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of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

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PURCELL AND GREEN CLASH BEFORE A.F. OF L. CONVENTION

COOLIDGE

WAK
TO

NET PHRASES;

NEAT SILENT REFRAIN

APPEAL FOR PEACE AT OMAHA

By The Editor

THE address of President Coolidge at Omaha is surprising in that it comes from one who, before he reached the Presidency, gave his support to the standardizing of opinions. As Vice-President he wrote or lent his name to a series of articles in the Delinquent in which certain educational institutions were attacked because they had permitted speakers who represented various radical opinions to address students. The whole tenor of the articles was opposition to any criticism of American institutions and reactionary political tendencies.

At Omaha he deplored the intolerance of the war and post-war periods as a "disturbing product of war psychology." He now does not like this attempt to "establish fixed and rigid modes of thought" because they tend "to fossilize society. If we all believed the same thing and thought the same thoughts and applied the same valuations to all the occurrences about us, we should reach a state of equilibrium closely akin to an intellectual and spiritual paralysis.

The President Advises the Vice

This is good advice of President Coolidge to Vice-President Coolidge, although it comes rather late. If we have not reached a "spiritual paralysis" it is not because he was ranged against any such calamity when he was an obscure Vice-President. It was also good advice to an organization gathered in Omaha which seeks to "standardize the community" in matters of education and which at one time ran amuck breaking up meetings. The most astonishing sections of the speech, however, are the references to war and preparations for war. He is confused and involved in contradictions. He observes that we have a larger Army and Navy than we ever had in time of peace yet we "have been attempting to relieve ourselves and other nations from the old theory of competitive armaments." Building the greatest peace-time Army and Navy is a queer way to relieve the world of competitive armaments. The only reason for these weapons is to assure peace and security yet he goes on to say that "In spite of all the arguments in favor of great military forces, no nation ever had an army large enough to guarantee it against attack in time of peace or to insure its victory in time of war." So armed forces are useless for the very purposes which are advanced for their maintenance! Then after saying that we have the greatest Army and Navy that we have ever had in peace time he adds the crowning contradiction that the Government has "supported the principle of limitation of armaments."

Some Bewildering Contradictions

These contradictions leave us in a bewildered state. Just as we are recovering our senses we are told that the United States does not "rely on the strength of its fleets and our armies but on the justice of our cause." Then why should we continue to maintain the largest armed establishment that we have ever had in peace time? The President added that because we rely on the justice of our cause "our country has not wished to maintain huge military forces." Well, if we do not wish these forces, who wished them upon us? They are here. We have the President's word for it. How does it come that what we do not wish is what we have? Here is a profound mystery and we are left to conclude that some subtle power is responsible.

The fact is that President Coolidge has attempted to face a problem of our imperialist phase of history and is no more able to solve it than are any of the statesmen of the present order. They really want peace but the system

(Continued on page 2)

To New Leader Boosters: A Proven Plan

"Every Friday morning I buy three New Leaders at my newsstand. One I keep for myself and the other two I give away to people who, in my opinion, may be interested. This has been my practice ever since the first of the year and the results have been most encouraging. I pick out the same men each week, ceasing only when they become subscribers or I find they are definitely not interested. After giving a man three issues I withhold the fourth. Usually by this time he has become interested or accustomed to receiving the paper each Friday and inquiries why I have no New Leader for him this week. This is my opportunity and in three cases out of four I usually land his subscription."

WILLIAM STEINHARDT.

New York City.

Here is a proven plan for New York City readers to use. The next time you go to your newsstand buy three copies instead of one. Don't leave this to the other fellow. Try it yourself.

Negro Delegates Ask A. F. of L. Help

By Esther Lowell

ATLANTIC CITY.—(FP).—Four Negro freight handlers, delegates to the 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, have a serious problem for the Federation's attention. Their local unions, four out of 39 in a similar predicament, are chartered directly by the A. F. of L. but all their working conditions are determined by the Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employees' agreements with employers.

The Brotherhood's constitution expressly states that all white persons employed in the lines of work under their jurisdiction are eligible to membership in the union. Negro workers are not admitted, although they pay 50c. to the Brotherhood in addition to the 25c. per capita to the A. F. of L. Negroes are not permitted to participate in Brotherhood meetings or share in insurance and other Brotherhood benefits aside from equal conditions for white and colored freight handlers. Negroes are not allowed to become clerks.

Ben Oglesby, president Local No. 17769, and Albert C. Campbell, president Local No. 17775, both of Kansas City, Mo., two of the Negro delegates in Atlantic City, say they attempted to get an audience at the last convention of the Brotherhood, but could not get beyond the door and found no delegate to present their resolution asking for removal of the color line in the Brotherhood constitution. William McGibney, president Local No. 16900, Greensboro, N. C., and Samuel Blockman, of Cleveland, O., are the two other delegates from colored freight handlers' local unions to the A. F. of L. convention.

All four Negro delegates signed the resolution presented to the convention, calling for the A. F. of L. to approve their proposal that President Green and whomever else he chooses from A. F. of L. officials negotiate with the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks "for the full admission to membership for all classes under their jurisdiction as granted by the American Federation of Labor." In the event negotiations should fail, the Negro freight handlers call upon the A. F. of L. to "take the necessary action to properly protect the welfare of that class of railway employees."

Only two Negro delegates attended the El Paso convention last year and none the A. F. of L. Portland convention 1923. No other Negro unionists are represented at the Atlantic City convention except indirectly by white delegates whose unions have no color bar, either written or in practice. The four Negro freight handlers are staying

in the pleasure city's northside, the district away from the ocean side which has long been claimed by whites. Negro workers are plentiful in Atlantic City, along the boardwalk, in hotels and restaurants, and colored nurse maids ride in the ever-present boardwalk wheel chair with their white mistresses. But when a white girl stops the colored delegates to the A. F. of L. convention for an interview on the boardwalk the idle white population sitting on the piers or passing by gape at the sight.

The Kansas City colored delegates report that A. F. of L. organizer Matt Lewis, a colored man organizing in the Southern District, headquarters at Little Rock, Ark. has been assisting them and is having considerable success in organizing Negro workers in other occupations. Negroes in the building trades which do not discriminate for color have particularly responded to the unionization drive.

Workers Warned Against Going to South Africa

Taking up reports in various countries to the effect that there is a shortage of masons, engineers, printers and other skilled workers in South Africa, the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions points out that workers who have emigrated to South Africa on the strength of these rumors have been exposed on arrival to bitter disappointment. Emigrants, who have had labor contracts before they started, have been informed when they arrived that they must accept wages lower than the standard of the country. There is great unemployment in South Africa at present.

Start on Labor Temple

Peoria, Ill.—Peoria's \$150,000 labor temple is beginning to take form as negotiations with the moneylenders near completion. The work on the building is in the hands of a union contractor. There will be space for all union offices besides an auditorium.

PLEA FOR RUSSIAN INVESTIGATION

BRINGS POINTED REFUSAL; SOVIET

RECOGNITION DENIED BY GREEN

By Art Shields

ATLANTIC CITY.—A ringing appeal for international unity of the workers against international capitalism was the message which A. A. Purcell, former president, the British Trade Union Congress and senior fraternal delegate from the workers of that nation, brought to the A. F. of L. convention—unity with the workers of Russia as well as all others.

It has been the fashion for British delegates to plead with the American labor movement to abandon its policy of "isolation towards the European movement, but Purcell outdid all predecessors in the clear cut character of his argument for world solidarity as the salvation of the workers of the world and the United States in the crisis now facing labor.

Purcell emphasized the international character of capitalism, reminding the American delegates that it was becoming as easy for the American employer to have his factories in Tokio as in San Francisco and that it was useless to depend on immigration barriers for protection against the competition of cheap labor abroad. He cited the accelerating industrialization of China and India, with 12,000,000 wage earners in the factories, mills and mines of the latter colony and the number rapidly growing.

"Join the International"

Join the trade union international, was Purcell's concrete suggestion, and also send a trade union delegation to Russia without delay as a preliminary step to the closest fraternal relations with the Russian workers. Purcell gave the precedent of the British Trade Union Congress which probed conditions in the labor republic for itself and he lauded the achievements of the Russian workers in carefully chosen words.

"I have been to Russia," the British delegate announced. "There I have seen the workers assuming vast responsibilities and duties, carrying through the organization of society under frightful difficulties. As a workman I am proud of the genius for organization and the essential grip of things which my class in Russia has displayed. Just as your president sent that warm and helpful letter on behalf of the Chinese workers in their difficulties, so I want you to approach the question of relations with the workers of Russia."

"Let the same generous spirit prevail," he continued. "The times we live in are too big, too fraught with fate, to permit of little prejudices, barring the way to human relationships. Russia is a very big place—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics occupies one sixth of the land surface of the globe. It is an enormous factor in the world, a tremendous powerful factor in the life of the world."

Praises Debs And Gompers

Developing this theme further with references to the great mineral and agricultural resources of Russia, the budding electrification schemes and the keen way in which the workers and peasants were adapting to their use the latest developments in science and industry, he went on:

"I say you workers of America have much to learn from Russia. We must not be afraid of new ideas. It has often struck me that while the Americans have been the most advanced—the most receptive—in ideas concerning mechanical invention and business organization, they have been most slow in accepting new social and political ideas. I do hope that from now on, the organized workers of America will establish the closest fraternal relations with the organized workers of Russia. Just as the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, representatives of the whole trade union movement of Britain, sent delegations to Russia, so I hope and trust the

(Continued on page 2)

ATLANTIC CITY.—An emphatic No was President Green's answer to the appeal of Arthur A. Purcell, president, International Federation of Trade Unions and British fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. convention urging friendly relations with the organized workers of Russia as a needful step towards world unity of the workers of the world.

Green's reply began in quiet vein that did not suggest the vehemence of the finish. He opened with courteous references to the interesting talk of Brother Purcell and referred again to "My good friend Purcell," but he ended with a denunciation that warmed as it continued of the Communist movement which he charged was seeking to destroy the American trade union movement and substitute the dictatorship of the proletariat. Turning to the British delegate at the climax of his address Green cried:

"Take back to the Russian Red International this message, that the American trade union movement will never affiliate with any organization that preaches such doctrines." Then sustaining the emphasis he asked Purcell to be present when certain delegates who took their philosophy from Moscow rather than from Gompers presented certain resolutions that were coming up that he might have the opportunity for himself to show the rest of the delegates that he stood with them.

Praises British Solidarity

The resolutions in question were assumed to be those appearing in the day's printed proceedings urging endorsement of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, Recognition of Russia, amalgamation of trade unions into industrial unions and other measures at variance with traditional A. F. of L. policies.

The diplomatic beginnings of Green's speech praised the solidarity of British labor that defeated the proposed wage cuts in the British mining industry this summer. He pointed out, however, that this victory was gained by economic, not political action, and to this Purcell nodded. Green made a reference to the solidarity American anthracite miners were now showing in their strike and declared that his brothers and comrades in the hard coal fields could be counted on to stay out till they won, and a salvo of cheers greeted this. Green took up the A. F. of L. attitude towards international affairs then. As he led on to the climax of his speech he took no position on the International Trade Union federation with which Purcell is connected but he discussed the record of the A. F. of L. of good will and friendship to struggles for justice abroad. After the overthrow of the Czar, said Green, the A. F. of L. sent greetings to Russia and later that year got prominent labor men on a government delegation that went to Russia. In the recent Chinese troubles Green himself wrote a letter to Coolidge in behalf of the Chinese he said and the American movement had always been friendly to aspirations of the Indians. But the Communist movement was "another thing."

A Dramatic Moment

He charged that Communists were not interested in strikes, for the immediate economic gains to be achieved, but for revolution.

"No revolution is in sight," cried Green; "if the workers are compelled to wait for revolutions they will starve." Bringing his guns to bear for a moment on the Trade Union Educational League as the Communist agency in the unions, working, he declared, for the overthrow of trade unionism, he turned to Purcell and read out his message of No Affiliation.

(Continued on page 2)

"THE GREATEST SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION SINCE 1917"

THE SPEAKERS:

EUGENE V. DEBS

A. A. PURCELL, M.P., MORRIS HILLQUIT

ADOLF BRAUN

NORMAN THOMAS

National Chairman, Socialist Party of the U. S.

President, International Federation of Trade Unions

International Secretary, Socialist Party of the U. S.

Secretary, German Social Democratic Party, Reichstag Member

Socialist Candidate, Mayor of New York

THE SUBJECT:

PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL UNITY

THE PLACE:

Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City

THE TIME:

Sunday Afternoon, October 11, 2 o'clock

LIVERPOOL AND COMMUNISM

(Ramsay MacDonald wrote the following article on the occasion of the convention of the Liverpool congress of the British Labor Party. The New Leader presents to its readers a fore-runner to a report of the proceedings of the Congress which will appear in an early issue.)

WHEN the cat is otherwise engaged the mice come out and take possession of the cupboards. Absorption in the harassing business of affairs almost kills platform and press activities and the propaganda within the Party becomes somewhat lop-sided. The kitchen-maid Marthas who have to execute the orders have no say in the grand projects devised in editorial rooms and at firesides upstairs. From the very birth of the Independent Labor Party that danger has had to be faced. The thinning ranks of those who were fighting thirty years ago will not have forgotten the wave after wave of sparkling promise that distracted the steady advance of the Movement, withdrawing energy from work that really mattered and in the end falling away into a feeble splash—only to be succeeded by another.

The Fourth Clause, the Green pamphlet, Socialist Unity, Graysonism, "Hall Referendum"—what memories they recall! What time they wasted! What heroes and leaders with a "pop" they threw up! What editors they took in! What help they gave us! Where are they all? The Party has always been led to ruin, the simple and sincere minds of the workers have always been obscured. So they said. Yet here we are, hale and hearty though we should have been dead, winning elections though we should have been wiped out.

