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Devoted to the Interest
of the Socialist and La-
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WHAT HUGHES WOULD NOT HAVE COUNT KAROLYI SAY:

"I Have My Class and, After Ripe Experience and Heart-Searching, I Have Chosen a New Community With the Workers. With Them I Feel Myself Indissolubly Bound; With Them I Should Be Glad Once More to Help to Bring Together the Material for Building a New World."

—COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI

COMMUNISTS CENSURED BY BALDWIN

**Says They Deliberately
Broke Up Meeting—What
Vladeck Would Have Said.**

The International Committee for Political Prisoners, which held a meeting in Town Hall Monday night which ended in disorder when Communists refused to allow B. Charney Vladeck, manager of Jewish Daily Forward to be heard, has issued a statement placing the blame for the disturbance squarely on the Workers' party. The statement over the signature of Roger N. Baldwin, temporary chairman, reads:

"The Committee was advised in advance of the Town Hall meeting that members of the Workers' party would be present in force to protest against any reference to political prisoners in Russia. The official committee of the local Workers' party waited on us to advise us and local Workers' party press played played up the protest on its front pages. We were confronted with the alternative of calling off the speakers to whom the Communists objected or accepting the interruptions and disorder they threatened. We preferred to stand by our program and to attempt to carry it through. We did carry it through to the last speakers and we got the facts across, completely covering Russia as well. We felt confident that any disturbance by Communists would only condemn them, not our movement in behalf of prisoners in all countries. We do not propose to shut our eyes to the fact that the Russian Government persecutes for opinions just like other governments. It would be ridiculous to conduct a movement for the relief and release of prisoners throughout the world and ignore that plain fact.

"These disturbances by Communists at meetings where the Soviet Government is criticized are not new. Communists do not believe in free speech except for themselves, while we believe in it for them and for all other parties in the United States and elsewhere. They only make the task of getting their rights much more difficult. By such action as that last night they alienate the support of liberals who believe in free speech on principle. If they are willing to pay that price for the sake of their blind loyalty to the Soviet Government, right or wrong, they are welcome to it.

"The International Committee for Political Prisoners will go ahead on its way, collecting money for clothes, food, reading matter for prisoners and their families in all the countries with which we can establish contacts. We expect to raise considerable money from American liberals and trade unions. Money raised for Communist prisoners or for other prisoners who are reached by the Communist international relief agency will be sent through that organization. We have often invited Communist speakers to state their case at last night's meeting. They have refused cooperation on the ground that Russia is included among the countries with political prisoners, ignoring the fact that the Russian Government officially recognizes two relief agencies through which money, food and clothes can be sent all over the world to Russian prisoners.

"We hope by these efforts not only to unite present scattered agencies which are sending relief to the prisoners of Europe and India but to wage a campaign against imprisoning any persons anywhere merely for their views and opinions."

The following, from a prepared copy of Vladeck's address, is what the Communists did not wish to have him say:

"According to my best knowledge

(Continued on Page 11.)

Try to Gag Him



B. C. VLADECK, Manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, whom Communists tried to gag when he rose to speak on behalf of political prisoners in Soviet jails.

DRESSMAKERS STRIKE

**30,000 Cease Work in N. Y.
Shops to Enforce Settlement.**

Thirty thousand dressmakers ceased work on Tuesday and 2,000 shops under the jurisdiction of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Unions are idle. The workers did not walk out, but remained in the shops at their machines waiting for a settlement.

The main contention between the union and the jobbers is the price schedule for garments which was signed on Feb. 24. The jobbers do not have garments made up in their establishments, but sublet the work to contractors. Under the agreement the jobbers promised to furnish labor costs on every bundle of garments made up for them by contractors. This they failed to do.

President Morris Sigman of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and chief union spokesman, said:

"We charge the jobbers with specific and flagrant violation of the agreement, particularly that clause with respect to the schedule of prices which for the first time would have stabilized labor cost in an industry which has been cursed by haggling in the shops between workers and employers on what should be the rate of pay for piece work.

"We charge the jobbers with violation of the agreement signed last month and effective Feb. 23 by mutual agreement, particularly Clause Ten, which reads as follows:

"In view of the fact that the cost of labor in each garment is established by agreement between the union and the manufacturers, either as the basis of a fixed schedule for specific work and styles or on the basis of settlement between the parties with respect to the non-scheduled styles of wear, each member of the association agrees to specify on each order blank the cost of labor of each style as a distinct and separate item.

"The association hereby guarantees the payment by its mem-

(Continued on Page 7.)

Hungarian Leader Pledges Life to Ideal of 1918 Revolution

(Despite the gag placed on Count Karolyi by the State Department, The New Leader feels the American people have a right to hear his views. We therefore welcome the occasion of the publication of Count Karolyi's memoirs to help break the wall of suppression which Secretary Hughes has built around him.)

(The memoirs of this great Hungarian leader were written abroad in nations not blessed with the advantages of American democracy as administered by Charles E. Hughes. They are published here by Albert and Charles Boni, to whom The New Leader acknowledges its indebtedness for permission to reprint the following, the Foreword to the book.—Editor, The New Leader.)

By COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI

MY theme is not the fragment of world history of which, by the inscrutable will of Fate, I became the instrument. I promise neither every link in the chain of events nor to probe at any depth into the procession of causes. These are my memoirs; to write them was a duty to history and to myself. To history, for I know things which no one else can know; to myself, for I am being bombarded with charges which are aimed through me at the memory of the October Revolution, and, still worse, at its living idea; which, therefore, it is my duty to do my utmost to repel.

The October Revolution is the great moment in the life of the Hungarian people in which it attained conscious existence, in which it discovered itself. The ideas of this Revolution are the path along which the Hungarian people can discover itself again. Between the people and its path its enemies, who are also mine, have thrown up barricades of calumny. I shall try to speak to the Hungarian people. I want to lay bare, in the first place to myself, the mainsprings of my actions. I feel my conscience clear. My tone will be the tone of confession, and the reader will judge instinctively whether it rings true. I am glad to believe that if only a hundred of those to whom I want to speak hear my voice, my voice, supported by the irresistible voice of facts, will make a breach in the wall of calumny and the dense growth of malevolent invention which has covered it in the course of four years. I believe this because I know that the hundred who hear me and understand will not keep silence. Sooner or later the truth will spread over the country, and which it needs as it needs its daily bread.

Four years my enemies have spoken and I have kept silence. I can keep silence no longer. If it could serve the Hungarian people to drive me out as a scapegoat into the desert of calumny and proscription, if I could feel that on this its hapless or even its peace of mind depended, I should accept and endure its fate. But I know that if the Hungarian people is to advance and prosper it cannot bear another grain of the lies which have already been imposed upon it.

Vital Need of Truth

If the truth concerning the cause which I represent were permanently distorted before it, it would suffer from this lie spiritual injury which might be its destruction. If ever a people needed truth, this people does; it must no longer give way to self-deception. I see clearly the havoc of the spiritual perplexity and the irresolution and inactivity of the nation, perhaps just at the critical moment, which arose from the misrepresentation from right and left alike of the deep and tragic idea of its first great revolution, the idea of 1848, and indeed of 1849, and from the national indifference to the gross distortion of this event, the greatest in its modern history, by its historians and teachers and politicians. It is bad enough that the tale of the events of 1848 should have been distorted; there are some of us still living who will make sure that the tale of 1918 shall not be.

I am writing the reminiscences of a wounded man, a man still suffering from his injuries; I do not

I have renounced my class, and, after ripe experience and heart-searching, I have chosen a new community, community with the workers of Hungary. With them I feel myself indissolubly bound; with them I should be glad once more to help to bring together the material for building a new world. Through the events of a past filled with struggle, my book looks towards this confidently expected future of a happy community. Despite everything which exists now; nay, all the more for it!

Clydeside Leader



DAVID KIRKWOOD, British Labor M. P. from Scotland, whose expulsion from the House of Commons, caused a walkout of the entire Labor delegation. He has since been re-instated.

LABOR IN PLEA AT ALBANY

**Urges Adoption of Proposed
Amendments to Compensation Act.**

Five hundred delegates, representing organized Labor in New York State, appeared on Wednesday before the Joint Labor and Industries Committee in Albany to speak in favor of four amendments to the occupational disease section of the Compensation Law, providing compensation for silicosis, benzol poisoning, naphtha and gasoline poisoning and skin infections. Labor's case was presented by Mrs. Grace M. Burnham, director of the Workers' Health Bureau, which drafted the four bills. The Albany representative of the New York City Health Department, A. B. Walling, also spoke for Labor's amendments.

Strong opposition to the Miller-Truman Silicosis Bill, introduced by the employers to counteract Labor's bill, was voiced by the representatives of the State Federation of Labor and the Workers' Health Bureau on the grounds that the Miller-Truman bill "is a menace to Labor's interests."

The employers' bill seeks to "introduce schemes which have no precedent in any of the compensation laws in this country and which will rob workers of their rights under the New York Law," Mrs. Burnham told the Labor and Industries Committee. "These new schemes," she said, "were (1) listing a restricted number of trades where workers shall be entitled to compensation for silicosis; (2) restricting compensation for silicosis to workers who have been employed five years continuously; (3) discriminating against a large body of workers by excluding all but one of the factory trades in which silicosis is common."

Labor's Silicosis bill provides compensation for all workers affected by silica dust, including quarry workers, stone cutters, rock drillers, miners, potters, sand blasters, emery grinders, polishers and buffers. Silicosis was described by Mrs. Burnham at Wednesday's hearing as a "dangerous lung disease often leading to tuberculosis." The death rate among stone cutters from tuberculosis, she told the committee, has increased 144 per cent in 23 years.

The workers of 57 trades in New York State are exposed to poisoning by benzol and other coal-tar products, according to the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, which was represented by a large delegation at Albany. The present law provides no compensation for benzol poisoning, Mrs. Burnham said, although "many cases of sudden death have occurred from benzol fumes."

Labor's amendments, known as Assembly Bills Nos. 201, 202, 203 and 204, have been endorsed by the State Federation of Labor, the

(Continued on Page 4.)

HUGE GAINS FOR LONDON LABOR

**Suspension of Kirkwood Stirs
Labor M. P.'s—Attack of
Trade Unions Dropped.**

LONDON.—Unprecedented gains for Labor and another sledge-hammer blow at the Liberal party is the result of the London elections held last week. Labor has gained 19 seats and now has 35 in the County Council. Liberalism has been reduced from 22 to a pitiful six. The Conservatives have a majority of 84 members.

LONDON—Two spectacular events in the evolution of British Labor occurred last week when the Labor members of Parliament, headed by former Premier MacDonald, walked out of the House of Commons and the next day Premier Baldwin intervened against a private bill intended to prevent trade unions from financing the Labor party.

The walkout came as a protest against the suspension of David Kirkwood, Labor member for Dumbarton. Kirkwood is one of the most loved members from the Clyde and his persistent attacks on Tory members have stung them to resentment.

The Labor "strike" came during the presentation by Foreign Secretary Austen Chamberlain of a proposal for a European security accord. A favorable reference to Lord Grey in Chamberlain's remarks brought the response from Kirkwood, "He made the war." This brought cries of protest from the Tory benches which Kirkwood accepted as a challenge.

"Red" Letter Up Again

The breaking point was reached a little later when Kirkwood intervened with a remark that touched a festering "Tory sore." The Tories have never explained to the satisfaction of reasonable people the Zinoviev letter which they published on the eve of the election. This letter bore internal evidence of forgery, but it appeared at a time that did not permit a thorough investigation and disclosure of its real character before the election.

"What about the red letter?" shouted Kirkwood. This proved to be the limit of Tory endurance and amid confusion Kirkwood was suspended by a vote of 245 to 119. The Liberals were placed in an embarrassing situation. Some refrained from voting and others voted against suspension. The walkout of the Labor members followed amid jeers of the Tories and shaking of fists.

When three Clyde members were suspended last year only the more radical of the Labor members walked out. The "strike" last week is considered evidence of more effective unity, for not a Labor man was left in the House to hear Mr. Chamberlain conclude his statement.

Political Fund Bill Killed

The collapse of the bill to prevent trade union financial support of the Labor party had been predicted in Labor circles for several weeks. This proposal has been advanced several times in the last ten years, but in each case it has encountered sufficient opposition to defeat it.

This Political Levy Bill would, if passed, even prevent a union loan to the Labor party or the financing of the Daily Herald. Its most important section provided that trade union funds must be used only for industrial purposes.

Late in February Sir Henry Slesser, the former Solicitor General, asked the Home Secretary for a yearly return showing the number of complaints made to the Registrar of Friendly Societies by members of trade unions under Section 3 of the Trade Union Act of 1913. Under this section members of unions are permitted to complain of contributions for political purposes.

An Illuminating Reply
The reply of Sir William Joynson-Hicks was illuminating.

"Up to May 31, 1922," he said, "there have been 68 complaints, 26 of which turned out not to be complaints within the Act."

"From May 31, 1922, to the present date, there have been 27 complaints,"

(Continued on Page 11.)

In The New Leader

Next Week

CHARLES A. BEARD: To Reinstatement Liberty. A Vigorous Protest Against the Growth of the American Autocracy by the Greatest of America's Historians.

ROGER BALDWIN: Political Prisoners in Russia. The Head of the American Civil Liberties Union Raises—and Answers—the Question, Can Russia Afford Freedom?

UPTON SINCLAIR: Art and Personality. Another Chapter of His Vital Inquiry Into the Economic Basis of Literature by the Author of "The Jungle."

ART YOUNG: Sun Yat Sen. A Pictorial Tribute to the Great Chinese Leader.

In Addition to The New Leader's Distinctive Permanent Features, S. A. DE WITT'S "Chatter-Box"; JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY on the Drama; Reviews of Vital Books; a Page of Incisive Editorials; Authoritative News of Socialist Activities here and abroad.

Issue of March 21

An Article That Is Sure to Start a Rumpus: Prince MacFadden of Bunkdom, by SAMUEL A. DE WITT

SENATOR WADSWORTH *versus* THE PEOPLE

By JUDSON KING

To put it mildly, when we compare their opinions on the amending clause of the Federal Constitution, Chief Justice John Marshall was a reckless radical as against United States Senator Wadsworth, and Patrick Henry was a left wing Bolshevik.

Senator Wadsworth is leading one of the most subtle but astounding assaults on American principles of Government this generation has yet seen. It is an assault so astutely managed and powerfully supported that it may well be accomplished as far as Congress is concerned by the time this bulletin reaches its readers. In justification of these statements, your attention is invited to the following considerations:

Why Impossible?

Four years before the war, in 1911, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, now President of Johns Hopkins University, a conservative constitutional lawyer and political scientist of international standing, whom even Senator Wadsworth would not contend is a Radical, wrote a notable book entitled "Social Reform and the Constitution." Its thesis is disclosed by the first sentence:

"The tremendous change in political and social conditions due to the adoption of improved means of transportation and to establishment of the factory system have brought with them problems whose solution seems to be impossible under the principles of law which were regarded as both axiomatic and permanent enduring at the end of the eighteenth century."

Dr. Goodnow's contentions are not based upon guesswork. Over 700 legal decisions are cited as illustrations in substantiating the fact that the lives, welfare and happiness of countless thousands of the American people are now being put in jeopardy in this twentieth century for the reason above set forth.

Anticipating the rejoinder that those who do not like the decisions of the courts should change the Constitution, he says:

"Inasmuch, therefore, as the Constitution of the United States is, on account of the complicated procedure and the large majorities required, very difficult, if not impossible, of amendment under ordinary conditions, it must be confessed that Americans are in many respects living under a political system which

has been framed upon the theory that society is static rather than dynamic." (page 4.)

The whole purpose of the book proves the danger and inhumanity of permitting such a situation to continue. In fact the conflict is—18th Century Legalism vs. 20th Century Life; shall the dead unwittingly rule the living?

The Supreme Court Legislates!

The present struggle over the adoption of the pending Child Labor Amendment is a striking example of the soundness of Dr. Goodnow's contention and warning. It became necessary as a matter of national welfare for the Federal Government to enact a law for the protection of children. That law was declared unconstitutional by a 5 to 4 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, which decision was but another confirmation of Dr. Goodnow's statement in this same book that

"The Supreme Court of the United States has become a political body of the supreme importance, for upon its determination depends the ability of the national Legislature to exercise powers whose exercise is believed by many to be absolutely necessary to our existence as a democratic Republic."

That law had been enacted after a struggle of many years by a movement led by the National Child Labor Committee, whose sponsors were such men as William Howard Taft, now Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and if ever there was a law that tended to justify our aspirations toward a Christian civilization, that was one.

After another long struggle the Congress was induced to submit an amendment to the Federal Constitution, enabling it to deal with the Child Labor evil. That amendment is now pending, and the men and women who represent the progressive mind and conscience of the nation are awakening to the truth that the Federal Constitution is practically unamendable with any degree of celerity "under ordinary conditions," in the face of any highly organized and well-financed opposition to which the political power makes obeisance.

Gentlemen of the Congress, Why So Sudden?

In the midst of the struggle in the various States over the adoption of this amendment the conservative elements in both houses of Congress and in both Republican and Democratic parties, at this short term of Congress, suddenly, without apparent reason, became interested in Article V of the Federal Constitution, i. e., the Amendment Clause.

A resolution introduced in the Senate by James W. Wadsworth, Republican, of New York, and in the House by Finis J. Garrett, Democrat, of Tennessee, was by special rule placed upon the Calendar for passage at the last session. This, mind you, when the Calendar is overcrowded with measures of vast and immediate importance to the economic and industrial life of the nation. Also, mind you, after amendments on the same question, introduced in every session for the past ten years by such men as Senators Cummins, Owen, La Follette, Congressmen Chandler, and others, had been completely ignored.

Child Labor—And More Beyond

Friends of the Child Labor Amendment charge that this railroad process was evoked to throw a red herring across the pathway of the pending Child Labor Amendment because it adopted and made a part of the Federal Constitution consideration of the pending Child Labor Amendment must cease.

Whether intentional or not, that result is sure to follow. I suspect, however, in addition, a far deeper purpose, since the Child Labor Amendment is only one of a score of similar problems which cannot be finally acted upon by Congress without changing the Federal Constitution.

It is fair to note that the Wadsworth-Garrett Amendment was first

Investigating the Volcano



Mr. Bourgeois' Favorite Pastime

Bourgeois Bedtime Stories

By McALISTER COLEMAN

HAVE you heard about the terrible thing that happened at the Union League Club?

My dear, it was awful.

It seems that the hired man was giving the library of the club its regular Spring cleaning, when what do you suppose he found?

Four members quite dead. Think of it. They had been sitting with copies of the unexpurgated edition of the "Arabian Nights" and the works of Henry Van Dyke on their laps ever since last November and nobody had said a word to them on account of the sign which reads "Silence." And all the while they had been very dead.

Of course, you must admit that it takes a real detective to sort the truth from the dead in the Union League Club. Every morning when we go by on the bus we play a game with our wife. The point of the game is to guess from the looks of the members of the club who are sitting in the window which have died. I thought I had won hands down the other morning when the man I had picked for a sure corpse scratched his nose. That's what I call a dirty trick.

Well, to get back to the tragedy. It now appears that these four members had died the day after election on account of excess emotion brought on by reading of Calvin Coolidge's wonderful victory.

When they heard that the Red Menace as represented by Robert M. La Follette (you boys remember the name don't you?) had been successfully scotched, their kidneys just went blank on them and they up and died.

And then there was The Eminent Citizen who went and fell down the elevator shaft of the Union League Club and died on top of the elevator and got carried up and down most of the afternoon until the operator realized that this overhead was getting excessive.

