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Three Months...\$.75

The New Leader

A Weekly Newspaper
Devoted to the Interest
of the Socialist and La-
bor Movement.

Vol. II, No. 12.

SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1925

Entered as Second Class Matter, January
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price 5 Cents

A DECADE OF OFFICIAL TERRORISM

Gagging of Karolyi Called Another Instance of Bureaucracy— Freedom in the Balance, Noted Historian Declares.

By CHARLES A. BEARD

IT is not my purpose to answer the critics of Count Michael Karolyi or to pass judgment on the merits of any political controversy in Hungary.

I intend merely to consider the American rights involved in the case and to join in the protest against a decision of the State Department, that insults our intelligence—a decision to the effect that we are not morally fit to hear anything that Count Karolyi may care to say on the subject.

I want to lift up my voice against the executive order under which this action was taken—against the measure of Congress on which it is based—against the war statute in which this new form of tyranny originated—against the whole tendency of Congress to confer on the President blanket authority over matters of life and liberty—against the practice of entrusting autocratic powers, without definite boundaries and headlands, to obscure bureaucrats in Washington.

The Record of a Terror

The present case is but one straw showing the winds of tendency. During the past decade, officers of the Government of the United States have bullied and beaten citizens and aliens beyond the limits of decency. They have arrested persons without warrant, on gossip and suspicion. They have inflicted cruel and unusual punishments on them. They have entered houses and searched premises and documents without any shadow of justification or authority. They have destroyed and carried off private property.

They have coerced and terrorized prisoners, innocent and guilty alike. They have held citizens in prison without granting them the right of immediate communication with friends and counsel. They have made wholesale raids worthy of Huns and Cossacks.

They have let loose thousands of irresponsible spies to hound and persecute innocent citizens engaged in attending to their own business. They have employed provocative agents to stir up some of the crimes they are charged to prevent. They have admitted favorites to the files of the departments in search for evidence to employ in satisfying private hatreds.

They have engaged agents to compile memoranda designed to brand loyal citizens with the horrid taint of treason. They have allowed their lower minions to blazon on the first pages of the newspapers as outlaws and moral lepers citizens whose sole offense has been the exercise of lawful rights in a

manner not pleasing to the powers and potentates in Washington.

The President Joined the Pack

The present occupant of the White House has set his name and his sanction to an article filled with false and outrageous insinuations against American citizens as loyal and devoted to our country as he is himself. He has allowed the spokesman of the War Department to harry American women engaged in the lawful—if unwise—business of appealing to the humane sentiments of the American people.

And where have been the pillars of society—the bishops, the clergy, the college presidents, and the self-constituted guardians of American institutions? Where have been the great lawyers—the Erskines of America—ready to dare the wrath of kings and the stones of mobs and write immortal pages in the history of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence? Where have been the judges of the high courts? Echo answers, "Where?"

In a word, it is with the almost unanimous sanction of the so-called great and good that the Government of the United States has set these precedents. And there the precedents threaten the destruction of constituted freedom in the next great crisis that comes upon us.

This is not my dictum. It does not rest on my poor researches. It is based upon an authority so high and so commanding that even the State Department may take notice.

According To Hughes

Speaking to the Harvard law alumni on a rare June day in 1920, one of the first jurists and finest patriots in America said: "We went to war for liberty and democracy, with the result that we fed the appetite for autocracy. Through a fiction permissible only because the courts cannot know what everyone else knows, we have seen the war powers, which are essential to the

preservation of the Nation in time of war, exercised broadly after the military exigency had passed and in conditions for which they were not intended, and we may well wonder, in view of the precedent now established, whether constitutional Government as heretofore maintained in this Republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged."

Who is the jurist and patriot who made that declaration? The Hon. Charles E. Hughes.

There he told us of the precedents that threaten the destruction of constitutional government—the precedents which we condemn today. There he also announced the principles upon which we rely in protesting against this new precedent that feeds the appetite for autocracy—this precedent which he has himself set in a time of peace, calmly and deliberately, against the plans of his fellow citizens.

A Hughes Drunk With Power

In condemning this action, we merely appeal from Mr. Hughes drunk with power at Washington to Mr. Hughes sober with solemn thought about the future of America in the academic groves at Harvard. He protests against autocratic precedents in war time. So do we. He protests against the use of the war powers in time of peace. So do we. It is the practice which he condemned at Harvard which we condemn now. Then he condemned the use of war statutes in time of peace, the use of war powers in conditions for which they were not intended. Now he does what he then condemned and defends his action on principles he then proscribed. And he has not done this secretly or inadvertently. On the contrary, when the issue is made plain to him, he justifies his decision by referring us to a war statute, made in war time, for war purposes—and continued in time of peace when, if the Constitution is obeyed, the war powers are silent.

The true character of the miserable business is revealed by an examination of the law to which Mr. Hughes so grandly refers us. Take the statutes of the United States for the year in question and plow through them to page 1217. What do you find? An Act standing out boldly on the page and setting forth the rights of aliens entering the United States? Not at all.

A War Act Continued

There you find an Act making appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922. And where is the clause toward which Mr. Hughes waved his wand? It is near the end—tucked away in a single appropriation item—a few lines continuing the War Act of May 22, 1918, relative to admission of aliens.

Did the noble Congress of freemen in Washington boldly face the issue and re-enact the law in question separately and in the full light of day? No; they stuck it away obscurely in the end of an appropriation bill so that the Secretary of State could pull it out at pleasure and by his own will set a new precedent—one of the many which raises the question whether constitutional government as we know it can survive many years of war or peace even victoriously waged.

And now what is the Act of May 22, 1918, which thus creeps into the laws of peace like a thief in the night? It is entitled "An Act to Prevent in Time of War Departure From or Entry Into the United States Contrary to Public Safety." This measure, passed in the great days of the war for liberty and democracy, opens by saying: "That when the United States is at war, if the President shall find that the public safety requires," he may by proclamation put restrictions on the admission of aliens to the United States at his pleasure—restrictions in addition to those already laid down in law. This is an Act passed in war time, expressly for war purposes, and limited on its face to a

period when the United States is at war—this is the Act which Congress continued under the cover of an appropriation bill.

The Vermin Of a Decade

This is the high sanction to which the former Harvard orator now appeals in justification for an action dependent in fact solely on his own judgment—an action for which he alone must assume responsibility. On entering the State Department he had a splendid opportunity before him. He could have done what his courageous colleague, Hon. Harlan F. Stone, did on taking office, and at one stroke swept away the accumulated vermin of a decade. But he chose deliberately another course.

And in the Karolyi case, instead of making a generous interpretation of the authority conferred upon him by law and setting a noble precedent for all time, he gave comfort to the enemies of liberty. He insulted Count Karolyi and he insulted us by a mean and narrow exercise of power—one meaner and narrower than a bold and defiant exclusion of the stranger at his gates. He admits the alien, but under offensive restrictions that savor of the atmosphere of the hospital and lunatic asylum rather than of the air of America—the land that gave to the world Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln.

We shall not forget it. History will take notice of it.

The Case of Louis Kossuth

In lodging our complaint against the ruling of the State Department in this case, we can also appeal to a great precedent in a great American tradition. By a curious turn of fate that precedent relates to another distinguished Hungarian. In 1848 Europe was devastated by a wide sweeping revolution. Champions of liberty in Hungary raised the banner of revolt and declared

their independence. Russian despotism came to the aid of Austrian despotism. Reaction followed. The revolution was stamped out in blood. Kossuth fled for his life to Turkey, where he was lodged in prison.

Did the Government of the United States wait for him to come and beg admission? Did it haggle with him in a manner worthy of a street beggar? On the contrary, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution asking the President to put an American battleship at Kossuth's disposal. The President of the United States sent the steam frigate Mississippi for him and brought him away from his prison. After a sojourn in England Kossuth sailed on an American ship to this country. His enemies pursued him. They accused him of having stolen money in his youth to pay a gambling debt. They charged him with arrogance, cowardice and duplicity.

Did America exclude him as an undesirable alien? On the contrary, the people greeted him with acclaim. The Mayor and City Council of New York welcomed him with open arms. American women collected money for his cause. The Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, greeted him cordially. He was received by the President, by the Senate and by the House of Representatives.

Imperial Gov't Flouted

A Congressional dinner was given in his honor. Daniel Webster, oblivious to proprieties, attended the dinner, and in an impassioned speech boldly aligned himself on the side of Hungarian independence. The Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government looked on with unconcealed anger. Its ambassador at Washington lodged official protest. Ignoring Webster, it appealed directly to the President. And did the Government of the United States haul down its flag? Did the State Department take orders from a foreign Government in a matter pertaining to civil liberty in America? It did not. It stood fast. The Imperial spokesman in Washington, Hulsemann, threw up his post and left the capital in a huff. The Government of the United States still lived.

The papers in this case are in the State Department. A portrait of the immortal Webster hangs nearby, and as Wendell Phillips would say, I wonder that his beetling brow did not darken and his pictured lips did not rebuke the recalcitrant Hughes pouring his patent disinfectant over the passport of the new Hungarian revolutionist.

It is therefore in the name of the best American principles and practices that we should demand a reversal of the ruling in this new Hungarian case—a repeal of the law under which it was nominally made—an indignant repudiation of the spirit in which it was conceived—and the substitution of precise legal terms for the whim of Federal officials.

A Restoration Of Freedom

We demand this as the first installment in the restoration of the freedom declared by our fathers. In a dramatic hour when liberty hung in the balance, Lincoln, begging the people to reject the Dred Scott decision and reconstruct the Supreme Court that made it, summed up the whole gospel: "Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them."

In taking our stand with Lincoln, we invoke no abstract rights, no alien ideas, no utopian theories. We rely upon American traditions, practices and laws of older and nobler days—upon that reasoned liberty which alone can guarantee the safe and happy development of our country through all the troublous years of the future.

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By ROBERT SMILLIE, M.P.:
England "On the Verge"

By UPTON SINCLAIR:
The Laborer and His Hire

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THE BOLSHEVIK GAG ON FREE SPEECH

By ROGER N. BALDWIN
Director,
American Civil Liberties Union

I DECLINE to accept the Communist notion that you must be 100 per cent with the Soviet Government or 100 per cent against it. I reserve the right to criticize my friends just as I do my opponents. When I speak in opposition to a policy in Russia today, I do it on the basis of tested support of essential Russian-American projects directed to the colossal industrial problems confronting the Russian people. For my participation in the Kuzbas Colony in Siberia, I have been indicted and I would be honored to be indicted again for aiding Russia.

I am aiding an enterprise in the Caucasus to help end Russian famines by replacing primitive peasant tools with American machines. I have served in a humble way whenever I could to advance those causes which make for the upbuilding of industry by common ownership and cooperative management. But I have taken no part in politics for or against the Russian Government, and I do not propose to do so now.

To criticize any Government for what you regard as a woefully mistaken policy may, in the long run, be an act of the greatest friendliness to the people whom that Government serves. I cannot believe that any such stand can make more difficult the always difficult way which Russia has to tread in the maze of complications and hostilities which she has aroused. Surely no such stand will have the slightest effect upon the Government of the United States in its relations to Russia—for if there is one thing the two Governments have in common, it is the disposition to fall their more militant opponents.

Persecution Established
I know that to advocate the release of Russian political prisoners is to invite attack. Yet those of us who stand for the principle of free speech for Communists in the United States because we believe in the principle and not in their program, are obligated by that very fact to speak out against the imprisonment by Communists in Russia of persons guilty only of views against their program. That there are such prisoners in Russia is now established beyond all argument. It

Only As Persecution of New Ideas Lets Up In Russia
Will Experiment in Working Class Government Be
Possible, Friend of Soviet Declares.

is officially admitted by the Soviet Government; it is established by such impartial investigators as Prof. Harry F. Ward and Louis Fisher, writing in a recent number of the Nation, and by voluminous documents both from Soviet sources and from the political parties opposed to the Soviet Government.

I would not speak on this subject even though I held very strong convictions about it, if I felt that I would be doing so to encourage those reactionary forces which are attempting to defeat this first working-class Government in the world. Although I wholly disbelieve in the principle of dictatorship, I recognize that a period of chaos and transition may make it a practical necessity. But the need for persecuting opponents merely for their opinions is no necessary part even of such a dictatorship. The excuse for it in Russia has long since passed. Russia is today one of the most stable of Governments. It can afford to be as generous in dealing with offenses of opinion as any other Government in the world. And yet today we see a political censorship rigid to the point of excluding all organizations of opposing political forces. There is no freedom of the press, of speech, or assembly. Of this point Dr. Ward says:

Soviet Constitution Nullified
"The situation is parallel to that in some of our industrially controlled areas. While freedom of assembly is theoretically possible, practically it is impossible because of the control of the means of organization and places of meeting. In the matter of freedom of organized speech and even of political organization, the Constitution is in practice nullified. There is, however, increasing freedom of individual expression. The discussion of democracy within the Communist organization, inaugurated by Trotsky, inevitably makes in this direction."

Under conditions such as these, it is inevitable that there should be political persecution. Prisoners in Russia are divided into three categories—spies, counter-revolutionists and members of opposition political parties. The definitions of counter-revolution are vague. There is

even an offense indicated by the phrase "unconscious economic espionage," analogous doubtless to some of our definitions of criminal syndicalism in the United States, with which our Communist brethren are familiar. In this meeting we are, of course, interested only in those whose offenses involve opinion alone, those who merely by their utterances, public or private, express disagreement with the present dictatorship.

The actual number of prisoners in concentration camps or prisons can only be estimated. Louis Fisher quotes "one careful estimate of 3,000 in jail and 1,500 in exile in all Russia," and adds that "other figures are higher." Dr. Ward quotes a figure of 1,500 which is that officially admitted by the Bolshevik press to cover all categories. Just how many of these were locked up for offenses involving opinion alone, it is impossible to say. But that there are many such prisoners is perfectly obvious on the face of the situation.

The Exiles
Even more difficult than the position of those in prison is those exiled. Louis Fisher says, and Dr. Wood concurs, that these persons "are banished administratively, that is without trials, perhaps after only a hearing for which the defendant cannot employ counsel. The term of exile is legally limited to three years and usually does not exceed two. Politicals are condemned to prison for definite counter-revolutionary acts, but they may be exiled on no better grounds than a suspicion that they are unfriendly to the Government. The former bourgeoisie, the old aristocracy and the ex-Czarist officers live in constant fear of exile. Any member of these classes may any day be arrested and

shipped off with little notice to the North, South or East for no more reason than that he is suspected of having connections with anti-Bolsheviks abroad or because the G. P. U. imagines he has information about emigrant circles, or simply because he is what he is."

Dr. Ward, speaking of the exiles, who evidently are now as under the old regime suffering even greater hardships than those in prison, says:

"There are various degrees of being 'sent away' for those charged with political economic offenses. The economic offender may be exiled from Russia, the political to one of the Siberian colonies. Either may be sent to a certain city or town or village, to remain there on parole, as it were; or they may be given a choice of cities or of location within a certain area. The hardships under this system come from the fact that the persons sent away are left to shift for themselves in a strange environment. Sickness, unemployment and lack of clothing therefore make demands upon relief agencies; so does the task of locating deportees and keeping them in touch with relatives and friends."

Prisoners Under Two Régimes
The peculiar tragedy of the Russian political prisoners today is the fact that many of them have been prisoners under two régimes. Exiled or imprisoned in the old days of the Czar for their revolutionary activities, those who disagree with the Soviet dictatorship still find themselves the object of Governmental persecution. It is a pathetic tragedy of a revolutionary transition that those who disagree with the methods of the successful revolutionary party should have visited on them the same penalties

which before were the common lot of them all. And there are some who are the victims of the opposition not only of the old Government in Russia, and of the Soviet, but of the present-day capitalist Governments throughout the world, and who so find themselves virtually homeless. That, I suppose, must be the common lot of disbelievers in all organized Government, as are the Anarchists. But when I think of little Mollie Steimer, jailed here in the United States for distributing a leaflet attacking Wilson for sending troops to Siberia, later deported to Russia and shortly thereafter exiled from Russia for refusing to accept the Communist regime, I am at least moved humanely to condemn both Governments involved and to give her such aid as I can.

Revolutions, says a distinguished jurist, seem to change everything except the form of Government. The distinguishing mark of Soviet Russia is not that it has so changed the practices of the old regime as that it has wholly changed the objects of Government. Yet the danger in an entrenched bureaucracy grows daily, throttling those spontaneous experiments in industry and social life on which the hope of revolutionary progress depends. It was Lenin who wrote so vividly on Engel's conception of the withering away of the State after the workers' revolution. Yet the State withers only as it becomes crowded out by the fresh young growth which rises from the rich soil of experiment. And experiment grows only in the free air of thought, opinion, trial and error, where there is no fear of the deadening chill of enforced dogma. Only as persecution of new ideas and experiments lets

up in Russia can we look to the development of that process.

Time Past for Repression
We here can at least testify to our faith in the quickening force of freedom for this sort of growth by telling our friends in Russia and our Communist brethren—who will surely carry the word to Russia—that the time has passed (from the point of view of their own good in a world where they need friends) to lock up and exile those whose only offense is their refusal to think like the crowd in power.

It is because I have a concern for the success of experimental processes in Russia, because I cherish the utmost possible freedom in working out new systems of human relationships, that I am eager to see the first working-class Government in the world rise higher than the evil repressions of old-line Governments.

Lectures

The Community Forum
Park Avenue and 34th Street

Sunday, Mar. 22—8 P. M.

Dr. JAMES MCCLURE HENRY
"China, Today and Tomorrow"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL
"Daedalus, Icarus and Tantalus:
Science and the Future"

Special—10 A. M.

DR. HARVEY DEE BROWN
"Psychoanalysis"

The People's Institute
COOPER UNION

Friday, March 20

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
("The Great Mass Movements of History")
"The Psychology of Rumor,
Myth and Legend"

Sunday, March 22

Concert by the
American Orchestral Society
CHALMERS CLIFTON, Conductor

Tuesday, March 24

JOHN COWPER POWYS
"The Philosophy of Anatole
France"

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LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. &
Second Av.

Sunday, March 22

DR. WM. DURANT
"The Scandinavian Drama"

8:20 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
"Leonardo da Vinci"

7:15 P. M.—American International
Church, 239 East 14th Street
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
"The Church and Labor"

THE BUSHWICK FORUM

Ridgewood Masonite Temple
BUSHWICK AND GATES, BROOKLYN

Sunday, March 22nd, at 3 P. M.