Rank and File Always Sound

Our Movement seems to have flourished on introspection. God knows what evils would befall it if it joined heartily in a fine generous comradeship of effort. The rank and file have always been sound. They have been the finest rank and file that any fighting Party had. Their commonsense has been like the deep waters undisturbed by the flashy foam of the wavelets. And yet it has always been possible to distract attention by surface storms and some self-sent inspired one could always get a clamorous following

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The Ex-Labor Premier On Communist Tactics

By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

—for a moon. I suppose it will continue to be so. The valetudinarians will still croak, the holiday-makers still lie on the banks of moss and tell us what we ought to do, and those who, whether they know it or not, have too low an estimate of the qualities of the common folk, will ask for more music and dancing; but the great pilgrimage of labor seeking other lives on other heights will go on, patiently treading thorns underfoot, removing barriers, crossing deserts, thankful for the imperfect achievements of the day and encouraged by them to go from strength to strength.

Same Problems At Liverpool

At Liverpool we are again to be faced by the same problems which agitated the I. L. P. in Edinburgh when I was in the chair, and we shall meet them in the same way. Both the body and the soul of the Labor Party have to be kept, and the delegates will have to see that they are kept. An "all-things-to-all-men" policy will not do. That is not how our movement was made nor how it is to succeed. Our bounds must be wide enough to allow varieties of opinion; toleration has always been like the breath of our bodies to us, and will continue to be so; but the Labor Party must stand in no equivocal position. Flabbiness of will is often palmed off as though it were pliability of heart, and incapacity to work with anybody for long as conscientious objection. There is a philosophy of Communism which can be understood, argued with, accepted or rejected. So with an irresponsible anarchistic individualism whether seen in capitalist exploitation or personal conduct. But a party that out of charity, or in order to show that it is not as other parties are, would seek to gather up within itself a welter of mutually destructive elements, will soon shed every kind of support that would keep it alive.

Is Communist Co-operation Possible?

At Liverpool we are to be asked once again to recognize that the Communists share our faith and our ways, and can co-operate with us in the practical work of building up society in accordance with our heart's desire. Of course, they cannot. Every action germane to the answering of this question

shows they cannot. In office or out of office we have found that their chief desire was to hamper us. Their criticisms have been more unscrupulous than our sworn enemies. Indeed, they have been sufficiently honest to let it be known that they wish to come in to upset us. At the moment Labor is faced by powers more united upon its subjection than ever, and in its battle it will have to show more wariness, more skill than ever. Superficially, a united front seems desirable. In reality it is a disorganization of our forces, a covering of them with suspicion, a division of counsel. The united front now offered to us is a disunited and a discredited movement. Every country in Europe has shown this. The benevolence of Liverpool will have to be controlled by its common sense.

To keep political faith at the moment is difficult. We have in office a Government that won its place by a deliberately planned stunt of deception. Every one who asks the working classes and those who have believed in democracy to abandon it, have an argument in the last election and the present Government, which, standing by itself, is unanswerable. Democracy was fooled and could not under the circumstances protest itself. Has it taken the warning? Perhaps not yet.

But admitting all this, if the Labor Party were to give out a message of uncertain belief in political power, if it were to toy with revolution, if it were to play with suggestions that would mean to millions that it is encouraging the enrollment of revolutionary forces as the only means of meeting hostile political and economic force, it would rightly forfeit the respect, and with that the confidence, of every one who had heads to think and minds to control action. The political and indus-

trial problems which we have to face are in all conscience the most baffling that any body of public men have had to handle in this country. The war has aggravated the inconveniences and the pains of a new industrial revolution. But instead of this being the moment when we should abandon the Socialist method and resolve ourselves into a mass of disturbed and disturbing entities, showing our rectitude and our service by a brawl in Parliament one day and a row in the street the next, and a general strike the day after, it is a clear call for us to steady and organize the confused currents, and give them volume and direction by showing consistency to our own methods and ways. Democracy is served by loyalty when it is in difficulties, and the mass of men and women who look to us for success would be badly rather than well served by a party that was like a barometer and existed only to show changes in the weather.

"Mischief" at Scarborough

What mischief was done at Scarborough was by grafting on to decent roots—like the condemnation of imperialism—six-penny bazaar imitations of Labor opinion, and the same tricks, I see by the agenda, are to be attempted at Liverpool. As a delegate in distress—controlling a good bunch of votes—said to me at Scarborough: "I do not want to vote for this resolution. It does not express my mind nor that of my members. But if I vote against it I shall be accused of supporting the evils which are condemned by its main part." We must not fall into more traps at Liverpool. The delegates present will have an unusually heavy responsibility upon them. Every enemy and every clique will be on the pounce to find openings for their own success. I feel certain, however, that it will be as it has been so often already. The drums will be beaten and the trumpets blown by those who count their chickens before they are hatched. When they are hatched the prophets of evil will go away sorrowful and the men and the women who have worked faithfully to bring about great results will return cheered to continue their labors.

DON'T FORGET THESE APPOINTMENTS

- 1—Friday, October 9, 10 a. m.—The National Executive Committee convenes.
- 2—Friday evening, 7 o'clock—Dinner at the New Star Casino, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue, to distinguished foreign Socialist visitors. Debs will speak.
- 3—Saturday at 11 a. m.—Regional convention of the Socialist Party of the Eastern and New England States opens at the Finnish Workers' Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue.
- 4—Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock—Great International Peace and Labor Demonstration in Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers, Debs, Purcell, Braun, Thomas and Hillquit.
- 5—Tuesday, at 8 o'clock—At the Hunts Point Palace, the Bronx, Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas, speakers. Sam De Witt will preside.
- 6—On Thursday, October 15, at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn—Debs on the radio for the first time. Speakers, Debs, Thomas and Judge Panken.

INTERNATIONAL Socialist history will be made in New York the week beginning this Friday, October 9th.

As one of the high lights in a week full of thriving Socialist activity, there stands out the great international peace and labor unity demonstration to take place at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue, this Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock. For the first time since the war, New York will hear leaders of British, German and American Socialism and Labor join their voices in a gigantic peace plea.

A. A. Purcell, M. P., chairman of the British Trade Union Congress and a member of Parliament, will not only speak for the British workers. As President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, he speaks for 20,000,000 organized workers of the world. Comrade Purcell is in the country as a fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. His address on the Socialist Party platform Sunday afternoon will be the only one he will make before his departure for Mexico on Monday.

Adolf Braun, secretary of the German Social Democracy, the largest Socialist party in the world, will speak on behalf of the German workers. His speech will be translated by Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party, who will also preside at the gathering.

American Socialism's most eloquent voice will speak on behalf of American Labor's desire for peace. No name need be mentioned. Suffice it to say that Eugene V. Debs, national chairman of the party, is at his best at such meetings as the Carnegie Hall gathering will be. To supplement the American speakers, Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, candidate for Mayor, will also speak.

Saturday morning, October 10, at 11 o'clock, the great regional convention of the Socialists of the Eastern States

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE

(Continued from page 1)
breeds antagonism and war. They express their desire for peace but the rival imperialist forces compel the accumulation of armaments. They talk of peace and are eventually overwhelmed by the violent forces which capitalism breeds and are hurled into war. This is why statesmen cannot be logical in discussing the question.
A Socialist reconstruction of the nations of the world alone can put an end to the contradiction between the will for peace and the forces that make for war.

will convene at Finnish Workers' Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue. Eugene V. Debs will preside. Comrades from all of the New England and Eastern States will be in attendance.

Samuel A. De Witt, columnist, legislator, poet and business man, is planning a little party all by himself in the Bronx, where he is running for Borough President. It is no use trying to boost the meeting here. You will be lucky if you can get in the Hunts Point Palace on Tuesday night. The Bronx is going to show Debs what it thinks of him. And Sam will be master of ceremonies. We can see the "standing room only" sign out already.

Thousands of Socialists have waited patiently all these years while the radio horns gushed out stuff and nonsense, poison and dope. At last and for the first time Eugene V. Debs will be heard over the radio. His speech at the Brooklyn Academy of Music Thursday evening, October 15, together with that of Norman Thomas, will be broadcast. Watch the local papers for announcement of the station.

PURCELL URGES AID TO RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1)

American Federation of Labor will do the same. Do not be afraid of being called names. Were Abraham Lincoln, Sam Gompers or Gene Debs, those great sons of the American people, ever afraid of being called names or being reviled, maligned and persecuted?

Earlier in his speech Purcell said: "I tell you that the policy of isolation is a mistaken one. You cannot afford to think only in terms of the United States; or of the Americas. The Monroe Doctrine no longer holds good for your Government—as its imperial policy in the Philippines, in China and elsewhere, demonstrates—and no longer holds good for the capitalists. It cannot longer hold good for you. Circumstances, the development of capitalism, the establishment of great industrial fabrics in Asia, Africa and Australia, necessarily compels you to take a world view and to act from a world standpoint."

GREEN SAYS NO

(Continued from page 1)

It was the most dramatic moment of the convention to date, more than half the delegates rising to their feet with shouts. Purcell, a square set figure, sat imperturbably nor did he change expression as Green continued that he was doubtful whether the decisions at Liverpool (of the Labor Party) were not rather the opinions of British labor than those of Scarborough (of the Trade Union Congress).

PEOPLE ARE LIKE THAT

THIS neck of the woods is celebrating a sort of "Gene Debs" week. Yesterday he spoke at two banquets in Newark and later in the week is to hold forth at a large banquet and three great meetings in New York. The Newark affairs were successes in every sense of the word, largely due to the efficient management of George Goebel. From the side lines we watched the gathering, which was a fine sight for sore eyes. "Gene" held forth with strength and vigor and appeared to be the same Debs of twenty years ago. It was bulky and the sort of occasion that compensates any Socialist for a bunch of hard knocks.

"I met a number of people in California who spoke highly about The New Leader. 'Wonderful' was the word used by some of them." Brooklyn, N. Y. HARRY W. LAIDLER.

A year ago last April I learned through the Milwaukee Leader about The New Leader, and, thinking I would like to see a copy, sent for two or three consecutive copies to keep up with the campaign. The last time I sent for copies I said that I would subscribe, but did not have the means. There was no thought in my mind that you would send me the paper, saying that I could pay you later, and I thought I could, too. But time went on. Still I did not get the wherewith. Then the year was up, and still could not see my way clear, and, of course, I could not ask or expect you to continue the paper, but now I have the promise of a friend to pay both the arrears and the renewal. So now I have summoned the courage to ask you to continue the paper and probably in a month or less you will get remittance for both arrears and renewal.

Here, Mr. Oneal, let me thank you most cordially, more so than I can ever express. Every issue brings me startling facts, such as the stories about the Chinese situation and what the great outside world is doing. I sent for and received the 22 books, which will be interesting reading for myself and neighbors. I sold one card to a friend, who said he had intended to get the paper anyway. He knew its merits, for I have been giving him my Leader to read. I think I can sell another prospect to whom I have been furnishing the paper. I had to borrow the \$3 to get the sub cards and the twenty-two books.

For twenty years I belonged to the Appeal Army, getting subs and reading The Appeal to Reason. For twenty-one years I got the paper without a break and bought bundles as well, but I am out of the fight now. I am almost 79 years, have catarrh of the throat and lungs, have the rheumatism badly and a rupture. Since an illness of 13 years ago I have been of little use to myself or anyone else. Just one thing more, and I will retire. Something like 15 years ago there was a story in the Appeal about one James Oneal converting Fred D. Warren to Socialism, and when I got The New Leader I saw James Oneal was the editor and am of the opinion that you were the same man. Now, if you are that James Oneal, will you do me the favor to drop me a line. My eyesight is very poor; that is why I do not write on the lines.

Cassia, Pa. J. E. W.
It was another Oneal who brought Fred Warren to Socialism. We are glad that The New Leader proves interesting to this veteran of the struggle. That is our compensation. The name and address of this Comrade will be furnished to those who may be interested.

And we quote from a letter to James Oneal from Bessie Goldstein, now in Mexico City:—

"Must a person who lives in far away Mexico City be punished by not being given the privilege of reading one of those wonderful letters of yours that I have been reading about so much in The New Leader? What's it all about, anyway? I feel so terribly forgotten and neglected by not having received one of those letters? Please may I have one, too?"

"I am going to secure two subscribers, and when they come in I want you to realize they are mine, and please credit me with same, and follow up the credit with a copy of 'Workers in American History.' You see, even down here in Mexico I am still following your doings, and know perfectly well that when I am responsible for two subscriptions to The New Leader I am entitled to a copy of that most wonderful book. I am over my neck in work, and am never through. Writing this letter at midnight, and dead tired. Am always wishing the day was three times as long. Sometimes I wish I was back in New York and participating in the campaign. But I am very happy here, too. So long, and best luck."

Enclosed you will find a cashier's check for three dollars in payment for three dollars in payment for the pamphlet and subscription offer of Jim Oneal as mentioned in his recent letter. Tell Rufus not to go back to the farm. We want him on The New Leader." Chicago, Ill. M. V. Halushka and Meyer Halushka.

Thanks boys, it's awfully good of you, although we will admit since older making time rolled around we have sometimes felt like going back to the farm for a visit.

Orders are still rolling in for the big book and subscription offer of James Oneal. A number of people have returned for a second dose. They include our old friendly enemy, Bartholomew Depew of Branchville, N. J., who says, "The remainder of the paper is so good that it almost makes up for your terrible column. Why not come back home and let the editors work without having you hang around?"

Postals have come in from every State and many parts of Canada. This week we received the first order from Alaska. It's from John F. Bloam at Ketchikan. Don't let your postal lay around the house. Sign and mail today. We will do the rest.