And, of course, you haven't forgotten about the Kentucky man named Floyd Collins, who went down into a cave and rolled a boulder on his leg to get publicity for the cave. Just what a cave does after it gets publicity is not clear to this writer. But then, a lot of things are not clear to this writer.

He never could understand Daylight Saving or what advertising men meant when they talked about "Service," or why Bishop Manning

should be or the love affairs of W. E. D. Stokes.

I have just read the report of the Chairman of the Board, to the Directors (sometimes called the Inaugural Message of Calvin Coolidge), and I'm still a bit hazy about this prosperity stuff.

I didn't know I was half as well off as Calvin tells me I am.

I took around the Message to my favorite bootlegger and read it to him the other night and explained to him how as one of the 100,000,000 Americans who are just rolling around in wealth, I was entitled to hang him up for a bottle of gin, but he was thick and couldn't get it through his head and I had to content myself with drinking the new tea that Greenwich Village is crazy about.

You've heard about that tea, haven't you?

It has the effects of an aphrodisiac, if you get what I mean, and at the same time it is so good for the nerves that they gave it to the German army so they could shoot better.

I hate to think what's going to happen to Herrin, Ill., when the first consignment of tea hits that shooting-gallery.

Right now, shooting is one of the two major sports of Herrin and the thought of a citizen of that fair village grogged up on tea that steadies his shooting finger is enough to raise hair on the head of Charles Dana Gibson.

After two drinks of it the writer himself called up Elsie Ferguson and made a date and shot two insurance salesmen on the wing.

So the next time you get asked to a tea-party in Greenwich Village lug along your shooting irons and your dress-suit. For you never can tell which of the two effects of this tea is going to hit you first.

LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL

COURSE 1: A History of Modern Art. Weds., 8.30 p.m., at the Baptist Church at 11th St. and 2d Ave. By Will Durant. Beginning Mar. 18 with "Durer and Holbein"; Mar. 25: "Rubens"; Apr. 1: "Rembrandt." Adm., 25c.

COURSE 2: The Development of the Modern Drama. Suns., 5 p.m., at the Church of All Nations, 9 Second Ave. By Will Durant. Beginning Mar. 22 with "The Scandinavian Drama"; Mar. 29: "Ibsen's 'Emperor and Galilean'"; Apr. 5: "Strindberg's 'Comrades.'" Admission, 25c.

COURSE 7: English Literature. Thursdays, 8.30 p.m., at 239 E. 14th St. By John Cowper Powys. Beginning Mar. 26 with "Milton"; Apr. 2: "Keats"; Apr. 9: "Shelley"; Apr. 16: "Swinnerton"; Apr. 23: "Henry James and Theodore Dreiser; a Contrast in American Psychology." Course ticket, \$1.50; single admission, 50c.

official texts of proposed measures and with arguments for and against the same, as may be submitted by the proponents and opponents of the measures. Senator Owen's proposed change in the amending clause, to be noted later, has always provided for a similar pamphlet by the U. S. Government, so that the people could have opportunity of knowing the facts and by them being able to form their opinions.

Senator Wadsworth's proposal has no such provision. Whether such provision was prepared to place in the Federal Constitution in past years is beside the question. It is absolutely essential now and it may be safely predicted that Senator Wadsworth and his backers would fight such a proposition to the death, because they want a "Referendum" they can control!

Lectures

The Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street
Sunday, Mar. 15—8 P. M.

Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT,
CORNELL
"The Coming Religion"

11 A. M.—The Community Church
One-Hundredth Anniversary
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"Historical Sermon with Prospect for the Future"

Special—10 A. M.
DR. HARVEY DEE BROWN
"Psychoanalysis"

The People's Institute COOPER UNION

Friday, March 13
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
(The Great Mass Movements of History)
"How Faithful Are Mass Movements to Their Ideals?"

Sunday, March 15
CARL VAN DOREN
"The Search for the Creative Life"

Tuesday, March 17
NORMAN ANGELL
"Democracy and the Main Street Mind."

Eight o'clock Admission Free
OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

LABOR TEMPLE

14th St. & Second Ave.
SUNDAY, MARCH 15
8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.
ROBERT W. DUNNE
"Civil Liberty in the United States"
7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 239 East 14th Street
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
"The Book of Daniel and Our Life"

THE BUSHWICK FORUM

Ridgewood Mason Temple
BUSHWICK AND GATES, BROOKLYN

Sunday, March 15th, at 3 P. M.

CEDRIC LONG

Executive Secretary, Cooperative League of America.

on "Workers' Cooperative Ownership of Industry and Commerce."

Admission Free

Auspices of League for Industrial Democracy Brooklyn Chapter

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Saturday, March 14, 1925.

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1.30 P. M.

"Current Events"

Admission 25 cents

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"Evolution of the Earth"

(Illustrated)

Wednesday, March 18, 8.30 P. M.

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CHICAGO AND AFTER

By JAMES ONEAL

THAT the last meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action should give birth to one of those middle-class parties that have occasionally appeared since the Civil War is a tragedy. I say "give birth" advisedly, for it is doubtful whether the proposed party will have enough life to even make an impression in the next Congressional elections.

When the leaders of the railroad brotherhoods withdrew and announced that they could not become a part of any party to be organized, there was only one course to be followed by the Socialists and trade unionists who favor a Labor party. This course was the one taken by them. They could not join the "liberals" and "progressives" who fear the very mention of the word "Labor." Those who fear the word are neither liberal or progressive, however much they may profess otherwise.

The actions taken by the fragments left in the conference justified the position of the Socialists and trade unionists. One of the first actions taken was to vote to place the preliminary organization in the hands of five "progressive" members who tried to crawl back in the Congressional machine of the Republican party. When this action was reported in the newspapers a few weeks ago it chilled the enthusiasm of those who had hoped that some genuine organization representing Labor would come out of the C. P. P. A.

This attempt of "progressives" to get back into the Republican machine indicates that even an independent middle-class party has no appeal to these "progressives." It is therefore doubtful whether the new party can get five of them to take over the new enterprise.

The Proposed New Party

Another action taken was a decision to organize the proposed new party after the pattern of the capitalist parties. Organized group affiliation was rejected but the "co-operation" of organized workers and farmers and the Socialist Party was invited in the various states. The emphasis is laid upon "State organizations constituted on geographical lines," and delegates are to be elected in each State on an apportionment determined by the vote cast for La Follette last November.

In a supplementary resolution a bid was made for the support of the Socialist Party and trade unions that

Why Socialists Cannot Cooperate With the "No-Class" Party Formed by Liberal Fragments at C. P. P. A. Conference

favor a Labor party. It provided that "conventions representative of those who are active in the last campaign be held in the several States to elect delegates to a national convention." But each State was left to determine what its form of organization should be, whether organization by townships, wards, election districts, etc., by group control, or by a combination of both.

This action is characteristic of those who think in terms of middle-class politics. It is opportunistic in outlook. It is barren of any vision of the future. Proceeding to organize the States in this loose fashion, any national organization such State organizations may form would be a rope of sand. National solidarity would be impossible. Into such an organization would be introduced as many forms of organization as the three allowed.

But this decision was a logical one considering the composition of this proposed movement. There is the Committee of 48 represented by Mr. Hopkins. Despite his claims of having a party organized in a dozen or more States, informed people know better. His claims in New York and New Jersey are certainly amusing.

The No-Class Absurdity

Mr. Hopkins wants no party controlled by or representing any group or class. His view is shared by a majority of those who propose to establish the new party. But the farmers whom he would have as allies have in the Northwest organized for nearly ten years on the very ground that as a group or class they have not been represented and they captured nominations in order to give their class representation.

The no-class party is an absurdity. Mr. Hopkins would not have farmers or workers or both control. He does not want bankers, railroad owners, mine owners, trust magnates to control. Who is left of the population for the proposed party to represent is a mystery. In one breath the party is to represent no class and in the other breath it is to represent all classes, i. e., "all the people." That is, it is to represent the capitalist and the laborer, the debtor and the creditor, the landlord and the tenant, the skinner and the skinned.

Build on such contradictions no new party can succeed, for these contradictions are precisely what the two capitalist parties are built upon today.

Where is the spokesman of the Republican or Democratic party who does not claim that his party represents "all the people"? Where is one who does not become indignant at the suggestion of any party being controlled by a group or a class? And who can claim to be informed and yet deny that the two major parties represent definite groups or classes in particular sections and that nationally both represent the chief property-owning classes of the nation?

Another party claiming to represent nobody in particular and everybody in general would simply compete with two parties already presenting the same claim. It cannot obtain a permanent place in American politics for the very good reason that its two competitors have already established control of the market in this line. Their goods are known to those who want them and there is no reason why those who accept these goods should accept the output of another political firm.

Politicians on the Make

There was an aspect of the La Follette campaign that became important as delegates came to Chicago from all parts of the country. We had some experience in the East with adventurers of all types who hovered on the fringe of the movement. Politicians on the make, expectant office holders, in short, men waiting to see whether their personal ambitions could be gratified if the new movement developed strength and permanence.

This situation prevailed in all parts of the country. Moreover, the "progressives" who had no relations with the Labor movement were always inclined to make bargains and trades with politicians of the capitalist parties. The sole consideration was success in the election. Honor and principle were unimportant. A high standard of political ethics was absent. The willingness to build on enduring foundations, even though such building might be slow, clashed with the desire to obtain allies at the sacrifice of principle.

Then there was another type that observed this code but were so innocent in doing it that no one can charge them with any dishonest motives. Two amazing instances came to my attention in Chicago. In Illinois the chairman of the State C. P. P. A. was an active representative of one of the railroad unions. Upon the letterhead of the C. P. P. A. he sent out a statement endorsing the Republican candidate for Governor. The Socialist Party and other organizations were not consulted. Sample ballots were printed showing voters how to vote for this candidate. A large quantity of these ballots were also sent to the local office of the Socialist Party for distribution!

In Camden, N. J., the Socialist Party nominated Leo J. Harkins for Congress and nominated a county ticket. The railroad brotherhoods and other unions desired to participate in the campaign and requested the Party to withdraw its candidates and join with the unions in nominating a ticket. The Party agreed. A joint convention was held and the Party left the nominations to the union delegates. They chose Harkins for Congress.

Within a week after this second nomination the local organizations of the railroad union received orders from Washington to support the Republican opponent of Harkins. What made this action all the more amazing is the fact that the Republican candidate was openly fighting the

third party movement! The trade unions and the railroad lodges became disgusted. It is probable that the Washington officials in consulting the record of the Republican candidate found him voting on one or two measures which they approved and the candidate thus obtained an endorsement.

Naive Bargains

Now it would be ridiculous to say that these actions were deliberately crooked. The professional crook in politics always conceals his tracks. Here are naive actions taken openly without any attempt at concealment. No dishonest man would have sent a quantity of marked ballots to the Socialist Party office in the expectation that Socialists would use them to help a Republican candidate for Governor. A man innocent of the implications of such action would.

Yet such actions carry with them all the demoralization and confusion that any professional might bring into any movement. No movement that proposed to serve the masses could possibly avoid eventual drift into the hands of political brokers if it tolerated bargains and trades for votes.

Had the Socialist delegates chosen to go along with the proposed new party the Socialist Party would become not only a part of a vague middle class movement, it would also find itself in conflict with the political ethics or lack of ethics of the new party. Even if the composition of the new party and its form of organization were satisfactory these practices of "progressives" would have made it hesitate about going along.

The Populist movement had this same history. It was an agrarian party but it had the support of trade unions in a number of states. When it was reaching its greatest strength it began to trade and bargain, mainly with the Democrats. It had become so accustomed to this that by 1896 it had reached the point where it could support William Jennings Bryan.

A Warning From History

This was the beginning of the end. By 1904 the higher capitalism of the East had regained control of the Democratic Party, and in that year it nominated Alton B. Parker. Yet, the Populist leaders had become so entangled with the professionals of the Democratic party that, reactionary as Parker was known to be, most of the Populist leaders—including James B. Weaver, their candidate for President in 1892—agreed to support the candidate of eastern capitalism. The Populist movement, which many Socialists at that time thought might become the party of urban and rural Labor, was destroyed.

There is no reason for believing that the proposed new party will not repeat this history. We Socialists are accustomed to be patient, to work and wait, to build upon an enduring foundation of the working class. If we are asked, "What have you accomplished?" we answer: "We have learned not to follow illusions. We are willing to take a step back to meet others who appear to be advancing, but if they retreat we will hold our advanced position. If others prefer illusions, if they do not learn from experience, they can boast of no accomplishments whatever."

We have done our duty to the working class and we do it now when we decline to be a party to another illusion. The Socialist Party is the one political organization of the workers. It now faces a period of educational work and rebuilding. The national convention has planned plenty of work for this year. Those who have been waiting for "something to happen" need wait no longer.

The time is ripe, the opportunity is great, and the field is free for organization. Let us double the membership of the Socialist Party before the end of the year and prepare for the time when the organized workers will be ready for an independent political struggle with the parties of capitalism.

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Smithsonian Report Latest of Attempts By Capital to Bismirch Public Ownership

"ONTARIO'S experiment in the public development and distribution of electrical energy must be discredited." That is the edict that has gone forth from the private water power companies of America.

For has not the public hydro-electric enterprise of Ontario during its brief career cut the rates of electricity to domestic consumers into three, supplying electric light and heating for 1 cent, 2 cents and 3 cents per kilowatt hour and proving a rare boon to housewives and farmers?

Has it not developed during the last decade or so from a small concern supplying seven cities with 1,000 horsepower, to an enterprise which includes 380 Ontario cities within its scope, an enterprise which is regarded as the greatest hydro-electric development in the world?

And does not its continued success disprove virtually every charge brought against public ownership by advocates of things-as-they-are? Nothing therefore remains but to make its success spell failure to the American public.

The private interests found many "experts" on hand ready to help them in this good work. Reginald P. Bolton, engineering expert, came to

their rescue with a pretentious volume about the experiment. Senator Ferris, of the Special Senate Committee of New York, followed. Then, in 1920, came Messrs. Murray and Flood, reporting for the National Electric Light Association. But, alas, Sir Adam Beck replied, and the "Murray Report" has looked very limp and feeble ever since.

The present attack is in the form of a report on "Niagara Falls, Its Water Power Possibilities and Preservation." It is written by Samuel S. Weyer, "Associate in Mineral Technology," with an introduction by the chief executive of the Institute, Dr. Charles D. Wolcott. "Who's Who in America" states that Mr. Weyer is a Republican and a Methodist and, appropriately enough, has published more than 150 articles pertaining to natural gas.

WAR AND FREEDOM CANNOT MIX

By ZACHARIAH CHAFEE,

Professor of Harvard,
Author of "Freedom of Speech"

OTHERS have dealt with the use of poison gases in the next war. Let us consider a more insidious influence which operates upon the mind and not the body and which is intended to stupefy not our enemies like gas, but ourselves.

The use of propaganda begins long before any declaration of war. Modern advertising methods have shown the possibilities of highly organized endeavors to influence thought through reiterated suggestion. It is a magnification of the experience of the little girl who went alone to a toy shop to purchase a doll and returned with a particularly unattractive specimen. When asked by her mother whether she wanted that doll, she replied, "I thought I didn't when I first saw her, but the man behind the counter showed me that I did want her."

It is not difficult to create in the people of a nation a favorable attitude toward a prospective war. The attitude of "My country, right or wrong," is instinctive in most of us and is developed by the natural tendency of the school books in each country to regard all wars undertaken by that country as righteous. It is obvious that the English and French school books cannot both be right about the Napoleonic Wars, but this dilemma does not worry the school child in either country.

When adult years are reached, this instinctive patriotism is easily quickened by excitement and organization. Military training camps become schools for preparedness, and are advertised by the post-office stamps on letters and by essay contests in which the prize is given by a high official or his wife. There is no similar official recognition for essays on disarmament. Instead, high officials of the War Department aid in the distribution of an attack on our peace societies, and spread through the country a spider-web chart to show that all these societies emanate from Moscow and aim to disarm the country in order to make it an easy prey for revolution. There is no national disarmament day, but the War Department recently proclaimed a Mobilization Day, afterwards renamed Defense Day, which proved an admirable occasion for military propaganda by members of the Army and Navy, and which bids fair to become an annual event.

The Military Profession

It is, of course, natural that members of our armed forces should wish the people to take an interest in their activities which are not fully appreciated in times of peace. They are members of a profession with a definite purpose and it is just as unreasonable to expect them to be averse to a war which would give them opportunities to put their long training into practice as to expect a lawyer to object to the existence of a law which he can use to his legal training. It would be absurd to blame military men or the members of any other profession for using

"No More War"



A Peace Demonstration of Paris Socialists

to promote purposes of their particular group. But this tendency of professionalism always needs vigilant watching from outsiders lest it go too far.

Of course no one wants to enter the war. But this tendency of professionalism always needs vigilant watching from outsiders lest it go too far. Of course no one wants to enter the war. But this tendency of professionalism always needs vigilant watching from outsiders lest it go too far.

Steps to Prevent Another War

Hostility to Foreigners

This situation will continue indefinitely unless we take affirmative steps to alter it. Our natural hostility to foreigners just because they are different from ourselves ought to be actively combatted. Much of the space which is given in our press to the military preparations of other nations might better be devoted to interpreting to our people their art, science, higher ideals, and generous works. We should hear much less about the Japanese navy and more about Japanese color prints; more about French clarity of thought and educational methods, and less of Parisian immorality; more about the efforts of the Germans to establish their republic, and less of the foolish sayings of the survivors of the old order; more about the attempt of the Soviet Government to educate the masses of a country which in marked contrast to the rest of Europe was kept in ignorance and oppression during the nineteenth century, and less about its economic blunders.

In addition to the deliberate cultivation of international good will, we ought to face frankly the possible causes of more wars, like tariff walls and reckless investments in backward countries.

ownership of land by foreigners, and that this prohibition has been removed under the pressure of American occupation so that large tracts have since passed into the hands of a subsidiary of the National City Bank of New York. In the same way, at the outbreak of the war with Spain, very few Americans knew that the Spanish Government had accepted our demands. Much of this ignorance is not due to deliberate suppression. That is not necessary. People are instinctively inclined to read and believe what is favorable to their country, and ignore the rest. Newspapers do not give prominence to unfavorable items, because they know their readers will not be interested in them. Consequently, the decision of the Government to declare war is almost sure to meet with popular approval.

Indifference to Truth

After a war has begun, the effectiveness of propaganda is vastly increased. Indeed, it may be that just as it is said to have been necessary to stupefy soldiers who were about to go over the top with ether in order that they might fight better, in the same way a nation cannot conduct the modern type of war which enlists soldiers as well as civilians if minds are allowed to operate freely.

This, at any rate, is the position of the article on propaganda in the new edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" written on the basis of considerable experience in the British Military Intelligence Office. The writer frankly states that "indifference to truth is a characteristic of propaganda. Truth is valuable only so far as it is effective. If a decisive victory is possible, opportunism may be more useful than exactitude. The more the emotions are excited, the more the critical faculties are inhibited. High-strung persons soon come to believe what they wish to be true." Of the British propaganda during the war, he says, "It had, therefore, the legitimate objects not only of concealing what it was useful to conceal, but of making suggestions which might deceive." And he observes, "The suspicions aroused by an admitted propaganda lessen its effectiveness, from which it follows that much of the work has to be furtive." The extent to which this agency of war was organized is ably set forth in this article. For instance, a German Army order captured in East Africa showed contempt or ignorance of Mohammedan religious customs. It was reproduced in facsimile with a translation in every known tongue spoken by Mohammedans. Work of this sort was carried on by several bureaus, each with a large staff of writers and printers. All countries recognize the truth of Ludendorff's remark that wars are no longer won by armies in the field, but by the morale of the whole people.