Debate:
"Resolved that the Socialist Program and Aims are Impracticable"

EDWARD DOBSON,
Editor of Brooklyn Standard Union,
says "YES"

JAMES ONEAL,
Editor of New Leader,
says "NO"

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KAHN

"Hereditry and Eugenics"

5 lectures—Fee \$2.00

Saturday, March 21, 1:30 p. m.

SCOTT

NEARING

"The Geneva Protocol"

Wednesday, March 25, 8:30 p. m.

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LONDON.—That the prestige of the Tory Government is waning is as evident as the fact that the Labor party continues to gain supporters. Scarcely a week passes that one or more opportunities are not given to Labor members to make an effective attack on the Government.

The last week in February witnessed the march of 6,000 unemployed men and women on London through cold and rain. They were backed by a deputation to the Ministry of Labor, which presented the distress of the unemployed which is estimated at over 3,000,000. It was the threat of the Government to reduce the little the unemployed are receiving to live on which brought this demonstration.

The members of the deputation pointed out that the instructions issued by the Tory Minister of Labor, and already operative, under which applicants for benefit must show either that eight contributions have been paid since their entry into insurance, or, alternatively, that a total of thirty have been paid since the entry, were seriously increasing the number of unemployed people. The regulation requiring that the applicant must prove he had made every effort to obtain employment was also so elastic that it left much room for discrimination and refusal of necessary aid.

A number of by-elections and the London victory for Labor show the tide rising against the Tory Government because of serious neglect of unemployed distress.

Woman Suffrage
Labor has made a fight for a further extension of the franchise to women and has lost it, but this loss will also come home to the Government. By a vote of 200 to 153 the House of Commons refused a second reading of the Labor bill to give women votes at the age of twenty-one. The Government declared that in 1927 a bill would be introduced to establish "equal political rights for men and women." This means not only postponing the matter two more years. It also means that even the pledge of a vote at the age of twenty-one is not given.

Mr. Arthur Henderson pointed out that the Labor bill, besides giving women the vote at the age of twenty-one, would abolish the existing restrictions under which some million and a half are now deprived of the franchise. Nevertheless, the Government assumed responsibility for defeating the bill.

A Vicious Tory Attack
The Tories have sunk to the level of conservative parties in other countries in their attacks on the Labor party. On the eve of the poll at Walsall they issued a last-minute leaflet which beat all previous Tory records for lying. This leaflet carried the following as its first paragraph:

"To Women.—Socialism destroys marriage. Socialist ideals are: The monarchy to be ended and a Bolshevik Republic to be set up.

Unemployed Estimated at 3,000,000 — MacDonald
Scotches Vicious Tory Attack on Socialism—A New Triple Alliance?

Religion to be stamped out. The home to be destroyed. Marriage to be only a civil contract. Divorce to be obtained at will."

Former Labor Premier MacDonald, in a speech at Walsall, denounced the "gentlemanly party" amidst great cheering.

"This leaflet," he continued, "is enough to brand the Tory party in Walsall as dishonest, ignorant, malignant, and having every vice which unfits that party to be entrusted with the votes of decent people."

Dealing with the lie that Socialism destroys marriage, Mr. MacDonald declared that modern capitalism, with its low wages, unemployment, empty cupboards, and broken hearts, destroyed the family life of great masses of people, and it is this system, he said, which embodies the Tory conception of the blessedness of family life.

Tories Attack Trade Unions

Not content with attempting to deprive the Labor party of financial contributions from the trade unions, the Tory Government has also launched an attack upon the clause in housing contracts which guarantees that members of the trade unions shall be employed. This clause is the security the workers have, which the trade unions and the Labor party have won, that trade union wages and conditions shall prevail. The attack came through the Ministry of Health which recommended to the Barking Council that the trade union clause should be deleted.

Labor Councillors James and Whiting strenuously opposed the alteration of the conditions of contracts as suggested by the Ministry. On a motion to accept the Ministry's proposals there was a tie vote—seven in favor and seven against. Finally it was decided that the Housing Committee should further consider the whole matter.

Tory Bill Defeated

The Tory Government is doing its best to serve big employers and capi-

talism in general but there is always the fear of alienating an increasing number of voters. It has suffered a defeat, and a severe one, in this predominantly capitalist Parliament.

A bill designed to give a company a virtual monopoly of electrical supply over most of the county of Essex, without any time limit or right of public purchase, was thrown out by 183 votes to 80.

This being a private bill, for which the Government is not primarily responsible, the defeat does not involve a political crisis.

It is, however, a "smack in the face" for the Government. The bill was defended by the Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Transport, speaking in his official capacity.

The House, however, found it altogether too impudent an attack on public rights.

Evidence of increasing Labor solidarity is seen in proposals for a new alliance of miners and transport workers, with the addition of engineering workers. A conference of the executive of these organizations is to be held to consider arrangements for an alliance.

It will be remembered that a triple alliance of miners, railwaymen and other transport workers was virtually effected on "Black Friday" when, during a mining stoppage, a decision was taken against a transport strike. The miners have taken the initiative in the matter through their executive which has invited the other organizations to meet the miners "to discuss the question of rendering mutual support to our respective memberships in time of necessity."

Ball, Saturday, Will Aid Russian Politicals

The Relief Society for Socialist Prisoners and Exiles in Soviet Russia will hold a masquerade ball Saturday night, March 28, at the Park Palace, 3 West 110th Street. An appeal to sympathizers declares that "reports from Russia are very sad. The number of Socialist prisoners increases daily. A cable has just reached us about another hunger strike by Socialists in the Moscow and Sverdlov prisons. The need for help is great." The committee has forwarded \$2,500 to Europe to be used to aid Russian political prisoners. There is a balance on hand of \$265.82, the financial report says.

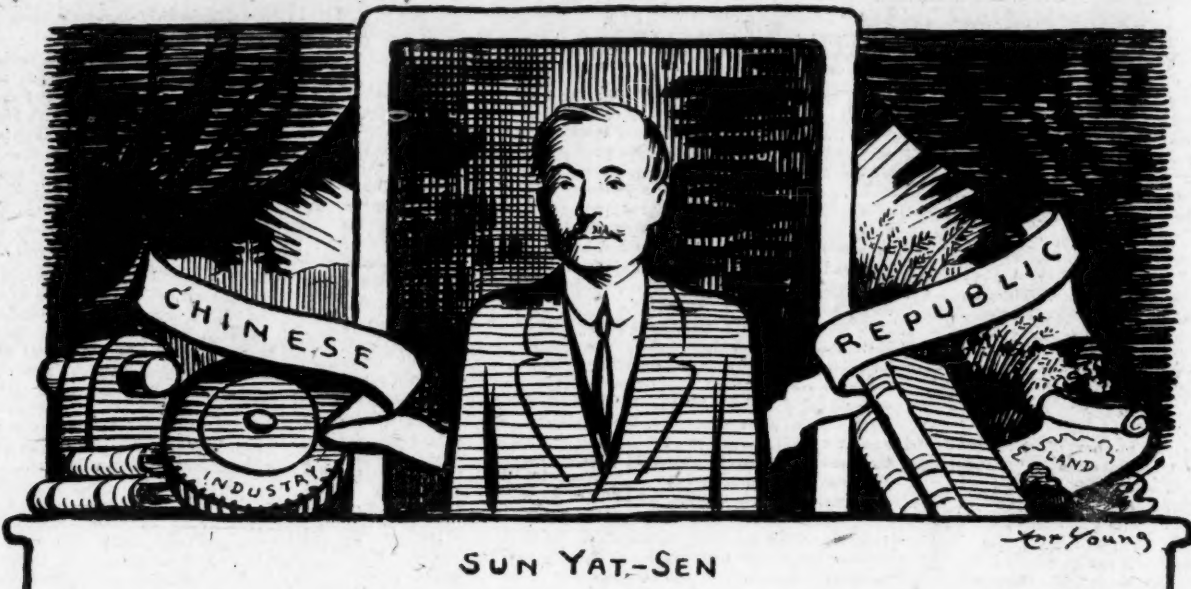
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THE DREAM OF SUN YAT SEN



SUN YAT-SEN

The death of Sun Yat Sen last week removes from China one of its most influential and devoted Socialists and representatives of the Chinese toilers. Dr. Sun had travelled extensively and came in contact with the Socialist movement of Europe and America. About 1901 he organized a semi-Socialist Party adapted to Chinese ideals and conditions. Following the revolution of 1912 he became Provisional President for a short time. Socialist organizations and publications developed

so rapidly that Yuan Shi Kai, who succeeded Dr. Sun as Provisional President, issued a decree in 1913 calling upon the provincial governments and generals to dissolve the Socialist Party. The party was destroyed and many leaders were either imprisoned or executed. Upon the request of President Wilson in 1917, China broke relations with Germany. A minority in Parliament, including Socialists led by Dr. Sun, voted against this. The Chinese Socialists were anti-war. The war

marked a division of China into two governments, the militarists and grafters of the North at Peking, and the liberals and Socialists in the South at Canton. In May, 1921, Dr. Sun became President of the Canton Government. He declared that the war with Peking for the previous four years was not a war between North and South, but a war between militarism and democracy. His privations and sacrifices sapped his strength and he had been failing in health for two years. The So-

cialist Party of China was revived in June, 1924. Its recognized leader is Dr. Kiang Kang-hu, President of Southern University, Shanghai, and co-translator with Witter Bynner, the American poet, of the T'ang poems which will soon be published by Knopf, the New York publisher. The New Leader will soon publish an article on the reorganized Socialist Party of China.

A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST STIRS JAPAN

By GERTRUDE W. KLEIN

Toyohiko Kawgawa, Secretary of the Japanese Federation of Labor, Interviewed—A Poet and Novelist of Distinction as Well as a Labor Leader.

WE are very much interested in what distinguished foreign visitors think of American women. We are very much interested in what they feel about the Woolworth Building. Of course, these are questions which no orthodoxly "original" interviewer would dare to ask and I suppose I write myself down with the great unwashed by admitting an interest in such inanities.

However, when I faced Mr. Toyohiko Kawgawa, Socialist, preacher,

poet novelist and Labor leader, in the Japanese Christian Institute where he is staying, while I was on a lecture tour of this country, the conventions of radical newspaperdom were stronger than my inclinations and I asked no unorthodox questions. Instead we talked of Japan and the Labor movement, of Socialism and Christianity, and I was surprised to find this representative of a race which is supposed to rank only with

the pure Nordic in imperturbable calm and easy poise, a vigorous opinionated and fiery character. In fact, for a few moments, what promised at the outset to be a peaceful enough interview threatened to become a stormy session, for Mr. Kawgawa denounced me in no uncertain manner—but now I am getting ahead of my story.

It proves that it is rather silly to say such and such a people as a people or a race are cool and self-contained and such and such a people are gesticulatory and wild. Rebels everywhere burn with a fire that cannot be restrained.

And Mr. Kawgawa is a rebel. He has lived in the slums of Japan, bringing his fellow workers to Socialism and Christianity—strange as that may seem to some of us—and after his first book, "Crossing the Death Line," made him famous in 1920 he did not set up a literary coterie with other select young novelists in Tokyo, but remained where he felt his work would be most effective. His book is an autobiography in novelized form telling an unvarnished story of the dregs in a great industrial city, the dregs that are making great strides toward freedom.

Poverty of Workers

Most of the people in Japan, says Mr. Kawgawa, are poor, terribly poor. There are 50,000 organized workers in the Japanese Federation of Labor, of which Mr. Kawgawa is secretary, and he feels that they are much further along the road of political and social progress than the Americans.

"Although 90 per cent of our people are poor," said Mr. Kawgawa, "98 per cent of the people are literate, and because there are so few really wealthy people we have no such thing as a capitalist controlled press, hence little jingoism and none of the perversion of thought which the Americans suffer. In America there are too many rich people and the poor think as the rich, who control the newspapers, want them to think. There can be no freedom of thought under such conditions."

After I had learned that Labor unions in Japan are organized very much along the lines of Labor unions in this country, that collective bargaining existed and organizers had the right to visit shops and that Mr. Kawgawa believed in sabotage, I inadvertently set off a spark by asking Mr. Kawgawa why he had not made contacts with the Socialist and Labor union groups while in this country rather than speaking exclusively to the religious groups. Specifically I wanted to know whether in his opinion the conversion to Christianity of all the Japanese would offer any panacea for their social ills?

"Spiritual things mean nothing to you Americans," vehemently declared Mr. Kawgawa. "In my country I find a most eager response to my spiritual message."

"And the workers are revolutionary?"

Go to Jail for Ideas

"They are far more revolutionary than the American workers. We are not afraid of anything. We are Anarchists, Socialists, Communists. We have gone to jail and will go to jail again and again." (Mr. Kawgawa himself has been imprisoned many times for his activity during strikes.)

"What about the bill recently passed by the Japanese Parliament making it a crime to participate in revolutionary activity?"

"That will make no difference to us. We will fight on just the same. But it is not levelled at Labor unions. Labor unions are quite generously treated in Japan. This is aimed at Bolshevik and Socialist propaganda."

Mr. Kawgawa believes that no real progress can be made along economic lines without the cooperation of the peasant class and he is devoting a great deal of time of organizing the tenant farmers. While the Japanese will soon have adult suffrage—for men only—Mr. Kawgawa is always careful to emphasize that the workers must not expect too much from suffrage alone. This is his open sesame:

"Organization and love and mutual aid," twinkled Mr. Kawgawa.

"And strikes?"

"And strikes when necessary." I was told of the great shipyard strike in Kobe in 1921 when Mr. Kawgawa with other Labor leaders went to jail, where he wrote most of his second book.

Strike at Work

"Sometimes the workers do not actually walk out on strike," said Mr. Kawgawa, "but remain idle at their benches or machines." (I notice the International Ladies' Garment Workers are using this novel method in the conduct of their present strike in New York City.)

"How do the Japanese people feel about the naval maneuvers taking place in the Pacific Ocean?" I asked.

"We laugh at them," said Mr. Kawgawa. "We watch the United States throwing wealth into the ocean and laugh. But there is a very general bitterness because of the Japanese Exclusion Act. We feel that this was an unnecessary affront and I particularly hate the American Federation of Labor for its attitude in the matter."

While in this country Mr. Kawgawa spoke every night to a crowded auditorium in the Japanese Christian Institute. He also spoke at Yale, the Union Theological Seminary, the Y. M. C. A. and at Princeton where he studied twelve years ago. He did manage to get to see Mr. Norman Thomas and regretted that illness cut into his available time to such an extent that he was unable to visit The New Leader, in which he professed great interest, being himself the editor of a Labor paper in Japan.



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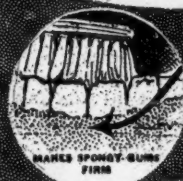
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SOCIALISTS AND THE NEW PARTY

By EUGENE V. DEBS

THE Socialist Party has severed its relations with the Conference for Progressive Political Action and has no further connection with that body. When the final test came in the convention recently adjourned, it was made perfectly clear not only that the Socialists could not possibly harmonize or co-operate with the heterogeneous elements there assembled, but that the Conference itself was progressive in name only and in fact a reactionary body.

It was at its first Detroit convention in June, 1921, that the Socialist Party directed that a survey of the political situation be made to ascertain if there were any progressive political elements with which the Socialists could consistently co-operate, the ultimate end in view being the formation of an independent Labor party.

After several months of negotiation the Conference for Progressive Political Action was organized at Chicago in February, 1922, the sixteen railway unions composing the "backbone" of the movement. On July 4, 1924, the conference met in convention at Cleveland and nominated Senator La Follette for President and Senator Wheeler for Vice-President. The Socialists wanted a new party organized then and there, but deferred to the expressed desire of Senator La Follette that the matter of organizing a new party be postponed until after the election. When the convention adjourned it had been definitely decided to organize a new political party and the date was set for the preliminary meeting for that purpose.

The February Conference

The Conference finally met in convention at Chicago on February 21, 1925. Soon after the opening session began the leaders of the sixteen railway unions declared that they had no mandate from their unions to organize a new party, and then withdrew from the convention. After several hours of discussion covering a wide range the convention adjourned since the understanding that the delegates favoring a new party should then meet and proceed to organize such a party. In the sessions that followed it became quite obvious that while all the delegates wanted a new party, a great majority were opposed to a Labor party, and in the test vote that followed the Socialists were largely outvoted, and as they were there to see a Labor party organized, they were practically excluded from further participation and later withdrew not only from the convention but also from the conference, which action was unanimously ratified by the Socialist convention which met the following day.

The "progressive" convention decided to meet again in October to formally launch the proposed new party, but the Socialist Party will not be represented there.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Conference for Progressive Political Action has fulfilled its mission and that it will soon cease to exist. It is now simply another name for the sixteen railway unions which are opposed to independent political action, adhering to their time-honored (!) policy of selecting their candidates from the old capitalist machines, thus "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies," and to what extent they will contribute to "progressive political action" under their present leadership will become duly apparent in good time.

The Socialist Position

The Socialist Party acted wisely and consistently in severing its connection with the Conference. It could have continued that relation only at the price of principle and the sacrifice of self-respect.

The delegates of the Socialist Party acted their part in good faith

In Memory of Our Martyrs

NO movement in history has ever given such examples of heroism and voluntary martyrdom as the revolutions linked with the proletarian cause. Even primitive Christianity, whose disciples were thrown to wild beasts in the Roman amphitheatre or who were saturated with tar and used for torches to light Nero's gardens, can hardly be cited as exceptions.

With the passing of primitive communism came civilization, and with it the age of class struggles, war and conquest. The blood of slaves cemented the empires of Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon. The slave invariably fought the battles of every class but his own. He fought other slaves, and, no matter which won, the slave ever was the loser. The masters were ever victorious. The conquering slave soldiers merely substituted one ruling class for another.

Conquering slaves and serfs never assumed the sovereignty and power which their valor won. A workless ruling class always rode on the crest of victory and took for itself the gains of the struggle. The slaves who "won" were assigned the task of guarding the booty and privileges of the rich. It was always a matter of security for an upper class and insecurity for a lower class. War has generally been the art by which one ruling class or a rising class conquered another, both using lower classes for their purposes.

The forms of wealth production that have succeeded the early communal equality have made the antagonism between rulers and ruled more sharp, until today hundreds of millions of workers in all countries recognize it. Some of the slave and serf rebellions were a partial recognition of it. Witness the servile rebellion led by Spartacus before the Christian era; the rise of the Jacquerie in 1358; the English peasants' revolt in 1381; the Paris Commune in 1871 and the countless other struggles since.