Merchants and professional people advertise in The New Leader because they expect your patronage. All things being equal, we would like to have you buy from our advertisers whenever possible, and when doing so tell them why. For instance, there is "Amergin." It cleans the teeth and heals the gums. We have found it superior to any paste or powder. Ask your druggist about "Amergin," and if he doesn't carry it let us know. It's a product of the Karlin Laboratories. Then there is something we all use every day—bread. The best bread made by competent bakers under sanitary conditions bears the label of the bakers' union. Insist on this label. Its co-operation that wins the day.

"I was in the hospital under treatment of a doctor and scarcely able to sit up now. Was struck by a car while crossing the street. If I am not too late, please send me the 22 books if you possibly can. The New Leader is the only paper I take. It means all to me. I shall be seventy years old October 13th and shall continue to read The New Leader as long as I live." Los Angeles, Cal. T. A. STANDIFER.

There are still a number of sets of the 22 books available for the late comers. Send in your order today.

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"As some good Socialist has paid my subscription for the next year, I'll just return the compliment and enclose my check for two dollars. Just send The New Leader for a year to anyone you please." Cheney, Wash. GEORGE F. MCKAY.

Irwin, in our circulation department, wants us to tell you something about the men and women in various parts of the country who are acting as representatives of The New Leader and thus adding to their earnings. This most of them do in their spare time, and in looking over the list we were agreeably surprised with the tidy sums made last month by several of the agents. In a future issue (we are not feeling well today) this interesting story will be told in detail, but meanwhile here is an opportunity. Write to The New Leader, Circulation Department, Seven East 15th Street, New York City, and if your locality is not already covered, there may be an opening for you. Here you can utilize your spare time with pleasant work for the cause and at the same time add to your income. It's really easy if you follow our plan. Write and ask for the details today.

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SAKLATVALA STATES HIS CASE

By Shapurji Saklatvala M. P.

MY having been barred from America appears to me to be a matter less of law and more of the subversion of constitutional usage and a reckless policy fraught with illimitable future dangers. The American government should play the game even now and restore my status prior to the cancellation of my visa. I should be prepared to come to the States and place the matter before (a) an investigation committee; (b) the American public through some constitutional body such as the Civil Liberties Union, or (c) before any judicial tribunal that may challenge my signature on the declaration form of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. I am prepared to meet all issues without making capital out of them.

I summarize my case as follows:

The Inter-Parliamentary Union is well known to be a body of politicians of all shades of thought, many of whom are described in most offensive terms by their opponents. In our own House there are certain Scottish members who are always described by other Parties as wild men, and they in their turn described a famous City Banker, now a Peer, as a murderer.

The criterion of membership is that one must be a duly elected member of his country's Parliament thereby assuredly representing a tangible body of opinion. The Parliaments on the Continent of Europe have a good sprinkling of Communist members, and Parliament in Britain and the Dominions have many members upholding the policy of economic revolution and of overthrowing Capitalist Society and thus taking possession of the means of production. Not only the Third Internationalist but the followers of the Vienna Union on the one hand and reactionaries of the Mussolini type on the other have provided for defensive forces in anticipation of civil upheavals.

America Should Not Have Invited Conference

If America really desired to play the political purist and believed that expression of thought—which she could have legally limited to the Conference chamber—would ruin her, she ought never have invited such a Conference to take place at Washington.

Such wantonness in international affairs is not only scandalous but unpardonable. Having issued the invitation America assumes the responsibility of deciding which members of Foreign Parliaments are eligible and which are not. The public contract of America with the Conference as a whole became a protective pledge of honor to each member concerned. A definite contract of this kind was entered into with me. Apart from all the personal advantages of such a trip to a great country such an annual gathering of the world's politicians is of great political benefit not only educationally and for future public work but in a multitude of ways. By breaking this contract America has inflicted upon me a material and an even greater political loss.

The American government have gone even further. They publish to the world a picture of myself which is untrue and which has been worked up by intrigue for personal motives by my political opponents whose money mak-

ing chances in the East are in jeopardy.

Charges U. S. Interference in English Affairs

In the case of many bodies, business companies, benefit societies, etc., the entire proceedings of a body are invalidated if one member entitled to attend is forcibly kept out. If a company held a meeting and the landlord prevented a member from attending the company must fight the landlord's action or by collusion vitiate their own proceedings. I trust that from this point of view the Inter-Parliamentary will take impartial action before they depart.

Then comes another issue of constitutional value. My speeches were on July 9, and the last one on August 7. America had ample opportunity to discuss with me or officially with the British group if any points were worrying her political and administrative chiefs. My public speech of August 30 was delivered three weeks after the British Press had started the campaign of forcing America to take action of which Britain herself would have been ashamed.

Quite obviously my speech has been intentionally misrepresented and words picked out and put together for the purpose of deceiving. I fail to understand how a responsible government can act on the press of politically biased newspapers. I am certain if your officials merely read our Labor and Communist journals they would require to bar all the non-Labor delegates. The only reliable document would be the Parliamentary Hansards of my speech on India. There I explained that the foreign ruler in India claims extravagant privileges and terms as "sedition" those very things which in Britain they term democratic advancement and patriotic duty. I was expressing my determination to carry on those activities which they describe in so offensive terms.

Has your government any right to

"He Should Be Proud to Be Excluded by the United States"

—LANSBURY

London.—Commenting on the United States exclusion of Shapurji Saklatvala, Communist M. P., George Lansbury, M. P. and famous labor editor, declared:

"Tell Saklatvala that he should be proud of the fact that he has been considered worthy by the U. S. government to be excluded. By this act America has placed herself on an equal footing with the Russian Government during the worst days of Tsarism."

Interfere in such domestic affairs of the British Empire? If they were in honest doubt were they not in honor bound to hear my defense? Did they not realize that I was not speaking to Indians or Chinese exciting them to resort to force but to the British themselves, exposing the wiles of the British exploiter, which are detrimental to the bulk of the British themselves?

Calls British Enemy of America

It is not a political theory or dialectical argument with me but I fear the coming day when the unscrupulous British Imperialist will produce the bulk of the world's requirements, including raw materials (e. g. cotton in Sudan, Rhodesia, Mesopotamia, Central India and Southern China) by human labor costing about 25 cents a day with the deliberate object and desire to replace goods produced by human labor in the West who demand high civilized standards of life and equal rights with social bosses.

The British Imperialists are out to crush the world's life. As a further menace to the world now, Britain and France are rearing up Oriental armies. They come to you posing as your friends, because you and they speak one language, but all the time they are working to overthrow the work of American workers in the cotton fields, coal mines, and steel yards, by coercing Indians, Chinese, Africans, Arabs, and other dominated races to blacken the West.

These people are not the friends of America or even of the bulk of their own population, they are giving a false sense of safety by banquets and soothing words, and they are cutting off the strings of life of advancing masses of all Western countries. In their mentality Washington was as undesirable as Saklatvala and in the civil war they would have fought to the last ditch to retain Negro slaves as more handy for cotton growing than politically and socially independent men. They are today condemning white

miners in South Africa and giving preference to Negroes in diamond mines, so that they may be safe even if the white miners starve.

My vigorous and complete exposure of this gang is a little too premature for them. Over 3½ million of British workers have now deliberately voted against this murderous and insidious patriotism of British Imperialists, and they now destroy by political life at all costs. False reporting, perjury and intrigue are in every chapter of the Imperialist history of Britain. Clive and Warren Hastings did it, Parnell suffered from it, Dr. Jamison and Chamberlain worked it against the Boers, and even the last election in Britain rested on it, so it was not difficult for that Imperialist crowd to pose as saints and innocent freedom loving statesmen, and get America to do the silly thing.

Have You Played Fair?

I shall consider myself well rewarded if I can even now come over and explain to President Coolidge himself and to the American public, where the world will be in the next few years, if we permitted ourselves to be trapped in the so-called rights of Britain in an Eastern Empire. Let them have it, if they honestly dare to, without "coolie" labor.

My struggle will continue. I have even already lost my living. American fury was artificially created first, and that is to be the main evidence against me for my condemnation in the future. Have you played fair? Have your politicians displayed intelligence? Do you deliver justice as they do in India and China.

I was tried in my absence, my enemy's evidence was taken, friendly smiles were exchanged between them and the judges, and I was found guilty and punished to the greatest extent that lay in your power.

But I have faith in truth and in my fight, and America will know me better and treat me better ultimately.

Talks With Thomas

A Weekly Letter from the Socialist Candidate for Mayor of N. Y. City

THIS is a little talk about our municipal campaign and the Social Revolution.

We observe that some of our communist friends are terribly worried because the Socialist platform is "a reformist document." They copied a lot of its planks in their own platform, so they ought to know.) Some who are not communists are at times troubled lest our party become "a mere reformist party."

What is it, they wonder, that distinguishes us from mere progressives?

Two things: First, the mere progressive too often acts as if his party song was "We don't know where we're going, but we're on our way." We Socialists are on our way to abolish the capitalist system and the class and racial conflicts which characterize it. We want to establish in the United States a genuine co-operative commonwealth which will be federated with similar commonwealths throughout the world. We want to abolish the waste, inefficiency and injustice of production for profit rather than for use. We want to make it forever impossible for able-bodied human beings to live by owning rather than by working. If this isn't a genuinely revolutionary aim, we don't know what is.

The second respect in which we differ from mere progressives is that we know that we must look to the organized workers with hand and brain rather than to that amorphous mass called the "Public" to fulfill our purposes. We welcome individuals from every class and social group, who will honestly support our aims and give their support to the demands of the workers, but we do not expect the beneficiaries of the capitalist system deliberately and in mass to organize for its overthrow.

To achieve our desires for the world will not be easy. It will cost struggle and sacrifice. Just about the worst way we can imagine to obtain it will be the wholesale violence of world-wide war whether between nations, races or classes. Thanks to modern science, such war would be so destructive that it is doubtful if the survivors would have the energy, in-

tellectual capacity or material resources to build any kind of new civilization. We should be more likely to have a new Dark Ages rather than a co-operative commonwealth.

This means that the way to save the world is not by a smashup. You cannot establish a revolution on the one hand by talking about it, or on the other by blind destructive fury. We must have all the non-destructive progress we can get. The workers' use of the vote is one way to get this progress. It is not a perfect way. It is not the only way. No single election will vote in the revolution once and for all. Certainly, New York City can't do it next November, BUT while some of us are talking about revolution, the new generation, on which we must depend, is suffering terribly from bad housing, lack of proper playgrounds, high cost of food and the goose-step in education. If we care for realities and not words, we have got to care for housing, markets, schools, etc. The workers are going to be organized politically as they have been organized in trade unions, not merely by pointing to a distant vision, but by showing them something that they can get now. That is our chief purpose in this municipal campaign. We mean to start such an agitation that the old parties cannot ignore all the demands of the workers. We mean to educate the people on what New York City could do for them. It is a crime that two-thirds of New York's families have incomes well under \$2,500 a year. That is the fault of our crazy system. The city government as such can't help that, but it can provide more decent housing for the millions who can't pay more than \$7 to \$9 per room each month. Men and women who live in decent houses will be more and not less able to get other good things for themselves.

It is ridiculous nonsense to suppose that the less you know or care about the homely everyday details of city government, the better revolutionist you are. The times call for men and prophets which can destroy in blind fury, but for those who can build. The capitalist system does plenty of destructive work. This campaign gives the Socialist Party a chance to show that it has ideas, determination and organization for building.

Thomas

THE RAND SCHOOL'S NEW TERM

THE Rand School of Social Science, which claims to be the oldest and largest workers' school in America, is just now beginning its twentieth season of educational activity in the service of the Socialist and Labor movement. The young ladies at the registration desk are kept busy every evening enrolling students for the various classes, and Algeron Lee, director of the school, declares that present indications point to a very lively season.

The staff of teachers and lecturers includes David P. Berenberg, V. F. Calverton, August Claessens, Prof. Henry E. Crampton, Edgar H. Davis, Herman Epstein, Nathan Fine, Marius Hansome, Morris Hillquit, Julius Hochman, Mrs. Hannah Jablonow, Dr. Morris H. Kahn, Algeron Lee, Meyer London, Joseph M. Osman, Bernard M. Parelhoff, Walter N. Polakoff, Leo E. Saidla, David J. Saposs, Dr. Samuel C. Schmucker, Randolph Somerville, Dr. Norman R. Thomas and Clement Wood. It is stated that some additions will be made to this staff later in the season.

The list includes several new names. Mr. Osman is taking over the work in psychology, formerly done by Dr. Margaret Daniels, who is spending the year in Europe. His first class, which be-

gan last week, was so overcrowded that a second section has been formed, to meet at half-past eight on Tuesday evenings.

Mr. Davis, who will give a course in newspaper work later in the season, is an instructor in journalism at Columbia University. Mr. Somerville, who is instructor in dramatics at New York University and director of the Washington Square Players, is to give a course on the social significance of the drama. Vernon Loggins, formerly of the same university, became known to many Rand School folk by his lectures at Camp Tamiment last summer, and is to give a course on literature in the school.

Two important short lecture courses have been prompted by the K. K. K. and Fundamentalist attack on the teaching of the evolution theory. One of these is the course on "The Evolution of Life," to be given on Saturdays (October 10), by Professor Crampton, of Columbia University, who is one of America's foremost biologists. This will be followed by a course entitled "Man's Life on Earth," by the well-known scientific lecturer, Samuel C. Schmucker.

Courses in modern world history and descriptive economics, by David P. Berenberg; in critical sociology, by Marius Hansome, and by Algeron Lee in history of civilization, together with several courses in English, composi-

tion, and appreciation of literature, complete the schedule as it now stands, but additional courses will be starting every week from now till the middle of November.

The library, which has been closed through the summer, is now open from 4:30 to 8:30 p. m. four days in the week, and from 1 to 5 on Saturdays.

The Women's Committee, which is one of the valued auxiliary organizations of the Rand School, met last Wednesday to plan its activities for the fall and winter, and a meeting of the executive committee of the Rand School Fellowship was held the same day.