Atrocities Propaganda

On the one hand, the enemy is blackened by stories of the manufacture of fat out of corpses, cutting hands off children, and nationalizing women; on the other, one's own side is whitened and the war becomes a struggle against an iron ring of encircling enemies. During "the war to end war" anyone who prophesied that tonight we should be engaged in a discussion of the next war would certainly have been disbelieved by his hearers and, if he had been vituperative in his remarks, he would probably have landed in prison.

We find similar attitudes in all wars, no matter how questionable their justification. Early in the Crimean War, an English speaker declared of the Sultan, "It would be no dishonor to Englishmen if they were to rank him with the Al-freds and Edwards." While another speaker described Turkey as "among the most enlightened of European nations, if enlightenment meant high moral principles." Palmerston declared, "The object of the present war is the establishment of the peace and security of Europe on a solid and permanent foundation."

Constitution No Longer A Safeguard

Conscription of Thought

All this warping of thought and curtailment of discussion can be largely accomplished without punitive measures on the part of the Government. Most men of their own wills will devote themselves entirely to victory. We might call it the enlistment of thought. But some men will refuse to devote their speech and writing to the cause of victory, and for these force will be necessary—the conscription of thought.

Before the late war, such suppression would generally have been supposed impossible. The tradition of open discussion was still strong among us. At the head of the Bill of Rights in our Constitution stood the words, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." This prohibition made no exception of war. As a United States judge put it, "The framers of the First Amendment knew that the right to criticize might weaken the support of the Government in time of war. They appreciated the value of a united public opinion at such a time. They were men who had experienced all those things in the War of the Revolution, and yet they knew too that the republic which they were founding could not live unless the right of free speech, of freedom of the press, was maintained at such a time. They balanced these considerations and then wrote the First Amendment."

We can no longer cherish the delusion that this provision of the Constitution protects open discussion of

the merits and methods of a war. We can predict with certainty what will happen in the next war from what happened in the last war, because exactly the same statute is in force. This Espionage Act, passed in June, 1917, does not seem, on its face, to make such discussion criminal. It punishes with imprisonment for not more than twenty years three offences: First, false reports or statements intended to interfere with military operations or promote enemy success; second, causing or attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the armed forces; third, obstructing the recruiting or enlistment service. Yet the interpretation of this statute by the courts gave it a wide application,

and these decisions will be followed in the next war.

Espionage Penalties. Thus, the first offence, which seems to mean wilfully untrue statements of facts on the adequacy of war preparation or the sufficiency of food, or false reports of military operations, was used to punish expressions of opinion about the origin of the war—for instance, that we went in because Mr. Morgan's loans to the Allies would be repudiated if they were defeated. The Supreme Court said that the speaker must have known this to be false because everyone knew that we went to war for different reasons. It will be equally dangerous to express unorthodox views on the causes of the next war.

Examples of War-Time "Crimes"

The other two clauses would seem to apply to persons who urge evasion of the draft or refusal to enlist. But almost all the convictions were for expressions of opinion about the merits and conduct of the war. It became criminal to advocate heavier taxation instead of bond issues, to say that the sinking of armed merchant vessels was legal, to urge that a referendum should have preceded our declaration of war, to say that war was contrary to the teachings of Christ.

Men have been punished for criticizing the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A., while under the Minnesota State law it was held a crime to discourage women from knitting by the remark, "No soldier ever sees those socks." A moving picture producer was sentenced to ten years in prison for a film about the American Revolution which depicted British soldiers disguised as Indians, bayonetting women and children in the Wyoming massacre, because, the Judge said, it might "make us a little bit slack in our loyalty to Great Britain." Mr. Griffith's film, "America," produced with the help of soldiers lent by the Government, shows British soldiers disguised as Indians bayonetting women and children in the Wyoming massacre.

There is no reason to suppose that similar speeches and writings and pictures will not be punished in the next war. It will be in no way necessary that these expressions of opinion should be addressed to soldiers or men at the point of enlistment or being drafted. The decisions hold it enough if the words may conceivably reach such men. It will be impossible to express opposition to the next war in a newspaper of general circulation because it will be read in some training camp where it might cause insubordination. A speaker will be unable to address a large audience because it is liable to include a few men in uniform; he may be punishable if it contains men of military age who might eventually be called to fight; some judges have emphasized the possible presence of shipbuilders and munition makers. All genuine discussion among civilians of the justice and wisdom of continuing the next war will thus become perilous.

Futile Suppression

Another clause of this statute enables the post office officials to exclude from the mails any newspapers which they consider disloyal, and all sorts of absurd decisions were made in the last war which will undoubtedly be repeated in the next. State laws of much greater severity than the Federal statute are still enforced and will undoubtedly be used if the Federal officials are disposed to allow open discussion.

The first reflection that may be made on these measures is their futility to prevent real harm. Men are imprisoned, but their words spread the wider for that fact. The mere publication in a newspaper of the statement of a leading radical—"I am for the people, and the Government is for the profiteers"—was considered so dangerous to the morale of soldiers who might read it that she was sentenced to ten years in prison, and yet her words were repeated by every important newspaper in the country during the trial.

The needlessness of such laws is shown by the experience of Massachusetts. We had in this State a large training camp and naval bases. Thousands of soldiers embarked from Boston for France. We had innumerable factories for the manufacture of munitions and other war supplies. We had in our midst a large foreign-born population, much of it unfriendly, by race at least, to the allied cause, much of it possessing radical views. The United States District Attorney in Massachusetts refused to institute a single prosecution although much was said and written which would have been punished elsewhere. No record exists of a single bomb explosion, act of sabotage, or evasion of the draft or desertion, which may be traced to such an unpunished utterance. There is not one bit of evidence that the cause of the war suffered in this State because of the adherence to liberal principles of this District Attorney, who has since been honored by elevation to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Folly of Persecution The second reflection is that such measures are harmful, during the

war and after the war. They are harmful during the war because they prevent the formation of a sound public opinion on war methods and aims. The punishment of men for advocating heavier taxes instead of bond issues made it easier to finance the war by a method which produced a vast inflation of prices. The punishment by twenty-year sentences of discussion of the legality of our invasion of Russia without any declaration of war against that country checked consideration of a policy which has

(Continued on Page 8.)

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Labor Makes Plea at Albany

(Continued from Page 1.)

Workers' Health Bureau, the Building and Allied Trades Compensation Bureau, the Machinists' Union, the Cleaners and Dyers, the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Stone Cutters, and the Painters' Unions of this State. They have been recommended by Governor Smith for passage and have received the support of Health Commissioner Frank Montague of New York, Health Commissioner George W. Goler of Rochester, State Industrial Commissioner James Hamilton. The bills have also been endorsed by the following industrial hygiene experts:

Prof. Sheridan Baketel of the Long Island College of Physicians; Dr. Edward R. Baldwin, head of the Trueman Foundation, Saranac; Dr. Frederick Peterson of Bellevue Hospital; Dr. Gilman Thompson, President of the Reconstruction Hospital; Prof. E. E. A. Winslow of Yale; Dr. Alice Hamilton of Harvard; Prof. Yandell Henderson of Yale; Prof. Emory R. Hayhurst of Ohio State University; Dr. Emerson of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; Dr. Lewinski-Corwin of the New York Academy of Medicine.

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WHO OWNS THE ARTISTS?

By UPTON SINCLAIR

MANY and various are the art-forms which the sons and grandsons of Ogi have invented; but of all these forms, the one which bores us most quickly is the pangle—a little story made up for the purpose of illustrating a special lesson. Therefore, I hasten to drop Ogi and his sons and grandsons, and to say in plain English that this book is a study of the artist in his relation to the propertied classes. Its thesis is that from the dawn of human history, the path to honor and success in the arts has been through the service and glorification of the ruling classes; entertaining them, making them pleasant to themselves, and teaching their subjects and slaves to stand in awe of them.

Throughout this book the word artist is used, not in the narrow sense popular in America, as a man who paints pictures and illustrates magazines, but in its broad sense, as one who represents life imaginatively by any device, whether picture or statue or poem or song or symphony or opera or drama or novel. It is my intention to study these artists from a point of view so far as I know entirely new; to ask how they get their living, and what they do for it; to turn their pockets inside out, and see what is in them and where it came from; to put to them the question already put to priests and preachers, editors and journalists, college presidents and professors, school superintendents and teachers: WHO OWNS YOU, AND WHY?

The book will present an interpretation of the arts from the point of view of the class struggle. It will study art works as instruments of propaganda and repression, employed by the ruling classes of the community; or as weapons of attack, employed by new classes rising into power. It will study the artists who are recognized and honored by critical authority, and ask to what extent they have been servants of ruling class prestige and instruments of ruling class safety. It will consider also the rebel artists, who have failed to serve their masters, and ask what penalties they have paid for their rebellion.

The book purposes to investigate the whole process of art creation, and to place the art function in relation to the sanity, health and progress of mankind. It will attempt to set up new canons in the arts, overturning many of the standards now accepted. A large part of the world's art treasures will be taken out to the scrap-heap, and a still larger part transferred from the literature shelves to the history shelves of the world's library.

Testing Art and Artists
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art. For thirty years he has been studying it consciously, and for twenty-five years he has been shaping in his mind the opinions here recorded; testing and revising them by the art-works which he has produced, and by the stream of other men's work which has flowed through his mind. His decisions are those of a working artist, one who has been willing to experiment and blunder for himself, but who has also made it his business to know and judge the world's best achievements.

The conclusion to which he has come is that mankind is today under the spell of utterly false conceptions of what art is and should be; of utterly vicious and perverted standards of beauty and dignity. We list six great art lies now prevailing in the world, which this book will discuss:

Lie Number One: the Art for Art's Sake lie; the notion that the end of art is in the art work, and that the artist's sole task is perfection of form. It will be demonstrated that this lie is a defensive mechanism of artists run to seed, and that its prevalence means degeneracy, not merely in art, but in the society where such art appears.

Lie Number Two: the lie of Art Snobbery; the notion that art is something esoteric, for the few, outside the grasp of the masses. It will be demonstrated that with few exceptions of a special nature, great art has always been popular art, and great artists have swayed the people.

Lie Number Three: the lie of Art Tradition; the notion that new artists must follow old models, and learn from the classics how to work. It will be demonstrated that vital artists make their own technique; and that present-day technique is far and away superior to the technique of any art period preceding.

Lie Number Four: the lie of Art Dilettantism; the notion that the purpose of art is entertainment and diversion, an escape from reality. It will be demonstrated that this lie is a product of mental inferiority, and that the true purpose of art is to alter reality.

Lie Number Five: the lie of the Art Pervert; the notion that art has nothing to do with moral questions. It will be demonstrated that all art deals with moral questions, since there are no other questions.

Lie Number Six: the lie of Vested Interest; the notion that art excludes propaganda and has nothing to do with freedom and justice. Meeting that issue without equivocation, we assert:

All art is propaganda. It is universally and inescapably propaganda; sometimes unconsciously, but often deliberately, propaganda.

As commentary on the above, we add, that when artists or art critics make the assertion that art excludes propaganda, what they are saying is that their kind of propaganda is art, and other kinds of propaganda are not art. Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is the other fellow's doxy.

Morality and Art

As further commentary we explain that the word morality is not used in its popular sense, as a set of rules forbidding you to steal your neighbor's purse or his wife. Morality is the science of conduct; and since all life is conduct, it follows that all art—whether it knows it or not—deals with the question of how to be happy, and how to unfold the possibilities of the human spirit. Some artists preach self-restraint, and some preach self-indulgence; and both are preachers. Some artists say that the purpose of art is beauty, and they produce beautiful art works to demonstrate the truth of this doctrine; when such art works

are completed, they are beautiful demonstrations of the fact that the purpose of art is to embody the artist's ideas of truth and desirable behavior.

What is art? We shall give a definition, and take the rest of the book to prove it. We hope to prove it both psychologically, by watching the art process at work, and historically, by analyzing the art works of the ages. We assert:

Art is a representation of life, modified by the personality of the artist, for the purpose of modifying other personalities, inciting them to changes of feeling, belief and action.

We put the further question: What is great art? We answer:

Great art is produced when propaganda of vitality and importance is put across with technical competence in terms of the art selected.

As commentary we add that whether a certain propaganda is really vital and important is a question to be decided by the practical experience of mankind. The artist may be overwhelmingly convinced that his particular propaganda is of supreme importance, whereas the experience of the race may prove that it is of slight importance; therefore, what was supposed to be, and was for centuries taken to be, a sublime work of art turns out to be a piece of trumpery and rubbish. But let the artist, in the labor of his spirit and by the stern discipline of hard thinking, find a real path of progress for the race; let him reveal new impulses for men to thrive, new perils for them to overcome, new sacrifices for them to make, new joys for them to experience; let him make himself master of the technique of any one of the arts, and put that propaganda adequately and vitally before his fellows—and so, and so alone, he may produce real and enduring works of art.

Postscript

Manifestly, all this depends upon the meaning given to the term propaganda. The writer thought that he could trust his critics to look it up in the dictionary; but during the serial publication of the book he discovered that the critics share that false idea of the word which was brought into fashion during the World War—this idea being itself a piece of propaganda. Our own martial fervor was of course not propaganda, it was truth and justice; but there crept in an evil enemy known as "German propaganda"; and so, the word bears a stigma, and when this book applies it to some honorable variety of teaching, the critics say that we are "stretching its meaning," and being absurd.

But all we are doing is to use the word correctly. The Standard Dictionary defines propaganda as: "Effort directed systematically toward the gaining of support for an opinion or course of action." This, you note, contains no suggestion of reprobation. Propaganda may be either good or bad, according to the nature of the teaching and the motives of the teacher. The Jesuits have been carrying on a propaganda of their faith for 300 years, and one does not have to share this faith in order to admit their right to advocate it. The present writer has for twenty-one years been carrying on a propaganda for Socialism, and has a sturdy conviction that his time has not been wasted.

We take certain opinions and courses of action for granted: they come to us easily, and when in a poem or other work of art we encounter the advocacy of such things, it does not seem to us propaganda. Take, for example, that favorite theme of poets, the following of our natural impulses; it is pleasant to do this, and the poet

who gives such advice awakens no opposition. But it is different in the case of ideas which require concentration of the attention and effort of will; such ideas trouble and repel us, we resent them, and the term "propaganda" is our expression of resentment. For example, the old poet Herrick advises:

Gather ye rose-buds while ye may,
Old time is still a-flying.
And this same flower that smiles today.

Tomorrow will be dying.

Here is an attitude of relaxation toward life; the poet gives his advice under a beautiful simile and with alluring melody, and therefore it is poetry. If we should call it propaganda, all critics would agree that we were "stretching the word," and being absurd. But now, take four lines by Matthew Arnold:

Charge once more, then, and be dumb!

Let the victors, when they come,
When the forts of folly fall,
Find your body by the wall.

Here is an utterance of exactly the opposite kind, an utterance of moral conviction and resolution; the poet is bidding us fight for truth and justice. Like Herrick, he has chosen an effective simile, and has put music and fervor into his message; as poetry his lines are exactly as good as Herrick's; and yet, if we called them propaganda, how many critics would object?

This book will endeavor to demonstrate that exactly the same thing applies to the phenomena of the class struggle, as they appear either in real life or in works of art. It comes easy to human beings to accept society as it is, and to admire the great and strong and wealthy. On the other hand, it gives us a painful wrench to be told that there are moral excellences and heroic splendors in the souls of unwashed and uneducated workmen. We resent such ideas, and likewise the persons who persist in forcing them into our minds; which explains why all orthodox critics agree that Jesus and Tolstoy are propagandists, while Shakespeare and Goethe are pure and unadorned creative artists. Such distinction between "art" and "propaganda" is purely a class distinction and a class weapon; itself a piece of ruling-class propaganda, a means of duping the minds of men, and keeping them enslaved to false standards both of art and of life.

(To be continued.)

Are You as Well Off as Your Father?

By NORMAN THOMAS

ARE the workers better paid than they were in the last decade of the nineteenth century? Are prices higher because wages are higher, or, on the contrary, have money wages risen in an effort to keep up with prices? Do unions help the workers to get more wages, counted not in terms of money but of what money will buy? These questions are of the utmost importance to the workers. Light is shed on them by an important article entitled, "The Movement of Wages and the Future of Prices," by Professor Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago. This article has been reprinted by the Academy of Political Science, New York, and many labor union locals would do well to get it. We can only summarize Professor Douglas' conclusions:

He begins by estimating that in the year, 1923, the probable relative cost of living was represented by the index number 281 if we take the cost during the decade from 1890 to 1899 as 100. That is, it costs 2.8 times as much for a worker today to support himself and his family as it did for his father buying the same sort of food and clothing back in the nineties.

Against this must be set an increase in wages. In terms of purchasing power on the hourly basis since 1919, the workers have probably been paid 10 per cent to 15 per cent more than during the closing decade of the last century. That is, on the hourly basis the rise in wages has a little more than overtaken the rise in prices. (This was not true during the war years.)

Against this, however, must be set the fact that although Labor has made a real gain in diminishing the length of the working day, it has paid for this gain by a lower purchasing power for a week's work. The reduction in the number of hours has probably more than taken away such advantage as Labor has gained

in the rate of pay per hour. Mr. Douglas concludes: "It seems probable that the American workman can purchase less for the standard week's work today than during the nineties."

So far we have been talking about average gains. It is an interesting and significant fact that the gains in

wages have been very unevenly distributed. To our surprise we discover that the strongly unionized building trades as a whole are estimated to have exactly the same purchasing power for full-time weekly earnings now as during the decade of 1890-1899. The unionized bakers and men's clothing workers, on the other hand,

have increased their purchasing power from an index number of 100, in 1890-1899, to 121 and 123, respectively, in 1923. Other unionized trades, including newspaper printing, have fallen considerably. The worst showing is made by Government employees whose earnings went down to 53. Farm labor went to 83, unskilled labor to 80, and slaughtering and meat packing to 83. It is evident from Professor Douglas' figures that not all unions have succeeded in raising real wages calculated in terms of full-time weekly earnings, but on the whole it would appear that unions have helped. The rise in men's clothing is undoubtedly due to unionization, and the sharp drop in the wages for slaughtering and meat packing, by contrast, Professor Douglas suggests, is due to the success of the packing houses "in preventing the unions from getting more than a foothold in their industry."

Professor Douglas' final conclusion is "that price increases have not been caused, in their initial stage at least, by increases in wages." The next time the storekeeper tells you that you pay more because wages have risen remember this conclusion by a competent economist.

As to the Labor Defense Council

By EUGENE V. DEBS

My attention has several times been called to a matter in reference to the Labor Defense Council which requires a word of explanation.

This Council was organized to provide defense for Communists prosecuted under the so-called criminal syndicalism and other laws because of their activities in the Labor movement, the purpose of the defense being the preservation of the right of free speech, free assemblage and other civil rights in the United States. I gladly acceded to this body the use of my name in raising funds and consented to be named as vice-president in its list of officers. I did this not so much for Foster, Ruthenberg, Minor and others as individuals, but to back them up in the defense of their civil rights. That fight is also my fight. When a man is attacked on that ground I am his defender, and for this I want no credit. It is my simple duty, and I do not care what union the victim belongs to, or if he belongs to any union at all. And so, notwithstanding the Communists as a party refused to lift a finger to help me out of prison, I stand with the Communists of whatever name or number as I would with any others in their fight for free speech and I shall gladly do all in my power to keep them out of prison.