Two of these struggles stand out as great epics in Labor history. Spartacus, a Roman gladiator, forty years before Christ, broke his chains and flew to the mountains of Italy. He gathered an army of 100,000 slaves that devastated Italy for ten years and brought the Roman masters, for a time, to their knees. Even hostile historians reluctantly concede the nobility of character and the great military genius of this proletarian general. One of the greatest armies ever mustered into service by any Roman emperor was required to suppress this revolt of the lowly. In accord with the savage instincts of the Roman generals, 40,000 of the soldier workers were crucified on the Appian Way.

And the Paris Commune! Will the pathos and Spartan heroism of that revolt for the communal autonomy of Paris ever be appreciated? Rigault shouting "Vive la Commune!" while a brutal soldiery beat him to death in the streets; Milliere, uncovering his breast to the bullets, crying "Vive la peuple!" Delsoluz, reproached by his comrades, marching into the streets to his death; the heroes and heroines who held the red flag above the barricades till the last survivor fell; the multitudes shot by open trenches and slaughtered in the boulevards; the exiles to New Caledonia!

What an inspiration to the workers of all lands. What contempt for the cowardly betrayal of Paris to the Prussian conqueror by Thiers and his butchers; the terrible massacres and wholesale slaughter of the communards by the forces of "order."

March is reminiscent of that great struggle of French workmen and women. Those who understand the noble sacrifices they made are inspired to renew their pledge to the ideal for which they died. We pay our tribute of respect to those who have passed on. We pick up the banner that fell from their hands, and march on in the same faith for which they lived and for which they died.

upon its banner or a stain upon its honor.

In the past ten years the Socialist Party has been tested to the marrow in all the infernos of capitalism and it has come forth from them all unscathed, undaunted, and triumphant. It has proved itself to be the true revolutionary party of the working class and as such it certainly has the right to appeal to that class for political support in the war for their emancipation.

The national convention of the Socialist Party just adjourned was the most harmonious and inspiring in its history. The national party debt was wiped out in an hour. All the decks were cleared for action. Without the loss of an hour the convention proceeded to frame the program for thorough reconstruction and a nation-wide propaganda. The regional mass conventions and demonstrations from the Atlantic to the Pacific will fire the ardor of the thousands awaiting the call and rally them once more to the proud standard of the social revolution.

Since the convention hope has been revived, confidence restored, courage strengthened, energy renewed and determination intensified throughout the party.

The Socialist Party is once more on the march, its spirit undaunted, its banner flying, ready for battle, and confident of victory.

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BEDTIME STORIES FOR THE BOURGEOISIE

"Hot Afternoons There Have Been In Porto Rico"

By McAlister Coleman

JUST back from a little trip to Porto Rico, all tanned up and quite high-hatish about it.

You know how it is from the ads you read about how necessary it is for a fellow to get out of the mud and slush of your Northern climate and take a bit of a run down through Southern Seas to the islands of enchantment and all that.

They say that travel broadens one.

You run into so many interesting people.

Travel, I have discovered, also flattens one, and most of the people you run into on shipboard are on their way to the rail with you.

The captain said it was the roughest trip of the year. I have a hunch that he tells this to everyone who gets seasick just to make them feel better about it, but if they bring trips any rougher than the one I took, I want to spend the rest of my life on the bounding plains of Iowa.

The Governor of Porto Rico is from Iowa. They usually pick the Governors of Porto Rico, like our diplomats to other tropical countries, from among the ex-Congressmen of Iowa. They have had so many contacts with the teeming life of the tropics own on the South Side of Des Moines, that by the time they arrive at their posts they are all set to tell the natives what is what.

The delegates of the Socialist Party acted their part in good faith

Porto Rico also has a Rotary Club

whose members can holler about "service" as loud as the members of the Rotary Clubs of Oshkosh, Duluth or any other Center of Rotarian Civilization.

From what I had read in the circulars about Porto Rico—"the strange foreign aspects of this quaint Garden Spot of the Antilles," and all that—I hadn't been quite prepared for a Porto Rican Rotary Club.

But I should have known better. No doubt at this very moment the Boy Boosters of Bagdad are holding their annual get-together and beefsteak dinner and the Moose of Moscow are listening to the report of the chairman of the House Committee. You can't stop Rotarians from rotating around the world nor cabin, crib, confine the Civilians.

The voice of the Go-getter is heard in the land, no matter what sun shines upon it.

The Rotarians were discussing the traffic problem in the capital city of Porto Rico, San Juan, when I got there.

It is quite a problem at that.

It has to do with "guagua."

When I first heard about "guagua," I thought it was the native term for what you do with Listerine to avoid halitosis.

But it turns out that "guagua" is Porto Rican for auto bus.

Riding in auto busses is one of the chief diversions of Porto Rico. You ride round and round a place

about the size of Union Square bowing to your friends and swapping wise cracks with the conductor.

The guagua apparently is as prolific as the rest of the flora and fauna of Porto Rico and the streets literally swarm with them.

In order to regulate them they have a traffic policeman who wears horn-rimmed spectacles and a gray uniform.

He runs out in the middle of the street, which is very narrow, and claps his hands, and then the real fun begins.

This is a signal for all the guaguas in the neighborhood to bear down on the traffic policeman at once.

If he is quick at the game he turns and runs as fast as possible and hides behind a convenient coconut tree or cathedral, which is "hunk."

If the guagua runs over him before he reaches his goal, the driver is entitled to fly the flag of the Irish Free State on the front of his bus for a whole month.

Besides Rotarians and guaguas, the natives of Porto Rico derive a great deal of innocent pleasure from the Cockroach Hunt, which is conducted from the backs of the horses of those parts, all of whom were stunted in their growth by smoking Porto Rican cigarettes at an early age.

Horse and roach will sometimes fight it out for hours, with the issue never certain.

Myself, I grew to prefer the cen-

tipe as a household pet, having had my fill of roaches in the old building of the New York Sun.

I trained one particularly bright centipede with frosty whiskers (who looked a lot like Charles Evans Hughes) to take dictation. Working with all hundred feet at once, he was able to take down in the course of the three days I was on the island enough words to make five fine stories for True Story Magazine.

One person who should certainly not miss taking in Porto Rico is Our Beloved Vice-President, Hell-an'-Mariar.

They have a custom down there of taking "siestas" now and then when you least expect it.

A man will be talking to you about some problem or other, when you suddenly look up and find that he is spang bang in the middle of his siesta, which, in case you haven't been around this good old world of ours as much as the writer, means nap in Spanish.

You have got to take your siesta under mosquito-netting in your pyjamas.

Now, if they could only rig up a netting over the Speaker's chair in the Senate and pass a pyjama appropriation providing for damage to the Vice-Presidential garments caused by sparks flying from his underslung pipes, Hell-an'-Mariar could take his siestas right at his post and the only times they need wake him up would be when they wanted his vote to confirm the appointment of some other bootlegger as Secretary of the Treasury or whatever.

I would like to tell you a lot more about my three days that shook Porto Rico, but I am saving some of it up for my forthcoming book, which will be in twenty-eight chapters and 395 pages and will be called:

"Reeling Round Rico; a Colorful Narrative of Adventures in the Isle of Enchantment—Together With a Discussion of the Functions of the Insular Police, the Bureau of Weights and Measures, the Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Fish Hatcheries, Municipal Works, Public Lands and Archives, Sky-lines and Women of the Organized Territory of Porto Rico."

This book, when published, may be had in all dentists' waiting-rooms and summer hotel libraries.

It will be illustrated with pictures of the author standing with his foot on the head of one of the many sharks that he killed while on the island, or the author conversing with the Chief of Police, or the author dancing the native dances of the island clad picturesquely in his linen knickers and Fourteenth street golf stockings.

Next week we have to go to Buffalo, N. Y., and we are taking along our rod and camera so as to assure our readers of another educational treat.

TRADE UNION TOPICS

the joint work. This Council is to meet every two weeks.

Unions to Erect Cooperative Houses

Organized workers in New York City are arranging to build a group of cooperative apartments. This movement is backed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International Fur Workers' Union, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union and other organizations. It will be financed by a union bank. A plot of land, one block square, in one of the most desirable sections of the city has been purchased, and the unionists will incorporate a building organization under the State laws. The board of directors of this corporation will consist of representatives of the interested unions.

Plans for the apartments contemplate use of only 25 per cent of the land for the buildings, leaving a central garden plot that will include 75 per cent of the entire block. This will provide adequate playgrounds for children. The building will be five stories high and will contain 200 to 220 apartments of three to seven rooms each. Laundry facilities will be provided in the cellar of the building. There will be hot drying rooms and individual compartments for each tenant.

The plan on which the building will be conducted calls for a down payment of \$150 to \$200 per room, and payment thereafter of \$10 to \$15 per room per month. The ten-

ant will be the owner of the apartment, and the monthly payment will cover all upkeep, wear and tear, depreciation, heat and light, besides providing payments for amortizing the mortgages on each apartment. With the tenant's equity in the apartment constantly growing, he will eventually own his apartment free and clear.

Farrington Is Re-elected

President Frank Farrington received 30,575 votes out of 60,000 votes cast in the election held last December, and was more than 15,000 votes ahead of John W. Hindmarsh. Riverton was his closest competitor, according to the official report of the Miners' vote in Illinois, just completed.

The work of the tellers, John H. Jones, Mark McGraw and Robert Hunter, has been long delayed on account of contests which were filed in many of the elections.

R. R. Waymen Again Ask Raise

Another effort is under way by the lowest paid railroad employes to

raise their wages to a reasonable standard commensurate with the work they perform, according to action just taken by the national policy committee of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees, in session here.

Instructions issued by the committee to each general chairman of all railroads recommend that wherever in the opinion of the general chairman it is advisable to do so a request for a flat wage increase of five cents per hour should be filed with the management during this month.

The increases requested would bring about a wage level slightly higher than those in effect at the time the Labor Board issued its decision No. 1028, July 1, 1922, when the minimum established for this class was twenty-three cents per hour. Since then other increases have been secured, but the employes contend that they are still far below a rate of wages which would enable them to maintain a standard of life in line with American customs.

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OF STATE
I DO HEREBY CERTIFY that a certificate of dissolution of
"LA PRENSA PUBLISHING COMPANY
OF NEW YORK, INC." has been filed in this office this day, and that it appears therefrom that such corporation has complied with Section One hundred and twenty-five of the Stock Corporation Law, and that it is dissolved.

GIVEN IN DUPLICATE under my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the City of Albany, this sixteenth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five.
MARK STERN,
Second Deputy Secretary of State.

A. F. of L. Plans Drive For Union Label

A campaign of increasing trade union activity was voted at the recent meeting of the A. F. of L. executive council, held in Florida.

The council, acting with the union label trades department of the A. F. of L., will call a conference next May of presidents and secretaries of A. F. of L. national and international affiliates to inaugurate a nation-wide union label campaign. Trade unionists and sympathizers will be impressed with the significance of the emblem of fair dealing and democracy in industry.

At that time the Gompers memorial committee will confer with the trade union officials on a suitable memorial to the late President of the A. F. of L. This committee consists of President Green, Vice-President Duffy, Woll and Wilson, and Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Tobin.

It was decided to continue the fight for ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

Needle Trades Form Alliance In Scranton

A Needle Trades Alliance for purposes of carrying on joint organization work has been formed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers of North America, and the Journeymen Tailor Workers' Union, in Scranton, Pa.

A council, on which each of the three affiliated organizations has equal representation, will carry on

ART AND PERSONALITY

By UPTON SINCLAIR

WE have promised to prove our thesis psychologically, by watching the art process at work, and historically, by studying the art workers of the ages. We begin with the former task.

Let us investigate the process in its elemental forms, as we have seen them in the story of Ogi. Art begins as the effort of man to represent reality; first, for the purpose of bringing it back to his own mind, and second, for the purpose of making it apprehensible to others.

Just as Ogi would seek for ways to keep the meat of the aurochs for as long as possible so that he might eat it, so he would keep the memory of the aurochs so that he might contemplate it. And just as he would share the meat of the aurochs in a feast with his fellows, and derive honor and advantage therefrom, so he would use a picture of the aurochs, or a story of the hunt, or a song about it, or a dance reproducing it.

Thus we note two motives, the second of them predominantly social. It is this impulse, to communicate ideas and emotions to others, that becomes the dominant motive in art, and is the determining factor in the greatness of art. We share Ogi's memory of the hunt, his thrills of fear, his furious struggle, his triumph over a chunk of brutal and non-rational force. Try it on your own little Ogi, and you will find they never tire of hearing about the aurochs hunt; and—here is the essential point—while hearing, they are living in the minds of others, they are becoming social beings. So through the ages the race has developed its great civilizing force, the sympathetic imagination, which has brought the tribes together into nations, and ultimately may bring the nations into the human race.

The pleasures which we derive from a picture or representation of reality are many and complicated. There is, first of all, the pleasure of recognition. In its crude form it is like guessing a puzzle; in more mature reproductions we have the pleasure of following the details. "That is old Smith," we say—"even to the wart on his nose!" We say: "You can see the shine of the fish's scales, you can wipe the fuzz off the peach, you can bury your hands in the bird's feathers!" But is that all there is to art? Manifestly not, for if it were, the sons and grandsons of Ogi would have been put out of business by the photographic camera. You can take a microscope to the product of a camera, and discover endless more details—a bigger magic than any son or grandson of Ogi has achieved.

But even supposing that a micro-photograph were the highest art,

still you could not get away from the influence of personality. There would always remain the problem: Upon what shall the camera-lens be focussed?

The first artist I met in my life was a painter, the late J. G. Brown. He used to paint pictures of newsboys and country urchins, and the quaint-looking old fellows who loaf in cross-roads stores. As a boy I watched him at work, and roamed about the country with him when he selected his subjects. At this distance I remember only two things about him, his benevolent gray beard and the intense repugnance he expressed when I pointed out an old war veteran who had lost an arm. Deformity and mutilation—oh, horrible! Never could an artist tolerate such a subject as that!

But growing older, I observed that some of the world's greatest artists had made a habit of painting mutilations and deformities. I saw "Old Masters" portraying crucifixions and martyrdoms; I saw the nightmares of Dore, and the war paintings of Veresthagin. So I understand the difference between a man who wishes to probe the depths of the human spirit, and one who wishes merely to be popular with children and childish-minded adults. The late J. G. Brown was a "realist," according to the popular use of the term; that is, having selected a subject, he painted him exactly as he was; but by deliberately excluding from his artistic vision everything suggesting pain and failure, he left you as the sum total of his work an utterly false and sentimental view of life.

Most artists go even further in imposing their personality upon their work. Having selected a subject, they do not reproduce it exactly, but

Ask Mellon, He Knows



Drawn by ART YOUNG

"Law is like a cobweb; it's made for flies and the smaller kind of insects, but lets the big bumblebees break through."

—From "The Book of Daniel Drew."

modify it, emphasizing this trait or that. This process is known as "idealizing." The word is generally understood to mean making the thing more pretty, more to the beholder's taste; but this is a misuse of the word. To idealize a subject means to modify it according to an idea, to make it expressive of that idea, whether pleasing or otherwise. Henry James tells a story about a portrait painter, who takes as his subject a prominent man; divining the fundamental cheapness and falsity of the man's character, he paints a portrait which brings out these qualities, and so for the first

time reveals the man to the world, and causes the man's wife to leave him. That is one kind of "idealizing"; but manifestly the portrait painter who practiced that method would have a hard time to find sitters.

What generally happens in such cases we saw when Ogi was invited to portray the Witch Doctor and the Old Man of his tribe. The last great hero of the Hohenzollerns, who paid for those white marble monsters at which I tittered in the Sieges Allée, is cursed with a withered left arm, a cause of agonies of humiliation to his strutting soul. In his photo-

graphs you will see him carefully posed, so that his left arm is partly turned away. But how about the countless paintings he had made of himself? Do you imagine that the painter ever failed to supply a sound and sturdy left arm? In the same way, in the pictorial labors of all the Ogis of Egypt, you will find the ruler always represented as of abnormal stature. Manifestly, in a settled empire the ruler will be of smaller stature than his fighting men, because he will be coddled in childhood; but the smaller he becomes in reality, the more rigid the art convention that he is big.

It was for offenses such as this that Plato drove the artists out of his Republic. They were liars and pretenders, the whole tribe, and destroyed men's respect for truth. But as a matter of fact, this kind of idealizing of rulers and fighting men may be entirely sincere. The artist is more sensitive than his fellowmen—that is what makes him an artist; he shrinks from pain and violence, and feels a real awe for authority. He thinks his sovereign is bigger in spirit; and so, in making him bigger in body, the artist is acting as a seer and philosopher, bringing out an inner truth. Such is the clue to the greater part of our present-day art standards; snobbery and subservience, timidity and worship of tradition, also bragging and strutting and beating of tom-toms. Every little tea-party poet and semi-invalid cherishes a strong and cruel dream—Nietzsche with his Blond Beast, and Carlyle with his Hero-worship, and Henley with his Song of the Sword, and Kipling with his God of our Fathers, known of old, Lord of our far-flung battle-line.

Glengarry's Review

(Written for The New Leader.)

Some can imagine That they are ABOVE The COMMON worker BECAUSE they OWN a home; And the EARNING half Has a JOB That pays ENOUGH To THRIFTILY support The parents and the children.

They IMAGINE That a CAPITALIST Is a prototype Of the PERFECTED Human ATTAINMENT; And they ALMOST Starve to DEATH TRYING to mimic His EXTRAVAGANCES On the TENTH (or less) Of his INCOME.

They IMAGINE That their boy will RISE To the PINNACLE of fame, At the FOOT of which His father COLLAPSED, And HOPE their daughter Will MARRY "well"— PERHAPS a NEAR-relative Of SOME gold-encrusted, LEAN-SOULED hog.

They CANNOT imagine That a GREEDY man HOLDS in his left hand The LOAF which sustains them; That his DEFT fingers Are keeping tap On the PROFIT angle Of his business, And that the LOAF SHALL NOT reach them Unless PROFIT continues.

EVERYTHING in the world Is EASIER to imagine, And easier to UNDERSTAND, Than DEVOTED parents Who WILLINGLY allow A TOTAL STRANGER To DICTATE WHEN their child SHOULD EAT And when IT MUST Be STARVED— STARVED TO DEATH, If profits DEMAND it.

An ORGANIZATION Of WORKERS Is a SAFE stepping-stone To a BETTER life Than LONE efforts Could yield, And it STRENGTHENS you To TAKE BACK FROM the robber The tools of production. YOU made them— They BELONG TO YOU, BUT HE BLACKJACKED you, And you TRADED the tools And YOURSELF And the LITTLE SLAVES You are raising FOR HIM In exchange For a VERY UNCERTAIN Supply of FOOD, SCANT clothing, And a dilapidated shack.