On Monday of last week an informal reception was tendered to Thomas Johnson, secretary of the Irish Trade Union Congress and leader of the Labor party in the Dail Eireann, and to Rennie Smith, L. L. P. member of the British Parliament. Comrade Johnson's account of the economic and political conditions that prevail in Ireland was listened to with intense interest. Rennie Smith is to lecture in the school Saturday, October 17, at 1:30 p. m., on the question: "Is British Labor Going Left?"

The Rand School Gymnasium, under the direction of Richard Blechschmidt, Jr., opened its doors Monday evening, and a number of its classes are already overcrowded, while others are rapidly filling up. The opening hike is to take place this Sunday.

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PROGRESSIVE ADVENTURING A HOPEFUL CONVENTION

By Marx Lewis

Milwaukee, Wis.

"In again, out again" is a game which Socialists cannot successfully play, if their experience in the special election held last Tuesday be considered a fair example of what is likely to happen when you lead your people into another's camp and then try to lead them back again.

Having spent a while in the La Follette camp last year, the Socialists this year either stayed away from the polls to show their disgust with the manner in which the progressives turned on the principles they proclaimed last year, or the less informed of them went to the polls and voted for the son of the man the Socialists idolized a year ago and whose principles they still professed to cherish.

The Socialists did not expect to fare well in this election—and they fared just a little worse than they expected. While 40 per cent of the number that participated in the elections last year went to the polls in the special election last Tuesday, the Socialist candidate, John M. Work, polled only 30 per cent of the vote polled by the Socialist candidate for Governor last year. To have held their own as compared with the elections last year they would have had to receive 18,000 votes. They received a little less than 15,000.

The loss is not as substantial as the size of the vote would at first thought seem to indicate. A more energetic campaign, the holding of a few meetings up-state, a little more interest on the part of the numerous elected Socialist officials in this State, would have more than made up the difference.

The Discouraging Feature

But while the Socialists about held their own, and thus have little ground for discouragement, the discouraging feature of the elections is the way the so-called progressives turned back on their principles, and how the people unwittingly acceded to it.

In refusing to accept the platform upon which his father was a candidate last year, young La Follette retreated over ground it will take several years to recover. In making their campaign on this basis, and in appealing to the progressives for their support because the Socialist candidate stood exactly where the Progressive standard-bearer stood last year, the Socialists evidently drove many of the genuine progressives to disgust with the progressive outfit without convincing them that they should stand by the Socialist candidate.

But about 234,000 did vote for young La Follette, including some who ordinarily vote the Socialist ticket. Some of them, the overwhelming majority of them, were merely hero worshippers, idolizing La Follette, rather than progressives. Others swung to the progressive candidate when the conservative Republican accepted, or at least did not repudiate, the endorsement of the Ku Klux Klan. And some Socialist voters, evidently enamored by the name, and knowing little of the importance of the principles involved, fell into line.

A Desire to Break With Progressivism

The situation this year was an unusual one. When the death of Senator La Follette made the calling of a special election imminent Socialists were hoping that a contest with the progressives would be avoided this year. The announcement that young La Follette would be the candidate made bad matters worse, for his entry was bound to make confusion worse confounded. The sentimental appeal was one the Socialists knew it would be hard to resist, for sentiment cannot be reasoned with.

Some Socialists thought that the logical thing to do was not to name a candidate at all this year. Without money, with the clamor calls of last year still ringing in the ears of the Socialist voters, and with little or no time to make a real campaign, they thought that this would be not time to measure Socialist forces with the Progressives. But others, including the party membership, were anxious to cut with the past, and the Progressive affiliation as rapidly, as completely, and as thoroughly as possible. They felt it was

Wisconsin's Experience in the La Follette Campaign Brings Re-Valuation of Worth of Party's 1924 Policy

something they must live down, and the sooner they start, the sooner the result will be achieved. Despite the outcome, the Socialists are satisfied. They can now pursue the even tenor of their way, avoiding the bypaths which threw them into a company of irresponsible politicians and turncoats.

The Strong Point Against La Follette

During the campaign, there was just one hope of withstanding the La Follette-Blaine trend. It was the repudiation of the late Senator La Follette's principles by his son. This was the message that the Socialists hoped would split the machine forces. That was why the outcome of the campaign became more doubtful as the Socialists continued to pound away at this issue. If they had had the resources, and the time, they would have had young La Follette on the defensive. But they had neither, and so La Follette continued to ignore the charges the Socialists made.

The situation next year will not be an unusual one. The voters will be called upon to ratify a deal made between La Follette and Governor Blaine by which the offices would be parcelled out next year. There are already

some rumors to the effect that the large majority young La Follette has received has strengthened his determination to wrest control of the State machine from Blaine's hands, and that the deal will not be lived up to. If it is, the people will know that they are called upon to ratify a deal; if it is not lived up to, the rancor that will be left as a result of the fight to which it will give rise is bound to inure to the benefit of the Socialists.

From a broader standpoint, the election marks the closing chapter of the record that Wisconsin has written in the annals of state progress. Once the laboratory of every social experiment that could benefit the people by extending their political rights, Wisconsin is now in the hands of a group of machine politicians, who know little and care less about experimenting along lines that offer some hope to the common people. There has not been a constructive proposal emanating from that group in a dozen years. The degeneracy of the state is so marked that those who understand how the downfall has occurred are likely to begin a real struggle to restore Wisconsin as the state from which may come the lessons of social progress. That the Socialists will play their part in that struggle is certain.

By Murray E. King

Minneapolis, Minn.

POLITICAL action by the organized workers through the Farmer-Labor Association was endorsed by the annual convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, which has finished its work at Austin, Minn.

This action was more than many progressives throughout the State had hoped for, as recent developments in the labor movement have justified the belief that the labor movement had been swung back to the non-partisan policies of the American Federation of Labor. While the vote on this question was unanimous, much to the surprise of many, it was worded to make it appear to be a straddle between the A. F. of L. non-partisan policies and the Farmer-Labor policy.

After endorsing the A. F. of L. political policies, the resolution goes on to unqualifiedly endorse the Farmer-Labor Association. It is explained that there is no contradiction here, as the A. F. of L. non-partisan policy permits the endorsement of those candidates and principles that most completely serve labor's aims, and that it can be shown beyond a doubt that the Farmer-Labor Association and candidates are much truer to organized labor's aims than either of the other political parties or sets of candidates.

What this resolution actually does is to conform the Minnesota movement formally to the A. F. of L. policy, while actually allying it with a third party

Minnesota Labor Renews Its Support to Independent Political Action by the Farmers and City Workers

movement. This stand was plainly an attempt to placate conservative elements that have been working in this State recently to swing the movement back to the conservative position and the still large progressive movement here which will not willingly consent to return to such a position. It puts the conservatives, some of whom are the highest officials in the State federation, more completely behind the labor party movement in this State than ever before, and lays the foundation for a more complete co-operation of the entire organized labor movement of the State in building up the Farmer-Labor Association than has ever existed before.

This decision seems to be the first definite turn toward a more progressive and independent political stand by labor than this State has experienced for about two years. Largely as a result of the bitter anti-Communist and anti-Red drive here in the organized labor movement, labor has been swinging in a most appalling manner further and further to the right.

Minneapolis, once the hotbed of labor progressivism, developed a Central Labor Union that to all outward appearance was a typical conservative A. F. of L. body politically and industrially. St. Paul preserved a slightly more progressive attitude. The small-

er cities seemed to have gone back entirely to the non-partisan A. F. of L. attitude.

Federation Given

Only lukewarm support. The Farmer-Labor Association, launched so auspiciously at a splendid convention in St. Paul last summer, got no active support to speak of from organized labor, except some half-hearted support in St. Paul. Most of the unions formerly connected with the Farmer-Labor Federation dropped out. In Minneapolis and most other cities no general Farmer-Labor Association meetings were held following the enthusiastic convention which founded the Farmer-Labor Association as the successor to the Farmer-Labor Federation.

The influence of the official A. F. of L. representatives working within this state in behalf of the nonpartisan political policy perceptibly and steadily increased. This was why there was widespread fear that the State Federation of Labor convention at Austin this year would give the death blow to the Farmer-Labor Association, the Farmer Labor movement and independent political action by passing a straight nonpartisan resolution.

The tide seems to be turning. This week Minneapolis labor held the first general Farmer-Labor Association meeting that has been held in this city since the association was formed. It was called by Roy Wier, secretary of the Central Labor Union. Other meetings of a similar character are scheduled in other cities of the state. A drive is about to begin which will have for its purpose the bringing of the trade unions all over the state into the association in conformity with the resolution passed by the representatives of most of the unions.

Communist Party Members Are Barred

The same convention which saved the labor party idea from going by the board in Minnesota, passed a resolution a part of which says: "No person shall be permitted to sit as a delegate at conventions of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor" who is a member, or a sympathizer or teacher of the doctrines of that organization."

It is believed that this development has paved the way for an early return of Minnesota Labor to its former politically advanced position. It was the fears, bitterness and prejudice aroused by the same extreme policies and methods employed by the Communists to control the Minnesota Labor movement that caused this movement more than anything else to swing so far to the right. This swing became so pronounced that Socialist and other progressive ideas began to be mistrusted and banned by a growing element in the trade union quite after the fashion prevalent twenty years ago.

Now that the Communists are ousted and the fear of their tactics removed, it is believed that real constructive Socialism and progressivism will rapidly regain their former influence.

The convention adopted without a dissenting vote a good straight Socialist resolution advocating the nationalization of the anthracite coal industry as the only possible solution of the present plight of the workers and the consumers in relation to that industry. Other resolutions that should have passed (like the one) protesting against the policy of Secretary of State Kellogg in excluding Saklatvala from the Interparliamentary Union in Washington) and another advocating the recognition of Soviet Russia, were dodged. They were referred to the Executive Council.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

THE INTERNATIONAL

How Fascists Abuse Minorities

Full confirmation of frequent charges to the effect that since the accession to power of the Fascist Government the rights of the Germans and Slavs living in territory awarded to Italy following the end of the World War have been practically abolished and these minority peoples subjected to cruel persecutions by the minions of Mussolini has been laid before the Minorities Commission set up by the Socialist and Labor International at the Marseille Congress in August. Under the Chairmanship of Louis de Brouckere of Belgium, the Minorities Commission has collected detailed information as to the treatment of these Germans and Slavs from Socialist leaders of Italy, as well as from those living in the districts in question.

In a report on the situation, the Commission points out that in the German and Slav districts there exists the same state of a total denial of rights of the people under the Fascist autocracy as prevails in the remaining parts of Italy. Thus for example, in a comparatively small town like Bozen in no less than three hundred cases the Fascists ill-treated their political opponents with castor oil. A German teacher was murdered. In the great market in Bozen, 48 Germans were wounded. Three moderate middle-class leaders of the German Minority, among whom were the former Mayor of Bozen and a former deputy, were roughly handled. In May, 1925, in St. Jacob, near Bozen, on one day 22 persons were so ill-treated by the Fascists that several had to be taken to the hospital. Similar outrages are also of daily occurrence in the Slav districts. These Fascist outrages are in no wise different from those in Italy proper. But directed against the members of national minorities they have different psychological effects than in Italian districts. For in the German and Slav districts there appears as the expression of foreign nationalist rule what in Italy proper appears as the method of one Italian party against another.

The autonomy of the municipalities is denied. In all the larger German towns, the Municipal Councils have been dissolved. The municipalities are administered by Commissioners of Italian nationality and mostly Fascist, named by the state authorities. Often the dissolution of the elected municipal body follows some obvious pretext. Thus, for example, the Municipal Council of the German town of Brixen was dissolved on the ground that the authorities were not in a position to defend it from Fascist acts of violence. In addition, the autonomy

of the small Slav and German village councils has been seriously restricted. From many municipalities the right to elect their own town clerks has been withdrawn and the nominations are now made by the government representative in the province.

In the district of the German Minority the very important tourist clubs for this Alpine land have been closed and their mountain chalets handed over to the Italian tourist clubs. In this way the chalets of the Labor Tourist Club, "The Friends of Nature," on the Hingler near Moran, which the workers of Meran had established by their own special efforts, were stolen. Even the fire brigade unions in the German territory have been suspended by the authorities. Inn keepers who place their premises at the disposal of the national minorities, lose their licenses. Thus intimidated the inn keepers do not dare any longer to lodge unions and gatherings of the national minorities. At the last elections to the Italian Parliament the restrictions on the German Socialists in Bozen made any election meeting impossible. The most intense feeling among the national minorities is provoked by the treatment of education. All elementary schools are Italianized. In the

lowest four classes of the elementary schools instruction is given only in Italian; from year to year still higher classes are given over to Italian instruction. Even private instruction in the mother tongue is forbidden. The Labor Movement has been deliberately destroyed in both districts. At first the authorities dismissed the overwhelming majority of the German and Slav railway workers, who had formed the strongest trade union organization in this district. Then the Fascist organizations brought the strongest pressure to bear upon private enterprises to dismiss their workers and employees of German and Slav nationality. Everyone who was organized in the old trade unions and who refused to enter the Fascist unions was threatened with dismissal. Thus the trade unions were completely smashed up. In the same way as the trade unions the Labor Press was destroyed. Thus the Socialist Volksrecht in Bozen has been forbidden for more than a year on the ground that Fascist would demolish the printing presses if the paper were to appear.