Now the point in question is this: some unscrupulous Communist propagandists are using my connection with the Labor Defense Council as a means of discrediting the Socialist Party by spreading the report in a surreptitious way, in accordance with "underground" methods, that I am really with the Communists and a Socialist in name only. It would

seem unnecessary to deny such an idiotic lie, but some comrades insist that it be done, and so I do it on their account.

The claim that I am with the Communists and against the Socialists is on a par with some other falsehoods published in Communist organs to which my attention has been called, and which I have uniformly ignored. That kind of propaganda will take care of itself and requires no encouragement from me.

Now if hereafter any Communist whispers it into your ear that I am with the Communists in anything except their rights to free speech and other civil rights, just answer by turning your back upon him and leaving the vulgar falsifier to himself.

BATH HOUSE WORKERS START GENERAL STRIKE

The Russian and Turkish bath owners of New York City have locked out their workers, refusing to recognize their union. The workers, in retaliation, have declared a general strike, tying up over thirty establishments in the city. A conference was held to negotiate an agreement, at which Dr. Frank J. Moneghian, Health Commissioner of New York, acted as arbitrator. The workers were represented by Walter

Ley, Leo Winick and William Collins, A. F. of L. organizer. The employers were represented by their officers, among them L. Cohen, owner of the Second Avenue Baths at First street and Second avenue and the Bronx Baths at Third avenue and Claremont Parkway. The union appeals to the public to assist them in this lockout-strike by not patronizing establishments unfair to Labor.

Admiral Rodgers and Prof. Nearing to Clash on Militarism

"We are the richest nation on earth," says Admiral W. L. Rodgers of the United States Navy, "and if we get into entanglements of legal diplomacy, we shall be despoiled. All the world envies us. We cannot trust the good-will of other nations whose doctrine is to take care of themselves and selfishly profit themselves."

But Prof. Scott Nearing of the Rand School of Social Science does not agree with Admiral Rodgers. "The welfare of the people of the United States," asserts Prof. Nearing, "depends primarily upon two things: the capacity to produce and distribute wealth inside the United States; the ability to live at peace with the rest of the world. Military preparedness will not promote production or distribution at home, and as for the remainder of the world, normal relations with our neighbors depends upon the establishment of equitable economic and social relations. Short of this foundation in social justice, no amount of military preparation will prevent conflict and destruction."

Admiral Rodgers and Prof. Nearing will debate the question, "Is Military Preparedness Necessary for the General Welfare of the People of the United States?" on Sunday afternoon, March 15, at Town Hall, 113 West 43rd street. John Haynes Holmes will act as chairman.

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TO BUILD FOR SOCIALISM

By BERTHA HALE WHITE
National Secretary, Socialist Party.

DURING the past months we have examined into methods, compared the methods of the present with the methods of the past when the Socialist Party was steadily increasing in power and prestige. In 1912 we had a great membership. We had more than a thousand elected officials. We had more than five thousand active locals and branches throughout the country. What made the Socialist Party a power thirteen years ago? What is lacking today?

About fifteen years ago the National Office conducted a survey. It wanted to know why the membership was growing so rapidly; what it was that made Socialists and brought them into the organized movement. The results were interesting. They showed that out of every hundred members,

39 were made Socialists by reading Socialist papers;

19 were made Socialists through talking with Socialists.

17 were made Socialists through reading books and leaflets;

10 were made Socialists through study courses.

Only 15 out of every 100 members came into the party through lectures and street meetings!

In the light of this survey, the National Office planned its work. In every way, Socialist papers, the most effective, most powerful agency for Socialism, were supported. Subscription cards were sold at every meeting, in shops and factories and offices. The great Lyceum Course of 1911-12 was conducted upon a sub-card basis. The Lyceum was tremendously successful in promoting the Socialist press. At the close of 1912, there were 323 Socialist publications in this country, of which 277 were printed in English and five were daily papers.

Fruits of Socialist Activity

So much for the press. Next in effectiveness was the personal work of party members supplemented by organizers. Discussion—with party members; reading Socialist books and leaflets—distributed by party members. In the survey made years ago, these three phases of party activity almost equalled the power of the Socialist press.

What were the results in terms of membership?

The first year after the survey (1910), 16,533 new members joined the party. The second year saw an increase of 26,705, and in the three months preceding the 1912 National Convention, 41,110 men and women were admitted to membership. No wonder the comrades were inspired to work early and late for the party with a membership more than doubled in two years' time!

But there was a fatal flaw in this splendid machinery. A powerful Socialist press was created, but it was not owned by the organized movement. The most powerful publication of all, with a circulation of a half-million, disagreed with the party on questions of policy. Instead of supporting the organization, it began to attack the organization. It sowed the seeds of suspicion and discord—and in one single year, 29,869 names were dropped

from the roster of party membership.

Not only did this publication, built by the hard work, the loyal enthusiasm of party members, serve the agents of disintegration from that time on, but when the dark forces of tyranny and oppression were loosed upon the Socialist Party during the war, this publication was the first to demand the Socialist Party's crucifixion, the first to broadcast the charge of treason against party officials. In the history of this one great Socialist paper can be found not only an example of the tremendous power of the press to build for Socialism, but also the clearest possible proof of the menace which such a paper can become when the party has no authority or control over it.

A Danger to Avoid

The privately owned Socialist press is dangerous and wasteful of our resources. Eugene V. Debs, as Editor-in-Chief, helped to create the greatest circulation in the world for a Socialist weekly. During this period, he brought thousands into the Socialist Party. But in the days of crisis, the paper turned upon all who remained faithful to the heroic principles of Socialism and joined hands with those who silenced and persecuted Eugene V. Debs, and were guilty of the final infamy of his imprisonment.

There is a disposition in some

COOLIDGE CONDITIONS IN BUFFALO

City Commissioner Frank C. Perkins, of Buffalo, just reported to the Buffalo City Council that at present there are 32,000 applications on file from the jobless workers in the Industrial Aids Bureau, which is part of his Department; that the present winter has been the worst industrially since he assumed office in 1920; that more applications have been made for charity doles to the City Welfare Department than in any other winter within the same period. Commissioner Perkins' report to the Council was the first and only public recognition in the press of the real problem of unemployment now pressing in Buffalo. These applications do not cover all unemployed. The figures indicate at least 50,000 out of work, as thousands do not register with the city, and many others might just as well be out of work since they are working only part time. When Commissioner Perkins presented this report to the City Council he called attention to the myth of "Coolidge prosperity."

quarters to think the decrease in party membership is the result of lessened Socialist sentiment. It is not true! If the recent campaign proved anything at all through its wider contacts with non-party members, it proved that the belief in Socialism is ever growing. It proved that the "prejudice against the Socialist Party" is a cleverly maintained fiction of our enemies. It is used for the specific purpose of discouraging the old crusader spirit among the Socialists.

During the war, autocracy made it dangerous to distribute or seek support for Socialist publications. Paper after paper was forced to

suspend because those who promoted and supported it in former years were unable to continue. The Socialist papers that managed to survive at all were restricted and limited until they served only to reach local or State membership. They no longer brought new members in and the expense of keeping the papers alive fell to a limited number, imposing upon them an unbearable burden. The voice of Socialism in the United States was silenced. From 298 weekly publications in 1912 the number was reduced to 23 for 1924!

If promoting the Socialist press became dangerous at times, to dis-

cuss Socialism was a dangerous thing through the whole war period and for a long time after "coming of peace." Literature could not be sold or distributed with any guarantee of safety. Crimes of violence against Socialist workers and organizers were distinctly encouraged by a bland tolerance from those who had sworn to uphold the law. Organizers were driven from the field and Socialist discussion was silenced everywhere.

Looking Forward

So the old, effective type of party organizer was forced to turn his attention to other pursuits. The corps of field workers was scattered. Today we need organizers. We need young men. But during the war countless numbers of Socialist men and boys were in the millions sent to the bloody trenches in France. Some remained forever. Many who came back were so embittered by their experience they were intolerant of the slow processes of evolution and they had neither time nor patience for educational work. So the work of maintaining the party and defending it from those who sought its destruction was left to the few who could serve and were ready to serve. All honor to those faithful and courageous ones who held the thin red line through the critical years.

This is a resume of a period that

has closed. We must turn our eyes forward. To build the Socialist Party—what is necessary? How create the new and adequate machinery?

Today, Eugene V. Debs, who never asked anything for himself, is asking for a voice with which he may serve the cause to which he consecrated his life fifty years ago. He declares he has a message. We know he has a message for the millions. He cannot speak to those millions, face to face. He declares the weekly paper, owned by the party, controlled by the party, directed by the party, will give him the voice he must have to fulfill his mission. We want him to have it. It is vastly important to us that he shall have this voice. But how much do we want him to have it?

To rebuild the Socialist Party—the spoken and the written word of Socialism. Press, Literature, Discussion—through these and through these only shall we have the greater Socialist Party easily possible today.

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PLANS AND PROGRESS IN MEXICO

By ROBERTO HABERMAN

AT the sixth convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor a resolution was adopted as follows:

"While the Mexican Federation of Labor is not against Russia, while it should support the Russian Labor movement and the Russian revolution, and should respect the right of the Russian people to establish the regime best suited to the realization of their aspirations and interests;

"The Mexican Federation of Labor does not and will not permit the establishment in Mexico of a party, calling itself the Communist party, which shapes its tactics and objectives not in accordance with the need and conditions prevailing in Mexico, but in accordance with instructions received from Moscow, Russia."

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

In compliance with this resolution, the Carpenters' Union of the Federal District, on Feb. 10, expelled its secretary-general, Jesus Bernal, who is a member of the Communist party.

This is the third expulsion of a Communist taking place within the brief period of a few weeks. Only a short time ago, the Central Labor Council of Mexico City expelled Mr. Bertram Wolfe, the delegate to that body from the Reporters' Union, for the same reason—membership in the Communist party. It also has expelled Manuel Becerra of the Ironworkers' Union.

All Labor unions in Mexico have been notified of these two expulsions.

The Labor body is most emphatic in declaring that the only reason

Mexico Labor Expels Communists —From War to Peace-Labor Attaches, An Innovation in Diplomatic Practice

for its attitude and action on this matter is the fact that the Communist party in Mexico, regardless of conditions and problems peculiar to this country which are quiet different from those obtaining in Russia, continues to conduct a hostile propaganda entirely unrelated to the actual needs and conditions prevailing here, but in accordance with the absurdities emanating from Moscow.

From War to Peace

The process of converting swords and cannons into ploughshares, and pruning hooks into books, blackboards, pencils, etc., is going on at a rapid rate in Mexico.

On Dec. 1, 1924, the budget for the Ministry of War and Navy was reduced from 130,000,000 pesos, the amount spent last year, to 87,000,000 pesos for 1925—a reduction of 43,000,000.

This notable reduction has been brought about by the mustering out of service of whole regiments of soldiers, by the complete elimination of the First Reserve Corps, composed of 100 generals and 500 officers who are drawing half pay.

That part of the army which is left is being used at the present time for the building of roads, which are almost unknown in Mexico, and on other public works.

Plans are being made for the employment of the whole army in such works of reconstruction.

Organize Federal Employees

The new union called the Mexican Employees of Public Officials already counts 3,500 members. It is composed of all public servants, be they employed by the Federal Government, by the States or the municipalities. They have applied for affiliation with the Mexican Federation of Labor.

The main plank in their fighting program is the establishment of the Civil Service in Mexico, and the

Preamble of their Constitution reads:

"The Mexican Association of Public Employees seeks as its goal the establishment of bonds of solidarity, not only with the public employees but also with the other members of the working-class, of which it is a part. That is, it realizes that the workers and the peasants must together occupy their rightful places within the class struggle, and they wish to destroy the idea that they, the Government employees, constitute an intermediary or middle-class, a sort of a buffer-class between the capitalist and the proletariat, when in reality they are nothing but workers who sell their labor power for wages."

Their program also states that while it may not be necessary for them to join in a general strike in case the other unions are affected, they can, however, help by contributing financially, and they reserve the right "to use energetic means when the revolutionary institutions of the country find themselves in imminent danger (regardless of the causes of this danger), in a frank and definite collaboration with other revolutionary elements of which the proletariat is composed."

To prevent any possible friction between the immigrants, who are coming into Mexico in large numbers, and the native Mexican workers—due to the fact that the immigrants compete with the Mexicans for jobs—the Association of Socialist Teachers, of Mexico, an organization affiliated with the Mexican Federation of Labor, is planning the Mexicanization of all foreigners, by opening night schools in which will be taught reading, writing and speaking of the Spanish language, the history and geography of Mexico, the history of the Mexican revolution, and the meaning of the

IF YOU KNEW, WOULD YOU?

If you were served food that you know is going to harm you, would you eat it?

Of course not.

If you knew that the kind of food you eat is going to harm others, would you eat it?

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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

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EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

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INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Office: 3 WEST 16TH STREET Telephone Chelsea 2148
The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.
The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
H. GREENBERG, President. S. LEFKOVITS, Manager.

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

Office, 16 West 21st St. Telephone Watkins 7950
The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.
MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman. I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Telephone Lexington 4510
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Bronx—187th St. & 3rd Avenue 1st & 3rd Thursday at 8 P. M.
Harlem—114 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—108 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 2, I. L. G. W. U.
130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Dressmakers

Union, Local 29, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Office, 5 West 21st Street. Telephone 7748—Watkins.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Manager, Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7000-1-2-3-4
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
109 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4330, 9510, 9511
JOE GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5556.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1322
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Children's Jacket Makers

of Gr. N. Y., Loc. 10, Sec. A. C. W. A.
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
MAX B. ROYARKY, Chairman.
A. LEVINE, Rec. Sec'y.
M. LENCITZ, Fin. Sec'y.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.
Office: 250 Bushwick Ave., Bklyn. Stages 10180
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
J. Czerowits, L. Feltman, Chairman, Rec. Sec'y.
I. Fortney, J. Kleinhals, Bus. Agent, Fin. Sec'y.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

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

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK Phone Orchard 1200
Office and Headquarters, 2 St. Mark's Place.
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
LOUIS SMITH, MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPEL, ANNA MUSICANT, President, Treasurer, Sec'y.
HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

NATIONAL

Letters are coming in from everywhere to the National Office on the subject of the recent conventions in Chicago. It is curious to note the sentiments expressed. Phrasing varies, but the opinions are unanimous. They are:

First, that the Socialist Party worked faithfully for the ideal of unity of the producing classes in a real party of Labor; second, it was unfortunate that the Conference for Political Action failed to support or win support for a Labor party; third, that the Socialist Party followed the right course in refusing to accept the party without name, formed, or rather agreed upon, in the convention of Feb. 22; and fourth, without exception our correspondents say now is the time to build the Socialist Party, the only working class political party in the United States. Never before in the history of the Socialist Party has there been such complete agreement, such thorough harmony and understanding among its members.

Seven great Socialist mass conventions will be held in New York, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Oklahoma City, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago, next summer. Begin now, comrades, to plan your vacation to include one of these mass conventions and demonstrations where scores of thousands will rally round the old red banner of the workers of the world. Eugene V. Debs will attend every one of these conventions and speak at every demonstration.

NEW JERSEY

The State Committee met on March 8 with Comrades Bohlin, Newman, Wittel, Bausch, Meyer and Lee.

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'y-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. Milwaukee 7600
CARL GRABBER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.

Office and Headquarters, 249 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: FULTON 0798
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
REISS, President.
F. REISS, Sec'y-Treas.
F. REISS, Rec. Sec'y.
H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION, Local 3, F. I. U. A.

Office and Headquarters, 249 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stage 5226
Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every 1st and 3rd Thursday.
FRANK BARON, JAMES CARUSO, President, Secretary.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
2 E. 16th St. Stuyvesant 7678
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.
G. LEVINE, N. ULLMAN, President, Sec'y.
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Razono, Vice-Pres. Sec'y-Treas.
LEON SARTAN, Bus. Agent.

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

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 523). Phone Spring 2258-3250
ALDO CURSI, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.
Local 245—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
Lower Office: 10 West 27th Street. Phone FULTON 6784
Down-town Office: 210 East 5th Street. Phone Orchard 1942
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Up-town Office.
SAUL SCHULMAN, J. MULINAK, ALEX ROSE, Chairman, Sec'y, Fin. Sec'y-Treas.
ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, I. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 East 22nd Street. Phone Caledonia 0350
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, BENNY WEXLER, Chairman, Sec. Treas., Vice-Pres.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
A. SOIFER, Chairman.
E. LINTNER, Vice-Chairman.
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 16
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
M. KLIEGER, Chairman.
H. WEXLER, Vice-Chairman.
ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 1
Executive Board meets every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
F. STALIN, Chairman.
H. LINTNER, Vice-Chairman.
H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 5
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
E. COHEN, Chairman.
H. WEXLER, Vice-Chairman.
E. TALL, Secretary.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

OHIO

Organizer S. H. Stille of New York State was called to Marietta, because of the serious illness of his wife and father. While in this city he gave five days to the organization of local of the party. The result is thirty-six applicants for a charter which will be forwarded to the Ohio State Secretary. Comrade Stille reports that the same work can be done in at least 100 Ohio cities and he hopes to suggest the name of a veteran Ohio Socialist who will be glad to take up the work in that State.

CONNECTICUT

At a well attended meeting held by Locals New Haven and Hamden, the delegates to the C. P. P. A. and Socialist Party conventions, Martin J. Plunkett of Wallingford and Karl Jurek of Hamden, made their report. State organizer Jasper MacLevy of Bridgeport also spoke, urging the Socialists to support our new bulletin, Our Commonwealth. A number of subs were obtained. Also one for The New Leader.

NEW YORK

State Secretary Merrill has sent a statement to all Locals in the State showing the increased enrollment of Socialist Party voters. The enrollment is reported by counties, showing a total of 61,981 so enrolled. Of the 62 counties of the State, only two show losses and two remain about the same. In 23 counties the enrollment has doubled, in 13 tripled, in four quadrupled, and in two it has increased seven-fold.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Delegates to the City Convention from New York branches elected to date are as follows:
3rd-5th-10th A. D. Branch: Ella Guilford, Leonard C. Kaye, Theodore Drake.
8th-12th A. D. Branch: Jacob Panken, Louis Waldman, G. August Gerber.
22nd-23rd A. D. Branch: Meyer Gillis.
Finnish Branch: Wilho Hedman, Olga Long, Otto West, J. Hellas, M. W. Brun.

MISSOURI

The Socialist Party of St. Louis has nominated G. A. Hehn, editor of St. Louis Labor, for Mayor and George Tourville for Comptroller. Candidates have also been nominated in seven wards and seven more wards nominations are left to the executive committee. While under the city charter the candidates for alderman must be nominated from certain wards (fourteen wards every two years) the vote on all candidates will be city wide. The election will be held on April 7.

PENNSYLVANIA

We have just received a very good report from Branch Allentown, together with an order for dues stamps. Here's hoping that Lehigh

CAP MAKERS

of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A. Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9460-1-2
Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday
Jacob Roberts, E. Eisenstein, E. Bush, Manager, Rec. Secretary, Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)

Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.
MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)

Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday. Executive Board Every Monday.
G. M. SPECTOR, ED. BASILAVSKY, President, Vice-Pres.
SOL HANDMAN, BAER, Rec. Sec'y, Fin. Sec'y.
All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 21 East 5th St.

Greet Comrade Oneal

The Socialist Party has always been awake to all indications of progress and the Sixth Assembly District of Local New York has gained a reputation for being the most wideawake branch of the party.

