arrange an exceedingly agreeable evening of singing, dancing, and the drama. It said something which needs saying very badly, and it said it in the best possible way by precept on the program, reinforced by example on the stage. In putting Miss Margaret Morris, Mr. Laurence Housman, and the various musicians before the audience there assembled, it reaffirmed the principle that man cannot live by bread alone. Socialists understand this, and are, in the words of the program, out to "win beauty as well as bread for the people."

It is not, of course, possible to make a final definition of beauty, but I should like to suggest that if you think of it as order and efficiency raised and intensified almost beyond recognition you will not be far out. Beauty is something that we recognize in certain patterns or arrangements of sound, colors, forms, and also of thoughts and ideas. We recognize it with a feeling of sympathy and affection more or less vivid according to our nature and opportunities. When we are pleased by the beauty of a thing our pleasure quickens our powers of seeing and understanding. The personal analogy is quite a good one here. If you like or love another person you can quickly see their point of view and you can learn from them more easily than from someone whom you dislike or who bores you. Nearly all good political speakers understand perfectly the part played by beauty of some sort. Oratory is called an art, and orators are sometimes despised as being willing to twist an argument, but really their wish to produce a beautiful and moving effect is a wise and sensible one. The audience which is being bored stiff can understand nothing.

Mr. Maxton on a platform can create for us out of his convictions and his voice, and those strange eyes and delicate hands, a piece of art that it is hard to find bettered in the theatre or out of it. Or, again, you may hear less deliberately artistic speakers—Fencer Brockway or Clifford Allen, say—build up, out of dry facts, special knowl-

edge, simple logic, and balanced judgment, a large cool structure or argument that is unquestionably beautiful and is received, like Mr. Maxton's oratory, by an audience much as if it had been first and foremost a work of art. Some people are so satisfied with this sort of beauty that they desire no other. Socialists from Scotland have, perhaps, also a kind of agreeable feeling that this sort of thing is not only good art but good economy. At one and the same time you are enjoying something—"as good as a play"—and also absorbing a ration of the true doctrine.

But I want to suggest to serious-minded Socialists that it is perfectly possible here as elsewhere to be penny wise and pound foolish. The power of the arts upon man as a social animal is very great.

Modern psychologists and ancient philosophers have agreed about this. For one little boy who demands "your money or your life" from the passengers of the local motor bus because he has seen a train held up in a Wild West film, we are told that a dozen little boys had gone satisfied to bed without pulling their sister's hair, because they had worked off their less kindly instincts in laughing at Harold Lloyd falling off a skyscraper or in cheering a sheriff as he held up the saloon with his six-shooter.

But modern thinkers have seen that the arts quite clearly fulfil another social function, at which I have hinted before—that of communication between people. A great deal happens in this world that you cannot write down on two sheets of notepaper. We are probably all of us good at inventing reasons afterwards for why we did this or that; but consider yourself or your neighbor in this or that affair: how often have you, or, at any rate, has he, acted clean against reason and often apparently against self-interest? In thinking of love affairs you will perhaps get the clearest instances of man's unreason, but you will find it in every walk of life from economics to education.

Now in this region of fear, tradition, timidity, credulity and of beautiful instincts and cravings, the arts are the only guide. You cannot ultimately talk about human beings without the help of the arts.

Take a simple example: the story of Macbeth can be treated scientifically as that of Mr. M., a neurotic soldier of fortune, married to Mrs. M., a woman apparently of great force of character, who, however, later goes to bits and walks in her sleep. The thing has even been done, but the scientific account gives you an infinitely less clear picture of the murder of Duncan and its terrible effect upon the murderers than does Shakespeare's play. The beauties of Shakespeare's treatment are feathers which wing the arrow of the tragedy till it is carried right through our minds deep down below our consciousness. The bare, simple truth about the sense of sorrow and remorse that Macbeth felt and that killed his wife could only be stated by the methods of art. Ernest Toller's play "Masses and Man," is another instance. When you read that you know better than from any history what strain revolution imposes on the soft, yielding, variable and uncertain stuff that men and women are made of.

But, says the Socialist, it is just this unreason of men and women that we want to get rid of. We believe human beings, given half a chance, are much more reasonable than is supposed. Our whole case is the governance of society and of the communal life by reason and not by prejudice and instinct.

There we come back to the teachings of the psychologists. It is in the arts, where it seems at first as though the irrational part of man is exalted, that reason really triumphs. Instinct has filled a man with some obscure restlessness, a dissatisfaction and impatience. Primitive man goes and hits somebody over the head. Social man instead goes to see "Macbeth" or one of those great artists, Charles Chaplin or Harry Lauder, or some Lancashire comedian with a song about Wigan Pier, and he comes away a happier and a wiser man, instead of with a blood feud on his hands.