The Minorities Commission considers it urgently necessary to direct the attention of all Socialist Parties to this reign of terror. It asks all Socialist publications in the world to

make public the facts it has established. It calls upon all Socialist Parties to make use of every opportunity to demand for the Slav and German Minorities in Italy the restoration of local and provincial autonomy; the right to the use of their own language in schools, in state matters and in the courts; freedom for communal life, freedom of the Labor Movement. However, it is under no delusion and knows that the terror ruling in the Slav and German districts of Italy is but a part of the terror to which the Fascist dictatorship has subjected all the people in Italy. Therefore it declares that the fight against the oppression of the German and Slav Minorities in Italy can only be carried on as a part of the universal fight against the Fascist dictatorship, among whose worst crimes is the fact that by its ill-treatment of the national minorities it has fostered hatred between the Italian people and their neighbors. The Minorities Commission calls upon the persecuted German and Slav comrades and workers in the districts annexed by Italy to keep in mind that their liberation from national oppression can be won in no other way than by the closest union with the Italian workers and Italian democracy, whose power alone can break the Fascist rule of violence.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL BAG

Reply to Sifton

Editor, The New Leader:

I notice a letter published in The New Leader of September 26, in which Paul Sifton criticizes, with a little more heat than the exigencies of the situation would seem to warrant, a reference I made in one of my news stories. The statement which I made—and which he refuses to believe without evidence—is as follows: "La Follette repudiated the program upon which his father made his presidential campaign last year."

On August 16 young La Follette announced his candidacy, in a statement the very first paragraph of which heads: "I am a progressive candidate on the platform endorsed by the voters of Wisconsin three years ago when Robert M. La Follette was elected to his fourth term in the United States Senate."

In repudiating the program upon which his father made his presidential campaign last year young La Follette repudiated one that was also ratified by the voters of Wisconsin to the number of 453,000, and by the voters of the nation to the extent of 5,000,000. It is fair for those who want them

to demand the evidence. But before hurling epithets at others for stating conclusions without giving the facts, a reader might refrain from indulging in conclusions of his own concerning a writer's veracity before he has the facts.

Your reader disbelieved my statement because he considers young La Follette "a damn good politician."—too damn good to overthrow his father's principles. He is a good politician—and as such he knows that the people do not read political platforms and do not care about them. He said he was going to stand by his father's principles, ran through his hair with his hands while on the platform, the crowd cheered and shouted "He is a chip of the old block," and everything else was forgotten.

He refused to defend his father's principles of last year, some of which he did not think were popular, while the conservatives were attacking them. The Socialists defended and justified them without stopping to wonder whether they were popular or not. They know that after defending and justifying them for years, they will become popular, and when they do, then Bobbie La Follette will announce that he is for them. To advocate unpopular ideas requires the spirit of the pioneer, a man with a backbone, and years of devotion to unpopular ideals and of pioneering have given the Socialists that backbone. They do not expect Progressives, who must steal their way onto the Republican ticket so as to catch the votes of some who will think they are Republicans, to develop a backbone of their own.

Milwaukee, Wis.

MARX LEWIS.

Editor New Leader:

What position will the Interparliamentary Conference take in the case of the barred British members? Will they rise to the assertion of their dignity as a body? Will they feel it a moral duty to stand up for a fellow member?

My memory carries me back to the

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days when the then powerful Knights of Labor by invitation held their national convention in Richmond, Va.

District Assembly 48 of New York sent thirty delegates, among them Frank Farrell, a full-blooded Negro.

When our delegates reached Richmond they found that no hotel there would house and feed Farrell.

Therefore our delegation refused to stomach the insult offered their colored brother. They found quarters among the colored population, and every morning and evening marched in close ranks through the city, with Farrell in their midst.

How much pluck and self-respect will the foreign parliamentarians show?

MOSES OPPENHEIMER.
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KAUTSKY SURVEYS THE POST-WAR SCENE

By James Oneal

It was about twenty-five years ago that Karl Kautsky delivered a series of lectures in Amsterdam which were later published under the title of "The Social Revolution." These lectures were necessarily theoretical and throughout he maintained a scientific approach to the problem of what would face the working class when historical forces called it to power. That little book was accepted by Socialists in all countries as one of the best contributions to a problem which, because of its remoteness, was difficult to consider.

In another book recently published Kautsky again takes up the problem but he now has the advantage of discussing it in relation to upheavals in Europe which brought one Socialist group in control of Russia and Hungary and for a time found Socialists in a few other countries with a larger measure of power than they ever had before but not with full power of a united working class behind them. This revolutionary period is also associated with the exhaustion and chaos that followed a World War. Nevertheless, despite the abnormal conditions that prevailed this post-war period provides valuable material for a study of the problems of social revolution and the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

Passing of Judgment Not Easy

Considering the famine, the economic prostration, the hatreds and hysteria, the racial feuds and uncertainty that brooded over the working class, it is not easy to pass final judgment of what happened, what was possible, what mistakes were made and what lessons are to be derived from this period. Still, we are better able to consider some questions than we were before this period and Kautsky considers them not only in relation to it but also in relation to other revolutions before it.

"Although we are now on the threshold of the transition, it would be premature to attempt to pronounce final judgment upon it," he writes. "But we can no longer be contented with our former ideas. We must find our feet without delay in the flood of new problems which is breaking over us."

It is in this scientific mood that he approaches the problems associated with the transition to a Socialist order. Of the coalition governments that included Socialists during this abnormal period he observes that it is absurd for opponents to dilate upon the advantages of a purely Socialist Government. That is taken for granted for no Socialist would prefer the first if the second was possible. The coalitions occurred where Socialists were not strong enough to maintain a working class government but "powerful enough to render any Government impossible" which adopted a hostile attitude to the workers.

Moreover, the most immature sections of the working class, maddened by their sufferings, ignorant of the laws of economics, became a prey of various adventurers who made brilliant promises. "The struggles of these sections against the bourgeoisie during the revolution were at the same time struggles of ignorance against economic insight." Thus the most backward sections of the proletariat were pitted "against the trained, experienced, and most highly developed sections of the workers." In such a situation "every rude attack of amateurs or illiterates threatens to bring it, (production) to a standstill, and the suspension of production signifies death." In the most backward countries, such as Hungary, an illiterate population "falls under Communist leadership, and even the trained section of the working class is swept off its feet." In this connection we recall the passage in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels regarding the "rotting social scum" at the bottom of society which is more likely to play a reactionary role in a revolution than an intelligent one.

The Situation in Germany

In Germany the situation was still further complicated by the fact that during the winter of 1918-19 when a purely Socialist Government survived for several months the working class revealed its unreadiness for power by indulging in internecine strife. Three Socialist factions fought each other with fury while two of them also developed internal factions of their own. A working class thus divided cannot proceed to any program of socialization. Added to this internal warfare was the crippled and stagnant capitalism which was further weakened by the staggering "peace" of the Allied victors. The German working class, even if united, would have faced grave difficulties in consolidating its power and transforming production on a Socialist basis. Having missed its opportunity, Kautsky believes that the German working class will now have to wait until it has "imposed a higher training and discipline upon the politically still illiterate masses" before it can think of a policy of socialization, a policy that is likely now to come first in England.

*"THE LABOR REVOLUTION" By Karl Kautsky. New York: The Dial Press. \$3.50.

Heir to the Cloaks of Marx and Engels Analyzes the Socialism of Recent Years

Naturally, Kautsky gives considerable attention to the Communists and the Russian Soviet power. He traces a number of analogies between middle class revolutions and the Communist view of revolution. There are those who "deem it their most important duty to figure as revolutionaries, whether the occasion be appropriate or not" and they regard society as a house to be razed to the ground and a new one set in its place. But it is not a house. It is rather to be compared to an organism which develops. Even if it be considered a house "the site on which the old house stands is the only site on which we can dwell, produce, and live. Where should we live during the interval between the pulling down of the old house and the construction of the new?"

Society is an organism yet its economic phases do not develop uniformly. "We find provinces in which the private undertaking has become a monopoly and is ripe for socializa-

tion, and others in which the immediate abolition of private enterprise is out of the question" and for decades to come "a considerable portion of our production will be conducted on capitalist lines." The attempt to suppress capitalism root and branch may injure the capitalist class but it would also tend to bring production to a stop and injure the workers in the end. The larger industries may be socialized and the working class might well take another business to "serve as a place for investigations and experiments" and private initiative be finally abolished as experiments developed the business and brought it under social control. "To commence the application of socialization at the right end is the most important task of the Socialist parties in the domain of economics as soon as they achieve political power. It would be disastrous if they commenced to socialize everywhere at once, and not less disastrous if they began at the wrong end, as, for instance, in agriculture."

Kautsky repeatedly returns to Russia where the Communist Party attempted to carry a social revolution beyond the stage permitted by the backward economic development of the country. Having overhauled the mark the time came for capitalist reaction to step in as has frequently happened when a revolution is pushed beyond the point that is justified by historical development. This reaction has been generally carried out "through the agency of one party which overthrows another" but it "has been reserved for the Bolsheviks themselves to carry out the transition from the revolution to the reaction. Astonishment is expressed at the vitality of their regime, but this does not depend upon the vitality of the revolution which they introduced, but upon the fact that, as soon as they saw the end of the revolution approaching, they thoughtlessly took over the functions of the counter-revolution themselves. The Vicar of Bray was ready to serve any Govern-

ment, revolutionary or reactionary, with equal devotion. Lenin beat the vicar, inasmuch as he himself formed both the revolutionary and the reactionary regimes."

This, of course, refers to the New Economic Policy which is designed to give room for capitalist industry to develop. Of the Soviet form of government, Kautsky regards it as absurd to contend that a particular form guarantees the rule of any class, asserting that this inverts the materialist conception of history.

"That no constitution," he writes, "can be devised which would assure the rule of one class irrespective of all economic conditions is implied by the materialist conception of history, and it is a very peculiar brand of Marxism which, from the standpoint of economic determinism, sets out to discover a form of government of this kind."

The bourgeois bureaucracy displaced by the Leninists has been replaced by a more deadening bureaucracy although

Lenin had written a philippic against bureaucracy before the Bolsheviks came into power. That philippic "is now strictly forbidden by the agents of the Cheka as a subversive and therefore a counter-revolutionary piece of writing." Kautsky is at pains to draw comparisons between the bureaucracies of middle class revolutions and the bureaucracy of Russia, but we cannot follow him in all these comparisons. He sums up his criticism on this score with the following paragraph:

"If Bolshevism today persists in clinging to the forms of the middle class revolution, this is an indication of the backwardness of Russian conditions. A peculiar irony of history lurks in the fact that Lenin seeks the special attributes of proletarian democracy in institutions which either characterize the middle class revolution or arise from a condition of undeveloped middle class democracy."

Kautsky is now 71 years old and he writes with a freshness and with the same critical powers that he did many years ago. He is just as critical of Socialists as he is of Communists although the romanticism of the latter occasionally leads him to the use of invective. Yet, considering that he was a spectator of much of the romanticism of which he writes and observed its demoralizing influence, he displays on the whole a reserved and scientific attitude which is commendable.

AMY LOWELL'S POSTSCRIPT

By Clement Wood

THIS VOLUME of posthumous miscellaneous poems gives us a reminiscent opportunity to glance again, at the strange blend of aggressiveness and blare that constituted Amy Lowell. Cousin to James Russell Lowell, sister to the present president of Harvard, she was born Feb. 9, 1874, and matured slowly. Her first volume of poems, juvenile and with no especial promise appeared in 1912, when she was thirty-eight years old; the thirteen years more of her life saw three prose critical works, concluding in the awkward and fragmentary study of John Keats, six volumes of verse, and one volume of translations in which she collaborated. In the eyes of many, she was modern American poetry: her advertising flare, her noisy aggressiveness, was akin to Roosevelt's. She did not shine in oral controversy: on one memorable occasion she broke down and cried, at her lecture in Philadelphia, because of pointed questions from the sedate president of the Philadelphia Browning Society. She was well-to-do, a conservative outside the technique of poetry (as witness her disgraceful and unfair anti-German poems during the war), extremely unattractive of person, and as magnetic in personality.

This volume, but for one surprisingly lovely lyric, is obscure, colorful, superficial, and unimportant but as a self-revelation. It is not poetry which humanity will cherish and preserve: she lacked finality of utterance, she lacked an ear for song, she saw only glitter and heard only discord in the main. She saw her own self clearly: "Footling Up a Total," in this book, says what I have said even more clearly.

Yes, alas! and when they were clanged me to my grave
Wrapped gaudily in pale blue and magenta;
When muted bugles and slacked drums
Have brayed a last quietus;
What, then, my friend?

Will that person (someone coming from the funeral) remember bones and shouting do you think?
She is the bones, she says; she is the shouting. Her conclusion is that she will not be remembered, compared to a "highly unsuccessful confere":

The future is the future, therefore—
Damn you!
Grant her self-revelation, then. As poet and critic she pictures herself and some others—but thank God, not all of the rest!—

Little poet people snatching ivy,
Trying to prevent one another from snatching ivy.

Her "Grave Song" pictures her as a "pocketful of emptiness," a good description; with a "mind like ashes split a week ago." The succeeding poem confesses that her "little gift of speech" was a failure.

Her history is written without too great symbolism in several of the more ambitious verses. The one entitled "Which, Being Interpreted, Is May Be, or Otherwise"—a strange revelatory title—shows her as a worn-out dreamer who attempts to weld her dream to a dead 13th century dream, dying in the attempt. In "The Red Knight" she is unable to fling her handkerchief to the knight "through backward centuries."

For which unreasonable reason
I am determined to remain a virgin.
She was mannish in body, and smoked big black cigars; her love, espe-

WHAT'S O'CLOCK. By Amy Lowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co. \$2.25.

An Opportunity to Take A Glance Backward

cially in this book, is man's love to woman (or woman's love to woman,) and never woman's love to man. She sings to "the lady of my choice," says to Sappho—significant choice!

I wish I could have talked to Sappho,
Surprised her reticences by flinging mine

Into the wind.
—And Sappho was not noted for reticences. Of her she says,

We two were sisters
Of a strange, isolated little family.
Superficially, this refers to the family of women poets. She is the youth Endymion, or a maiden Endymion, loving the moon.

All of me spent in amazing,
Longing for her wheat-white thighs
I have lain with Mistress Moon.

In the parakeet poem, she adores a woman:
I tossed her arms apart and pressed
Myself upon her, breast to breast . . .
I forced her lips till they caught on mine,

And poured myself down her throat
like wine.