It is therefore quite logical that the Sixth Assembly District of the Socialist Party should be the first branch to mark the fiftieth birthday of Comrade James Oneal with this message of greetings. Every birthday of this loyal, able and devoted Comrade represents another invaluable contribution to the progress of the Socialist movement. May we have the privilege of greeting our Comrade in this manner for many, many more years to come, and may our Comrade continue to receive the compensation of joy and happiness from his devotion to our movement.

BRONX

An inspiring general party meeting was held Monday at the Local headquarters. Comrade Morris Berman reported on the recent conventions held in Chicago, and pointed out the friendly gains we have made, the possibilities for the future, the outlook for the party, and urged the members to adhere to our slogan, "Organize the Socialist Party." Members who arrived late were disappointed, but plunged right into deliberations, each eager to show that Bronx is alive.

Twenty delegates and twenty alternates were elected to the City Convention, and instructed to work for the good and welfare of our movement.

The live wire 2-4-and-5 A. D. meets Tuesday, March 17. All members are urged to attend. Matters of great importance must be acted on. Remember what we decided about The New Leader.

The 7th A. D. is conducting lectures at every branch meeting. At Tremont and Third avenues, on Thursday, March 26, Meyer London will lecture. Subject will be announced next week. Reserve this date and enjoy an intellectual treat.

The members of the 2nd-4th and 5th Assembly Districts assembled Tuesday, March 3, recorded their profound respect for Comrades Paul Wallace Hanna, Frederick Ebert and Hjalmar Branting, and the great loss sustained through their death. They set a most inspiring example of service and self-sacrifice.

KINGS COUNTY

Two dates keep in mind. On Thursday, March 26, Local Kings will hold a theatre benefit at the Actors' 48th Street Theatre. The play will be the "Wild Duck," by Ibsen. On Sunday afternoon, April 26, Prof. George R. Kirkpatrick will debate Prof. E. R. Seligman of Columbia University, at Arcadia Hall, Halsey street and Broadway, Brooklyn. The subject will be "Socialism." A Brooklyn judge will act as chairman.

The Brownsville and East New York Central Committee is continuing its good work. The recent get-together luncheon and dance was so successful that the members demand another. The committee is arranging the next affair in the banquet hall of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, on Saturday evening, April 18. The membership campaign is now in progress. A booth is being operated by the committee at the bazaar of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum where information and applications can be had. The next meeting of the committee will be held at the headquarters of the 2nd A. D., 420 Hindsale street, on Sunday, March 15, at 3 p. m.

The next meeting of the Central Committee will be held this Saturday evening, March 14, at the headquarters.

The 6th A. D. Branch, which is growing rapidly, has purchased a complete radio outfit for their recreation room.

August Claessens will lecture on "Social Forces" at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sakman street, auspices of the Junior Y. P. S. L., on Sunday, March 15, at 3 p. m.

Y. P. S. L. NOTES

Circle 1, Bronx, meets every Thursday evening at 1167 Boston road. For Thursday, March 19, we have Comrade Emanuel Switkes, who will give a talk on Current Events. Visitors are welcome, and are sure of an evening well spent.

SUN YAT SEN DEAD

Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Socialist and head of the Canton Government, died Thursday morning. He had been in poor health for several years and his death was reported a number of times during the past few months.

Dr. Sen had come into contact with the Socialist movement of the West many years ago and had for many years been working for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. In 1912 he became Provisional President of China. Yuan Shi-kai, a clever and resourceful politician, succeeded Sen and intrigued to establish a dynasty of his own. Yuan took upon himself the title of emperor in 1916, but died shortly after. It is said that he was poisoned.

STATEMENT BY BOSTON SACCO-VANZETTI GROUP

In its work to obtain a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, the Boston Defense Committee has encountered a political faction that seeks to capitalize this work for its own purposes. The committee requests The New Leader to publish a resolution which it has adopted defining its relation to political organizations. The resolution follows:

To Whom It May Concern: "The Sacco-Vanzetti Central Defense Committee of Boston, composed of elements belonging to many different organizations, for the truth's sake, and in order to avoid, prevent, and stop any particular speculation in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, on the part of a certain political party, publicly and emphatically wishes to state:

"(A) That this committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(B) That the international demonstration of March 1 on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti was moved and carried at the meeting held by this committee on the evening of Dec. 23, 1924. Subsequently, all the political and economic organizations interested in the case were instructed and informed to act in accordance with such resolution.

"(C) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(D) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(E) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(F) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(G) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(H) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(I) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(J) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(K) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(L) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

"(M) That the committee is not a subordinate to any particular political or economic organization.

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Summer School Program Ready

Rickard Sandler, Socialist Premier of Sweden, is down on the program of the two Summer Schools arranged for next August by the International Federation of Trade Unions to lecture on "The Socialization Question in Sweden" at Brunnsvik, near Stockholm, where one of the schools will be held. The other school will be held in Prague, capital of Czechoslovakia. Each will last a fortnight. The expense of attending will be very low and arrangements are being made with local labor union officials and educational leaders for all sorts of entertainment as well as instruction. Engelbert Graf, a well-known lecturer in the German workers' educational movement, will talk on four important phases of capitalist development and international relations; J. W. Brown, one of the secretaries of the I. F. T. U., will lecture on trade union internationalism, and Spencer Miller, secretary of the Workers' Educational Bureau in the United States, will talk on labor conditions and organization in America. It is expected that several Czechoslovak Socialist and Labor leaders will also address the students who attend the Prague school. The lectures will be in German and English and also in French if there are enough French-speaking students to warrant it. At last year's Summer School at Oxford twenty countries were represented and this year more are expected. Application blanks may be obtained from the Bureau of the I. F. T. U., 31 Tesselshadestraat, Amsterdam, Holland.

Miners Waiting on Americans

The last step in the setting up of a permanent secretariat of the International Mine Workers' Federation, with a full time secretary in charge, is being held up until definite action is taken by the United Mine Workers of America on the question of paying the annual contribution of one cent per member for its support, according to a report of the meeting of the International's General Committee, held in Hanover on Feb. 1 and 2, found in Le Peuple of Brussels. Herbert Smith, of England, president of the International, explained the situation and the members voted to postpone the election of the permanent Secretary until the American miners were heard from, when a meeting of the General Committee was to be called in Brussels, but at all events no later than April 21. It is considered certain that the secretariat will soon be under way, with Frank Hedges, of the British Miners' Union at its head. After listening to a report on the workings of the

Dawes reparations plan by the German miners, the meeting adopted a resolution to the effect that, while the plan was preferable to the former chaotic industrial and political conditions in Europe, close watch of its effects upon the life of the miners must be kept and reported to the International. President Smith reported on his trip to Russia as a member of the British union delegation and it was voted to send a committee of miners to that country to investigate matters. This committee will be named at the next meeting. The Hanover conference was attended by members from England, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Women's International Committee

In line with the resolutions adopted at the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Vienna last June, the International Trade Union Women's Committee, entrusted with special work for the promotion of the interests of wage working women in all countries, has been named by the leading countries in the I. F. T. U. and has begun functioning, with headquarters in the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. in Amsterdam. Its members are Helene Burniaux (Belgium), Jeanne Chevenard (France), M. Quail (England), Gertrude Hannal (Germany) and Henriette Croné (Denmark). In an article in Le Peuple, explaining how the former International Federation of Working Women had been transformed into the present International Trade Union Women's Committee, as a part of the I. F. T. U., Mme. Burniaux, who was president of the old organization, expressed deep regret at the failure of the National Women's Trade Union League of the United States to continue its affiliation, but opined that the new body will be able to do things of importance to the masses of working women in Europe anyway, and sees the day not so far away when the unity of interests of the workers of the world will bring American and European Labor under the same banner.

To Unite Clothing Workers

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Clothing Workers' International, held recently in London, it was decided to send a questionnaire to all affiliated organizations on the subject of working conditions and methods, the prevailing rates of wages and the proportion of wages to the cost of living in the various countries. The Federation intends to publish a bi-monthly journal in three languages.

Summer School Program—Miners Wait on U. S.—Women's International Committee—For Clothing Workers' Unity—Unity in Czechoslovakia—Tokio Carmen Win.

An application for affiliation having been received from the British Clothing Workers' Federation, headquarters Manchester, the Executive was instructed first of all to effect the amalgamation of this federation with that of Leeds, which is already affiliated with the Clothing Workers' International. The question of the affiliation of the clothing workers' national unions of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania was again debated.

Unity Nearer in Czechoslovakia

Preceded by a meeting, on Jan. 9 and 10, of representatives of the two Czechoslovak railroad men's unions affiliated with the International Transport Workers' Federation, presided over by Edo Fimmen, secretary of the I. T. F., at which definite steps were taken toward the eventual amalgamation of the two unions, a conference was held in Prague on Jan. 21 and 22, attended by officials of the Czechoslovak and German-speaking trade union centers, with Jan Oudegeest, a secretary of the I. T. F. U., in charge. The object of the meeting was to arrange for the amalgamation of the two centers. After long discussion a draft agreement was drawn up, which recognized the general principle of the I. T. F. U., that there must be only one national center for each country. If this agreement goes through, another joint conference will be held at the beginning of April to settle the details of the fusion. Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the results of the first conference.

Tokio Street Car Men Win

After a short strike, the street car workers of Tokio have won a substantial improvement in working conditions and wages, reports the Amsterdam office of the International Transport Workers' Federation. Through intervention by the Mayor a compromise was reached under which the men get a wage raise of 10 per cent, a bonus increase of 10 per cent, pensions twice as big as before and better uniforms. The shopmen struck at the same time as the operating personnel and they won a reduction in the working day from twelve to nine hours, a monthly bonus of two days' pay and better working conditions.

French Railroaders Get More Wages

Under a new wage scale, in effect on the principal French railroad since Jan. 1, the base pay, residence allowances and family allowances have all been raised, but the cost of living bonus has been abolished. The increases of basic wages amount to 30 per cent on the first 5,000

francs, 25 per cent on the second 5,000, and 10 per cent on the remainder. As the abolition of the 720-franc cost living bonus would involve comparatively small increases for the lower grade, it is provided that the minimum increases shall be 1,200 francs for the male established staff, 1,080 for the male unestablished staff, 960 for the female established staff, and 864 for the female unestablished staff. It is estimated that the additional expenditure of the railway companies, as a result of these increases will amount to 920,000,000 francs per annum, at about 5 1/2 cents apiece.

Brazilian Unions Aid Immigrants

The General Confederation of Labor of Sao Paulo, Brazil, has drawn the attention of the I. F. T. U. to the fact that numerous immigrants have entered Brazil without any adequate information as to conditions there. The organization is prepared to help and advise immigrants in any way it can. All immigrants, who can produce trade union membership cards will be admitted to the General Confederation of Labor without payment of entrance fees.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 230
Office and Meeting Room:
106 Seventh Avenue, Phone CHarles 9549
Regular Meeting Every Monday, 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Fridays at 9 P. M.
GEO. H. HAYES, President
J. J. COUGAN, Vice-President
D. J. NAILE, Secretary
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

I. U. S. and O.
Engineers' Local 56
Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stags 3844. Office hours, 9 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 5 P. M., Room 14.
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORTFOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place, SUrrogate 8558
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 161 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Garfinkel, Org. Sec. H. Kaplan, Sec.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.
Board of Officers Meet 2nd and 4th Friday.
243 East 43rd Street, New York City
Frank Walter, H. Kramer, President
A. Furgotte, Wm. Dettelbach, Vice-President
H. Volk, August Schrempf, Secretary
Treasurer Business Agent

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST 39TH AVENUE
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon.
M. ABRAMSON, Chairman
M. GOLDOWSKY, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTONE, Secretary-Treasurer

PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 892
Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St.
Tel. Regent 2625
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening
John Barry, Clarence Baranoff, President
Peter Goldie, J. J. Connell, Vice-President
Fin. Secretary

WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, H. & R.E.I.A. & D.I.L. of A.
Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 30 St., N.Y.
LEON 1874
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M.
Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Lowy, President
Bus. Agent & Sec.

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 366 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longue 5829
Day Room Open Daily, 8 A. M. to 6 P. M.
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President
M. McDONALD, G. F. BRENN, Vice-President
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.
MEETING HALL TO RENT
FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES, Seating Capacity 350.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPEHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
BRIND WAGNER, President
CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.
175 E. 39th St., Orchard 5259
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday
AL. GRABAL, President
L. KORN, Sec'y

AMALGAMATED TEMPLE

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Brooklyn, N. Y.
Meeting Rooms and Mass Meetings for Organizations at Moderate Rates

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Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals, Stage 3842.

Labor Temple

243-245 EAST 84TH ST.
Workmen's Educational Association.
Free Library open from 1 to 10 P. M.
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Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 165 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza-1100-5118. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

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Office: Telephone: 62 East 106th Street University 2828
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Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
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International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
JOHN F. BURKE, President-Secretary, 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

War and Freedom Cannot Mix

(Continued from Page 4.)

never been explained, which killed hundreds of Americans without any tangible gain, and alienated a nation which might have given valuable support to our peace aims in Paris.

Still more serious was the effect upon the discussion of war aims. Legal proceedings prove that an opponent makes the best cross-examiner. It is a disastrous mistake to limit criticism to those who favor the war. Men bitterly hostile to it may point out evils in its management, like the secret treaties which supporters of the war, like Mr. Wilson, were too busy to discover. If a free canvassing of the aims of the next war by its opponents is crushed by the menace of long imprisonment, such evils, even though made public in one or two newspapers, may not come to the attention of those who had power to counteract them until too late. The history of the last war shows how the objects of a war may change completely during its progress, and it is well that those objects should be steadily formulated under the influence of open discussion not only by those who demand a military victory, but by pacifists who take a different view of the national welfare. Insistence on an artificial unanimity of opinion behind the war produces a sluggishness of thought which is bound to result in unsatisfactory terms of the treaty of peace. In our efforts to silence those who advocate peace without vic-

tory we prevent at the start that vigorous thrashing out of fundamentals which might in the end save us from a victory without peace.

The real value of freedom of speech is not to the minority that wants to talk, but to the majority that does not want to listen.

Warlike suppression is bound to have a bad effect after the war. Lincoln remarked, in support of such measures, that man could not contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life. The truth is that persecution of unpopular doctrines is not an emetic at all, but a drug. A nation which indulges in an orgy of intolerance will continue after the cessation of hostilities to suppress those whose opinions are distasteful. Intolerance produces an uncritical public opinion and intense satisfaction with one's own views. I sometimes wonder whether Roosevelt would have so eagerly urged our entry into the war if he could have foreseen the tremendous setback which it would give to the liberalism which he had so much at heart. The natural aftermath of our wartime freedom from thought includes the British election of 1918, our selfish indifference to world organizations for peace, even the World Court, our readiness to accept the most extraordinary arguments, such as the objection to the Child Labor Amendment that it was a Bolshevik

measure, whereas it naturally continues the Child Labor Bill which was introduced by that well-known radical, the late Senator Lodge. After the next war, critical thinking in this country will be practically impossible.

The natural conclusion from these observations is that such methods of waging a war should be rejected, and the expression of opinion on its aims and methods should be practically free except where they produce a clear and present danger of actual interference with military operations. Nevertheless, I consider it practically certain that in the next war, which will probably be a more far-reaching conflict than the last, propaganda and suppression will be used even more extensively.

The tradition of free speech in wartime has been shattered. The Supreme Court has shown that it will give no protection to it. The officials will find ample precedents at hand for censorship and prosecutions. Once the war begins, any attempt to have its aims defined in public opinion, except as the Government wishes, any attempt to argue that the time has arrived for it to cease, will be perilous indeed. Therefore, those of us who value the preservation of an intact great public opinion in this country must bend our every effort to the end that there shall be no next war.

Rand School Activities

Scott Nearing will resume his weekly lectures at the Rand School, 7 East 16th street, Saturday, March 15. He is beginning a 12-lecture course in "Applied Sociology" on Saturday morning, at 11 o'clock, following the teaching of Lester F. Ward. On Saturday afternoon, at 1:30 p. m., he will continue his discussions of Current Events in the Deb Auditorium.

At 3:30 p. m., on Saturday, Prof. Ferdinand Varrelman will give an illustrated lecture on the "Evolution of the Earth."

On Monday, March 16, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Joseph Jablonowicz will discuss the "Drama of Social Conflict." On Wednesday, March 18, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. August Claessens will lecture on "Marital Incompatibility" in his course on "Sex and Society"; while Clement Wood will discuss

Dreiser and Anderson in his course on "Contemporary Fiction."

On Thursday, March 19, at 8:30 p. m., Miss Margaret Daniels will continue her lectures on "Psychology."

The Women's Committee of the Rand School have secured a number of choice seats for the farewell concert of Chaliapin on Sunday, April 12, at 2:30 p. m., at the Metropolitan Opera House. The proceeds of these tickets, by special courtesy of Mr. Hurok, go to the Rand School. These tickets can be obtained at the Rand School Office, 7 East 15th street.

Paperhangers' Union

LOCAL 490
Brotherhood of Paperhangers
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers
Meetings Every Wednesday Evening at 62 East 106th Street
Irving Feldman, Meyer Cohen, President Vice-President
E. J. Snyder, Sec. Secretary
Joseph Kashaum, Treasurer

The Realm of Books

Passage to Africa

A Review by MADELIN LEOP

GOD'S STEPCHILDREN. By Sarah Gertrude Millin. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.00.

Mrs. Millin might have called her novel "A Passage to South Africa," for in it she shows the same complete understanding of the foreign land she is writing about as did E. M. Forster in his "Passage to India." The half-breeds of South Africa, the Bastards, as they are called, with their strange mixtures of white and black blood, with their ambitions to walk with whites, talk with whites, and marry whites, are as comprehensible to Mrs. Millin as are the dark-skinned natives of India, with their dread of the Englishmen, to Mr. Forster. Both writers have a deep sympathy for races to which they do not belong, as well as a profound knowledge of their subject and a genius for creating atmosphere.

Sarah Millin's book is a story of four generations, in which she traces white and black intermarriage. It begins with the Reverend Andrew Flood, a missionary who has never had a friend, who has been hopelessly in love with a beautiful white girl, and who has come to South Africa because he has a sincere desire to put God into the hearts of the heathen blacks.

He is too soft to conquer their unbelieving cynical questions and ends up by marrying a black and settling down into a sordid, careless, filthy existence, from which he never emerges. The result of the wedlock is a half-caste, who in turn has progeny. After four generations, Barry, educated in England, marries an English girl and comes back to Africa as a missionary. Barry has very little black blood in him, so little that his wife thinks he is white. As soon as he sees his kind-folk in the terrible state of civilization in which they live, he can no longer live a white lie. He sends his wife and child back to England and he goes back to his Bastard cousins to do what he can to better their lives.

Mrs. Millin looks on life fearlessly but not coldly. She comes to the same conclusion as did O'Neill in "All God's Children Got Wings." Color is more than a superstition. It creates a barrier which no amount of education or liberal feeling can remove. The old bromide that love is thicker than water holds tragedy as well as truth. Mrs. Millin looks at her characters from a distance. Life seems cheap in the development of the whites and blacks. Men die, children are born, fall in love and are married, and still the question of blood differences and traditions shines as brightly and as cruelly as ever.

"God's Stepchildren" is a fine piece of work, done by an author who has clear perceptions and a deep understanding beside that most valuable quality—pity.

Modern Library

Four recent additions to the "Modern Library" (Boni & Liveright) maintain the high standard of excellence of those previously published, all of which have deservedly earned general popular approval.

The publishers deserve special commendation at this time for making available to every layman "An Outline of Psychoanalysis." In these days, when every first-rate charlatan and third-rate dilettante preaches and practices psychoanalysis—for a price—when medical and literary quacks reap rich harvests at the expense of an incredibly gullible public, when so much of the spurious product parades as the genuine article, everyone with the will to know will be amply rewarded by investing ninety-five cents in this valuable collection of papers.