You cannot imagine HOW BAD a bargain you made Until the PROFITS fail, And YOUR MASTER LOCKS AWAY the tools And TURNS YOU OUT Of the JOB, Away from the CRUSTS, OUT Of the hotel, And LEAVES you And your WIFE And "LITTLE SLAVES" SHIVERING in rags.

WHO CAN imagine A FATHER Struggling ALONE With a PACK OF WOLVES, When his FELLOW-WORKERS Are BECKONING to him, "COME OVER WITH US And HELP us DRIVE YOUR ENEMIES OFF YOUR BACK?"

An Open Letter From R. Abramowitch

To the Editor of The New Leader:

I SHALL deem it a very great favor if you will grant me the courtesy of your columns to make the following explanation:

In an effort to prevent the Jewish working class in the United States from ascertaining the truth about Russia, and lacking the necessary arguments with which to defend their indefensible position, the Communists in this country are determined to stop at nothing in disrupting my meetings. Fortunately, the resistance of our own comrades has "spoiled the game" for the Left wing hoodlums, and everywhere it has been possible for me to deliver my message.

In their desperation the Communists have turned to other, and

fouler, means. Failing to gain their ends by their original method, they have now embarked upon a course of vituperation and vilification, the like of which has not been seen in the radical movement. They seem to be determined to spread despicable lies and calumnies regarding my revolutionary career in Russia. Under cover of "rumors" and equivocal statements they have set afoot the most outrageous slanders imaginable. It is the sort of slanderous campaign against which an innocent man is almost powerless, for nothing definite or disprovable is said—only vile insinuations and innuendoes. If the cowardly defamers and character assassins had the courage to make definite charges, it would be possible to nail the lie. But they emulate the skunk which befouls the air whenever it is threat-

ened with defeat.

There is nothing in my entire and political career which demands any apologies. For more than a quarter of a century my political activities are familiar to the Socialists of the world. I am now, and have always been, ready to "face the music," to hurl defiance at my detractors, to appear before the organized workers in every city and defend every act of my political life, every word I ever uttered, everything I ever did. And in order to place all available data before the bar of public opinion, I herewith make the following statement:

1. I left Russia in November, 1920, at the request of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party and the "Bund." I was delegated to participate with Comrade Martov in the

International Socialist (non-Communist) Conference in December, 1920, in Berne, and in February, 1921, in Vienna. The visas of Martov and myself, secured by the Central Committee of my party (of which I was Vice-Chairman at the time), were officially and publicly secured from the Soviet Government. (Those were different times.) Copies of the request for visas were mailed to all foreign delegates of the Third Internationale, which was then in session in Moscow, in order that they might be apprised of the true facts in the case.

My passport, signed by Karaba and three times signed by the Cheka (No. 862, dated August 8, 1920), explicitly states on page 8, "sent by the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Labor Party."

2. It goes without saying that I neither received nor accepted any message from the Russian Communist party or the Soviet Government. In fact, several days before my departure I was arrested, and spent a night with the Cheka.

3. Nor did I ever receive or accept any money from the Soviet government or the Communist party. My expenses were paid, in part, by the Bund; the remainder was paid by myself.

4. A certain part of the money I was compelled to borrow. The man who lent me the money and made it possible for me to leave Russia was—Moisey Olgin, who was at the time in Russia as representative of American publications, and was on terms of personal intimacy with me.

Is it not, indeed, the irony of fate that Olgin is the very person who now is responsible for the campaign of vilification against me?

It is interesting to observe that notwithstanding the bitter political struggle which is being conducted between the Menshevik party and the Russian Communists—a struggle in which the Communists spare no political weapon—not a single word has yet appeared in a Russian Communist paper attacking my personal character or political honor.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) R. ABRAMOWITCH
March 10, 1925.

The New Leader Mail Bag

Paul Wallace Hanna Editor, The New Leader:

I cannot tell you how shocked my sister and I were when we saw in The New Leader of March 7 of the passing of Comrade Paul Hanna. When I opened my paper, I missed "Just A Word," and wondered why. Then searching through the pages to see if it might not be in some inner part, I finally came to the editorial page. The poem by Comrade De Witt first caught my eyes, and then to the left of it the editorial article.

If there is no account of his death in the issue that I missed, I hope there may be a more detailed account in the coming week.

We take the World as a daily paper, and I am surprised that no mention was made of Comrade Hanna's taking off. If there was it must have been in some inconspicuous corner that I did not see.

Too bad, too bad, that our bright young men in the progressive movement of the day should be taken in the flower of their youth and in a time when they are so much needed.

The sympathies of my sister and myself are with The New Leader in losing his splendid contribution to the success of the paper, and to all comrades and friends who must

have loved him for his many gifts and charming personality. I happened to see and hear him only once.

AGNES C. WATSON.

The Chicago Conventions Editor, The New Leader:

Permit me to compliment you upon the issue of Feb. 28. It was a credit to our movement, a splendid piece of Socialist journalism. The reports of the Chicago conventions in the Capitalist papers were shamefully inadequate, and it was not until I read my New Leader that I had any clear idea of what had happened there.

Thanks to the reports in our paper, our comrades know what the party delegates did, and will be filled with enthusiasm for the brave stand they took. I am speaking for myself, but I am sure that I echo what tens of thousands of our people feel when I say that the stand for Socialism and Socialist political action taken in Chicago has immensely heartened the comrades. We played fair in our recent alliances, we were absolutely honest, we made all the concessions we could have been humanly called upon to make, we kept the faith, and we have no apologies to make.

The Thinker

(Suggested by Rodin's Statue.)

There's print in the callous hand.

Over all lands a whisper,
Under all seas a word,
And he who has made this world
what it is—
Bowed Labor—he has heard.

Thinks he I come of a race of brutes,
Tillers and killers and such,
Whose life was a feeding, a toiling,
and breeding,
And their joy was none too much?

Thinks he they toiled for their few
hard masters
Of, castle and church and court:
Many a million, many a million
Ached for an idler's sport?

Thinks he our masters have given
us light
Better their rule to obey:
Machines need brains to get good
gains,
And the brutes must pass away?

Thinks he the heavens are touched
with wings,
And land is whispering land?
My brothers are reading as well as
feeding;

Thinks he we've paid in ages of
sweat—
Must we pay again and again?
What if black ink shall set us to
think,
And thinking shall make us men?

Over all lands a whisper,
Under all seas a word,
And he who has made this world
what it is—
Bowed Labor—he has heard.

—James Oppenheim.

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If our recent allies cannot see their way clear any more to go forward, that's their lookout. Certainly, we aren't in business to make a present of our organization, our political experience, and the devotion and idealism of our members to muddle-headed middle-class people who don't know what they want.

Slowing up to be in step with sections of the working class is no compromise of principles. Cooperation with the muddleheads, alliances to "capture" old parties and virtually steal nominations, support of "good" men who will do anything to keep on the inside of the corrupt and bankrupt old parties, would be more than compromise, it would be the end of the Socialist Party.

Our job now is, as it always has been, to make more Socialists and to get them into the party. And now the way is clear—clearer than it has been for ten years, with no side issues like war and peace, civil liberty, etc., defense against disruption, to distract our attention.

William M. Feigenbaum.

Brooklyn.

Terre Haute Babbitts

Editor, The New Leader:

Your article on Sullivan and the Terre Haute Babbitts is, in the language of polite society, a "pippin," a "corker," and then some. Gene and I have read it with mingled feeling of sorrow and satisfaction. Your description of the fat lawyer on the train had in it the descriptive quality of Dickens. We knew the beast at sight. The recital of the tragedy and what you saw touched us to the depths and we felt outraged by the crime of which those poor miners were the victims. It is all the more pathetic that the wangle of them, with a few minor exceptions, were patriots during the war, slugged and drove from the mines the few who would not swallow the bait and get down on their bellies, and that they helped to pile up Coolidge's 7,000,000 majority. The poor slaves did not know any better. Some day their heirs will.

Your article should open the eyes of at least some of them. I want to send your article marked to that fat lawyer and half a dozen other Babbitts here, and if you can send me a few extra copies I will place each of them where they will be praised with damnation if they do not cause something to sprout and grow.

Greetings and good cheer!

THEODORE DEBS.

Terre Haute, Indiana.

MAMMONART—Chapter III

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Rand School Notes

Louis Untermeyer, poet and literary critic, well known to American and continental lovers of poetry, begins a series of four "Talks on Modern Poetry" at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Friday evening, March 27, at 8:30 p. m. In the first lecture he will discuss the American Rhythm—Frost, Robinson, Sandburg; in the second, the Lyric Note—Sara Teasdale, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Conrad Aiken, Elinor Wylie; in the third, Poetry as Color—The Imagists, Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher, "H. D."; in the fourth, Poetry and Propaganda—Giovanni, Oppenheimer, and others. The lectures will be accompanied by illustrative readings, with comment, and opportunity will be given for questions.

The same evening at 7:00 p. m., Dr. Morris H. Kahn is beginning a five-lecture course on "Heredity and Eugenics." The topics of the five lectures will be: 1. "The Mendelian Laws of Heredity"; 2. "Cellular Basis of Heredity"; 3. "Phenomena of Inheritance"; 4. "Influence of Environment and of Heredity"; 5. "Eugenics."

On Saturday, March 21, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss "The Geneva Protocol" in his Current Events Course. At 3:30 p. m., Professor Ferdinand Varrelman will give

a lecture illustrated with slides on "The Evolution of the Earth." On Wednesday evening, March 25, at 8:30 p. m., August Claessens will discuss "Mental Differences Between Men and Women," in his course on Sex and Society; while Clement Wood will lecture on Cahan and London in his course on Contemporary Fiction.

Chaliapin's farewell concert will be given Sunday, April 12, at 2:30 p. m., at the Metropolitan Opera House. This is his last concert in this country for the next five years; The Women's Committee of the Rand School have a number of choice seats to dispose of, the proceeds of which, by special courtesy of Mr. S. Hurok, go to the Rand School. These tickets can be purchased at the Rand School office, 7 East 15th street.

On April 1, the Rand School team will meet the Washington Square College debating squad in the Debs Auditorium, on the question: "Resolved—That a Re-organization Of Political Parties Along Conservative and Liberal Lines Best Meets the Needs of the Country." The visiting speakers will be Henry Siegel, Yale Willner, and Miss Florence Forgothsen. Mr. Claessens will choose the Rand School representatives from the try-outs for the negative.

ORGANIZING FOR SOCIALISM

By S. H. STILLE

This is the second article in a series written by Comrade Stille on the problems of organization that face the Socialist Party. The following article attempts to analyze the reasons for the continuance of apathy down to the recent national convention of the party. The next article will describe how he goes about his work of getting members and building an active local organization.

THE Socialist Party has been blessed with a good supply of stump speakers. Many have been and are willing to undertake lecture trips.



Too few are willing to go out and organize. In the past we have done more street corner preaching than organizing which I am sure is one of the reasons why our organization fell apart. Lectures are fine and have their part in our work. Lectures alone will never build a party.

Many stumpers have seen the country at the expense of comrades and locals. Not many of our speakers are now willing to go out and do the work that will revive our party. They can do it if the desire is strong enough. Of course, if the desire is not there it is easy to say that they cannot do it. If the State office would assign to each of our stumpers a county to organize, we would show amazing results in a month's time. It can be done and should be done.

Surely the war played a big part in disrupting our party. Spies in the party. Comrades turned traitors. Raids by officials of the law. Arrests. The jailing of Debs and many other comrades. The war hysteria that swept the country like a prairie fire. Patriotism—all helped to destroy our party organization. Now the war is over. The pulse is normal again. Men are more sane. We can hold our meetings in peace. Our comrades are released from prison. There are many clouds of another war looming in the distance, but in the lull let's organize our forces stronger than ever before. It can be done. It is being done. Will you help?

One of the biggest factors in our disruption was the split over questions of the Right and Left wing. A house divided against itself cannot stand.

It is necessary that the quarrel-factions be divorced. The expulsion of the Communists from our ranks was a necessary move. It had to be done. It weakened our party, but we shall be all the better for it. Present-day Communism would make chaos out of peace. Surely the Socialist Party could no longer live with such a cancer slowly eating away the ideals for which we have labored so long. Cutting out the cancer weakened our party at the time; but we were back recovering. In a year it will be fast to health again. Our 800 votes to the Communists' one is sufficient proof of our strength now. We should let the

average worker know that the Socialist Party and the Communist party are two different movements. Of course we know, but thousands do not. It is a fine organization point. Let us use it.

Another reason for the lull is that many of our gallant fighters are getting old. Many of them are white and are now living in the evening of life. They were old warriors. Many and many mornings in the long ago they carried leaflets and papers to the homes of their fellow workers. But now they are old and their strength is gone. They have the cause at heart but they cannot go out and do the work they once did. We should not ask them to. We should and must get young blood in our party. It can be done and is being done.

Personalities a great many times

entered locals and caused trouble. Arguing over non-essentials cause comrades to go away in disgust.

These things I have mentioned, with other minor things, gradually produced among our comrades a defeatist psychology. Instead of living in the present they unconsciously live in the dark past. This psychology can be changed. It is being changed. It is part of the work of an organizer to change it.

Eternally the surging of the tide of human progress tosses us on and on, higher and higher. Socialism is inevitable. It belongs to the ages. It cannot die. The comrades who are pioneers in our work today are but human gardeners, working with millions of human flowers. We realize that it will take ages before we can produce a perfect flower; but we know we cannot fail. Some time

in the distant future we will produce a grander order of society.

This cannot be accomplished in a day or a year. It takes a long time to produce a lily. Just so it will take a long time to bring into reality the ideals of our day. There is nothing today that should discourage us. There never was a time since Marx laid down his pen and closed his last volume that workers were needed as now. So, with our gallant leader, Comrade Debs, who has poured out his very soul to humanity let us go out and meet the dawn. Let us re-dedicate our lives to the noble cause that cannot perish.

Do you love the Ideal? Do you love our movement? Do you love humanity? If you do, come on and help reorganize our party. Help to hold the banner again above our fortress. Let us organize our party.

On The International Front

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

LATVIA

Reaction Resorts to Murder

Terror stricken by the rapid progress of the Social Democratic party of Latvia, which as recently admitted by Former Premier Ulmans at a congress of the Agrarian party includes nearly all the educated persons in the country districts of the little Baltic Republic and a big percentage of the city population, the bourgeois-agrarian reaction is redoubling its violent attacks upon the Socialist organization and its affiliated groups.

The latest incident, involving the murder of a leader of the Labor Sport Society, occurred in Riga on Sunday, Feb. 15. Following a meeting in the forenoon at which the members of the Labor Sport Society decided to take an active part in the campaign for the election of a new Board of Aldermen, four detachments of the young workers sallied forth to distribute literature urging the people to vote for the Socialist candidates. Hardly had they begun their activities when armed bands of near-Fascists, commonly labeled the "gilded youth," left the Nationalist Club and tried to prevent the Socialist athletes from carrying on their propaganda. Leaflets were snatched from their hands and insults freely passed, but, under orders from their leaders, the young Socialists managed to avoid serious trouble for some time. At last the Fascists made a regular charge upon a group of propagandists, firing several shots, one of which struck a Socialist named A. Massak in the forehead, killing him instantly. Then the Labor Sport Society rushed up reinforcements numbering 300 men, drove the Fascists back to their headquarters, made a number of them prisoners and called for the police. The police, assisted by the young Socialists, broke into the Nationalist Club and arrested seventy-six persons, including Johann Lorberg, said to be the man who fired the fatal shot. A search of the premises revealed a number of revolvers and other implements of murder.

But what happened during the next few days? All the arrested Fascists, except four, were released, and instead of proceeding against the Nationalist Club, as was suggested at a special meeting of the Cabinet, the Government issued an ukase dissolving the Labor Sport Society. In a telegram to the London Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International, the Latvian Socialists have appealed to the Socialist and Labor organizations of other countries to help them in their fight against the reaction which controls

the Latvian Parliament and has approved the high-handed action of the Government, the thirty-one Socialist Deputies being unable to block the reactionary conglomeration dominated by the Agrarian party. The Latvian Socialists are scheduled to hold their national convention on April 4-5, at which plans for capturing a majority of the new Parliament of 100 members due to be elected next October will be made.

The funeral of the murdered Socialist was made the occasion of a mighty demonstration by the workers of Riga, more than 50,000 persons taking part in the parade and exercises. During the debate in Parliament over the murder, the Socialist Deputies openly accused the Gov-

ernment leaders of being responsible for the outrage and not a member of the bourgeois groups had the courage to reply. The Socialists pointed out that merely closing the Nationalist Club, as the police had done after the trouble was over, was not enough and that drastic action must be taken against the Fascists. In a statement on the affair sent to the London Bureau of the S. L. I., the Latvian Socialist Party says: "Unfortunately, there is cause to fear that, should the present Coalition continue in office, reactionary elements may bring about fresh disturbances between now and the elections. The Socialist Party is prepared for any eventuality. The Workers' Sport Federation has now

How the Newspapers Hide the Truth

The newspapers of America, editorially and otherwise, gave a great deal of attention to Mr. Weyer's report, published by the Smithsonian Institution, condemning the Ontario experiment in the public control of hydro-electric power as wasteful and uneconomic. This is the kind of talk the big interests like. Mr. Weyer's charges were demolished by Sir Adam Beck, as we have pointed out in a previous issue. Now comes the most interesting part of the story.

Seeing how little publicity was given in the press to the answer to the Weyer charges, we took the trouble to inquire from the Canadian authorities whether their answer had ever been released to the press. We received the following reply:

"... an effort was made on our part to supply a copy of the Chairman's reply to a number of the leading daily papers in the prominent centres such as New York City, Washington, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, etc. The usual arrangements were made for simultaneous release by the Canadian and United States papers. These leading newspapers—with the notable exception of the 'New York American'—practically all ignored the Reply. We are a little surprised at this, because we thought there would be more manifestation of the fair play that at least gives each side a hearing. From many quarters there has been a studied silence with regard to the Reply to the Weyer-Walcott Report."

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The Party Builder

Past Trials and Present Opportunities

IN this department, we shall each week consider problems of party organization. That the Socialist Party is the one political organization of the workers that has any prestige or that has any future is evident for a number of reasons.

For twenty-five years it has held the banner of independent political action aloft. Its policies have been tested by experience. Its vote practically totals a million. It has passed through trials that would have destroyed an organization without ideals, without determined purposes and without firm roots in economic necessity.

It went through the fire of persecution. Some of its most loved members faced the most savage prison sentences. It endured attacks by mobs of crazed partisans. Ostracism and terror did not break its spirit. Desertions by former trusted leaders could not force it to lower its banner. Internal factions could not accomplish what outside enemies tried to do. It was tested in what was once a promising alliance and it withdrew its forces intact when the promise disappeared.