I mingled with her, part for part.
Her love, then, was Sapphic, at least in desire.

Her America she saw strangely:
With no tradition and no past.

But in it she did not see the common people, laboring humanity, at all; she has no word for them, no sight of them. Verse after verse is a mere affected conceit, unreal, wholly insignificant. Her poetry, as a rule, graves the Lord's Prayer on a pinhead. Nor is her technique invariably excellent: she overuses the adjective "queasy," which means "sick at the stomach," in such odd uses as "queasy cupids." She can lapse from grammar and all decent word usage to say that the cardinal sing "terribly sweet." And she can write a solitary poem as lovely as "Nuit Blanche":

I want no horns to rouse me up to night,

American Literature Under the Sociological Microscope

AMONG the new lecturers at the Rand School this year is V. F. Calverton, of Baltimore, author of "The New Spirit." Mr. Calverton's course deals with Social Interpretation of American Literature.

In his first lecture last Friday night, Mr. Calverton dealt with the Puritans in America, traced the bourgeois origins of their life and showed how they established not a democracy but a bourgeois theocracy. The literature of the time, concentrated into the hands of the hierophants, reflected this state of social mind. He quoted from John Cotton, Cotton Mather, Nathaniel Ward, and then to show that, due to the frontier conditions, there was a conflicting element urging real democracy, he quoted Roger Williams and Hooker.

Calverton also showed how the poems of William Wistworth and Anne Bradstreet, among others, reflected this psychology and instanced the philosophy of Jonathan Edwards as an example of the reflection in metaphysics. He gave particular attention to Freneau, Trumbull and Dwight.

The main figures of the period, two men who expressed in most vivid form the spirit of the time, Calverton chose as Thomas Paine and Benjamin

And trumpets make too clamorous a ring

To fit my mood, it is so weary while I have no wish for doing anything.

A music coaxed from humming strings would please;
Not plucked, but drawn in creeping cadences

Across a sunset wall where some Marquise
Picks a pale rose amid strange silences.

Ghostly and vaporous her gown sweeps by
The twilight dusking wall, I hear her feet

Delaying on the gravel, and a sigh,
Briefly permitted, touches the air like sleet.

And it is dark, I hear her feet no more.

A red moon leans beyond the lily-tank.

A drunken moon ogling a sycamore,
Running long fingers down its shining flank.

A lurching moon, as nimble as a clown,
Cuddling the flowers and trees which burn like glass.

Red, kissing lips, I feel you on my gown—
Kiss me, red lips, and then pass—

Music, you are pitiless tonight.
And I so old, so cold, so languorously white.

The rhyme "more . . . sycamore" is false, but the poem rings true. It, and largely it alone, justifies the book, as a volume of poetry. As a volume of self-revelation, it has higher value. For many are called poets, and few are worthy; and Lowell is not among the few, but for this lyric and a few brief others. She did her best, cursed by her ill-favored body, her eye bewildered by brilliance rather than beauty, her innate subservience to dead ideals of saprophyte aristocracy. She was a gong, calling men to serve

a god, poetry, whose face she never saw.

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Editor, The New Leader

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We were asked the other evening at a street meeting, what is a counter-revolutionist? A belligerent communist provoked the question. He had just conferred this high-falooten decoration upon Norman Thomas. So we brushed back our straggling pompadour and replied as follows: "A counter-revolutionist is one who labors counter to, or tries to counter-act a revolutionist. Since there is no revolution on in this country at present there is no such animal in our midst. Unless—and then we lapsed into a serious mood—you accept small store-keepers as such. They surely are counter-revolutionists. All day long and during a large part of the evening they make revolutions around a counter.


The situation forced the organized intelligent express workers to act for their own protection. The natural result was the formation of a national dependent organization, known as the

(Continued on page 11)

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PURCELL AND GREEN CLASH
BEFORE A.F. OF L. CONVENTIONCOOLIDGE CULLS SWEET PHRASES;
WAR DRUMS BEAT SILENT REFRAIN
TO HIS APPEAL FOR PEACE AT OMAHA

By The Editor

THE who, be-
ions. As
eator in which
speakers who repr.
of the articles was o.o
political tendencies.

At Omaha he deplored the in-
tolerance of the war and post-war
periods as a "disturbing product
of war psychology." He now does
not like this attempt to "establish
fixed and rigid modes of thought"
because they tend "to fossilize so-
ciety. If we all believed the same
thing and thought the same
thoughts and applied the same
valuations to all the occurrences
about us, we should reach a state
of equilibrium closely akin to an
intellectual and spiritual paralysis.

The President
Advises the Vice

This is good advice of President
Coolidge to Vice-President Cool-
idge, although it comes rather late.
If we have not reached a "spiritual
paralysis" it is not because he was
ranged against any such calamity
when he was an obscure Vice-
President. It was also good advice
to an organization gathered in
Omaha which seeks to "standard-
ize the community" in matters of
education and which at one time
ran amuck breaking up meetings.
The most astonishing sections of
the speech, however, are the refer-
ences to war and preparations
for more war. He is confused and
involved in contradictions. He ob-
serves that we have a larger Army
and Navy than we ever had in time
of peace yet we "have been at-
tempting to relieve ourselves and
other nations from the old theory
of competitive armaments." Build-
ing the greatest peace-time Army
and Navy is a queer way to relieve
the world of competitive arma-
ments. The only reason for these
weapons is to assure peace and
security yet he goes on to say that
"In spite of all the arguments in
favor of great military forces, no
nation ever had an army large
enough to guarantee it against at-
tack in time of peace or to insure
its victory in time of war." So
armed forces are useless for the
very purposes which are advanced
for their maintenance! Then after
saying that we have the greatest
Army and Navy that we have ever
had in peace time he adds the
crowning contradiction that the
Government has "supported the
principle of limitation of arma-
ments."

Some Bewildering
Contradictions

These contradictions leave us in
a bewildered state. Just as we are
recovering our senses we are told
that the United States does not
"rely on the strength of the fleets
and our armies but on the justice
of our cause." Then why should
we continue to maintain the largest
armed establishment that we have
ever had in peace time?

The President added that because
we rely on the justice of our cause
"our country has not wished to
maintain huge military forces."
Well, if we do not wish these
forces, who wished them upon us?
They are here. We have the Pres-
ident's word for it. How does it
come that what we do not wish is
what we have? Here is a pro-
found mystery and we are left to
conclude that some subtle power
is responsible.

The fact is that President Cool-
idge has attempted to face a prob-
lem of our Imperialist phase of
history and is no more able to
solve it than are any of the states-
men of the present order. They
really want peace but the system

(Continued on page 2)

At Omaha is surprising in that it comes from one
who, by his support to the standardizing of opin-
ions, lent his name to a series of articles in the Delin-
quent Institutions were attacked because they had permitted
such radical opinions to address students. The whole tenor
of any criticism of American institutions and reactionary

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ceasing only when they become subscribers or I find they are
definitely not interested. After giving a man three issues I
withhold the fourth. Usually by this time he has become in-
terested or accustomed to receiving the paper each Friday and
inquiries why I have no New Leader for him this week. This
is my opportunity and in three cases out of four I usually land
his subscription."

WILLIAM STEINHARDT.

New York City.

Here is a proven plan for New York City readers to use. The
next time you go to your newsstand buy three copies instead
of one. Don't leave this to the other fellow. Try it yourself.

Negro Delegates Ask A. F. of L. Help

By Esther Lowell

ATLANTIC CITY.—(FP).—Four Negro freight handlers, dele-
gates to the 45th annual convention of the American Federation
of Labor, have a serious problem for the Federation's attention.
Their local unions, four out of 39 in a similar predicament, are
directly by the A. F. of L. but all their working conditions are de-
termined by the Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight
Handlers, Express & Station Employees' agreements with employers.

The Brotherhood's constitution ex-
pressly states that "all white persons
employed in the lines of work under
their jurisdiction are eligible to mem-
bership in the union. Negro workers
are not admitted, although they pay
50c. to the Brotherhood in addition
to the 25c. per capita to the A. F. of L.
Negroes are not permitted to partici-
pate in Brotherhood meetings or share
in insurance and other Brotherhood
benefits aside from equal conditions
for white and colored freight handlers.
Negroes are not allowed to become
clerks."

Ben Oglesby, president Local No.
17769, and Albert C. Campbell, pres-
ident Local No. 17775, both of Kansas
City, Mo., two of the Negro delegates
in Atlantic City, say they attempted
to get an audience at the last con-
vention of the Brotherhood, but could not
get beyond the door and found no dele-
gate to present their resolution asking
for removal of the color line in the
Brotherhood constitution. William
McGibney, president Local No. 16900,
Greensboro, N. C., and Samuel Block-
man, of Cleveland, O., are the two
other delegates from colored freight
handlers' local unions to the A. F. of L.
convention.

All four Negro delegates signed the
resolution presented to the conven-
tion, calling for the A. F. of L. to ap-
prove their proposal that President
Green and whomever else he chooses
from A. F. of L. officials negotiate with
the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood
of Railway Clerks "for the full admis-
sion to membership for all classes un-
der their jurisdiction as granted by the
American Federation of Labor." In
the event negotiations should fail, the
Negro freight handlers call upon the
A. F. of L. to "take the necessary ac-
tion to properly protect the welfare
of that class of railway employees."

Only two Negro delegates attended
the El Paso convention last year and
none the A. F. of L. Portland conven-
tion 1923. No other Negro unionists
are represented at the Atlantic City
convention except indirectly by white
delegates whose unions have no color
bar, either written or in practice. The
four Negro freight handlers are staying

in the pleasure city's northside, the dis-
trict away from the ocean side which
has long been claimed by whites. Ne-
gro workers are plentiful in Atlantic
City, along the boardwalk, in hotels
and restaurants, and colored nurse
maids ride in the ever-present board-
walk wheel chair with their white
wards and sometimes with their white
mistresses. But when a white girl
stops the colored delegates to the A.
F. of L. convention for an interview on
the boardwalk the idle white population
sitting on the piers or passing by gape
at the sight.

The Kansas City colored delegates
report that A. F. of L. organizer Matt
Lewis, a colored man organizing in
the Southern District, headquarters at
Little Rock, Ark., has been assisting
them and is having considerable suc-
cess in organizing Negro workers in
other occupations. Negroes in the
building trades which do not discrimi-
nate for color have particularly re-
sponded to the unionization drive.

Workers Warned Against
Going to South Africa

Taking up reports in various coun-
tries to the effect that there is a
shortage of masons, engineers, print-
ers and other skilled workers in South
Africa, the Amsterdam Bureau of the
International Federation of Trade Un-
ions points out that workers who have
emigrated to South Africa on the
strength of these rumors have been
exposed on arrival to bitter disap-
pointment. Emigrants, who have had
labor contracts before they started,
have been informed when they arrived
that they must accept wages lower
than the standard of the country.
There is great unemployment in South
Africa at present.

Start on Labor Temple

Peoria, Ill.—Peoria's \$150,000 labor
temple is beginning to take form as
negotiations with the moneylenders
near completion. The work on the
building is in the hands of a union
contractor. There will be space for all
union offices besides an auditorium.

PLEA FOR RUSSIAN INVESTIGATION
BRINGS POINTED REFUSAL; SOVIET
RECOGNITION DENIED BY GREEN

By Art Shields

ATLANTIC CITY.—A ringing appeal for in-
ternational unity of the workers against in-
ternational capitalism was the message which
A. A. Purcell, former president, the British Trade
Union Congress and senior fraternal delegate from
the workers of that nation, brought to the A. F. of L.
convention—unity with the workers of Russia as
well as all others.

It has been the fashion for British
delegates to plead with the American
labor movement to abandon its policy
of isolation towards the European
movement, but Purcell outdid all pre-
decessors in the clear cut character of
his argument for world solidarity as
the salvation of the workers of the
world and the United States in the
crisis now facing labor.

Purcell emphasized the international
character of capitalism, reminding the
American delegates that it was be-
coming as easy for the American em-
ployer to have his factories in Tokio
as in San Francisco and that it was
useless to depend on immigration bar-
riers for protection against the com-
petition of cheap labor abroad. He
cited the accelerating industrializa-
tion of China and India, with 12,000,000
wage earners in the factories, mills
and mines of the latter colony and the
number rapidly growing.

"Join the
International"

Join the trade union international
was Purcell's concrete suggestion, and
also send a trade union delegation to
Russia without delay as a preliminary
step to the closest fraternal relations
with the Russian workers. Purcell
cited the precedent of the British
Trade Union Congress which probed
conditions in the labor republic for
itself and he lauded the achievements
of the Russian workers in carefully
chosen words.

"I have been to Russia," the British
delegate announced. "There I have
seen the workers assuming vast re-
sponsibilities and duties, carrying
through the organization of society
under frightful difficulties. As a
workman I am proud of the genius for
organization and the essential grip of
things which my class in Russia has
displayed. Just as your president sent
that warm and helpful letter on be-
half of the Chinese workers in their
difficulties, so I want you to approach
the question of relations with the
workers of Russia."

"Let the same generous spirit prev-
vail," he continued. "The times we live
in are too big, too fraught with fate,
to permit of little prejudices, barring
the way to human relationships.
Russia is a very big place—the Union
of Socialist Soviet Republics occupies
one sixth of the land surface of the
globe. It is an enormous factor in the
world, a tremendous powerful factor in
the life of the world."