The catholicity of treatment by the editor, J. S. Van Tieslaar, a well recognized student of the subject, in compiling the volume, is highly commendable. Nothing final is presented. The experimental character of this newest of sciences is made clear. Recognized exponents of the various schools of psychoanalytic thought have their say—Freud, Jung, Brill, Adler, Stekel, Putnam, Ferencsi, Jones, Jelliffe, Martin, Rivers, Hinkle and others. From these the reader will acquire a conception of the fundamentals of the subject that will serve him as a useful guide through its various ramifications.

Another volume in the "Modern Library" is Anatole France's classic story, "Thais," of the redemption of a beautiful courtesan through the love of a holy man. Hendrik Van Loon has a characteristic introduction illustrated by his own pen—a compact appreciation of the great French literature.

The two other volumes are D'Annunzio's "The Child of Pleasure," his first work (it was written when he was twenty-six), which was destined to stamp him as a great esthete, the artistic interpreter of sensation, prefaced by an introduction

The Garment Workers' Inspiring Story

A Review by THERESA WOLFSON

THE WOMEN GARMENT WORKERS. By Dr. Louis Levine. New York: B. W. Huebsch. \$5.00.

A VETERAN official of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union picked up a copy of Dr. Louis Levine's history of the union, thumbed its pages, weighed it in his hands for several moments, and cried, "Ach, this is the story of my life!" And so it is, even as it is the story of the life struggles of 100,000 other workers in the garment industry.

When the 1922 convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union authorized the General Executive Board to publish a history of the union in celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, it sponsored a unique undertaking. And when the General Executive Board engaged Dr. Louis Levine, former professor of economics, author of several books, and recognized scholar, to become the story-teller of this history, it set a lofty standard, not only for trade union literature but for all social and historical literature. For Dr. Levine has written this history with the instincts of a scholar and a poet. The book is a scholarly statement of facts, well documented, and presenting an account of early conditions in the industry, the development of union policies, and the struggles for a unified Union. Interwoven with this account are the warm human emotions, passions, sacrifices, and idealism of a group of workers struggling for bread, for leisure, and for self-respect.

Several years ago there appeared in the realm of books the moving, pulsating life story of one cloak maker, Abraham Levinsky. It was the old story of the struggles of an individual to conquer the economic forces which were binding him, and rise out of his class. In "The Women Garment Workers" we have the kaleidoscopic picture of thousands of individuals struggling to rise, not out of their class, but in their class and with their class. It is the story of thousands of individuals, coming from different foreign lands and holding different political beliefs, thrown into a melting pot seething with complex industrial and social conditions, and emerging a unified group with group consciousness and group vision. It is at the same time the story of surging masses beating constantly and heroically upon the anvil of social forces, and hammering out a pattern for a trade union which is more than an economic institution.

One feels overwhelmed by the tale Dr. Levine unfolds. It is so human, so full of the virtues and vices of humans. Step by step we are taken from one period to another. The small, filthy sweatshops of the '80's and '90's, the long working hours, the low wages, the periodic appearance and disappearance of the union, make way for the period of greater union strength, growing complexity of the industry, and developing union leadership of 1900. The controversies for power between locals and the International, the petty intrigues of factions within the union, the injection of political controversies, first between Socialists and Anarchists and more recently between Socialists and Com-

munist, are only indications of what a microcosm the union really is. The development of collective bargaining, the attempts to put into practice the many ideals of control over the economics of an industry, are graphically described. In fact, the garment industry has been an "industrial experiment station." Voluntary arbitration, industrial courts, industrial legislation, scientific management, production standards, sanitary boards, unemployment insurance, recreation and education are the outstanding experiments. Even the publication of a history such as this one is, a record of failures and successes not merely a glorification, is an invaluable contribution.

Nothing can confirm the relation of psychology to economics, and the interdependence of these two fields, as strongly as does this picture of human groups experimenting with economic forces. Dr. Levine analyzes the reasons for this type of open-mindedness in the preface to the history: "The technical simplicity of the industry has been the main cause of its human complexities. In the absence of potent mechanical factors of organization and standardization, there has been more room as well as greater need for the play of the human mind. The industry attracted men and women with imagination and with large social vision who could test here some of their ideas of industrial life. This contact of 'outsiders' with the concrete realities of the industry has broadened the story of the book into a chapter in the history of social reform in the United States. . . . Judges, lawyers, engineers, medical men, university professors, social workers, financiers, Governors, Mayors, United States Senators, and Cabinet officers, all play some part in the story and help to weave it into the texture of American life."

The industry and the union became not only an experiment station for new ideas, but a medium of self-expression for new ideals, political, economic and social. Unlike many workers who are inclined to regard their union as one of a number of institutions in life, taking its place by the side of the lodge, the club and the political organization, this group of workers in the garment industry have assigned to the union the role of school, club, and friend. Thus the records of the union reflect the changing community interests of its membership. At one time money is given to the steel strikers, at another time to a modern experimental school, or to the organized workers of foreign countries. At one time the leaders of the union engage in political campaigns for the Socialist Party, at another time they participate in the plans for a Labor party. Every movement of social significance evokes a reaction from the union.

One must read the history to appreciate how deeply the union penetrated into the lives of the workers. When the sweat shops threatened the workers' health, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was created to establish sanitation standards in the industry and improve the sanitary conditions of the shops. When tuberculosis, flat feet, round shoulders and other occupational diseases were rampant among the workers, the

Union Health Center was established to assume the responsibility of the health of the members. When the garment workers expressed a crystallized desire for recreation, the Unity House at Forest Park, Pa., and the Villa Anita Garibaldi in Staten Island were opened. And when the members became interested not only in the whys and wherefores of their own union, but also in the great social forces of the world they lived in, the Educational Department of the union was created; and classes, lectures, and educational mass meetings were developed.

There are moments when the reader is carried away by the sheer dramatic qualities of the incidents described. When one reads the chapters on the Uprising of the Twenty Thousand and The Great Revolt, one is impressed with the fact that the union is an unplumbed source of dramatic material. All the life-emotion humans are capable of are to be found etched upon the canvas of the history, in broad, strong, realistic strokes. Dr. Levine recognized that the stories of the great strikes of 1909 and 1910 told themselves. They need no embellishment; they belong to the realm of great epics.

In the description of the union's struggles to control the economics of the industry, Dr. Levine points out a number of important facts. One of the most serious problems in the life of the union has been the cyclic decentralization of the garment factories, the periodic breaking up of large shops into small ones. Though the clothing industry boasts of being one of the fourteen leading industries of the country, with an annual product of over a billion dollars, it does not bear all the earmarks of monopolistic industry. The small skirt and cloak shops of the early days of the industry, familiarly known as "moth" shops, were to be found on Division street and East Broadway. In 1900 these shops apparently competed with the so-called "giant" shops of Broadway. The latter were large shops with installed machines, special salesrooms, and a staff of forty or fifty workers. The "moth" shops, with their low overhead costs, small investments, and constant personal supervision of the boss, prospered and became the "giant" shops of Fifth avenue. But always a new crop of small shops would spring up just when the union felt it had established a basis of agreement with the manufacturers' associations. Since 1919 the number of small shops have increased even more rapidly than in preceding years. Barring technical inventions, the use of electricity, and sanitary improvements, the small shops of today savor of the overcrowded conditions of the sweat shops of yesterday. In addition, they are difficult to control, from the point of view of the union.

Dr. Levine, as a Marxian student, recognizes the importance of the theory of concentration of capital and production as factors in a capitalist system of production. The fact that the clothing industry tends to fulfill this theory only in the concentration of capital and not in the matter of production is made the basis of an excellent analysis by the

author in the chapter, The New Industrial Situation. He explains that the small shop has been successful because the technique of the clothing industry has lagged far behind the evolution of the market. The clothing market must of necessity fulfill the demands of people of varying income strata and varying standards of living. It must satisfy seasonal and fashion changes. Therefore, a sprawling system of commission houses, resident buyers, and credit agencies, to say nothing of extravagant salesrooms, good-looking models developed to satisfy these market demands.

The jobber stepped into the marketing scheme, shifted the responsibility of production to the small sub-manufacturer, and was responsible for a type of financial concentration that actually depended upon decentralized production. Based upon the recognition of the danger of the small shop, in union agreements, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has adopted an industrial program that is unique in the trade union world.

The description of the role which the trade agreement played in the history of the union, is another interesting story of control. Coming as a result of great strikes, months of privation and hardship, these agreements are more than pacts of compromise, they are charters of the rights of the workers. From the settlement of the dramatic strike of 1890, on through the strikes of 1909, 1910, 1916 and 1923, a body of trade union law has been created which prescribes the rules of the game in human terms as well as economic ones. Equal division of work, week work, committee on grievances and shop disputes, abolition of sub-contracting, and standards of sanitation are only a few of the questions considered and settled in these agreements.

The "Protocol of Peace," as the agreement, which was drawn up after the 1910 cloakmakers' strike, was known, was filled with the expectations and hopes of an industry eager for some magic formula assuring industrial peace. It is true "it imposed upon the industry a demand for progressive improvements which could not be met on the existing bases of doing business." But it is also true that the protocol "lifted the women's garment trades from the status of a despised immigrant industry to that of national interest and importance." To this very day, the union has retained the idea of joint responsibility and joint control of the industry, as it was first promulgated in that famous agreement.

It is a momentous epic of human lives—this history of the garment workers. It is a story which every socially conscious person should read, for therein is related the aspirations, the failures, the journeys through countless morasses in an attempt to reach the sunlight. It is a book that is written for the rank and file of the working class as well as for the scholar and student of social movements. It is a book that has given equal importance to artistic presentation and scholarly information. It is a guide to the future, for the last chapter has not yet been written.

A Socialist Almanac

ALMANACCO SOCIALISTA ITALO AMERICANO, 1925. Italian Socialist Federation. Chicago: 1011 Blue Island avenue. \$1.00.

Seldom has the Labor movement produced such a beautiful publication as this almanac issued by the Italian Socialist Federation. In typography and illustration it is difficult to conceive of anything that excels it in its particular field. It is something more than its title implies. It is an annual devoted to the Italian Labor and Socialist movement in the United States. In its 220 large pages will be found contributions on the development and present posture of affairs among Italian workers, critical articles on the Italian Fascist, the work of the Italian Socialists in this country, the progress of their movement, important personalities and other material so placed and illustrated as to make the publication one that thinking Italians will consider a prize to possess.

Those who think that the proletariat have no sense or appreciation of art have their answer in this almanac. Into it has been poured the love of beauty and a pride of workmanship that is a forecast of what enlightened workers are capable of. If any Italian reads this, we advise him or her to order a copy post haste.

JAMES ONEAL

The Modern Quarterly

Many readers of literary criticism are often puzzled by the conflicting and often obscure judgments of the professionals. Those who have been perplexed by this will find enlightenment in the current number of the Modern Quarterly. The editor, V. F. Calverton, has another contribution to this theme in an article "On Sherman and Mencken and Others," which he further explains as "a fragmentary critique of American criticism."

He returns to his fundamental contention that the critics who ignore the economic and social approach to literature are certain to go astray in their judgments, and by way of illustration he considers the writings of Professors Woodberry and Sherman and H. L. Mencken. The idea of a literature, literary standards and literary criticism independent of and uninfluenced by the social order in which they appear is subjected to a critical analysis that is keen and convincing. "The critic seems to imagine that we paint before we eat," writes Calverton, "that men fought originally for art-expression and not for

food." Such critics must be reminded that "it was only when economic difficulties were lightened that art-creation could begin to grow."

While Professor Sherman recognizes the influence of society on literature he does not admit the sociological factor in shaping the judgments of the critic. Calverton considers Sherman's sweeping aside of Dreiser by the assertion that the latter is "bucking" the national genius. But what is the national genius? Calverton concludes that as Dreiser represents a proletarian trend in literature he is offensive to Sherman precisely because the latter does not represent such a trend. Bourgeois esthetics appeal to Sherman and these are translated into the "national genius" and glorified by him.

Mencken is considered as the "vaudeville critic" or as the "prophet of the tawdry run of anti-bourgeois liberals." The defect in the work of Mencken is, in the view of Calverton, due to the fact that Mencken is "anti-bourgeois in morals," but a "bourgeois in economics." This judgment leads Calverton to a critical examination of some of Mencken's pronouncements, and he has no trouble in showing confusion and contradiction, a complex of moods and judgments that are characteristic of the middle class radical tossed here and there by the absurdities of the present social order. The closing sen-

tion by Ernest Boyd; and "Plays by Moliere," containing six of the French master's best known comedies that are as real today as they were in his own time. Waldo Frank has written the Introduction.

Lou's Hemon

A Review by MARY P. FULLER

BLIND MAN'S BUFF. By Louis Hemon. New York: Macmillan. JOURNAL OF LOUIS HEMON. New York: Macmillan.

M. Hemon has a genuine understanding of the emotional and intellectual life of the working man and woman. This was evidenced clearly in "Maria Chappelaine," and now in a book of an entirely different character, "Blind Man's Buff." As one reads what passes in the unconscious of Mike O'Brady or in that of the old Hebrew shopkeeper or his daughter's, one feels how very sympathetic and penetrating is M. Hemon's analysis. His description of the mob reaction in a London public square again indicates his knowledge of human nature. It would seem that it is in this field that the author's skill is chiefly exhibited and is the one which most interests him.

The story relates the mental vagaries of an Irish laborer working on the London docks, receiving the vision of Socialism and wanting to bring about its miracles at once for his own selfish advantage. He is not imbued by any illusion of progress for humanity's sake; he is easygoing; he would like to attain an understanding of life but would not exert himself toward it, so it perpetually evades him and his search is futile.

It is difficult to think of many people reading or enjoying "Blind Man's Buff" except for its psychological insight and its easy, humorous, though slightly mordant style, for the class distinctions which are dwelt on so exhaustively are too familiar and obvious to those who are sympathetic with a socialistic ideal and too unpalatable to those who prefer the status quo.

The "Journal" gives M. Hemon's first impressions of Canada as he visits Quebec and Montreal on his way to the land of Maria Chappelaine. Although the slender volume abounds in pictures of Maria's nearby country and none of the cities which are described so interestingly, no written reference is made to the village of Peribouca. One is supposed to have gotten it from the earlier book. Here again the author shrewdly depicts the psychology of the dwellers of these towns and points out the essential characteristics of these people. The Frenchness of this section of Canada is observed: "Hardly have they modified, in defence against the homicidal cold, the traditional costume of the country whence they came. All the rest—language, beliefs, customs—they have kept intact, without arrogance, almost without reflection, on this new continent, amid alien populations, as if an innate naive sentiment, which some will deem incomprehensible, had taught them that, to alter in the least detail what they had brought with them from France, and to borrow anything whatsoever from another race, would have been to decline a little," is his final comment.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Literature
UNDER THE LEVER. By E. Earl Sparling. N. Y.: Scribner.
THE WANDERING EROS. Poems. By Martha Dickinson Bianch. N. Y.: Macmillan.
TWO PLAYS. By Sean O'Casey. N. Y.: Macmillan.
Social Science
ETHICS. By Prince Kropotkin. N. Y.: Dial Press.
HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. By Frederick L. Paxson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
THE MENTAL GROWTH OF THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD. By Arnold Gesell. N. Y.: Macmillan.
PRINCIPLES OF INVESTMENT. By John Emmett Kirschman. Chicago: A. W. Shaw Co.

Miscellaneous
ACTING AND PLAY PRODUCTION. By Harry Lee Andrews and Bruce Weirick. N. Y.: Longmans, Green & Co.
JAMES BRANCH CABELL. By Carl Van Doren. N. Y.: McBride.

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DRAMA

The Message of Hindu Stage

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WE all act within ourselves when we read a play. If this mental acting fails to unfold the beauty of dramatic poetry, then that dramatist does not deserve any consideration. The drama that has to sell its soul to be congenial to the skill of the actor naturally meets with contempt. The art of acting must of necessity be somewhat dependent on the beauty of poetry in the play. But why should acting bow its head to other arts? To be consistent with its own sense of self-respect it can acknowledge only that much dependence on other arts that is absolutely necessary for its fullest expression. To do anything more is to degrade itself.

The words of the poet are absolutely necessary for the actor. He has to laugh with the words of laughter woven by the poet; if the poet is kind enough to offer him a little leisure for weeping, he weeps to draw tears in the eyes of the audience. But why, why pictures that idly hang behind the actor? He does not create them on the stage. They were painted by the painter according to his conception of things. The actor has nothing to do with them. They only obstruct the blossoming of his creative genius. No doubt with the borrowed help of the painter he thus fraudulently shirks his own responsibility by creating a false illusion on the minds of the audience. This only proves his own incompetence and cowardice.

The actor is not supposed to stand in the witness-box in a court room, so that every word he utters has to be sanctified with a solemn oath. Then why such elaborate scenic preparations to cheat the spectator that has come to enjoy the play with abundance of faith in his heart. He has not left his imagination at home under lock and key! There is a subtle friendly understanding between the audience and the actor that their respective imagination voluntarily cooperate for the proper understanding of the play. It is not difficult for a normal person to imagine

a cottage, a couple of trees or a river on the stage. To try to help us with a few painted canvas hangings is to question the sanity of our minds.

That is the reason why I like our village jatra plays so much. The gulf between the actor and the audience is most simply and soulfully bridged in these open-air plays without settings and scenery. There is such an exuberance of confidence on both the sides that the purpose of the poet is most sympathetically attained. By dint of sheer sincere acting poetry is made to dance out of a fountain of beauty and enrapture the entire being of the spectator.

There is an invisible stage in the mind of the audience. Enchanted scenery are the goals that the true dramatist seeks to reach. No artificial stage and no artificial scenery can be worthy of the fancy of the poet.

In the West the audience demands concrete presentation of the things mentioned in the play. It is afraid to take chances with imagination. It naturally makes a compromise in its willingness to imagine a mountain on the stage, but a picture of the mountain must, by all means, be furnished in the settings. So tremendous amounts of money have to be wasted for the production of scenic effects—for mere child's play.

The theatre we have set up in India today in imitation of the Western stage is a cumbersome and swollen monstrosity. It is a costly affair. So it is not accessible to all. The barbarous display of wealth by the producer crushes the refinement of the genius of the poet. If the Hindu spectator has not yet been vitiated beyond redemption by Western scenic aberrations on the stage, and if the Hindu actor has any genuine respect for his own art and for poetry, then it is high time for them to rise in a righteous revolt against this devastating innovation, and simply sweep aside the costly and unnecessary scenic rubbish that contaminate and smother our stage today.

"The Puppets"

Frances Lightner's Romantic Melodrama, Opens at the Selwyn

"The Puppets," Frances Lightner's new play described as a romantic melodrama, which Brock Pemberton is presenting at the Selwyn, is a good try that just doesn't get across.

The play is about a marionette theatre in the Italian quarter on Mulberry street, in which Nicola Riccoboni is author, director, inspiration and tin-glad-on-wheels. Beginning in 1915, we see a happy family group including Sandin, the hefty, good-natured Italian, Rosa the ditto, ditto wardrobe mistress, Bruno, Nicola's well-meaning but weak cousin, and Frank Mohac, a blue streak on the piano, but pizen with the ladies.

Came then, one day (as the movie captions say), Angela Smith, a slim, leggy, blonde young thing, looking for a job. Nikko gazed and heard her sing a song and in three minutes he had her in his arms with her promise to marry him. Nikko was so strong and brave and handsome and had such eyes! Two hours later, he was on a boat, on the way to Italy and the war.