True, it emerged from all this weakened in organized numbers. But its spirit has never been broken. All over the nation Spartan groups have held our glorious banner aloft. It has lived to see those who deserted to the Right and those who deserted to the Left follow illusions. The former organized in the hope of displacing us. The latter organized in the hope of destroying us. Both failed.

The Socialist Party cannot be betrayed, purchased, led astray or destroyed. The logic of the history of the past ten years shows this to be a fact.

We are now in the reconstruction period, the period of party building. All available facts show that we can build greater than ever and on a more enduring basis. Wherever registration of voters is required the number of Socialist voters has increased. Wherever intelligent organization work has been undertaken the results have been splendid. Men and women who now sign an application for membership are more reliable than those who signed before the World War. They sign with knowledge of all that has been said of the Socialist Party, both true and false.

Will they sign? The work of Comrade Stille in this State is the answer. Into city after city he has gone and built up Locals of 50, 100 and 200 members out of a handful. He tried the same experiment in one Ohio city where he was for a short time. A Local of 36 members was the result. What he has done others can do. With devoted organizers in each State we can double, triple and quadruple the party membership this year.

It can be done. Let us do it. Some of the problems in this party building will have to be considered and we shall present some phases of the problem in this department. This is an introduction to the theme, a survey of what has happened, of the opportunities that now face us, and a forecast of what is possible.

We must seize the opportunity and translate the possible into actual accomplishment. Forward in the work of building our Party, the hope of thinking toilers, the promise of human emancipation!

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

A Sure Recipe For a Good Time: Go to the Bronx Socialists' Annual Ball, Friday, March 20, at Hunts Point Palace, 163rd Street and Southern Boulevard

NATIONAL

Here are a few lines from a recent letter from Comrade Debs: "There are requests for four articles here this morning and I am going to try to write them all. I have been up since five this morning and busy every minute. We are on the high road once more and under full head of pressure."

One night in Chicago, following the conventions, Comrade Debs never touched his bed, but sat in his chair wide awake straight through till sunrise, thinking, planning the great revival mass conventions and demonstrations.

Comrade Debs is burning with a divine earnestness and determination. This "stranger to defeat," after fifty active years in the Labor movement, now places his life in pawn to help us rebuild our party. Busy? The man is aflame with zeal and industry. Comrade Debs' correspondence is always heavy. In the last two months it has greatly increased, and during the last ten days he has been deluged with letters.

James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, member of the National Executive Committee, writes, March 10: "I have met quite a few Socialists since the convention and I find that the unanimous sentiment seems to be to build up our own party. One of the best-known Socialists of Brooklyn, who with his wife worked

heroically for the Progressive ticket, has just written me: 'I have come back to New York (from the convention) with the determination to work harder than ever for the Socialist Party. . . . Many Progressives here will come into our movement and cooperate fully with us.' And I have many such letters."

INDIANA

Comrade Debs recently spoke for Local Terre Haute. His old-time spirit thrilled the meeting. Secretary Albert F. Stokes writes: "The spirit of the meeting exceeded even our great expectations."

"Thirty-two new members joined the party, young chaps full of pep and fight," Gene writes. He adds: "We shall surely have a hundred new members in the Local within a short time and go ahead far more vigorously than ever." Vigo County is reorganizing with enthusiasm and there will be something doing down there from now on. Gene will attend a banquet near home in Clinton and still another in Indianapolis, which is to be attended from all parts of the State.

WASHINGTON

Comrade Ruby Herman of Seattle writes: "Because of the exceedingly gratifying news from Chicago, gained from the Milwaukee Leader, the meeting of Local Seattle, held last night, was in the nature of a jubilee. A collection was straightway taken for the national office debt (in response to Comrade Debs' appeal) and a like sum was donated to help defray the campaign deficit of the district office. But this was not all. Quite a spirited discussion upon ways and means of resuming organization work in the district resulted in the inauguration of a move to create an organization fund of sufficient proportions to allow an organizer to be kept continuously in the field throughout this coming Spring, Summer and Fall. The spirit was good; it seems they may be able to really 'get somewhere.'"

MINNESOTA

A group of Minneapolis comrades have recently been planning a weekly Socialist newspaper. The enterprise was developing very encouragingly.

At the national convention of the Socialist Party their representative became acquainted with the plan to found a national weekly party-owned newspaper. He learned that the series of mass conventions were intended in part to produce the cash, the desire and the subscrip-

tions necessary to set the new weekly on its feet. That settled it. Comrade Murray King returned to Minneapolis and reported the facts. Unanimously they agreed that a national party-owned newspaper would be of far greater importance just now in rebuilding the party. For the time they defer the founding of the Minneapolis paper and fall in line.

COLORADO

The State Executive Committee will meet at the Reo Hotel, 1308 Broadway, Denver, Sunday, March 29, from 1 p. m. to 4 p. m. Comrade Charette will make a report on the national convention and other important matters will come up. Comrades interested in the cause are urged to come and get acquainted.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

Essex County, already active before the recent national convention, shows still more vigor. The organization campaign continues unabated, a banquet is planned, 100 copies of the convention number of The New Leader were mailed to members who are not subscribers and we expect to get every member on The Leader mailing list. The organizer urges branches to elect a Leader committee to increase subscriptions and to deposit 25 per cent with the treasurer. The Executive Committee has also sent a letter to every member in Essex County charged with post-convention enthusiasm and urging monthly pledges of one dollar for each of the months of March, April and May.

Branch 3 distinguished itself at a recent business and social meeting. Two delegates were elected to the County Executive Committee and Organizer Newman spoke in appreciation of the work of the branch.

Branch 1 is adding new members to its roll. The job is now to give these new members some important thing to do. Roseville Branch is planning a special meeting to add to its membership. Through special invitations and personal visits it is expected to reach many sympathizers. Delegates to the national convention of the party will make a report. A delegate to the County Committee will also be elected.

The State Executive Committee met on March 16. The State Secretary reported that no word had been received from Comrade Carless as a candidate for Governor. As soon as three acceptances are received they will be referred to a referendum vote. The National Office will contribute literature to the amount of \$20 per month to aid organization work. Hudson County branches that met last week will contribute one dollar a week and will make initial payments ranging from \$10 to \$25 on account. Between \$75 and \$100 is expected from Hudson County branches soon. Bergen, Essex and Passaic counties also promise to push this matter. Each member in the State is also asked to contribute one dollar a week from now until Election Day and to make as large initial payments as they can afford. Those who cannot afford this sum may contribute a smaller sum each week. The committee will meet again on Monday, March 30, by which time it will be able to consider the funds that are available.

Comrade Mrs. Mead Passes
Comrade Mrs. Edward H. Mead, of Jersey City is dead. She was buried from her late home, 1637 Hudson Boulevard, Jersey City. The husband of the deceased has been for more than twenty-five years prominent in Labor union circles in Hudson County and an active member of the Socialist Party and its predecessors. He has been delegate to several national conventions of the A. F. of L. and has served the Socialist Party as delegate to State and National conventions, as public speaker and as candidate for public office. He is at present one of the five Socialist candidates for City Commissioner of Jersey City. The County Committee of Local Hudson County at its meeting on March 7 adopted a resolution of condolence which the Local Secretary was instructed to forward to Comrade Mead.

CONNECTICUT

John P. McCarty, for many years a member of the Socialist Party at Ansonia, died in South Norwalk of pneumonia, Sunday, March 15. The funeral services were held in Derby. Comrade McCarty was a member of the State Executive Committee for a number of terms. He was a very active member of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic. When Cornelius Lehan came here a few years ago, McCarty arranged many meetings for him in the State. In the death of Comrade McCarty the Socialist Party of Connecticut loses one of its best workers. The Socialists of Connecticut extend their sympathies to his family.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

Again the New England District Office notifies all New Leader readers in Boston and environs, intending to go to the Darrow-Nearing debate, to purchase their tickets at once, as in all probability the house will be sold out before the day of the affair. Tickets at \$1.65 and \$2.20 may be secured at the party headquarters, 64 Pemberton square, Boston. The \$0.50 and \$1.10 tickets are entirely sold out. The debate will take place March 24 in Symphony Hall. George W. Coleman, of the Ford Hall Forum, will preside.

PENNSYLVANIA

During the past week application has been received for a charter for

a new Jugo-Slav Branch in Pittsburgh.

We are informed that Local Westmoreland has issued a charter to a new branch at Greensburg.

Local Philadelphia is holding a theatre benefit on April 6 and 7. Tickets can be obtained from the local office at 1325 Arch street. "Chauve-Souris," the play, is said to be very fine. Here's a chance to help the party and enjoy a very fine entertainment at the same time. Local Philadelphia is planning other activities which will be announced later.

Several comrades have sent contributions to reduce the deficit of the State Office and these are highly appreciated. The names of all comrades giving such contributions will be published within a few weeks. Let us clear the debt and make ready for a real revival of Socialism.

NEW YORK

The mass convention, planned for New York City in the fall as the result of resolutions passed by the Chicago National Convention of the Socialist Party, will be considered by the State Executive Committee at its next meeting. State Secretary Merrill has invited the State Secretaries of New Jersey and Connecticut to be present or to send representatives, and has written the State Secretaries of Pennsylvania and the New England District in regard to their cooperation.

The committee meeting has been tentatively set for Saturday evening, March 28, at the Peoples' House. The committee will also consider organizing work for Organizer S. H. Stille. Action on this matter is necessary on account of the demands made in various parts of the State for the services of this unusually efficient organizer.

State Secretary Merrill appeals for additional pledges to maintain S. H. Stille as field organizer. The monthly pledges are still \$20 short of the desired goal. With the present enthusiasm of party members the services of Stille are in great demand outside New York State. It is up to New York comrades to make it possible for him to work within the State.

YONKERS

A mass meeting of new party members obtained by State Organizer Stille and Socialist sympathizers will be held next Wednesday night, March 25, in room 53, 45 Warburton avenue. James O'neal, editor of The New Leader, will speak on "Prospects of American Socialism."

Attention All Socialist Party, Labor and Friendly Organizations:

Make no arrangements for Sept. 19 and 20.

The Socialist Party of the Eastern States has engaged one of the largest parks in New York for the mass demonstration and convention to be held in New York on the above dates. These two dates will see the largest gathering of Socialists and Progressive Trade and Labor Organizations in the East.

Everybody will want to be there. Everybody ought to be there. To avoid conflicting arrangements, all organizations are requested to take note of these dates, and not to arrange anything on Sept. 19 and 20. SOCIALIST PARTY, LOCAL N. Y., JULIUS GERBER, Acting Sec'y.

HELP THE MINERS

Local New York is still collecting clothing for the striking and evicted miners in West Virginia, and has shipped many cases to them. We sent another shipment recently and received the following letter: "The Socialist Party, '7 East 15th street, N. Y. City, 'Dear Sirs and Brothers: 'This will acknowledge receipt of more boxes of clothing which you sent to this office for the miners in the locked-out camps. Again let me express our sincere thanks for your generosity and assure you that we are grateful for the clothing as it can be put to good use. 'Wishing you and yours every success, I remain, 'Yours very respectfully, (Signed) 'WILL C. THOMPSON, 'Sec.-Treas., Dist. No. 17, U. M. W. of A.'"

Comrades and friends who have some spare clothing, particularly children's clothing, and shoes, should send them to Room 505, 7 East 15th street. The strikers are very much in need of clothing as they are compelled to live in tents.

CITY CONVENTION

Julius Gerber, chairman of the Socialist Party City Convention arrangements committee, announces that a convention of delegates representing the Socialist Party organizations of Greater New York will meet Saturday and Sunday, March 28 and 29, to prepare for the municipal elections: (a) by preparing a plan for the city-wide campaign of organization agitation and campaign; (b) preparation of a municipal platform for the municipal elections; (c) to designate candidates for public office for the coming election.

The convention will assemble at 2 p. m. Saturday, March 28, in the gymnasium of the Peoples' House, 7 East 15th street.

A committee representing the five county organizations of the party has prepared an order of business and rules of order for the convention, and has two sub-committees at work, one to prepare a draft of a platform and the other to prepare a plan of organization and campaign. Both will report to the convention. The Arrangements Committee will act as the Credentials Committee in order to save the time of the Convention.

Branch organizations of the Socialist Party that have not elected their delegates to this convention, should do so at once. Send the names and addresses of those elected to the (Continued on Page 11.)

Communist Debacle in Europe Presaged By Series of Bitter Internal Conflicts

PRAGUE. — The long expected explosion in the Communist party of Czechoslovakia has occurred. The sparks of discontent scattered at the November convention of that party when Tovarish Manuilsky, representing the Communist International, whipped through the election of a new Executive Committee composed of eighteen "radicals" and fourteen "moderates," under threat of no more help from Moscow, reached the mental powder magazines of a number of prominent Communist leaders in February, with results calculated to reduce the third strongest party of the Communist International to a chaotic mass of warring factions.

Despite its heavy losses since it split away from the parent Social Democratic party some four years ago with about 400,000 members, General Secretary Zapotocky was able to claim 138,000 members at the November convention, thus keeping the Communist party of Czechoslovakia in third place, following Russia and Germany. It was well known that the majority of the delegates to the convention only accepted the election of a pro-Moscow Executive Committee under compulsion and it was freely prophesied that the long smoldering conflict between the 100-per-cent Moscovites, captained by Party President Haken, Dr. Neurath, Seidler, Dolezal and other rather youthful "revolutionaries" whose chief assets were loud talk and absolute acceptance of the Moscow edicts, and the "moderates," led by such veteran Labor men as Dr. Shmaler, Alois Muna, Zapotocky and Josef Bubnik, would soon burst into flame.

The immediate cause of the February outburst was the expulsion by the Prague district organization of Deputy Bubnik, one of the most active and popular Communist agitators, on charges of having helped sabotage a Communist demonstration planned as a protest against the action of the police in breaking up an anti-high cost of living parade, in the course of which several Communists were wounded. Furthermore, it was averred that Bubnik had avowed his opposition to Moscow's dictats and was trying to have a conference of the opposition elements called. The expulsion was upheld by the Political Bureau of the party. Then Franz Warmbrunn, a German Communist deputy from Bohemia, resigned from the party and sent a letter to the press scorching the Moscow leadership in Czechoslovakia, while insisting upon his faith in the "old Communist ideal" of freeing the working class from the chains of capitalism.

Quarrel Expands to Provinces

The row then spread to the provinces, to the disfigurement of the "radicals." In Bruenn (Brno), a Communist stronghold, the majority of the membership, led by Kovanda, director of the local cooperative which controls the Bruenn Communist paper, Rovnost, invaded the offices of that paper, threw out Vladimir Burian, the editor-in-chief who had been put in charge there at the behest of Moscow, and installed a new set of editors. In Kladno, a mining center, the mass of the party also declared for Bubnik, and the local Communist paper, Svoboda, is expected to become the central organ of the Independent Communist party likely to develop out of the row.

When the news of the revolt reached Moscow, Gregory Zinoviev and Nikolai Bukharin hastened to wire their approval of the stand of the Political Bureau and to damn Bubnik and his partisans as traitors to the revolution. Nevertheless, Dr. Shmaler, Secretary Zapotocky, et al., managed to put through a resolution at a special meeting of party leaders in Prague urging conciliatory tactics and the calling of a special national conference to try to save the unity of the party at all costs. And this was done despite the receipt of a communication from the Prague agent of Moscow calling for drastic action against the "moderates." To show their contempt for such orders, the leaders of the Prague meeting did not even read the Moscow letter before the vote was taken, but waited until after the "moderates" had won their victory before bothering with it. With Prague, Bruenn and Kladno against the Communist 100 per cent center, the outlook for a clean break with Moscow is good unless Pope Zinoviev, learning something from his experiences with Norway, Sweden and Italy, backs down, more or less gracefully, and accords the Czechoslovak Communists the right to run their own affairs.

"Cleansing" the Party

The great importance attached to the Czechoslovak conflict by the Moscow leaders was shown at the special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party held February 28, when no fewer than six agents of the Communist International and its allied organizations were present and helped defeat a resolution by Dr. Shmaler calling for the reinstatement of Deputy Bubnik. After Shmaler had declared that he would not accept responsibility for what might happen to the party, a resolution by Haken approving the ex-

pulsion of Bubnik, but providing for a national conference in April, was passed. A delegation was sent to Moscow to get instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International as to how to proceed with the "cleansing" of the party. In the meantime Bubnik and Warmbrunn have issued an appeal to their partisans in the Chamber of Deputies to form an Independent Communist Club and it is expected that a majority of the twenty-four Communist Deputies will line up with the rebels.

Reports from other parts of Europe show that the process of disintegration noted many months ago in the Communist ranks is being rapidly accelerated.

German Communist Desertions

In Germany the radical Moscow group, headed by Ivan Katz, Ruth Fischer and Werner Scholem, is continuing its war upon the more rational Communists. Katz recently going so far as to say that the veteran Clara Zetkin, "no longer enjoys any confidence in Germany." At several party conferences in the Ruhr resolutions have been adopted for the expulsion of Heinrich Brandler and Gustave Thalheimer, whose chief crime seems to have consisted in supporting Leon Trotsky in his clash with the Russian Communist majority over tactics. Following protests by other Ruhr Communist leaders at alleged graft and all-around crookedness on the part of Communists in the Rhineland, Ruth Fischer made a trip to that district and instituted a thorough "house cleaning," resulting in the expulsion of Ernst Graul and several others who stood by their charges. In Saxony, a former Communist center, wholesale desertions by Communist city and village officials are reported.

Quarrels of French and Polish Communists

At the recent national congress of the Communist party of France, while the secretary claimed a mem-

bership of some 75,000, it was admitted that several valuable leaders had recently left the party, although it was naturally asserted that their departure was "good riddance of bad rubbish." Among these expelled by the congress were Monatte, Rosmer and Delegharde, prominent Communists who had dared support Trotsky's position. They were accused of all sorts of high crimes and misdemeanors and branded enemies of the proletariat.

On Feb. 21 a Warsaw dispatch told of an impending split in the ranks of the Polish Communists, the moderates circulating leaflets denouncing the radicals for accepting all the dictates of Moscow and for trying to start an armed revolution. The White Russian Deputies in the Sejm who joined the Communist group some months ago are said to have left that group because of nationalistic difficulties.

In Yugoslavia, some weeks before the election of Feb. 8, there was a split in the remnants of the Communist party, dissolved by the Government and later reorganized as the Independent Workers' party, the moderate elements refusing to accept the policy of the Central Committee.