Praises Debs
And Gompers

Developing this theme further with
references to the great mineral and
agricultural resources of Russia, the
budding electrification schemes and
the keen way in which the workers
and peasants were adapting to their
use the latest developments in science
and industry, he went on:

"I say you workers of America
have much to learn from Russia. We
must not be afraid of new ideas. It
has often struck me that while the
Americans have been the most ad-
vanced—the most receptive—in ideas
concerning mechanical invention and
business organization, they have been
most slow in accepting new social and
political ideas. I do hope that from now
on, the organized workers of America
will establish the closest fraternal re-
lations with the organized workers of
Russia. Just as the General Council
of the Trades Union Congress, repre-
sentatives of the whole trade union
movement of Britain, sent delegations
to Russia, so I hope and trust the
(Continued on page 2)

ATLANTIC CITY.—An emphatic No was
President Green's answer to the appeal of
Arthur A. Purcell, president, International
Federation of Trade Unions and British fraternal
delegate to the A. F. of L. convention urging friendly
relations with the organized workers of Russia as a
useful step towards world unity of the workers of
the world.

Green's reply began in quiet vein
that did not suggest the vehemence
of the finish. He opened with court-
eous references to the interesting talk
of Brother Purcell and referred again
to "My good friend Purcell," but he
ended with a denunciation that warmed
as it continued of the Communist
movement which he charged was seek-
ing to destroy the American trade
union movement and substitute the
dictatorship of the proletariat. Turn-
ing to the British delegate at the cli-
max of his address Green cried:

"Take back to the Russian Red In-
ternational this message, that the
American trade union movement will
never affiliate with any organization
that preaches such doctrines." Then
sustaining the emphasis he asked Pur-
cell to be present when certain dele-
gates who took their philosophy from
Moscow rather than from Gompers
presented certain resolutions that
were coming up that he might have
the opportunity for himself to show
the rest of the delegates "what
with them."

Praises British
Solidarity

The resolutions in ques-
tion were assumed to be those appearing in the
day's printed proceedings, and the
endorsement of the Anglo-Russian Unity
Committee, Recognition of Russia,
amalgamation of trade unions into in-
dustrial unions and other measures at
variance with traditional A. F. of L.
policies.

The diplomatic beginnings of Green's
speech praised the solidarity of British
labor that defeated the proposed wage
cuts in the British mining industry
this summer. He pointed out, how-
ever, that this victory was gained by
economic, not political action, and to
this Purcell nodded. Green made a
reference to the solidarity American
anthracite miners were now showing
in their strike and declared that his
brothers and comrades in the hard
coal fields could be counted on to stay
out till they won, and a salvo of cheers
greeted this. Green took up the A. F.
of L. attitude towards international
affairs then. As he led on to the
climax of his speech he took no po-
sition on the International Trade Union
federation with which Purcell is con-
nected but he discussed the record of
the A. F. of L. of good will and friend-
ship to struggles for justice abroad.
After the overthrow of the Czar, said
Green, the A. F. of L. sent greetings
to Russia and later that year got prom-
inent labor men on a government dele-
gation that went to Russia. In the re-
cent Chinese troubles Green himself
wrote a letter to Coolidge in behalf of
the Chinese he said and the American
movement had always been friendly to
aspirations of the Indians. But the
Communist movement was another
thing.

A Dramatic
Moment

He charged that Communists were
not interested in strikes, for the imme-
diate economic gains to be achieved,
but for revolution.

"No revolution is in sight," cried
Green: "If the workers are compelled
to wait for revolutions they will
starve." Bringing his guns to bear
for a moment on the Trade Union Edu-
cational League as the Communist
agency in the unions, working, he de-
clared, for the overthrow of trade
unionism, he turned to Purcell and
read out his message of No Affiliation.
(Continued on page 2)

"THE GREATEST SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION SINCE 1917"

THE SPEAKERS:

EUGENE V. DEBS

A. A. PURCELL, M.P., MORRIS HILLQUIT

ADOLF BRAUN

NORMAN THOMAS

National Chairman, Socialist Party
of the U. S.President, International Federation of Trade Unions
Party of the U. S.Secretary, German Social Democratic
Party, Reichstag MemberSocialist Candidate,
Mayor of New York

THE SUBJECT:

PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL UNITY

THE PLACE:

Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City

THE TIME:

Sunday Afternoon, October 11, 2 o'clock

LIVERPOOL AND COMMUNISM

(Ramsay MacDonald wrote the following article on the occasion of the convening of the Liverpool congress of the British Labor Party. The New Leader presents to its readers a forerunner to report of the proceedings of the Congress which will appear in an early issue.)

The Ex-Labor Premier On Communist Tactics

By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

WHEN the cat is otherwise engaged the mice come out and take possession of the cupboards. Absorption in the harassing business of affairs almost kills platform and press activities and the propaganda within the Party becomes somewhat lopsided. The kitchen-maid Marthas who have to execute the orders have no say in the grand projects devised in editorial rooms and at firesides upstairs. From the very birth of the Independent Labor Party that danger has had to be faced. The thinning ranks of those who were fighting thirty years ago will not have forgotten the wave after wave of sparkling promise that distracted the steady advance of the Movement, withdrawing energy from work that really mattered and in the end falling away into a feeble splash—only to be succeeded by another.

The Fourth Clause, the Green pamphlet, Socialist Unity, Graysonism, "Hall Referendum"—what memories they recall! What time they wasted! What heroes and leaders with a "pop" they threw up! What editors they took in! What help they gave us! Where are they all? The Party has always been led to ruin, the simple and sincere minds of the workers have always been obscured. So they said. Yet here we are, hale and hearty though we should have been dead, winning elections though we should have been wiped out.

Rank and File Always Sound

Our Movement seems to have flourished on introspection. God knows what evils would befall it if it joined heartily in a fine generous comradeship of effort. The rank and file have always been sound. They have been the finest rank and file that any fighting Party had. Their commonsense has been like the deep waters undisturbed by the flashy foam of the wavelets. And yet it has always been possible to distract attention by surface storms and some self-sent inspired one could always get a clamorous following

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—for a moon. I suppose it will continue to be so. The valetudinarians will still croak, the holiday-makers still lie on the banks of moss and tell us what we ought to do, and those who, whether they know it or not, have too low an estimate of the qualities of the common folk, will ask for more music and dancing; but the great pilgrimage of labor seeking other lives on other heights will go on, patiently treading thorns underfoot, removing barriers, crossing deserts, thankful for the imperfect achievements of the day and encouraged by them to go from strength to strength.

Same Problems At Liverpool

At Liverpool we are again to be faced by the same problems which agitated the I. L. P. in Edinburgh when I was in the chair, and we shall meet them in the same way. Both the body and the soul of the Labor Party have to be kept, and the delegates will have to see that they are kept. An "all-things-to-all-men" policy will not do. That is not how our movement was made nor how it is to succeed. Our bounds must be wide enough to allow varieties of opinion; toleration has always been like the breath of our bodies to us, and will continue to be so; but the Labor Party must stand in no equivocal position. Flabbiness of will is often palmed off as though it were piety of heart, and incapacity to work with anybody for long as conscientious objection. There is a philosophy of Communism which can be understood, argued with, accepted or rejected. So with an irresponsible anarchistic individualism whether seen in capitalist exploitation or personal conduct. But a party that out of charity, or in order to show that it is not as other parties are, would seek to gather up within itself a welter of mutually destructive elements, will soon shed every kind of support that would keep it alive.

Is Communist Co-operation Possible?

At Liverpool we are to be asked once again to recognize that the Communists share our faith and our ways, and can co-operate with us in the practical work of building up society in accordance with our heart's desire. Of course, they cannot. Every action germane to the answering of this question

shows they cannot. In office or out of office we have found that their chief desire was to hamper us. Their criticisms have been more unscrupulous than our sworn enemies. Indeed, they have been sufficiently honest to let it be known that they wish to come in to upset us. At the moment Labor is faced by powers more united upon its subjection than ever, and in its battle it will have to show more wariness, more skill than ever. Superficially, a united front seems desirable. In reality it is a disorganization of our forces, a covering of them with suspicion, a division of counsel. The united front now offered to us is a disunited and a discredited movement. Every country in Europe has shown this. The benevolence of Liverpool will have to be controlled by its common sense.

To keep political faith at the moment is difficult. We have in office a Government that won its place by a deliberately planned stunt of deception. Every one who asks the working classes and those who have believed in democracy to abandon it, have an argument in the last election and the present Government, which, standing by itself, is unanswerable. Democracy was fooled and could not under the circumstances protest itself. Has it taken the warning? Perhaps not yet.

But admitting all this, if the Labor Party were to give out a message of uncertain belief in political power, if it were to toy with revolution, if it were to play with suggestions that would mean to millions that it is encouraging the enrollment of revolutionary force as the only means of meeting hostile political and economic force, it would rightly forfeit the respect, and with that the confidence, of every one who had heads to think and minds to control action. The political and industrial

problems which we have to face are in all conscience the most baffling that any body of public men have had to handle in this country. The war has aggravated the inconveniences and the pains of a new industrial revolution. But instead of this being the moment when we should abandon the Socialist method and resolve ourselves into a mass of disturbed and disturbing entities, showing our rectitude and our service by a brawl in Parliament one day and a row in the street the next, and a general strike the day after, it is a clear call for us to steady and organize the confused currents, and give them volume and direction by showing consistency to our own methods and ways. Democracy is served by loyalty when it is in difficulties, and the mass of men and women who look to us for success would be badly rather than well served by a party that was like a barometer and existed only to show changes in the weather.

"Mischief" at Scarborough

What mischief was done at Scarborough was by grafting on to decent roots—like the condemnation of imperialism—six-penny bazaar imitations of Labor opinion, and the same tricks, I see by the agenda, are to be attempted at Liverpool. As a delegate in distress—controlling a good bunch of votes—said to me at Scarborough: "I do not want to vote for this resolution. It does not express my mind nor that of my members. But if I vote against it I shall be accused of supporting the evils which are condemned by its main part." We must not fall into more traps at Liverpool. The delegates present will have an unusually heavy responsibility upon them. Every enemy and every clique will be on the pounce to find openings for their own success. I feel certain, however, that it will be as it has been so often already. The drums will be beaten and the trumpets blown by those who count their chickens before they are hatched. When they are hatched the prophets of evil will go away sorrowful and the men and the women who have worked faithfully to bring about great results will return cheered to continue their labors.

DON'T FORGET THESE APPOINTMENTS

- 1—Friday, October 9, 10 a. m.—The National Executive Committee convenes.
- 2—Friday evening, 7 o'clock—Dinner at the New Star Casino, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue, to distinguished foreign Socialist visitors. Debs will speak.
- 3—Saturday at 11 a. m.—Regional convention of the Socialist Party of the Eastern and New England States opens at the Finnish Workers' Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue.
- 4—Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock—Great International Peace and Labor Demonstration in Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers, Debs, Purcell, Braun, Thomas and Hillquit.
- 5—Tuesday, at 8 o'clock—At the Hunts Point Palace, the Bronx, Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas, speakers. Sam De Witt will preside.
- 6—On Thursday, October 15, at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn—Debs on the radio for the first time. Speakers, Debs, Thomas and Judge Panken.

INTERNATIONAL Socialist history will be made in New York the week beginning this Friday, October 9th.

As one of the high lights in a week full of thriving Socialist activity, there stands out the great international peace and labor unity demonstration to take place at Carnegie Hall, 57th street and Seventh avenue, this Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock. For the first time since the war, New York will hear leaders of British, German and American Socialism and Labor join their voices in a gigantic peace plea.

A. A. Purcell, M. P., chairman of the British Trade Union Congress and a member of Parliament, will not only speak for the British workers. As President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, he speaks for 20,000,000 organized workers of the world. Comrade Purcell is in the country as a fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. His address on the Socialist Party platform Sunday afternoon will be the only one he will make before his departure for Mexico on Monday.

Adolf Braun, secretary of the German Social Democracy, the largest Socialist party in the world, will speak on behalf of the German workers. His speech will be translated by Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party, who will also preside at the gathering.

American Socialism's most eloquent voice will speak on behalf of American Labor's desire for peace. No name need be mentioned. Suffice it to say that Eugene V. Debs, national chairman of the party, is at his best at such meetings as the Carnegie Hall gathering will be. To supplement the American speakers, Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, candidate for Mayor, will also speak.

Saturday morning, October 10, at 11 o'clock, the great regional convention of the Socialists of the Eastern States

PURCELL URGES AID TO RUSSIA

PURCELL URGES AID TO RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1)

American Federation of Labor will do the same. Do not be afraid of being called names. Were Abraham Lincoln, Sam Gompers or Gene Debs, those great sons of the American people, ever afraid of being called names or being reviled, maligned and persecuted? Earlier in his speech Purcell said: "I tell you that the policy of isolation is a mistaken one. You cannot afford to think only in terms of the United States, or of the Americas. The Monroe Doctrine no longer holds good for your Government—as its imperial policy in the Philippines, in China and elsewhere, demonstrates—and no longer holds good for the capitalists. It cannot longer hold good for you. Circumstances, the development of capitalism, the establishment of great industrial fabrics in Asia, Africa and Australia, necessarily compels you to take a world view and to act from a world standpoint."

GREEN SAYS NO

(Continued from page 1)

It was the most dramatic moment of the convention to date, more than half the delegates rising to their feet with shouts. Purcell, a square set figure, sat imperturbably nor did he change expression as Green continued that he was doubtful whether the decisions at Liverpool (of the Labor Party) were not rather the opinions of British labor than those of Scarborough of the Trade Union Congress.

PEOPLE ARE LIKE THAT

THIS neck of the woods is celebrating a sort of "Gene Debs" week. Yesterday he spoke at two banquets in Newark and later in the week is to hold forth at a large banquet and three great meetings in New York. The Newark affairs were successes in every sense of the word, largely due to the efficient management of George Goebel. From the side lines we watched the gathering, which was a fine sight for sore eyes. "Gene" held forth with strength and vigor and appeared to be the same Debs of twenty years ago. It was bulky and the sort of occasion that compensates any Socialist for a bunch of hard knocks.

"I met a number of people in California who spoke highly about The New Leader. 'Wonderful' was the word used by some of them." Brooklyn, N. Y. HARRY W. LAIDLER.