Three years later he was mourned as dead, but his spirit brooded over the whole menage. The last puppet play he had written was about to be produced, and then they were stuck—no one else had Nikko's genius in writing. Angela, now grown to maturity doesn't know whether or not she re-creates the memory of the man who flashed across her horizon for two hours three years ago. Anyway, didn't the Italian Government report him dead? So Bruno hopes to win her, as does Frank, now revealed to a mildly horrified audience as a full-fledged white-slaver. But Bruno wins her—just as Nikko comes back.

So far, it's like "The Dark Angel," but here there is a big difference. The hero of the other play is blind, while Nikki is deaf. There is a torrid Italian row with knives flashing, in the course of which Frank is incidentally exposed as a practitioner of his horrid trade, and likewise Nikki has his hearing miraculously restored. The hero looks at Angela like a Mulberry street caveman, and it's all over but the clinch.

The producer has given an interesting picture of the inside and the mechanics of the marionette theatre. But that's about all that this reviewer can get excited about.

The acting was so-so. C. Henry Gordon was Nikki; Miriam Hopkins is a slim, attractive blonde who played Angela. Dwight Frye as the sleek white-slaver looked poisonous enough for the part.

W. M. F.

Buster Keaton's Latest, "Seven Chances," at the Capitol Theatre Sunday

Buster Keaton's comedy, "Seven Chances," comes to the Capitol Sunday. This is the comedian's first picture version of a stage play. "Seven Chances" was written by Roi Cooper Megrue and produced by Belasco for the stage. It has been adapted to the screen by Jean Haves, Clyde Bruckman and Joe Mitchell. Buster's newest leading woman is Ruth Dwyer, and is supported by T. Roy Barnes, Edna Edwards and seven "baby stars." The production is released by Joseph M. Schenck through Metro-Goldwyn.

An "Irish Fantasy" will head the music program at the Capitol. The

THE NEW PLAY

MONDAY

"THE DEVIL WITHIN," a melodrama by Charles Horan, will open at the Hudson Theatre, Monday night, presented by Rock & Horan, Inc. The cast includes William Ingersoll, Helen Holman, Elwood Bostwick, Mary Hall, Coates Gwynn, Dorothy Walter, Henry W. Pemberton and Walter Petri.



VIOLA GILLETTE.

a principal feature of "China Rose," which takes up new quarters at the larger Knickerbocker Theatre—moving there Monday.

"The Complex"

Louis E. Bisch Shows the Workings of Psychoanalysis at the Booth

Louis E. Bisch, in "The Complex," playing special matinees at the Booth Theatre, exposes the practical methods of the new doctors of psychoanalysis; the main scenes of the play present the doctor's office and the interviews of the physician and his patients; yet, by cleverly planned opposition of an aunt who is herself an important link in the complex chain, the whole is made dramatically tense and interesting. Unlike the many more serious dramatists in whose plays the subconscious motives and desires of the characters are revealed as part of the drama—in the bare dialogue of O'Neill, in the self-analysis of Joyce—Mr. Bisch makes the mechanics of the analytic process the root of his drama. The result, therefore, that the audience to which it is appealing must be given an elementary explanation of psychoanalysis and the technique of the physician; this leads to an amount of talk otherwise inadvisable, and unquestionably weakening. An expert, too, might quarrel with the manner of the doctor at times, with some points he overlooks, and with the remarkably "pat" dream that fits the facts so well. Felicia (the name means "the happy one") thinks she has been happy all her life; yet she puts off her wedding for two years, and on the wedding night, after vague misgivings that grow to mysterious fear, she runs from her husband to a girl friend and stays in a bewildered, weak condition for a month. During this time she is questioned by Dr. Hale, who has called her husband and won over all the relatives except Aunt Windle, Felicia's "dead mother and father in one." Anyone acquainted with psychoanalysis recognizes the case at once; the symptoms are obviously presented and consistently developed. Yet to such a person the play presents elements of interest in the opportunity to behold a psychoanalyst at work, and in the incidental drama. Those to whom the new psychology is still new have the further pleasure of the unfolding. "The Complex" is an effective way of avoiding the painstaking perusal of Freud's "Introduction to Psychoanalysis"; see the play and you need not read the book.

J. T. S.



MARY BOLAND

is the central figure in Lynn Starling's comedy, "Meet the Wife," coming to the Bronx Opera House

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

B. C. Moss' Broadway, beginning Monday, will show a new feature photograph "Enticement," a picturization of Olive Arden's novel. The principal players include Mary Astor, Clive Brook, Ian Keith and Louise Dresser.

The vaudeville will consist of Ernest Evans in his new musical production, "Ripples of 1925." Cervo and More, Robey and Gould in a comedy skit by Andy Rice, "Education Will Out." The Zeilas Sisters, John Drake and Company, and other acts.

MARY ASTOR

"Education Will Out." The Zeilas Sisters, John Drake and Company, and other acts.

PALACE

Vincent Lopez and His Orchestra; Helen Mackeller and Company in "The Jay Driver," by Edwin Burke; Anatol Friedland and Company in "Anatol's Affairs of 1925," staged by Ned Way-

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By Frances Lightner
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MATINEES, WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY

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and others

GARRICK 65 West 35th St. Evenings: 8:40.
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LEE BAKER LAURA HOPE CREWS
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CATHERINE PROCTOR ORLANDO DALY
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DORIS KEANE
in "STARLIGHT"
"BROUGHT AN OVATION"
—STARK YOUNG, N. Y. TIMES.
BROADHURST THEATRE, W. 44th St.
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30.

burn; Moran and Mack; Bobby Folsom; Frank Davis and Adele Darnell; Dollie and Billie; Ed and Jennie Rooney, and Mme. Bradna.

HIPPODROME

Mary Cavan and Ottokar Marak of the Chicago Opera and the National Opera, Prague; Henry Sangrey and His Orchestra; Stasia Ledova, assisted by Danny Dore, Rudolph Malinoff and the Hippodrome Ballet; Lillian Leitzi; Eva Puck and Sam White; Marie Macquarrie; Henry Santrey and Anna Seymour; Harry and Anna Seymour; Johnson and Baker; the Four Readings, and the Foster Ensemble.

"Broadway Briefs"
"The Complex," playing special matinees at the Booth, will become the regular offering at the Princess Theatre on Saturday afternoon of this week.

Peggy Wood has been engaged to play the title role in "Candida," at the Ambassador Theatre, joining the cast on Monday, March 23. Katharine Cornell will retire to play the leading part in "The Green Hat," which A. H. Woods is now rehearsing.

Dr. Lothar's "Werewolf," recently presented here in English by the Shuberts, will be given in the original by the German Players' Association at the Earl Carroll Theatre, Sunday afternoon and evening.

Earl Carroll's production of "The Rat," the Parisian melodrama at the Colonial Theatre, has entered upon its second month.

Albert Bruning will play Pothinus in the Theatre Guild production of "Caesar and Cleopatra." Schuyler Ladd will have the role of Apollodorus.

The Theatre Guild's birthday party this year will be a Tapestry Ball, including a Vaudeville and Buffet Supper, on Sunday evening, March 15, at the Hotel Commodore.

On Friday, Frank Egan, the producer, Edith Ellis, the author of "White Collars," with the members of the company, were the guests of honor of the Drama-Comedy Society at the Hotel Astor.

Don Barclay, the comedian, who appeared in "Go Go," will be a member of "China Rose" when the musical comedy moves to the Knickerbocker Theatre on Monday.

James Joyce's only play, "Exiles," now playing at the Neighborhood Playhouse, will continue another week. The final performance takes place Sunday, March 22.

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 By EDITH ELLIS from
 EDGAR FRANKLIN'S STORY "REGULAR PEOPLE"
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MAURICE SWARTZ
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 Abraham Goldfaden's
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"THE WITCH"
 FRIDAY, SATURDAY &
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 SATURDAY & SUNDAY
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EARL CARROLL
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 A PLAY OF THRILLS
 The
RAT
COLONIAL 62 ST. & BROADWAY
 Dir. A. L. ELIAS
 Evgs. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

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 Beginning Sunday, twice in afternoon, twice at night. "The Empress of Dynamic Emotions" will be seen on the stage of the Colony in person and on the screen in her late, great triumph, "A Cafe in Cairo." Miss Dean and her company will break in upon the action of the picture to enact a thrilling scene of the story.
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 GEO. ENGLER, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)
 GUEST CONDUCTOR
 AEOLIAN HALL, Sun. Aft., Mar. 15, at 3
 "Unfinished" Symphony.....Schubert
 "Symphony".....Daniel Gregory Mason
 "Les Preludes".....Liszt
 GEORGE ENGLER, Mgr. Steinway Piano
 AEOLIAN HALL, Mon. Aft. Mar. 23, at 3
 First N. Y. Song Recital by ELISABETH
RETHBERG
 50 PRINCE METROPOLITAN OPERA CO.
 COENRAAD V. BOB at the Piano (Steinway Piano)
 The Astors' Theatre will proceed with the production of "The Servant in the House" for special matinees. The Charles Rann Kennedy drama will be presented at the 48th Street Theatre beginning the week of March 30.

CARNEGIE 3 Performances Only
 Tuesday Evening, March 17
 Tuesday Matinee and Evening, March 21
RUTH ST. DENIS
 WITH TED SHAWN AND THE DENISHAW DANCERS
 ENTIRELY NEW PROGRAM
 Mgt. DANIEL MAYER (Steinway Piano)
 CARNEGIE HALL, MARCH 14
 SAT. EVE. AT 8:30
 LAST PIANO RECITAL THIS SEASON
LEVITZKI
 Mgt. DANIEL MAYER (Steinway Piano)
 Oscar Bradley is now conductor of the orchestra of "The Love Song." Mr. Bradley replaces Hans Linne who has gone to Chicago to direct the orchestra of the Western company of "The Student Prince."

DRAMA

An Actress' Heart

"Starlight" With Doris Keane at the Broadhurst

Gladya Unger has adapted from the Dialogues of Abel Hermant, and Frank Egan and Charles Frohman are producing, this series of important moments in the life of a great actress, tracing her rise from the time she falls on the stage as Cleopatra in her girlhood, to the hour when she struts on as Empress Theodora in her old age. Sarah Bernhardt is suggested in some of the episodes, without sufficient exactness to permit direct tracing of incidents, but enough to add a slight element of external interest to the play.

Doris Keane plays the part of the great actress quite well, though with some variation according to the mood. The famous actress rises from the gutter of Montmartre, and carries through all her journey through life a slight taint, in the form of an ambition for respectability combined with a vulgarity she can never wholly escape. It is in such moments as these that Doris Keane is at her best, catching without effort the spirit of the part. From her portrayal, aided by the adapter of the author (whose most famous work is "Conversations with French Grammar"), we are likely to receive the notion that a great actress so gives her life to her art that even off the stage she becomes a stage-being, a puppet moved by the strings of artifice, not a woman of sincere feelings and depth and understanding. This is a shock to our preconceived notion; we have liked to think that the greater one's intelligence and sympathetic understanding of life, the greater actor one might become—granted the equal possession of the faculties that enter into playing a part. Some of the scenes in this episodic play work to effective closes: that in which we recall George Sand and other famous women of France, while Aurelie almost has her baby on the stage, was most appealing. But most of it, out of the necessity of its episodic structure, holds loosely together and leads to no great period of intensity. Eleven scenes cover sixty years of a career we are told is the greatest in stage history, but which we cannot but think somehow shallower, more tawdry, than those who appeal to us would have us believe. W. L.

Broadway Briefs
 A company of the "Greenwich Village Follies," headed by Gallagher and Shean, began a tour of the Far West at the Curran Theatre in San Francisco, last Monday night.

Maurice Schwartz and the Yiddish Art Players will present a revival of Abraham Goldfaden's play with music, "The Witch," this Friday night at the Yiddish Art Theatre. The play will be repeated Saturday and Sunday, afternoon and night.

"Nocturne" is now the regular production at the Punch and Judy Theatre, and will continue its run there until "The Dunces Boy," the Art Theatre's next production, opens on March 23.

The Piccadilly Theatre, beginning Saturday, will show "Bad Company," the new photodrama that marks the return to film of Madge Kennedy, who, for the past two seasons has confined her work exclusively to the stage. Conway Tearle is co-starred.

Edna Brothers is now playing the role of "Mrs. Thayer" in "White Collars," at the Cort Theatre.

MUSIC

Revival of "Pelleas et Melisande" at Metropolitan Opera House

The first performance by the Metropolitan of Debussy's "Pelleas et Melisande," at the Saturday matinee, is a feature of next week's repertoire at the Opera House. Boris Howard, Johnson and Whitehill will sing the principal roles. "Der Freischutz" for the first time this season, will open the week on Monday evening, headed by Rethberg, Mario, Taucher and Bohnen. Other operas next week: "Petruske" and "Giovanni Galibardi" on Wednesday evening, the former enacted with Galli, Rudolph, Boim and Bonfiglio; the latter with Lauri-Volpe and Danise. "Goetterdaemmerung" on Thursday afternoon with Larsen-Tedson, Mueller, Taucher and Schorr. "Samson et Dalila," Thursday evening with Bransell, Martinelli and Danise. "Andrea Chenier," Friday evening with Rethberg, Howard, Lauri-Volpe and DeLuca. "Lucia di Lammermoor," Saturday night, with Mario, Wakefield, Martinelli and DeLuca. "Faust" will be given Sunday night in concert form.

Music Notes
 Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn and the Denishawn Dancers, will give a program of new dance creations at Carnegie Hall on Tuesday evening. The program will include Music Visualizations, a Spanish ballet, "Cuadro Flamenco," a group of diversissements including a dance without music, "Tragic," and an Algerian dance drama, "The Vision of the Aissoua." Two additional performances will be given Tuesday matinee and evening, March 31.

Dusolina Giannini, soloist with the New York Symphony this Friday night, will give a recital on April 4, to give three concerts in the Cuban capital. Yolanda Mero will give her last recital of the season at Aeolian Hall on Monday afternoon.



BUSTER KEATON
 will bring his new comedy, "Seven Chances," by Roi Cooper Megrue, to the Capitol Theatre this Sunday.

Barrie's "Little Minister" at the Globe, March 23

The forthcoming production of "The Little Minister," at the Globe Theatre, was confirmed yesterday by formal announcement from the office of Charles Dillingham. The Barrie play, with Ruth Chatterton as its star, will be revived at the Globe on Monday night, March 23. In the cast, in addition to Miss Chatterton, will be Ralph Forbes, Thomas Findlay and Marjorie Wood. "The Grab Bag," now at the Globe, will end its engagement next week and "The Youngest" will then be transferred to that house for a single week.

"Caesar and Cleopatra," To Open New Theatre Guild Home, March 30

The Theatre Guild production of Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra" is to open the new Guild Theatre on West 52nd street, Lionel Atwill will play Caesar, Helen Hayes, Cleopatra. Miss Hayes will continue in "Quarantine" until "Caesar and Cleopatra" is ready to open. The architects expect to have the new theatre ready March 23, or the following Monday, March 30. Philip Moeller is directing the play.

Maurice Swartz's New Yiddish Art Theatre

Maurice Swartz, the actor-manager, now playing "Peter the Great" at the Yiddish Art Theatre, will locate his new theatre on Second avenue and 12th street.

When Madison Square Garden is razed next year it will necessitate the tearing down of the present theatre, which occupies the 27th street and Madison avenue corner of the structure. The plot for the new Morris Swartz theatre has been acquired.

"Meet the Wife" at the Bronx Opera House Monday Night

Stewart and French will present the Lynn starting comedy, "Meet the Wife," at the Bronx Opera House, for one week beginning Monday. Mary Boland plays the principal role. Her associate players include Charles Dalton, Ernest Lawford, Patricia Calvert, and Ralph Glover.

Theatre Club Benefit of "The Wild Duck"

Ibsen's drama, "The Wild Duck," will be the next performance of the Theatre Club, on Tuesday evening, at the 48th Street Theatre. Prices \$1.00, \$2.20 and \$2.75. For tickets write to Theatre Club, Rand School Branch, 7 East 15th street.

MUSIC

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

This Sunday's program at Aeolian Hall, with Bruno Walter conducting, includes the symphony in C Minor by Daniel Gregory Mason, associate professor of music at Columbia University. It will be the first New York performance of this symphony. The complete program: Unfinished Symphony in B Minor, Schubert; Symphony in C Minor, Mason; Symphonic Poem "Maseppa," Liszt.

The New York Symphony will pay its monthly visit to Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia next week.

PHILHARMONIC

The Philharmonic Orchestra, directed by Willem Mengelberg, resumes its local schedule tomorrow afternoon at the Metropolitan Opera House in a Beethoven program, with Erna Rubinstein as soloist. The third "Leonore" overture, the "Eroica" Symphony and the violin concerto comprise the program. The Students' Concert takes place in Carnegie Hall, Wednesday evening, when Deems Taylor's "Through the Looking Glass" suite has its first Philharmonic performance. Stravinsky's "Fire-Bird" Suite and Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Scheherazade" complete the program.

Gerard Hekking, Dutch 'cellist, who arrived here about two weeks ago, is to make his debut with the Philharmonic at Carnegie Hall, on Thursday evening, playing the Lalo Concerto. The "Looking Glass" suite and "Scheherazade" complete Thursday evening's program, which will be repeated on Friday afternoon.

Elizabeth Hoepfel, contralto, will give a recital at Aeolian Hall, Sunday evening.

Mischa Levitzki, pianist, gives his recital at Carnegie Hall, this Saturday night.

I. L. G. W. U. Educational Notes

The annual reunion of students and teachers of the I. L. G. W. U. classes will take place on Saturday, March 28, at 7 p. m., in the dining room of the Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 16th street.

On this occasion, past and present students of the numerous classes, their friends and instructors, and officers of the union will assemble and spend a few hours in sociability and good fellowship. The program for the evening will be refreshments, music and dancing.

The Students' Council of the Workers' University, under whose auspices the affair is arranged, have decided, in order to defray some of the expenses, to charge 35 cents admission.

Reservations can be made at once either in person or by writing the Educational Department of the International, 3 West 16th street.

Courses and lectures arranged by Educational Department of I. L. G. W. U. for this week:

Workers' University, Washington Irving High School, Room 530
 Saturday, March 14, 1.30 p. m.—B. I. R. Stolper: "Clear Voices in English and American Literature; Dickens—English Literature." 2.30 p. m.—Dr. Sylvia Kopald: "The Child Labor Amendment and Public Opinion."

Sunday, March 15, 10.30 a. m.—Dr. A. W. Calhoun: "Economic Psychology—Economic Qualities of Modern Man." 11.30 a. m.—Dr. J. Carman: "The Industrial Development of Modern Society; Present-Day Problems."

I. L. G. W. U. Building
 Wednesday, March 18, 6.30 p. m.—Dr. A. Fichandler: "Economic Basis of Modern Society—Lumbering and Fishing."

Extension Division, Friday, March 13, Local 2 Club Rooms, 1581 Washington avenue, Bronx; 8 p. m.—Fannie M. Cohn and Max Levin: "The Education of Working Women," a lecture for the wives of members of the I. L. G. W. U.

Sunday, March 15, same place, 11 a. m.—Dr. I. Galdston: Lecture on Health.

Friday, March 13, 7.30 p. m.—Dr. Bernard Eichner: "The Worker and His Health."

Cloakmakers' Center, 1629 Lexington Avenue.
 Sunday, March 15, 10.30 a. m.—Max Levin: "Industrial Development of Modern Society."