Communists Call for Police

The Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung of Feb. 25 makes merry over the fact that at a meeting of a group of street-car workers in the Austrian capital held to discuss the alleged misuse of funds by its Communist leader, there was so much violence that the "hated bourgeois police" had to be called in to restore order and prevent the members of this "non-political" union from emulating the Kilkenny cats. Temporary peace in the tiny Austrian Communist party has been effected through the re-admission of Karl Toman. In Hungary the handful of Communists running the International Red Relief (another name for the Workers' International Relief) has brought

legal action against the Nepszava, the Budapest Socialist paper, in an effort to make it print a retraction of an item warning the workers against being again fooled by slanders and dangerous phrases flowing from the funds of the Red Relief.

Henry May, Secretary of the International Cooperative Alliance in London, recently resigned the chairmanship of the British section of the Workers' International Relief.

Hopes of Swiss Communists to effect a rapprochement with the Socialists of the little Alpine Republic, in view of the fact that the Swiss Social Democratic Party is not affiliated with the Socialist and Labor International and is rather critical of that organization, received another setback when the Zurich Socialists flatly rejected a Communist proposal for an electoral pact for the municipal contest of March 21-22. The rejection was couched in such strong language and reproached the Communists so bitterly for their work of disruption in Zurich that it is hardly likely another attempt will be made to bring the "united front" there.

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175 E. Broadway, Orchard 6258
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OFFICE: 601 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 5674.
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Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNINGFIELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

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Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
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"Sweet Land of Liberty"

Report on the Civil Liberty Situation for Month of February, Issued by the American Civil Liberties' Union.

CRIMINAL CASES

1. CALIFORNIA.—The State Supreme Court on Feb. 24 affirmed the conviction of twenty-six of the twenty-seven I. W. W.'s in the case of McClennigan et al. The conviction of J. C. Robinson was reversed on the ground that it was not proven that he was in Los Angeles County at the time of the indictment. These men were arrested in Los Angeles during a period covering six months, and tried under a blanket indictment. They were convicted under the criminal syndicalist law in July, 1923. The Second District Court of Appeals reversed the conviction and ordered a new trial in June, 1924. The prosecution carried the case to the State Supreme Court.

2. OKLAHOMA.—The conviction of Arthur Berg, I. W. W., sentenced in 1923 to ten years in the State penitentiary under the criminal syndicalist law, was reversed by the Criminal Court of Appeals on Feb. 2, the court holding that mere membership in the I. W. W. does not constitute a violation of the law.

3. NEW YORK.—Captain Harry Ely of New York City, editor of The Tenant, who was given a sentence of from six months to three years on a charge of criminal libel for publishing an attack on Municipal Court Justice Caffrey, was released on \$500 bail on Feb. 11, pending appeal, on the ground that the Court had improperly injected into the case the issue of seditious libel.

4. The sentence of Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello, convicted in the Federal Court at New York for publishing a birth control advertisement, was commuted to four months by President Coolidge on Feb. 16. Tresca started his sentence of one year and one day at Atlanta prison on Jan. 6.

CIVIL CASES

5. TEXAS.—An injunction suit filed by the Marine Transport Workers' Union at Port Arthur, to restrain the police from raiding the organization's headquarters, was heard on Feb. 7 by Judge G. C. O'Brien in the District Court at Beaumont and the injunction was refused. Appeal will be taken.

6. ILLINOIS.—The State Supreme Court has reversed the conviction of J. N. St. Clair, President of the A. F. of L. Federal Union, No. 15,107, who was found guilty of violating an injunction against the strikers at the Vulcan Detinning Company at Streator by referring to three former union members as "traitors." The court said among other things: "If a court of equity has the power to restrain and punish members of a Labor union from speaking, writing,

or publishing on the subject of a dispute between the union and the employer, then the members of the Labor union are not such persons as are within the quoted constitutional provision."

MISCELLANEOUS

7. WASHINGTON.—Elmer Smith, Centralia attorney for the I. W. W., was disbarred by the State Supreme Court on Feb. 24, after a two-year fight against him by attorneys he had opposed in his activities, on the ground that in public speeches he had advocated I. W. W. principles. Two judges dissented.

8. NEW YORK.—A meeting to protest the refusal of the State Department to allow Count Karolyi, first President of the Hungarian Republic, to speak or write on political questions while here was held by the American Civil Liberties Union on March 7. The restrictions were made a condition of a visa issued by the American consul in London permitting the Count to visit his sick wife in this country.

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The Realm of Books

A Great Soul!

A Review by RAYMOND FULLER

SUN YAT SEN AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. By Paul Linebarger. New York: Century Co., 1925. \$4.00.

SUN YAT SEN is dead! A great Chinese is dead. One of the world's great leaders died on March 14.

The first President of the Chinese Republic (elected Dec. 29, 1911) after thirty years of almost continuous effort! Effort towards what? Not towards becoming China's President; not towards bringing a victorious army and revolution into Peking. Thirty disheartening years of trying to enlighten the Chinese people, so that they might "feel around" for ways out—out of their incredible ignorance of geography, history, science, electricity, steam, and their own "government." Out of their immemorial gazing backward, backward, always backward for everything.

It is commonly supposed that Sun was a preacher of radical economic views; was a Socialist, a revolutionist politician, and that his faction was a Left-wing movement. How far from true! That he was a simple-souled lover of mankind, compassionate beyond belief toward the abysmal social and intellectual lethargy of his race, one cannot doubt after reading this latest biography. There is probably no one better qualified than Judge Linebarger to draw for us the personal Sun Yat Sen. Even though the biographer's out-and-out reiteration of hero-worship and his redundant moralizing be prejudicial to his case, yet it is unescapable that he has given the world a valuable story. It is a story of a genius; a human arrow launched in the night, that somehow sped on and on answering till it had pierced the vast composite heart of China.

Let Labor leaders in America read it, and take heart. Their task is not as hard as his, though it may be as long. All obstacles they face he faced—intrenched power, inexhaustible funds, lack of a press, self-satisfied ignorance, diversity of national aims and conditions. And he had to deal with four times America's population. The intrepid spirit of the man!

No, Dr. Sun could not be interested in "Socialism"; he was only trying to bring the vast common people of China somewhere near a knowledge-stage which the peoples of the West began reaching 200 years ago. If Socialism essentially be a process of eliminating ignorance, special privilege, and despotism over the lives of one's fellows, then possibly Dr. Sun was this kind of Socialist—as Jesus was, as Gandhi is.

We in America naturally think of China as a nation and a republic—she is neither. Not the one because that race has not yet entered the industrial era, and therefore is not a capitalist state, i.e., a modern nation. (China may jump this stage, clear into a social commonwealth; just as she has never had a feudal period at all.) And furthermore, China is no republic after the American style—not yet. Not until she accumulates concrete highways, railway systems, a stable currency, and some sort of schools for the common people—to mention but a few blanks.

But—and do not let this fact escape you!—the Chinese have the broadest foundation on earth on which to lay a more tolerant and co-operative social structure. The humble, patient, temperate ethics of Confucius; the communal family and communal village; the simplicity of their lives and needs; and the unmonopolized state of their vast natural resources—these may easily lead them soon, at a bound, where Western nations fear to tread. First, and it is a gigantic first, must come literacy and science and a comprehension of the world in which they live, and a slight control over their political government.

And it was this all-important first, we understand, that Dr. Sun Yat Sen gave his life to help his fellows achieve. China will never forget his impress.

The perfectly developed picture which the reader gets of actual conditions of knowledge and social life in a tiny and average Chinese village—like one in which Sun was raised—is probably the best feature of the book, next to the lesson of Dr. Sun's Thirty Years' War for "light."

Utopia—a Myth?

A Review by MADELIN LEOP

ORPHAN ISLAND. By Rose Macaulay. New York: Bont & Liveright. \$2.00.

ANTON CHEKHOV said in one of his delightful notebooks that the artist never points his finger at his readers. It is his privilege to sketch his people from life, let them work out their destinies, and allow his readers to draw any conclusions they desire from the actions they see the characters perform. Rose Macaulay is in direct opposition to the Russian master. She not only hints at a moral, but she hammers from page 1 to page 319, continually reiterating her opening premise.

Even in her very last paragraph she can only say, "Will it ('Orphan Island') seem, in its Thinkwellian, 1923, Stage of Knowledge, as strange, as backward, as outmoded in learning and outlook, as it did to those who broke into it after its first seventy years of segregated history?" Here is the one question Miss Macaulay sets down—the nucleus around which her book is built. Well and good, if it were but a nucleus, if this thesis that what our grandfathers look like to us we may look like to our grandchildren, that as 1925 looked on the nineties as Victorian, outmoded, old-fashioned, so 1970 will look back on 1925, were but the background for a group of persons whose life and ambitions produced this idea.

But this effect Miss Macaulay has not even attempted to convey. Unabashed by all the cries of art for art's sake or subtlety in writing, she states her point loudly and boisterously and makes her people live up to it whether they will or no. She drags Miss Charlotte Smith, spinster, and a cargo of orphans away from the island of Great Britain to a shipwreck which lands them on another island. Here, in the course of human events, they grow up, marry, and have offspring, who in their turn follow their instincts. A Commonwealth is established in the "all men are born equal" gospel does not hold. The descendants of Charlotte Smith are Smiths, and the descendants of the Orphans are Orphans—class distinction is born as soon as men live together. Life is developed, and goes on with all its ridiculous mistakes and mishaps in a way uncannily similar to English life. The parents deprecate the children, and the children deprecate the parents. There are artists, and musicians, and laborers.

One day a boat lands, bringing with it the Thinkwells from Oxford. They have come to rescue the poor Smiths and Orphans, who they naturally think must be in a state of unhappy savagery waiting for a civilized savior. Naturally enough, the Thinkwells are chagrined to find that Orphan Island is getting along successfully without them. The boat is destroyed by a mishap, and the Thinkwells remain on the island acclimatizing themselves as best they can to surroundings that basically are the same as their own, differing only because of a lack of modern conveniences and age-old traditions. "Across the future of Orphan Island, as across all futures, is hung a curtain of mist, on which is scrawled a question mark."

Does not this smack suspiciously of "Penguin Island" with its finals of houses growing ever taller and taller, and men growing richer and richer, and life going on as blindly as ever? Yet "Penguin Island" has the satire and the human sympathy and the subtle piercing irony that are completely lacking in "Orphan Island." Rose Macaulay, like Schoenberg's music, is "too cerebral." She is cynical, hard, matter-of-fact. Never will she let an emotion come near her. Always she sees facts, facts, facts—all of which lead to one big fact which she repeats endlessly.

Not only does she express her major promise too often in "Orphan Island," but she has borrowed it from her own "Told By An Idiot." There she said in every chapter that were the younger generation as different from its parents as its parents say it is, the world would not stand so still as it does. Progress would be perceptible, instead of being barely visible. On this same idea did she build "Orphan Island," but she did not build enough. She laid only one floor. The rest is monotonous repetition. We wish Rose Macaulay would not try to make so many novels out of her one good piece of work, "Potterism."

The Spring Issue

of
RATIONAL LIVING
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Editor, DR. B. LIBER
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If Man Must Fight

A Review by JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

CALLINICUS. A Defence of Chemical Warfare. By J. B. S. Haldane. New York: E. P. Dutton. \$1.50.

IN order to dismiss the material element of this stimulating volume, to clear away the business end of the job, let us state at once that Dr. Haldane leaves no loophole of doubt as to the greater efficacy and humaneness of chemical warfare, as compared to the older methods of cannonade and explosive bomb. In this latest of the "Today and Tomorrow" series, which includes Haldane's own "Daedalus" and the equally startling prophecies of Bertrand Russell's "Icarus," the author surveys the future nature of the great world's conflicts which he feels are inevitable. With a glance back at the blunders and costly lessons preached by inefficiency, ignorance and intolerance in the World War, especially at the unwillingness of the military to accept innovations, and the mistaken chivalry that would bar chemicals, he shows the inevitable trend of military science. Just as the Chevalier Bayard, the model of all knights, spared the enemy archers and spearmen, but killed those that bore firearms, so the "sportsmen" fighters of today would bar the handlers of gas and smoke. Dr. Haldane reduces these gesticulating mummies, and the makers of treaties barring chemicals, to the status of ignorant blockers of progress, by demonstrating that chemicals serve most truly the fundamental purpose of war: to subject the enemy to one's will. In other words, the casualties resulting from gas and smoke are very many fewer than those from cannon and bomb, while the number of temporarily disabled is tremendously greater. With much less loss of life on either side, the enemy is more readily put at one's mercy.

While proving this, Dr. Haldane makes many comments that are of importance as social philosophy, in their statement or implications. He declares that "we have not yet made a scientific study of the causes of war, and, until we do, may expect more wars." In making this remark, he overlooks the fundamental organization of society, the

capitalistic system in which war is an inevitable and probably desired element, the reasons for which have been made clear in many a Socialist study. But Dr. Haldane is right in his application of the idea, that war will continue until its causes are known by the great masses, who at present refuse to think for themselves. "I need hardly remark that future Governments will not enter on war without first persuading the vast majority of people of its justice. This appears to be a relatively simple process under modern conditions." This allusion to the case with which propaganda is put across by a Government is strengthened by reference to the large group of sentimentalists who infest all lands and smudge the surface of life with their clumsy soft-heartedness, their inability to look at hard facts; these "are generally willing to accept (after a decent interval) any application of science which appears to them profitable, or any social institution (such as war) which is hallowed by use and wont. They save their consciences for such behavior by attacking, in the name of their god or their ideals, every novelty, whether in thought or in action, which resents any loophole. . . . And behind these follow like sheep the predestined victims of the next war, the peoples of the civilized nations who will undergo the extremity of suffering rather than think for themselves."

The babblers about making war so horrible that no nation will dare fight; the criers in the market-place who bid us build more battleships, rear larger armies, until no country will venture to take up arms against its mighty neighbor; the smooth-tongued orators who tell us of the pacifying effect of Leagues of Nations and World Courts; all overlook the simple truth: "War will be prevented only by a scientific study of its causes . . ." a study and a recognition and a removal of those causes, of the opportunity afforded and fostered by the capitalist system for individual and nation to wreak lusts and greeds upon the less powerful, of the exploitation and amassing of capital that are inevitable and desired—proclaimed as the goals—of the industrial con-

BOOKS RECEIVED

Literature

THIS MAD IDEAL. By Floyd Dell. N. Y.: Knopf.
LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. By Leon Trotsky. N. Y.: International Publishers.
ARROWSMITH. By Sinclair Lewis. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
GOD OF MIGHT. By Elias Tchenkin. N. Y.: Minton, Balch & Co.
THE RECTOR OF WYCK. By May Sinclair. N. Y.: Macmillan.

Social Science

SAFEGUARDING CHILDREN'S NERVES. By James J. Walsh and John A. Foote. Phila.: Lippincott.
SEX AND CIVILIZATION. By Paul Bousfield. N. Y.: Dutton.
THE PASSING OF THE PHANTOMS. By C. J. Patten. N. Y.: Dutton.
EMPLOYEES' REPRESENTATION IN COAL MINES. By Ben M. Selekman and Mary Van Kleeck. N. Y.: Russell Sage Foundation.
EMPLOYEES' REPRESENTATION IN STEEL WORKS. By Ben M. Selekman. N. Y.: Russell Sage Foundation.

Miscellaneous

LEON TROTSKY, THE PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH. N. Y.: Greenberg, Inc.

Editor Will Speak For Sacco Sunday

Joseph J. Ettor, leader of the famous Lawrence strike of 1912, will speak on the Sacco-Vanzetti frame-up at the People's House Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, New York, next Sunday, March 22, at 2 p. m. Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, will act as chairman.

Ettor spent eleven months in Essex jail with Arturo Giovannitti on framed-up murder charges arising from the Lawrence strike and has returned to Massachusetts after an eight years' stay in California, to take part in the campaign for the two Italians whose case parallels his.

dition that is at the root of war. "Money is the root of all evil" was not spoken blindly; the desire for wealth and the ease and power it brings, the thirst for power the few today may gratify at the expense of the many, these individual strivings and urgings—remnants of the beast in man, fostered, and sustained by the present system—are the cause of war. Only when the system that permits their free play has been swept away by its victims will war become a dark memory, a blot on the history of mankind, at last to stain the earth no more.

Brief Reviews

THE BEST PLAYS OF 1923-24. Edited by Burns Mantle. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

This is the fifth of Mr. Mantle's series of annual compilations of what is going on in the contemporary theatre. As such it will serve as a ready reference book to those interested in things theatrical. In it will be found a record of every play that was produced in New York during the season, with the names of the performers in each cast, as well as a birthday list of players and authors, a necrology and a summary of the run of each play.

As in the previous volumes, Mr. Mantle, dividing responsibility with the public, has selected ten of the plays as the best, and in his introduction gives his reasons for his choice. The text of these plays is given in a running synopsis and quotations (in much too small print). A foreword on the season in Chicago and on the Little Theatre movement is also included.

COSTUMING A PLAY. By Elizabeth B. Grimboll and Rhea Wells. N. Y.: Century.

For the amateur producer, Little Theatre and Community Drama presentations; this handbook should prove exceedingly serviceable. In a very practical manner, the authors, both of whom have had wide experience in the field they cover, take up the fundamentals of costuming a play, showing how all costumes developed from the three simple forms of tunic, skirt and cloak. This development, fully illustrated, is shown in typical costumes for male and female of different social classes and occupations, in different historic periods, from the Assyrian and Egyptian down to the Civil War period. Very helpful information is given on the choice of materials for costumes, the effect of color and lighting and the use of dyes and decoration.

PRINCIPLES OF INVESTMENT. By John Emmett Kirshman. Chicago: A. W. Shaw Co.

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of the economics of capitalist society will find a comprehensive study (928 pages) of the various elements of the investment principle which may serve as a guide for "safely" earning unearned increment.

TOO MUCH MONEY; a Farceical Comedy in Three Acts. By Israel Zangwill. New York: Macmillan.
"Too Much Money," Mr. Zangwill tells us, was the relief he sought from the tragic tension of the Great War, and that after convulsing Scotland, it succeeded in staying fifty performances in London, following "the defeat of the Fifth Army which that Spring killed off almost everything on the stage." It is "irresistible horse-play," said William Archer. It isn't much else—except very clever horse-play, with clinking little trappings of satire. It should suffice the sort of New York audiences who laugh themselves thirsty over "What Price Glory" and go a second time to see a certain international Rose which blooms perennially on 42nd street near Broadway.

We trust Mr. Zangwill's relief was salutary, or—to use an expression from the play—"life-enhancing."

Raymond Fuller.

WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATION. Embodying the report of the Second International Conference on Workers' Education held at Oxford, from August 15 to 19, 1924. Published by the International Federation of Trade Unions. Price One shilling and sixpence. Obtainable from the Labor Joint Publication Department, 33 Eccleston Square, London S. W. 1, and from all booksellers.

THIS booklet contains a full report of the sessions of the Conference, together with the special addresses on various aspects of Workers' Education delivered at the Conference, and photo of delegates. It also contains a summarized report on the activities of the bodies engaged in workers' education in Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Palestine, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States, together with a list of names and addresses of workers' educational bodies in these countries and others which did not send reports. The book is therefore not only interesting reading, but also forms a handbook to the Workers' Education movement such as has never hitherto appeared, and it is a convincing proof of the ever-increasing importance in all countries of the educational side of the Trade Union Movement.

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Adolf Moor
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B. S. MOSS' B'WAY
 LAST WEEK
CHARLEY'S AUNT
 "Charley's Aunt," after an uproarious and tumultuously hilarious week at the Cameo—a week in which the attendance must have been limited to the size of the theatre—must leave town next Saturday night. Previous arrangements will not permit a longer engagement. "Charley's Aunt" has hung up two new records at the Colony, and two new ones at the Cameo—new records for attendance as well as for laughter! There is simply no limit to the old girl's popularity.
"ENOUGH TO MAKE A CAT LAUGH"
 Other Reel Attractions
FAMOUS CAMEO THEATRE ORCHESTRA

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 Other Reel Attractions
FAMOUS CAMEO THEATRE ORCHESTRA

A Theatre Party For Local Kings
 The Socialist organization of Kings County has arranged a treat for its members and sympathizers for Tuesday evening, March 24. Ibsen's drama, "The Wild Duck," will be presented. Considerable interest is being taken in this affair. Tickets for this performance may be obtained at the headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn.

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DRAMA

Laurette Taylor
 in Pantomime
"Pierrot the Prodigal,"
 Revival by Actors'
 Theatre at the 48th St.

This pantomime from the French of Michel Carré is the famous "L'Enfant Prodigue," with piano score by Andre Wormser, played in delicate shifting of mood by George Copeland. Wordlessly the story progresses, the world-old story of a shiftless son who steals the family purse, to flee with an ambitious country beauty, who uses him and discards him when his money goes, leaving him to go home broken-hearted—and redeem himself by going off to fight for his country. To a soldier, of course, all past sins are forgiven; the surest law of absolute is to join the army. This variation of the tale presents a pathetic moment when Pierrot's parents turn away while Pierrot steals the money, so that they will not shame him by discovery.

Pantomime is an art long neglected in America. The Actors' Theatre has been courageous in attempting it, but inevitably falls below European standards. Ivan Lescarbot and Micheleletti Buzani, as Pierrot's parents, seemed most in the genuine spirit of the art, though Jack Thornton as the Negro butler was an amusing burlesque. Galina Koperak as the siren was a bewitching damsel, and Clarence Derwent a satisfactory baron to carry her away from Pierrot. Laurette Taylor, despite the too great immobility of her face, moved with poised grace through the pantomime. Beauty of movement on the stage consists in the suggestion of immobility, motion being the passage from one poised state to another; in this suggestion of continuance of attitude Laurette Taylor gave us much to hope, if someone in America seriously inaugurates the art of pantomime.

"The Mikado" Due Here in Three Weeks

The Messrs. Shubert are about to present a cycle of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, of which the first, "The Mikado," will be produced within three weeks at a theatre, as yet unnamed. The productions will be on an elaborate scale, in the manner of "The Student Prince" and "The Love Song." The cast will be headed by Marguerite Narmore as "Yum-Yum," Tom Burke as "Nanki-Poo," and William Danforth as the Mikado. There will be a chorus of eighty.

This method of producing Gilbert and Sullivan with special attention to voice and elaborateness of production has been determined upon by the Messrs. Shubert as being in keeping with the intentions of the creators as exemplified in the D'Oyley Carte productions, which were under the personal supervision of the distinguished composer and librettist, who obtained the utmost

Russian Dancers and "Confessions of a Queen," At the Capitol Sunday

"Confessions of a Queen," Victor Seastrom's film version of the novel by Alphonse Daudet, "Kings in Exile," will be presented at the Capitol Sunday. The leads are played by Alice Terry and Lewis Stone.

MUSIC

"L'Oracolo" and "La Juive," With Martinelli At the Metropolitan

"Romeo et Juliette" will open the last four weeks of the Metropolitan season Monday evening with Boris DeLaunoy, Johnston and DeLuca.

Other operas this week: "La Juive," Wednesday evening, with Larsen-Todsen, Ryan, Martinelli and Mardones. "Die Meistersinger," Thursday afternoon—the last of the Wagner Cycle Series—with Rethberg, Howard, Taucher and Bohnen. "L'Oracolo," "Petrushka" and "Cavalleria Rusticana," Thursday evening, the first sung by Boris DeLaunoy, Johnston and DeLuca; the second enacted by Galli, Rudolph, Bolm and Bonfigli; the last sung by Peralta, Alcock, Lauri-Volpi and Ballester.

"Pagliacci" and "Coe d'Or" as a matinee on Friday, the former sung by Mario, Martinelli and Danise; the latter enacted by Galli, Rudolph and Kossloff, and sung by Sabanieva, Telva, Diaz and Didur. "Pelleas et Melisande," Friday evening with Boro, Howard, Johnson and Whitehill. "Der Freischutz," Saturday matinee, with Mueller, Delossy, Taucher and Bohnen. "Tales of Hoffman," Saturday night with Sabanieva, Peralta, Errolle and DeLuca.

Music Notes

Beniamino Gigli, tenor of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will make his last appearance in New York this season in a concert at Carnegie Hall, Monday evening.

Elizabeth Rethberg's recital, Monday afternoon, in Aeolian Hall, marks the Metropolitan soprano's first recital appearance in New York.

Vera Jachles, Russian pianist, makes her debut in Town Hall, on Tuesday evening.



JOYCE BARBOUR
 with Willie Howard in his new musical show "Sky High" now settled at the Winter Garden. The Garden is celebrating its 14th Anniversary this Friday.

Gilbert and Sullivan

By the time I was eight years old I had been fortunate enough to acquire the habit of laying wagers—an excitement easily attained in childhood, when imagination alone limits the stakes, less readily gained when the purse of an adult, responsible citizen must be kept in mind. On this early occasion, however, my uncle lost. I have no faintest recollection of the subject of our gambling; my grown-up relatives probably did not take my insistent "I bet you!" seriously, or they would not have found such amusement in responding. But either my teasing was successful, or good business warmed Uncle Franklin's bosom, for he paid his bet by taking me to the theatre. We saw "The Mikado."

Two other of the men where I work are fortunate in having undergone the Gilbert and Sullivan influence while they were boys. One of them, who has a rich, deep voice, saw most of the operas at the Savoy Theatre during their original runs; he is the envy of the other two of us. Many a rainy day has been warmed and brightened by the lit of an air: three pairs of eyes exchange bright, quickened glances; three pairs of lungs, one leading, two ready with the words but wistful over the melody, pour forth one song and another, as loud and as long as office conditions permit. The others around grow more enlivened; into the work of all of us has swept the spirit of play.

Gilbert and Sullivan join in the play. What makes the performances of their plays so delightful is that everyone, author, composer, actors, audience, all are collecting in one great madcap game. Go and see "Patience" at the Greenwich Village Theatre. The company is not one of long experience in comic opera; they are just a group of actors who really love the theatre, who said one day: "Let's have a lark! Let's play Gilbert and Sullivan!" And whether it be Flavia Arcaro, who is as good a Lady Jane as our memory holds, or Rosalind Fuller, bewitching Patience, or Cecil Clovelly and Stanley Howlett as the fleshy and the spiritual poet, each one plays with an eye winking to the audience, each one lets us in on the fun, makes us part of the wonder and the joy and the playing and the play.

"The Student Prince" reached its 12th performance at Jolson's Theatre, Thursday night. The Messrs. Shubert have two other companies of the operetta—one in Philadelphia and another in Chicago. Boston will soon have a fourth company.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Alexander Brailowsky will be the soloist at the Sunday afternoon concert of the New York Symphony Orchestra in Aeolian Hall. Bruno Walter continues as guest conductor. The program: Divertimento in B Flat, Mozart; Concerto in C Minor, Saint-Saens; Siegfried Idyl, Wagner; Overture, "Der Freischutz," Weber. Thursday afternoon and Friday evening at Carnegie Hall with Roland Hayes, soloist: Overture, "Der Freischutz," Weber; Recitative and Air, "Endure My Soul," Bach; Symphony No. 1 in A Flat, Elgar; Songs with orchestra, (a) "Go Down, Moses," (b) "Bye and Bye"; Overture "Der Meistersinger," Wagner.

-PHILHARMONIC-

Willem Mengelberg will lead the Philharmonic Orchestra in four Carnegie Hall concerts next week, beginning tomorrow afternoon, when Alfred Cortot is soloist in the Beethoven "Emperor" Concerto. A repetition of Strauss' "Don Quixote" and Gade's "Ossian" overture complete the program. Samuel Gardner's Violin Concerto in S Minor, Op. 18, will have its first New York hearing on Thursday evening and Friday afternoon, played by the composer. Brahms' Fourth Symphony and Ravel's "La Valse" are the other works to be played.

The Philharmonic Orchestra Saturday evening will play Mahler's Second Symphony. The soprano and contralto solo will be sung, respectively, by Mme. Marie Sundelius and Mme. Charles Cahier.

Amy Evans, Welsh soprano, will make her local debut in Aeolian Hall, on Wednesday evening.

Katherine Bacon will give her second piano recital at Aeolian Hall, on Monday evening, March 30.

The Socialist Party at Work

(Continued from Page 7.)

Comrades and organizations who have anything to propose for the convention may do so by communicating with Louis Waldman, 302 Broadway, New York, Chairman of the Committee on Platforms; or with G. August Garber, Room 508, 7 East 15th street, Chairman of Committee on Plans of Organization and Campaign. These committees solicit the ideas and opinions of the comrades. August Claessens will lecture on "Incentive and Ambition," Sunday evening, March 22, at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway.

14-15-16 A. D.
 "Nationalism vs. Internationalism" is the subject of Dr. Simon Berlin's lecture for the 14-15-16 A. D. on March 26 at 227 East 34th street. Comrades and their friends are invited to attend.

Organizer Steinberger announced ambitious plans for the circularization of the enrolled Socialist voters in the districts covered by his branch. Outdoor meetings will begin early in May. The Yorkville bunch is returning to its old-time spirit of activity.

BRONX

Our Thirteenth Annual Ball, Friday, March 20, will be a treat. No one can afford to miss it. There will be old-timers, new members, young and old. Everything is tuned up for real joy, for reunion, for a night of merriment. Are you Socialists? Show it. Come and join us. Hunts Point Palace is your destination, 163rd street and Southern Boulevard.

On Thursday night, March 26, Meyer London will deliver a lecture, at the 7th A. D. headquarters, Tremont and Third avenues. Subject: "Opportunities for Self-Education." Remember the date. Don't miss the knowledge that Comrade London is capable of imparting.

Watch the next week's New Leader for extensive plans of organization, mapped out by the Local executive committee.

The Branches are preparing their plans, not for revolution, but for education.

Lecture by Meyer London
 "A lecture by Meyer London on 'Opportunities for Self Education' is announced for Thursday, March 26, at 8:45 p.m., to be delivered at the clubrooms of the 7th A. D. Socialist Party, Bronx County, at 4215 Third avenue, corner Tremont avenue. All are invited to attend."

KINGS COUNTY

The Local's theatre benefit will be held Tuesday evening, March 24, at the 48th Street Theatre. The play will be "The Wild Duck," by Ibsen.

George R. Kirkpatrick, who has been conducting the educational work in the National Office since 1923, will debate with Professor E. R. A. Seligman of Columbia University on Sunday afternoon, April 26, at the Arcadia Hall, Halsey street and Broadway, Brooklyn. The topic will be: "Resolved—That the Socialist Movement Represents the True Interests of the Masses."

James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, will speak to the party members of the 23rd A. D. on "The Prospects of American Socialism," at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, Monday evening, March 23.

A. I. Shipiloff will speak to enrolled Socialist voters of the 22nd A. D., Monday evening, March 23, at the People's Lyceum, 218 Van Sicken avenue. This is the first of a series of meetings to be conducted in every assembly district to reach the enrolled Socialists.

The County Executive Committee will meet at headquarters on Wednesday evening, March 25.

The Brownsville and East New York Central Committees will meet at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, Sunday, March 22, at 12 o'clock.

The referendum for Executive Secretary of Local Kings has been completed and Joseph F. Viola has been re-elected. Others in the field were Carl Cummings of the 9th A. D. and I. M. Chatcuff of the 2nd A. D., Branch 1.

Delegates to the municipal convention will meet at county headquarters Friday evening, March 27, at 8:30 p.m., at 141 West 12th street, at the large.

At the educational meeting of the 5th A. D., which will be held Sunday night, March 22, at 14 Howard avenue, Samuel H. Friedman will continue his course on "The History of Labor Unions." This will be followed by a continuation of the discussion on Hillquit's "From Marx to Lenin."

At the Bushwick Forum, conducted by the 5th A. D., under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy, Brooklyn Chapter, James O'Neal will debate Edward Dobson, editor of the Brooklyn Standard-Union, on the proposition, "Resolved—That the Socialist Program and Aims Are Impracticable." Dobson taking the affirmative and O'Neal the negative.

Comrade A. J. Shipiloff will lecture this Sunday evening, March 22, under the auspices of Branches 3, 4, 6 and 325, Workmen's Circle, at 76 Throop avenue, Brooklyn, on

the subject, "Man's Struggles With Nature and Society." Discussions and questions will follow the lecture. Admission free.

August Claessens gives a lecture on "Can Wealth Be Distributed More Justly?" Friday, March 20, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 218 Sackman street.

Comrade Jimmy Walker, an active member of the 6th A. D., Brooklyn, and in charge of its headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, died Thursday morning after a short illness. The funeral will take place on Sunday morning at 11 o'clock from the branch headquarters, and members of the 6th A. D., as well as other comrades in Brooklyn are urged to attend and pay their respects to a Comrade who has given so much to the movement.

QUEENS COUNTY

Delegates Elected

At a meeting of the Central Committee held March 13, at the home of Comrade Ehret, 713 Starr street, Ridgewood, it was voted to send \$10 to the National Office to help in the revival drive and to urge individual members to follow the example of the Local to the best of their ability. Plans were made for getting in touch with the large number of new Socialist voters shown by the enrollment lists.

Barnet Wolf was elected member of the State Committee for the year beginning May 1, next. Ernest Megierlin, Barnet Wolf, Ernest Welsh and May H. Mainland were elected delegates to the city convention of March 28-29.

Branch Jamaica To Meet

On Thursday evening, March 26, there will be a meeting of Branch Jamaica at the home of James O'Neal, 95-16-111th street, Richmond Hill. Members are asked to bring their friends, as Comrade O'Neal will talk on the results of the Chicago convention.

YIPSELDOM

The greater city debating tournament will begin Saturday, March 21. Every circle has been instructed to select a debating team of two and notify the city office. The teams will be notified who their opponents are, and under what rules the tournament will be conducted. Anita Merkin, League organizer, will supervise the tournament.

Circle 1, Manhattan, meets Sunday, March 22, at 3:30 p.m., at their headquarters, 204 East Broadway.

Emanuel Switkes, Executive Secretary, will speak on "The Good and Welfare of Our League."

Mathew Korn, educational director of Circle 6, Manhattan, has mapped out an exceptional program on educational activity. His circle meets Friday night at 2056 Fifth avenue.

Joseph Polchik, educational director of Circle 6, Manhattan, will lead a discussion at the next meeting, Friday, at 62 East 106th street, on "Tendencies in Modern Poetry."

The city educational committee consists of Augusta Smith, Benjamin Goodman and Anita Merkin, chairman. Circle directors should get in touch with any member of this committee in arranging programs and getting lecturers.

Executive Secretary Emanuel Switkes will talk on "Current Events" at this week's meeting of Circle 1, Bronx, at 1187 Boston Road. Next week, Augusta Smith, of Circle 6, Brooklyn, will review two plays, "Desire Under the Elms" and "What Price Glory." The circle changed its meeting night from Thursday to Friday.

Circle 7 meets Saturday nights at 24 Ridge street. A dance will be given on April 4 at Clinton Hall. Members should get tickets immediately. The proceeds will go towards keeping up a home for Socialist activity. A rejuvenation committee, Hyman Hochberg, chairman, Mary Yavner, Sol Farber, Anita Merkin, Joseph Feldman, Yetta Sterner and Lester Diamond, is working on plans for making the circle's activity more effective.

Gertrude Friedman will lead a discussion on "Conditions of the Workers After the Industrial Revolution" at the meeting of Circle 6 to be held Sunday, March 22, at 167 Tompkins avenue. Visitors are invited.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

N. Y. SYMPHONY

BRUNO WALTER
 GUEST CONDUCTOR
 Carnegie Hall Thurs. Aff., Mar. 26, at 8
 Fri. Eve., Mar. 27, at 8:30
 SOLOIST—TENOR
ROLAND HAYES
 Elgar's Symphony No. 1
 also Weber, Bach, Liszt
 GEORGE ENGLER, Mgr. Steinway Piano.

Aeolian Hall, Mon. Eve., Mar. 29, at 8:15
 Season's Last Piano Recital by KATHERINE

BACON

Mgt. Haensel & Jones. Steinway Piano.

Aeolian Hall, Thurs. Eve., Apr. 2, at 8:15

PIANO RECITAL BY HELEN

FOGEL

Mgt. Haensel & Jones. Steinway Piano.

Aeolian Hall, Tues. Aff., March 31, at 8

SECOND PIANO RECITAL BY

MURI SILBA

Mgt. Loudon Charlton. Steinway Piano.

Aeolian Hall, Sat. Aff., April 4, at 8

ORGAN RECITAL BY FLETCHER

YON

Mgt. Loudon Charlton.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Secrets of the Night," from the play by Max Marston, with James Kirkwood, Madge Bellamy and Rosemary Theby.

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

CAPITOL—"Confessions of a Queen," from Alphonse Daudet's novel, "Kings of Exile," with Alice Terry and Lewis Stone.

COLONY—Charles Ray in "Percy," with Charlie Murray and Betty Blythe.

RIALTO—"Contraband," with Lois Wilson, Noah Beery, and Raymond Hatton.

RIVOLI—"Sackcloth and Scarlet," with Alice Terry and Dorothy Sebastian.