It seems a long way from all this to the Strand Theatre, but we are a serious and puritanical nation, and some of us are apt to want to justify ourselves when what we feel instinctively inclined to do is at all pleasant. There is, however, an ample text for the arts. Socialism seems to me in nothing more superior to the creeds of other parties than in its old and now again in its new breadth of outlook, its realization of the importance of happiness, and that not only does man not live by bread, but he does not live by reason, alone.

THE Chatter-Box

To a March Wind

Long before our dreams you drummed the seas
With battering tempos and rhapsodic shrills,
Flinging to God your arrant blasphemies
With pagan frenzy . . . On the saddened hills.

You made mad rites against the ordained creed;
Frighted the faithful forests at their prayers;
And turned the reverent oak into the reed
With which you shrieked your sacrilegious airs.

Long before our dreams of years to be
Unreined, unleashed, unloosed from bar and bolt—
Before men sang or wept for liberty
You were the virtuoso of revolt.

Through the window comes the first devilish reminder of spring. It must be a southwest wind blowing somewhere above the chimneys and clothesline, for it has the touch of a soft gloved finger on our face. The workaday universe fades; the raucous racket of the street dies; purpose, duty, hours, appointments, banks, checks, bills, merchandise, family, old sorrows, new griefs, everything that makes the moment of life, is blanked out . . . Somewhere beyond the walls is a horizon, and in back of that line of distance are hills, and lakes, and groves, and long winding lanes that never end. And there is a soft sun waking life out of frozen slumber, and winds that have whispers and great tales of magic lands and great treasures.

To the girl at the machine in the clothing centre, to the lad at the lathe along the riverfront, to the miner, the baker, to the makers of all things good and needful throughout the North, this call is coming. And how few have ever answered it.

A Treatise on Modesty

Last night we received an anonymous letter upbraiding us in rather terse rhyme for our arrogant conceit, with a concluding plea that we refrain from carrying on so highly-tighty about our superior judgment in all matters, as we have been doing right along, and as we intend to do ad nauseum.

Instead of taking the first Florida special out to Palm Beach to join that other famous recipient of anonymous epistles, our Honorable Mayor Mike the Red, we remain quite close to our editorial throne and hammer out these blistering epigrams on Modesty.

Modesty, like all Anglo-Saxon and Nordic virtues, is the full-blended sister of Insincerity. Where talent is particularly weak, modesty acts like a blood transfusion, and gives the anemic genius the glow of a false divinity. Real greatness is manifested in men like Attila the Hun, Napoleon, Shaw, Wilde, Tom Sharkey, Mencken, "K. O." Kid Kaplan, F. P. Adams, Eddie Guest, Charles Chaplin, Fatty Arbuckle, and others like them, swashbuckling, rampant, press-agenting, log-rolling, hilarious, and above all immodest, gentlemen. These men are the doers of things, with great swing and great effect. Whether they trip gaily from glittering pinnacle to pinnacle above the horde, or walk with egotistic stride in the gutters of mediocrity, greatness is theirs, and none may say to them "Refrain."

It is modesty that keeps the worker licking before his immodest employer. When the slave realizes his ultra importance and assumes the self-assurance of his master, then we have that horrible state of affairs called a strike or revolution.

There is a genuine modesty, of course—the innate refinement that keeps a Keats, a Shelley, or a Chatterton quiet and soft in their workaday acts. But all the dancing ego of their intellects whirls and fandangoes through sonnet and epic like the unchained furies that they really are. Unfortunately, we must own to our utter lack of such inborn gentleness. We are doing the best we know how with the adolescent shyness we acquired on the sidewalks of Ludlow and Grand streets twenty-five years ago.

Our last confession will show our anonymous critic how modest we really are.

Jorg Berner, who signs himself Socialist, Communist, Vandal and Hun, shocks us out of our natural modesty by an admiring comment on our poor efforts in the column, adding, however, that he hopes for more serious, more sarcastic attacks from the poets on the stronghold of capitalism and sin. Rip 'em up, tear 'em up, ye scribes.

Do You Know?

Is life a dream ephemeral
And death the door to wakening
That leads us out of torture's thrall
To where the souls in freedom sing?

Or is it just a strenuous play
In which we hate and love and weep,
Until we lay us down one day
For eternal dreamless sleep?
Alfred G. Sanfelen.

In Pace Requiescat

Strange, strange indeed, that on the same hour that we learned of Paul Hanna's sudden death, another Comrade from the other end of the land, California, had sent us in the poem above.

We cannot say very much here, for our heart is too full of a sense of futility and emptiness. With Coventry Patmore, may we just say that "it was not like his grand and gracious way" to leave us so hurriedly without even a memory of his usual kind smile, or a glance from his gentle and all-seeing eyes. He is of that rare kin, that when lost is missed forever.

S. A. DE WITT.