Admission to the courses and lectures are free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

Baldwin Censures Communists

(Continued from Page 1.)

and belief the present condition of political prisoners in Russia is in very many respects a great deal worse than it ever was under the Czars. In the course of five years between 1904 and 1908 I spent considerable time in Russian prisons, having been arrested thirteen times and having experienced conditions in a number of prisons both in Poland and Russia. During the last several years I read very carefully everything that appeared in the public press pertaining to the condition of political prisoners in the Soviets and by comparison I feel justified in saying that conditions then were considerably better.

"First of all the political prisoners of old were treated with a deference which is due to people prosecuted for ideas. The prison administration as a rule looked up to the political prisoner and conceded his right to better treatment. In many prisons he enjoyed better food and he always enjoyed better treatment than the criminals. When exiled to Siberia, or to other places of exile, the Government considered it its duty to allow him a monthly stipend which was quite meagre but insured the political against starvation. Neither did the Government object to the exiles being employed. The political now is looked upon as an enemy, as one more dangerous to the State than the criminal, and is treated accordingly. When in exile they are not permitted to get employment and the stipend is even more meagre than that of the Czarist Government and is irregular.

"Besides, under the Czar the political were looked upon by the whole world as martyrs for a holy cause and had the support of progressive public opinion throughout the world. The Socialists and Revolutionists who dissent from the ruling Communists of Russia are discredited by the world by a well organized machinery of propaganda as counter-revolutionists. While amnesty is being granted to former members of the White armies, to people who fought against the Soviets with arms in their hands, amnesty is denied to idealists and martyrs who never fought against Russia, who cooperated with and worked within the Red Army during the invasions and whose only crime is that of holding their own opinions on matters of Socialism and Soviet policy.

"The Russian Government has now been recognized by nearly all capitalist governments of the world. There is no longer any danger of blockade or invasion. The Soviet Government, supported by a well organized Red Army, is as strong as the Czar's ever was and there is no longer any excuse for prosecuting and persecuting political opponents and dissenters."

London Labor Makes Big Gains

(Continued from Page 1.)

three of which turned out not to be within the Act.

"Thus, the net total number of complaints under the Section from March 7, 1913, the date of the commencement of the Act, to the present time, has been 66."

These facts, elicited by Sir Henry Slesser, are of special significance when it is recalled that the membership of trade unions steadily rose during the war period, and in 1920 reached the colossal total of 6,988,000.

In 12 years there have been only 66 complaints!

In spite of this significant statement some Tories were determined to fight for the Political Levy Bill. But the tremendous agitations over the Taff Vale and Osborne judgments are not so remote as to fail to convey a moral to Premier Baldwin. He decided to save his party from a disastrous blunder although it was known that several members of the Cabinet were pledged to support the bill and that a majority of the Conservatives favored it.

Premier Baldwin made a conciliatory speech and then moved an amendment which declared that so important a measure should not be introduced as a private member's bill. The amendment was accepted by a vote of 325 to 153.

The pretense of the Tory members who favored the bill is not only revealed by the fact that only 66 genuine complaints had been registered in 12 years by trade unionists against political contributions. That pretense is also revealed in the fact that the Trade Union Act of 1913 permits members of trade unions to be exempt from paying such contributions if they make written application for exemption.



TED SHAWN
 gives his first of three dance recitals Tuesday night at Carnegie Hall. Ruth St. Denis will introduce a new Algerian Dance.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Enticement," from Olive Arden's novel, with Mary Astor, Clive Brook, Ian Keith and Louise Dresser.

CAMEO—"Charley's Aunt," with Syd Chaplin.

CAPITOL—Buster Keaton in his new comedy, "Seven Chances," by Roi Cooper Megrue.

COLONY—Priscilla Dean in "A Cafe in Cairo."

RIALTO—"The Air Mail," with Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and Warner Baxter.

RIVOLI—"The Dress Maker from Paris," with Leatrice Joy and Ernest Torrence.



PRISCILLA DEAN
 will be seen in person and on the screen in "A Cafe in Cairo" at the Colony Theatre beginning Sunday.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, March 14, 1925

A SINISTER AMENDMENT

IN the evolution of capitalism its professional keepers rarely think out a course looking to the future. They instinctively act in response to prevailing conditions and their fears of change. They also think in terms of a social order which they think will endure forever.

It is men of this type of mind who propose the constitutional amendment which is analyzed by Mr. Judson King on another page. Difficult as it is now to amend the Constitution, representatives of both parties in Congress would make it still more difficult. They have the support of some of the most reactionary organizations in the United States.

What is also significant of the proposed Wadsworth-Garrett amendment is that it has the support of a considerable number of representatives in the two leading parties. This union of the two parties on matters of fundamental importance becomes more striking each year. They may tear a passion to tatters over an item in a tariff bill, but both join in striking blows against fundamentals of economic and political freedom.

This became noticeable during the war when both parties united in passing legislation providing savage penalties for criticizing the Washington bureaucrats. It was evident when a Democratic Senator introduced a bill embodying Coolidge's ideas regarding Muscle Shoals. It is apparent now in the bi-partisan drive in favor of an amendment that would make it almost impossible to amend the Constitution except through some great social upheaval.

The Socialist contention that increasing economic mastery produces a re-shaping of government in behalf of a ruling minority is verified by this tendency. The organized workers of the nation should watch the propaganda for the Wadsworth-Garrett proposal and be ready to mobilize all their forces to defeat it should it reach the stage of being referred to the States for ratification.

A DYING COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

IT has been no unusual thing in the development of the Labor and Socialist movement to encounter disturbers and thugs who either volunteer or who are paid to break up meetings. The Communist movement has taken over this thuggery and Monday night gave another exhibition at Town Hall.

Curiously enough, this incident occurred at a time when the Communists were mailing out thousands of circulars pleading for funds to protect some of their kind from prosecution because of their ideas. A stamp which they are selling to raise funds bears the caption: "No Prisons For Ideas!" They plead for the right to be heard and then proceed to meetings in packs and prevent others from being heard.

The New Leader is printing on another page the remarks which B. C. Vladeck of the Jewish Daily Forward was prevented from making at the Town Hall meeting. Vladeck has had his experience in Czarist prisons and is able to speak with authority. He did not succeed in uttering more than five words of this speech when the Communists created a tumult which continued until the meeting was adjourned in disorder.

One aspect of this meeting the Communists did not count upon. In that audience there were many men and women who have been sympathetic with Russia. They had been conspicuous in protesting against the attempts of the imperialist powers to intervene in Russia. They have raised their voices against reaction in

stifling opinions at home and abroad. Every man and woman of this type at the Town Hall meeting came away with nothing but contempt for those who broke up the meeting. The Communists lost many who had sympathized with them in their persecution and henceforth they will get little aid from them.

Moreover, the assault on the Town Hall meeting, following assaults upon other meetings, shows a desperation born of despair. The Communist movement is dying here as it is dying abroad. Its agents act as dying ruling classes act when they feel that their dominion is to disappear. Any movement that attempts to bully and gag its opponents, any movement that fears the free circulation of ideas, simply signs its own death warrant. It isn't fit to live.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE SIGNS

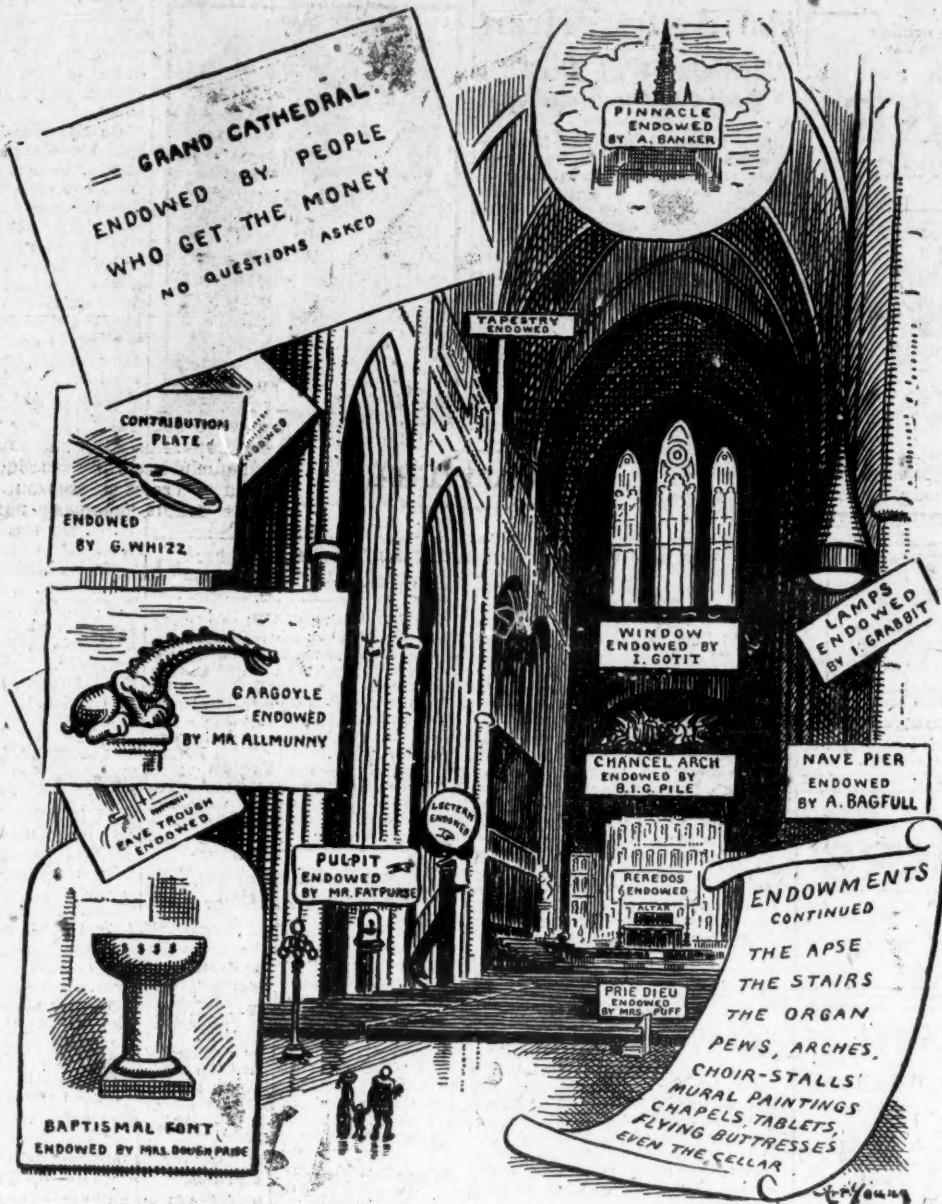
IN the closing hours of his first term President Coolidge signed the bill increasing the salary of members of Congress \$2,500 a year. The postal employees finally received an increase of \$300 a year, an increase which they would not have received with the consent of Coolidge if the postal bill did not carry a clause for increased revenue. The President's fundamental point of view was not whether the postal workers could live, but whether Congress would vote for higher postal rates to enable them to live.

At the same time Congress voted for and the President signed a bill giving an increase of salary to members of Congress, an increase amounting to more than the average wage paid to postal workers including the \$300. The difference in treatment is so marked as to constitute a glaring contrast. President Coolidge did not call any members of Congress into conference and warn them on the score of "economy" not to vote \$2,500 extra for congressional salaries. He remembered the late campaign slogan and kept cool.

Well, no one can say that Mr. Coolidge does not serve his class even if he does not save his face. Many thousands of postal workers are still below a decent standard of living but they can console themselves that Mr. Coolidge enjoys his breakfast and does not have to dodge his grocer at the end of the month.

The Nation pays a tribute to the late Paul Hanna, citing his services from the San Francisco Call to the London Daily Herald, but curiously ignoring The New Leader. Perhaps our neighbor's receiving set is disturbed by static.

GOD'S HOUSE



Bishop Manning and his associates are engaged in a drive for millions of dollars to complete the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Morningside Heights. A narrow ecclesiastical politician, he represents a politico-financial group of reactionaries as foreign to the fishermen and laborers who gathered around Christ as can be found anywhere in the world. Cleverly worded propaganda gives the impression that the new Cathedral will be a democratic and non-sectarian enterprise, but as pointed out by others, Bishop Manning's correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Guthrie exposes this contention as evasive hypocrisy. The Bishop of Wall Street's career and utterances are assurance that the institution under his control will be a refuge of dead ideas and the political respectability of his financial cronies. He leads the ecclesiastical bloc of his conservative class and politico-economic control is more prominent in his career than any genuine religious feeling.

MARVELOUS FLORIDA

INTO "The New Empire," as the State of Florida is called, is pouring Northern capital. The charming realtor with his swindles is giving way to the greater investor of New York. Florida promises to become the habitat of millionaires who are invited to locate there with the assurance that they will not be molested by the tax gatherer.

The State Constitution was recently amended to provide that no income or inheritance tax shall ever be levied by the Legislature. Like flies attracted by a honey vat our millionaires are hiking for Florida. The yokels of the hinterland, the peons on the public highways, the proud wage servants of the new rich, will generously pay the cost of the Government for the exempt hoarders of American dollars.

When Ponce de Leon set out in the sixteenth century to discover the fountain of eternal youth to restore his shattered health, he stumbled upon Florida. He did not find this fountain. It remained for our financial barons to find in Florida another paradise, exemption "forever" from taxation.

But forever is a long time and a century hence the hunter of historical curios may read a Constitution as amusing to them as the quest of de Leon is to us now. Not even the "best people" can with all their capital decree forever that they shall rule and force all others to pay the bills.

THE TAX-DODGERS

A FAVORITE sport of our American nobility has always been tax-dodging. It is notorious in every city and State. Accomplices in this sport are often found in public officials who are entrusted with the collection of taxes.

One of the big items of news this week is the exposure of this sport on a very large scale. Owing to a favorable ruling in the Treasury Department at Washington, many millions of dollars in tax returns of big corporations have remained in corporate hands.

It seems that the copper nobility has played for high stakes in this game and won. The Anaconda gang that has ruled Montana as a feudal barony for a generation got away with \$50,000,000. This one bit of swag alone is nearly sufficient to have paid the increase in wages which underpaid postal workers have been asking for. Other huge sums that were lost to the Government would easily take care of increases which

thousands of clerks in departments and bureaus should have.

As a general rule our vulgar rich cultivate a veneration of Government and law and underwrite any ignorant sharper who specializes in anti-radicalism. But the same rich upstarts are equal to repeated looting of the Federal treasury and because of their contributions to capitalist parties the way is open to rulings that enable them to filch these millions. It is fitting that the copper gang should lead this pack. That crowd has a checkered career that would make Captain Kidd blush with humiliation.

CORRECTING MR. HOPKINS

WE have no doubt that Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins of the Committee of 48 intended in his recent press statement regarding the Chicago conference of the C. P. A. to give an accurate account of what occurred. However, there is one paragraph in this statement that is misleading. It reads:

In the course of the discussion Mr. Hillquit was asked whether, in the event of a new party being formed, the Socialist Party would dissolve, and he stated that he could give no assurance to this effect, but if his resolution carried they might refrain from actually nominating candidates at every election, but nevertheless continue as an organization.

The question asked of Mr. Hillquit was not whether the Socialist Party would dissolve but whether it would nominate candidates of its own if a Labor Party was organized. He went on to state that the Socialist Party would not nominate candidates of its own but would participate in the nomination and support of Labor party candidates. The Socialist Party, he added, was primarily an educational organization and it would serve the Labor party in the same way that the Independent Labor party serves the British Labor party.

It is a curious fact that quite a number of delegates at Chicago could not understand how a Socialist Party could function in a Labor party despite the British experience. That a Socialist Party could continue its existence as an educational organization affiliated with a Labor party, just as affiliated trade unions would still carry out their special purpose of fighting for higher wages and shorter hours, is evident by the experience of these organizations in England. That this simple matter was not understood by some at Chicago is one of the curious phases of that gathering.

Mayor Hylan returns to Gotham with the statement that there is one

THE Chatter-Box

Election

Not beauty riding on the wind
Over the lindens with bright stride—
Not beauty bare on a lost peak,
Whom all men seek for, everywhere—
Not beauty slipping through the gray
Hour before day; or on some ship
Winning the foaming flying sea—
These cannot be her real home;
But beauty here in quieter view
Bodied in you, eager and dear—
Not bleak and dim—but bright as this
Soft burning kiss of limb to limb,
Not beauty blown across the moon—
But, night or noon, in you alone.
Clement Wood.

A Mine Boss in Pennsylvania was just getting ready to leave for the day, thinking what a perfect evening of poker lay ahead of him at the club. Suddenly the door flew open, and a trusted guard dragged a coal-miner into the office.

"Boss!" cried the guard, "this guy is trying to get away with some of the company's coal!"

"What!" roared the boss.
"Yes, sir! It's quitting time, and he's caught a cinder in his eye!"
Goody.

We must add this: Miner Arrested on Bowers for Sniffing Up Coke.—Make a fine headline for Broadway Brevities.

News Items

Bronx Socs. are all enthused over the annual ball and dance to be given next week—as per ad. in inside column. As a change from the monotonous vista of baby-carriages, Ydones's, garages, and Bronx booster signs, we recommend your joining the hilarity, ribaldry, Bohemianism and pagan revelry of our domesticated citizenry. We know of no living thing more wanton and more deliciously irresponsible than a Bronx married man or woman at a Socialist Ball.

And your opportunity to view this comes once a year.

Clement Wood has advised us that E. P. Dutton will shortly issue a book, "Poets of America," which Clement has gotten together and edited, in which "we are treated as really one of the gang. Gee! Talk about the thrill that comes once in a lifetime. We're just in need now of what Frank, our Elevator Genie, calls a nervous doctor.

Seems like our usual stock delivery of Spring Pomes is delayed somewhere between this office and the factories. Last Spring we had a load on o shelves, with snow still on the housepets. We need some pronto—so won't you scribble please hustle what you have ready along?

On April 1 we hope to announce the winner or winners of our Quarterly Poetry Prize.

Harry Kemp, the well-known poet, tramp and Village enfant terrible, has started a movement on foot to move the Village east to Avenue A and 10th street and environs. We made a sagacious fracture as follows: "Why not into the river, Harry, where it would be quite apropos to invite your friends to drop in and see you?"—The gods and Olympus are still shaking with laughter. Wonder if that wasn't the real reason for the recent earthquake?

We are going to let you in on a little of our own domestic intractability, because we feel it will make most of you sturdy breadwinners feel that your foibles are practiced a times by the great.

We wanted so to go to a show with somebody else. The tickets had been procured by the somebody else. And since it was a good show—what could have been more delectable?

Alas and alack, we were expected home for supper. And well ye know, oh, my fellow husbands, that there be no greater infraction of the set rules of marital existence than to miss the evening meal by any excuse lighter than losing your best leg in a subway smashup, or plain suicide.

Well, that evening, we thought of a brand new one. Over the telephone:

Said I to my mate, "I would indite
A poem fair for thee,
For ah, my sweet, unto my sight
None lovelier may be—"

"There are prettier ladies for thee to write,
Thy jingles to," quoth she—
"So just come home for supper to-night—
Or never again—" quoth she.

We came home.

S. A. DE WITT.

billions dollars waiting for his enemies if they defeat him. We accept this sum as accurate in the belief that John would not lie because of a dollar or two.

The Mount Vernon Negro accused of selling bonds to be redeemed for twenty dollars each in 1960 to finance an airplane service through the solar system must have studied the elections returns last November and thought his game as worthy as keeping cool with Coolidge.

A Kentucky statute that has attracted some attention provides penalties for persons who circulate false rumors. A statute of this kind applied to many newspapers would bring a glut in the wood pulp market.