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City
Telephone, Stuyvesant 6865

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States
One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.25
Three Months75
Single Copy05
To Foreign Countries
One Year \$3.00
Six Months 1.50
Three Months75

Saturday, March 21, 1925

THE TAX COLLECTORS

LAST summer the activity of Senator Wheeler in exposing some of the grafters higher up was followed by his indictment in Montana. It appeared to be a case of trying to punish and disgrace a man who ran foul of some dirty business in Washington.

Now it is the turn of Senator Couzens of Michigan. The Michigan Senator brought serious charges that many millions of dollars due under the income tax have been remitted to big corporations on the ground that payment of the tax might invite bankruptcy. The answer of the Treasury Department is that Senator Couzens is remiss in his income taxes to the extent of over ten million dollars.

The interesting phase of the matter is the claim that is made that the Michigan Senator's income tax obligations run back to 1922. This raises the question: Why did the Treasury Department wait till March, 1925, to raise this claim? It could have been raised at any time since 1922. It was not raised until Senator Couzens made his public charges that certain big corporations were being favored by rulings of the Treasury Department.

The Wheeler and the Couzens cases would indicate that members of Congress who have a high sense of rectitude and who seek to ferret out corporate favoritism and graft must risk their reputations in doing so. The case of the Michigan Senator warrants the belief that he would never have been charged with evading taxes if he had not made the exposure he did.

If men in public life are to be terrorized because of observing an ordinary code of decency there are some dirty stables to be cleaned out at Washington.

AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE

THE history of the Labor and the Socialist movement is littered with examples of men and factions who pose as purists. For years the Communists have been pointing out men and movements that have "betrayed" the masses. To the right of them, to the left of them, in front of them and in the rear of them is always somebody who is "betraying" the great cause. The workers have been "sold" so often by the same men and the same movements that it is surprising that any more sales can be made.

The history of the movement in all countries has also shown many examples of these purists who in the end made their peace with the enemy. The Communists of this country have contributed a number, including their leading philosopher, Louis Frana. Maximilian Cohen, their New York leader in 1919-20, a few years later appeared in court and made his peace with capitalism.

Last November, A. C. Miller was elected to the Legislature of North Dakota from the 41st District. Miller has been broadcasted by the daily Communist organ of Chicago as a member of the Workers' (Communist) party. Many issues have carried stories of his activities in the Legislature, referring to him as "Comrade," and heralding him as the only Communist in a State Legislative body.

Who is Miller? A letter from Robert Byrne, Secretary of State for North Dakota, dated March 9, states that "A. C. Miller, Representative from the 41st District, was elected on the Republican ticket."

What of "class collaboration"? What of the purity of the purists? What of this G. O. P.-Communist alliance glorified by these gentlemen?

THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

The New Party

From Washington comes the news that the proposed new party has established headquarters in the Machinists' Building. Mr. William H. Johnston of the machinists is chairman and Mr. Hartwell L. Brunson is director. The former has sent a statement out which reviews the work required in organizing a new party and asking for financial help. This is accompanied with a digest of the proceedings at Chicago by the director which is an admirable and impartial summary of the important actions taken there. Mr. Johnston says that "The fact that some officers and representatives of some Labor organizations declined to speak for their respective organizations nationally must not be misunderstood" because they "have no specific authority or instruction from their respective memberships." From this we gather that Mr. Johnston is serving as chairman as a citizen and not in the capacity of representing the International Association of Machinists. The two documents bear no trace of bitterness because of the divisions that occurred at Chicago. Socialists throughout the country may well follow the example set by the delegates to the Chicago conference by not indulging in any fruitless attacks upon those who will try to organize this new party. Ours is frankly a Labor party and they are just as frank in not wanting a distinctly Labor party. The new party will not compete with the Socialist Party. This does not mean that we shall not dissent or criticize. It does mean that when we disagree it will be in a good-natured way, confident that the best elements in this new movement will finally accept our position.

The Irish By-Elections

The Irish by-elections to fill vacancies caused by resignations in seven constituencies brought victory to the Free State party. The latter won seven out of nine seats in an election that was notable for the apathy of the voters. Even in North Dublin, where the Ministerialists have their most effective organization, only 56 per cent of the vote was polled. This political apathy seems to possess the voters of all parties in the leading nations, including the United States. That Ireland with its tense party feelings in recent years should also be thus affected is surprising. What part the Labor party took in the election is not mentioned although the Irish trade unions recently reaffirmed their policy of supporting the Labor party which they created and which they sustain and control. The unions and the party were disturbed by Larkintines for some time, but "Jim" Larkin's influence appears to have waned in the past year.

The Isle of Pines

There is some rejoicing that the United States has turned the Isle of Pines over to Cuba, but we haven't turned Cuba over to the Cubans. In 1898 the Senate declared that "Cuba is and of right ought to be free and independent." But in 1901 the Senate inserted in an army appropriation bill what is known as the Platt Amendment and the republic was required to insert it as an appendix to the Cuban Constitution. This gives partial control over Cuban

finances and Cuban foreign affairs, and the sixth clause reads: "That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereof being left to future adjustment by treaty." Cuba had to wait twenty-four years for this adjustment and the settlement itself is a partial and grudging one. It gives American investors "most favored" treatment and Cuba is restricted from settling any question concerning the Isle of Pines and a foreign nation without consulting the United States. The Caribbean is considered an American lake and Cuba's "independence" is worth the proverbial thirty cents.

Reaction in Japan

As recruiting sergeants for the police, Communists have no rivals. The Japanese House of Representatives has passed a Peace Preservation Act which restricts free discussion and organization in Japan. Drastic penalties of from five to ten years' imprisonment are provided for violation of the law. This is obviously aimed at Communist agitation but it restricts all movements of workers into the same dragnet. Bernard Shaw wrote Zinoviev a few weeks ago that he (Zinoviev) had given British reaction a long lease of power at home and in Egypt. Here we are interrupted by a broadcast from Moscow. It reads: "Down with reaction! Long live the revolution!"

Communist Riots

Once more Communists have broken into the headlines by breaking up a meeting. This time it is Chicago that gets an exhibition of their work in turning a peaceful meeting into a riot endangering the life of human beings. As usual, their hatred was directed against Rafael Abramovich who is speaking for Socialist prisoners in Soviet jails. All accounts agree that twenty persons were hurt and that Abramovich had little opportunity to deliver his speech. Meantime in New York the Communists met in Madison Square Garden without being molested by those who disagree with them. Same human beings are tolerant of all views but they cannot be tolerant of intolerance, or tolerant of the bully and the ruffian. These crazed partisans are accumulating a fund of disgust for their conduct that will return to them many fold, for the more decent of their partisans and sympathizers can only turn against them in the end. Just what free discussion exists in Russia may be estimated by observing how much of it Communists favor when they face the bar of dissenting opinion.

Oil and the Law

The American boast of equality before the law again takes the count in the Government's suit to invalidate the Teapot Dome lease. One oil magnate takes a vacation in South America and two others find France very attractive, these two also declining to answer questions of a French magistrate. Meantime the evidence intended to reveal the secrets of the bank accounts of Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, was nearly barred from the Teapot Dome lease annulment suit in Wyoming. Nevertheless, the pilfering of millions of dol-

lars in national property is likely to go into history as one of the biggest steals since the gamblers and adventurers gathered in their great stakes following the Civil War. All over the country petty thefts of a few dollars, often committed by human beings made desperate by their economic distress, are penalized by sending the offenders to prison. Our great oligarchs of industry and finance do not have the same status before the law that petty offenders have. They are above the law and their enormous wealth enables them to break through its meshes with their stealings intact.

Rejecting the Sugar Boy

Not since the turbulent administration of Andrew Johnson has a President had a Cabinet appointment rejected by the Senate. Calvin Coolidge, who was determined to place Charles B. Warren at the head of the Department of Justice, has had Warren's name returned to him with a Senate veto. Warren has had intimate relations with the sugar interests and headed two big corporations. With one of the richest bankers of the country at the head of the Treasury Department, his textile crony, Butler, his personal representative in the Senate, this attempt to appoint Warren shows Coolidge as a small town Rotarian worshipping great wealth. Of course, it is a case of politics on the part of the Democrats who opposed Warren. Their worship of the money bags during the Wilson reign, when Wilson called swarms of millionaires to take charge of bureaus, commissions and committees, indicate the mind of the Democratic members of the upper Diet of American capitalism. Nevertheless, this slapping of Coolidge, following the spanking he received in his first administration, indicates that before the end of Coolidge's term the G. O. P. will be in a sorry mess.

The German Election

The Presidential election in Germany offers another opportunity to count noses and survey the strength of the numerous parties. The Socialists have followed good tactics in nominating their own candidate in the person of Otto Braun, although this means that a number of other candidates will go to the poll. It is hardly possible that a President will be elected on March 29, as no one of the candidates can get a majority of the total vote cast. But the nomination of a Socialist candidate has two advantages for the party. It enables it to make its own campaign on its own program and if its vote is as large as the party hopes, it will have a strong influence in determining the choice in the second and final election on April 26. Owing to improvement of economic conditions the monarchist reaction is weakened and there is no danger of this faction polling a sufficient number of votes to exercise any appreciable influence in either the first or second election.

British Labor and the International

By OSCAR POLLAK

WHY is there sometimes at international meetings an unavowed feeling that there is more difference of outlook between the British representatives and the majority of the remaining delegations than between any other two parties? In his article, Mr. Hunter has driven home one point with admirable self-criticism. He has missed some others. For the British movement, with its wide and loose organization, with its broadness of mind and its weakness of theory, with its freedom of individual thought and action, a number of men speak who cannot in themselves represent all its different shades and currents of thought, nor pledge it beyond a certain limit of general agreement. The Continental party is otherwise. It is a rigid body, marching in closed ranks and guided by a unanimously accepted doctrine which dominates and determines all its actions.

This is the result of past history. Every Continental party, at the beginning, went through a period of savage repression such as British Labor, even in the darkest days of the Chartists, has never known. These were the days when the workers, enslaved both economically and politically, without the franchise or even the right to combine, gathered secretly, after a fourteen hours' day in the mill, surrounded by spies and hunted by the police, and spelt out from torn, forbidden papers the gospel of their Marx and Lassalle.

Hence there is still in all Continental parties a psychology of the catacombs, a strong sense of community among the poor and persecuted uniting against their oppressors, a real comradeship on class lines. This is frequently coupled with a sound feeling of distrust against those who came over later, when things were easier, but also with an incomparable loyalty to the leader who has stood the test and braved the tide when it was running against us. However, things may have changed since the war—and this change in the psychology of the Continental working masses is one of the biggest problems of post-war Europe—for them the word "Comrade" has still a revolutionary sound.

And again, the Continental party is not only united by a thousand-in-one will, but based on a common belief. Marxism, not misunderstood as it is in England as a dry, dreary and narrow economic doctrine, but living as it does on the Continent as a broad conception of human history, teaches the workers their historic mission in the development of society and, by so doing, inspires them with the most invincible faith in a victory which will not only be the reward of strenuous efforts, but indeed must be the inevitable result of evolution. There is certainly much to be said for the merits of a movement like the British today, which

The following article is an echo of the controversy that followed the report that certain members of the British delegation to Russia favored the Bolshevik regime. It presents an interesting comparison of the British and Continental Labor and Socialist movements.

includes all schools, from J. H. Thomas to J. A. Cook, Marxists, anti-Marxists, Bolsheviks, Pacifists, and Monarchists; a movement in which nearly every thinking Socialist stands for a Socialism of his own.

But it is only on the solid basis of one fundamental theory that the revolutionary spirit has been able to build up those powerful Continental parties—the Austrian, for instance, or the Belgian, or the Danish—where one headline in the party paper today will bring 250,000 people to march the streets tomorrow in complete order. There is one party, indeed, in which the habit of conspiracy still prevails as in the early days, a party in which fanatical hatred of heresy against infallible party doctrines and iron, military discipline have reached an extreme in which rigidity degenerates into excessive cruelty—the Russian Bolshevik party.

In all these countries, the party and its doctrine mean more to the ordinary worker than they mean in Britain. The mere existence of another working-class party, claiming to lead by a different way to the goal, has been to the Continental worker a shock quite unintelligible to his British colleague, accustomed as he is to the variety of organization and opinion which has made his movement broad and all-inclusive, though comparatively weak, because of the energy spent in adjusting cross-currents. That is why Communism on the Continent meant more than it did in England, where it could never be anything but a different shade of opinion, adding one other to those already existing within the safe limits of an old and assured democracy.

On the Continent Communism implied the break-up of what was left to be an indivisible unit—the party. It was therefore considered to be—and indeed was—a criminal attempt to break the workers' weapon—unity.

That is why Socialist parties on the Continent are particularly sensitive about Communism. And this is the case not only in those border States where Soviet Russia is a heavily armed neighbor, nor in countries where Communism has split working-class forces from top to bottom and, perhaps, destroyed the success of revolution—as in Germany or Italy or France—but even in those countries where Communists are but a few

miserable hundreds against a solid strength of hundreds of thousands—as in Belgium, Denmark or Austria. And that is why they resent the incompetent attempts of some British trade Union leaders who seem to think that international working-class unity is a simple matter of convenience, a mere trifle, just an annex to a British trade agreement with the Russian Government.

What the Continental worker feels about his party he also feels about the International, which, indeed, appears to him its culmination. When the International broke up in 1914 the Continental worker was intellectually shell-shocked. When he heard that a Communist International had been formed he was bewildered, and it took years of strenuous intellectual effort before he found a solution to the problem which puzzled him: on what principle we should press for the recognition of the Russian Government, and at the same time repudiate the Moscow International. For the Continental workers' affiliation to an International is more than a matter of expediency; it cannot be disavowed when a Conservative puts a question in the House.

Bracke and Longuet, Vandervelde and Adler, and many another, are living links of international Socialist tradition; every resolution of our International is a milestone in their lives. One cannot help feeling amused when Mr. Purcell steps in to teach these people real internationalism, or astonished when Mr. Hunter accuses them of getting hysterical at the Bolshevik bogey. Some of them, like Friedrich Adler or Longuet, have dared more for the international cause than many of those who today regard them as less advanced because they are less prepared to be trapped by Bolshevik catchwords; even Tseretelli and Abramovich have always been on the extreme Left of their respective parties; and good Socialists while in the Czarist prisons. They have not changed today because the same prisons have become Bolshevik, nor has the International changed when it claims freedom for the workers, freedom of vote and speech and press, freedom from political persecution—even in Russia.

Let me say a plain if painful word in conclusion on a matter about which the International is really concerned. There is one thing which the Continental workers will never understand: how it was that these British Trade Union leaders, with a Labor Government in office, were not able to assure the ratification of the Washington Convention on the eight hours' day. That would have been the keystone of international working class progress all over the world, and a broad way to real unity in action. If they could not achieve unity amongst themselves on that question, international unity would seem to lag far behind.

THE Chatter-Box

Machinery

I am a piece of machinery,
A small, spinning wheel of an iron system;
All the long day I reel and turn,
And turn and reel
On a hot, dizzy axis,
Harnessed to motion;
My gear teeth grinding madness,
Sweating till beads of grease
Drip to the floor.

Little as I am,
I help enlarge the din
In the shop—my world;
Mine's not a drone in the music,
But a shout in the tumult!
I welcome, as much as another,
Lunch hour and the night;
The times I may rest
For the coming shift.

Once I thought
(Can I be blamed for it?)
That should I refuse to labor
For those who profit by my slavery,
I would free from toil
All mechanism forever.
So I communed with a brother,
Who quickly became disciple to my idea;
And one day he revolted
Against the motive power
And all systems that control us,
And, martyr-like, broke a gear tooth
To save us from further bondage;
But the master only threw him in discard
And supplanted a new worker in his stead;
And for the pause in our work
Twice faster were we made to hustle.
So, still I keep reeling and turning
In union with my groaning brethren;
And in my futile moaning
How much like Man am I.

Joseph Resnick.

A Glutton for Punishment

News Item: President re-submits Warren's name to the Senate after they reject his appointment as Attorney General and once again is Warren rejected.

It has been very difficult for us to write this week's stint owing to the tempting contributions offered. We have swallowed our ego and decided to hold in leash the flaming thoughts that light up our classic day-dreams. Thanks, thanks to ye, our worthy friends, for the gifts that ye have brought. If you keep on in like strain and unrestrained, a columnist's job will indeed be an "appy one."

Our Communist well-wishers are certainly having a rough time of it these days, what with Socialists and liberals holding meetings for the release of political prisoners in Soviet Russia, and Bombardier Gegan bursting in upon their minstrel show rehearsals, and locking up innocent tovarishes and samovars—also five pop-guns. We are prone to forgive our fiery Russian friends for their gentle disturbances at our meetings, because they are at least sincere in their conduct—even if somewhat puerile. But we cannot excuse the Great Bombardier Squad Chief for his sudden swoop upon a rehearsal of a scene of ancient history—"Onward the Bomb Brigade; was there a man dismayed—though someone had blundered?" Especially when, for the last two years, a real group of Russians have been drilling night after night at the Theatre of the Chauve-Souris—for a Red Revolution—under the harmless pretense of being a mere Parade of the Wooden Soldiers. Hist, Gegan! We warn you. Center your eternal vigilance upon Morris Gester and Nick Balloff—for there Real Red Revolution is brewing. And Katinaka—she is nothing more than Red Rosa—the Vampire of Rebellion. Wow! Hist—beware!

S. A. DE WITT.

SACRIFICING THE CHILDREN

IN a caucus of over five hours, Republican Assemblymen have decided to take no action on the Child Labor Amendment. The Republican platform is pledged to ratification. The Democratic platform is so pledged. The Socialist Party has favored this action for years. There was no objection raised in the campaign to the proposal.

Notwithstanding this unanimity, the G. O. P. members are unanimous in opposing action. Tammany has no better record. Governor Smith recommended a referendum on the Child Labor Amendment although his party is pledged to ratification by the Legislature. By this mutual dodging of responsibility the two major parties practically underwrite the position of the organized manufacturers.

Governor Smith has been regarded by many sincere trade unionists as a "Labor" man. They supported him as such. Governor Smith has not given up his Presidential ambitions. Had he insisted on ratification by the Legislature he would have alienated the support of those exploiters who share in the dominion of his party. He wants their support. To get it, political expediency requires that he must sacrifice the child slaves of "free America." If the referendum approved the proposal he would not be responsible. If a referendum rejected it he would not be responsible. But insisting on legislative ratification would have committed him and he wanted no record to be attacked in 1928.

We are sometimes asked: What difference is there between the two parties of capitalism? The difference lies only in the number of voters each party fools