A year ago last April I learned through the Milwaukee Leader about The New Leader, and, thinking I would like to see a copy, sent for two or three consecutive copies to keep up with the campaign. The last time I sent for copies I said that I would subscribe, but did not have the means. There was no thought in my mind that you would send me the paper, saying that I could pay you later, and I thought I could, too. But time went on. Still I did not get the wherewith. Then the year was up, and still could not see my way clear, and, of course, I could not ask or expect you to continue the paper, but now I have the promise of a friend to pay both the arrears and the renewal. So now I have summoned the courage to ask you to continue the paper and probably in a month or less you will get remittance for both arrears and renewal.

Here, Mr. Oneal, let me thank you most cordially, more so than I can ever express. Every issue brings me startling facts, such as the stories about the Chinese situation and what the great outside world is doing. I sent for and received the 22 books, which will be interesting reading for myself and neighbors. I sold one card to a friend, who said he had intended to get the paper anyway. He knew its merits, for I have been giving him my Leader to read. I think I can sell another prospect to whom I have been furnishing the paper. I had to borrow the \$3 to get the sub cards and the twenty-two books.

For twenty years I belonged to the Appeal Army, getting subs and reading The Appeal to Reason. For twenty-one years I got the paper without a break and bought bundles as well, but I am out of the fight now. I am almost 79 years, have catarrh of the throat and lungs, have the rheumatism badly and a rupture. Since an illness of 13 years ago I have been of little use to myself or anyone else. Just one thing more, and I will relieve you. Something like 15 years ago there was a story in the Appeal about one James Oneal converting Fred D. Warren to Socialism, and when I got The New Leader I saw James Oneal was the editor and am of the opinion that you were the same man. Now, if you are that James Oneal, will you do me the favor to drop me a line. My eyesight is very poor; that is why I do not write on the lines.

Cessna, Pa. J. B. W. It was another Oneal who brought Fred Warren to Socialism. We are glad that The New Leader proves interesting to this veteran of the struggle. That is our compensation. The name and address of this Comrade will be furnished to those who may be interested.

And we quote from a letter to James Oneal from Bessie Goldstein, now in Mexico City:—

"Must a person who lives in far away Mexico City be punished by not being given the privilege of reading one of those wonderful letters of yours that I have been reading about so much in The New Leader? What's it all about, anyway? I feel so terribly forgotten and neglected by not having received one of those letters? Please may I have one, too?"

"I am going to secure two subscribers, and when they come in I want you to realize they are mine, and please credit me with same, and follow up the credit with a copy of 'Workers in American History.' You see, even down here in Mexico I am still following your doings, and know perfectly well that when I am responsible for two subscriptions to The New Leader I am entitled to a copy of that most wonderful book. I am over my neck in work, and am never through. Writing this letter at midnight, and dead tired. Am always wishing the day was three times as long. Sometimes I wish I was back in New York and participating in the campaign. But I am very happy here, too. So long, and best luck."

Enclosed you will find a cashier's check for three dollars in payment for three dollars in payment for the pamphlet and subscription offer of Jim Oneal as mentioned in his recent letter. Tell Rufus not to go back to the farm. We want him on The New Leader."

Chicago, Ill. M. V. Halushka and Meyer Halushka. Thanks boys, it's awfully good of you, although we will admit since older making time rolled around we have sometimes felt like going back to the farm for a visit.

Orders are still rolling in for the big book and subscription offer of James Oneal. A number of people have returned for a second dose. They include our old friendly enemy, Bartholomew Dewey of Branchville, N. J., who says, "The remainder of the paper is so good that it almost makes up for your terrible column. Why not come back home and let the editors work without having you hang around?"

Postals have come in from every State and many parts of Canada. This week we received the first order from Alaska. It's from John F. Bloan at Ketchikan. Don't let your postal lay around the house. Sign and mail today. We will do the rest.

Merchants and professional people advertise in The New Leader because they expect your patronage. All things being equal, we would like to have you buy from our advertisers whenever possible, and when doing so tell them why. For instance, there is "Amergin." It cleans the teeth and heals the gums. We have found it superior to any paste or powder. Ask your druggist about "Amergin," and if he doesn't carry it let us know. It's a product of the Karlin Laboratories. Then there is something we all use every day—bread. The best bread made by competent bakers under sanitary conditions bears the label of the bakers' union. Insist on this label. Its co-operation that wins the day.

"I was in the hospital under treatment of a doctor and scarcely able to sit up now. Was struck by a car while crossing the street. If I am not too late, please send me the 22 books if you possibly can. The New Leader is the only paper I take. It means all to me. I shall be seventy years old October 13th and shall continue to read The New Leader as long as I live."

Los Angeles, Cal. T. A. STANDIFER. There are still a number of sets of the 22 books available for the late comers. Send in your order today.

"I RECEIVE NEWS FROM YOUR PAPER THAT I DO NOT GET FROM ANY OTHER SOURCE." Yellow Springs, Ohio. RALPH HOWELL.

"As some good Socialist has paid my subscription for the next year, I'll just return the compliment and enclose my check for two dollars. Just send The New Leader for a year to anyone you please." Cheney, Wash. GEORGE F. MCKAY.

Irwin, in our circulation department, wants us to tell you something about the men and women in various parts of the country who are acting as representatives of The New Leader and thus adding to their earnings. This most of them do in their spare time, and in looking over the list we were agreeably surprised with the tidy sums made last month by several of the agents. In a future issue (we are not feeling well today) this interesting story will be told in detail, but meanwhile here is an opportunity. Write to The New Leader, Circulation Department, Seven East 15th Street, New York City, and if your locality is not already covered, there may be an opening for you. Here you can utilize your spare time with pleasant work for the cause and at the same time add to your income. It's really easy if you follow our plan. Write and ask for the details today.

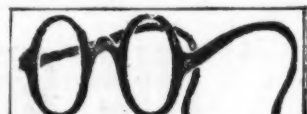
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SAKLATVALA STATES HIS CASE

By Shapurji Saklatvala M. P.

MY having been barred from America appears to me to be a matter less of law and more of the subversion of constitutional usage and a reckless policy fraught with illimitable future dangers. The American government should play the game even now and restore my status prior to the cancellation of my visa. I should be prepared to come to the States and place the matter before (a) an investigation committee; (b) the American public through some constitutional body such as the Civil Liberties Union, or (c) before any judicial tribunal that may challenge my signature on the declaration form of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. I am prepared to meet all issues without making capital out of them.

I summarize my case as follows:

The Inter-Parliamentary Union is well known to be a body of politicians of all shades of thought, many of whom are described in most offensive terms by their opponents. In our own House there are certain Scottish members who are always described by other Parties as wild men, and they in their turn described a famous City Banker, now a Peer, as a murderer.

The criterion of membership is that one must be a duly elected member of his country's Parliament thereby assuredly representing a tangible body of opinion. The Parliaments on the Continent of Europe have a good sprinkling of Communist members, and Parliament in Britain and the Dominions have many members upholding the policy of a economic revolution and of overthrowing Capitalist Society and thus taking possession of the means of production. Not only the Third Internationalist but the followers of the Vienna Union on the one hand and reactionaries of the Mussolini type on the other have had provisions for defensive forces in anticipation of civil upheavals.

America Should Not Have Invited Conference

If America really desired to play the political purist and believed that expression of thought—which she could have legally limited to the Conference chamber—would ruin her, she ought never have invited such a Conference to take place at Washington.

Such wantonness in international affairs is not only scandalous but unpardonable. Having issued the invitation America assumes the responsibility of deciding which members of Foreign Parliaments are eligible and which are not. The public contract of America with the Conference as a whole became a protective pledge of honor to each member concerned. A definite contract of this kind was entered into with me. Apart from all the personal advantages of such a trip to a great country such an annual gathering of the world's politicians is of great political benefit not only educationally and for future public work but in a multitude of ways. By breaking this contract America has inflicted upon me a material and an even greater political loss.

The American government have gone even further. They publish to the world a picture of myself which is untrue and which has been worked up by intrigue for personal motives by my political opponents whose money mak-

Charges U. S. Interference In English Affairs

In the case of many bodies, business companies, benefit societies, etc., the entire proceedings of a body are invalidated if one member entitled to attend is forcibly kept out. If a company held a meeting and the landlord prevented a member from attending the company must fight the landlord's action or by collusion vitiate their own proceedings. I trust that from this point of view the Inter-Parliamentary will take impartial action before they depart.

Then comes another issue of constitutional value. My speeches were on July 9, and the last one on August 7. America had ample opportunity to discuss with me or officially with the British group if any points were worrying her political and administrative chiefs. My public speech of August 30 was delivered three weeks after the British Press had started the campaign of forcing America to take action of which Britain herself would have been ashamed.

Quite obviously my speech has been intentionally misreported and words picked out and put together for the purpose of deceiving. I fail to understand how a responsible government can act on the press of politically biased newspapers. I am certain if your officials merely read our Labor and Communist journals they would require to bar all the non-Labor delegates. The only reliable document would be the Parliamentary Hansards of my speech on India. There I explained that the foreign ruler in India claims extravagant privileges and terms as "sedition" those very things which in Britain they term democratic advancement and patriotic duty. I was expressing my determination to carry on those activities which they describe in so offensive terms.

Has your government any right to

"He Should Be Proud to Be Excluded by the United States"

—LANSBURY

London.—Commenting on the United States exclusion of Shapurji Saklatvala, Communist M. P., George Lansbury, M. P. and famous labor editor, declared:

"Tell Saklatvala that he should be proud of the fact that he has been considered worthy by the U. S. government to be excluded. By this act America has placed herself on an equal footing with the Russian Government during the worst days of Tsarism."

interfere in such domestic affairs of the British Empire? If they were in honest doubt were they not in honor bound to hear my defense? Did they not realize that I was not speaking to Indians or Chinese exciting them to resort to force but to the British themselves, exposing the wiles of the British exploiter, which are detrimental to the bulk of the British themselves?

Calls British Enemy of America

It is not a political theory or dialectical argument with me but I fear the coming day when the unscrupulous British Imperialist will produce the bulk of the world's requirements, including raw materials (e. g. cotton in Soudan, Rhodesia, Mesopotamia, Central India and Southern China) by human labor costing about 25 cents a day with the deliberate object and desire to replace goods produced by human labor in the West who demand high civilized standards of life and equal rights with social bosses.

The British Imperialists are out to crush the world's life. As a further menace to the world now, Britain and France are rearing up Oriental armies. They come to you posing as your friends, because you and they speak one language, but all the time they are working to overthrow the work of American workers in the cotton fields, coal mines, and steel yards, by coercing Indians, Chinese, Africans, Arabs, and other dominated races to blackleg the West.

These people are not the friends of America or even of the bulk of their own population, they are giving a false sense of safety by banquets and soothing words, and they are cutting off the strings of life of advancing masses of all Western countries. In their mentality Washington was as undesirable as Saklatvala and in the civil war they would have fought to the last ditch to retain Negro slaves as more handy for cotton growing than politically and socially independent men. They are today condemning white

miners in South Africa and giving preference to Negroes in diamond mines, so that they may be safe even if the white miners starve.

My vigorous and complete exposure of this gang is a little too premature for them. Over 3½ million of British workers have now deliberately voted against this murderous and insidious patriotism of British Imperialists, and they now destroy by political life at all costs. False reporting, perjury and intrigue are in every chapter of the Imperialist history of Britain. Clive and Warren Hastings did it, Parnell suffered from it, Dr. Jamison and Chamberlain worked it against the Boers, and even the last election in Britain rested on it, so it was not difficult for that Imperialist crowd to pose as saints and innocent freedom loving statesmen, and get America to do the silly things.

Have You Played Fair?

I shall consider myself well rewarded if I can even now come over and explain to President Coolidge himself and to the American public, where the world will be in the next few years, if we permitted ourselves to be trapped in the so-called rights of Britain in an Eastern Empire. Let them have it, if they honestly dare to, without "coolie" labor.

My struggle will continue. I have even already lost my living. American fury was artificially created first, and that is to be the main evidence against me for my condemnation in the future. Have you played fair? Have your politicians displayed intelligence? Do you deliver justice as they do in India and China.

I was tried in my absence, my enemy's evidence was taken, friendly smiles were exchanged between them and the judges, and I was found guilty and punished to the greatest extent that lay in your power.

But I have faith in truth and in my fight, and America will know me better and treat me better ultimately.

Talks With Thomas

A Weekly Letter from the Socialist Candidate for Mayor of N. Y. City

THIS is a little talk about our municipal campaign and the Social Revolution.

We observe that some of our communist friends are terribly worried because the Socialist platform is "a reformist document." They copied a lot of its planks in their own platform, so they ought to know.) Some who are not communists are at times troubled lest our party become "a mere reformist party."

What is it, they wonder, that distinguishes us from mere progressives?

Two things: First, the mere progressive too often acts as if his party song was "We don't know where we're going, but we're on our way." We Socialists are on our way to abolish the capitalist system and the class and racial conflicts which characterize it. We want to establish in the United States a genuine co-operative commonwealth which will be federated with similar commonwealths throughout the world. We want to abolish the waste, inefficiency and injustice of production for profit rather than for use. We want to make it forever impossible for able-bodied human beings to live by owning rather than by working. If this isn't a genuinely revolutionary aim, we don't know what is.

The second respect in which we differ from mere progressives is that we know that we must look to the organized workers with hand and brain rather than to that amorphous mass called the "Public" to fulfill our purposes. We welcome individuals from every class and social group, who will honestly support our aims and give their support to the demands of the workers, but we do not expect the beneficiaries of the capitalist system deliberately and in mass to organize for its overthrow.

To achieve our desires for the world will not be easy. It will cost struggle and sacrifice. Just about the worst way we can imagine to obtain it will be the wholesale violence of world-wide war whether between nations, races or classes. Thanks to modern science, such war would be so destructive that it is doubtful if the survivors would have the energy, in-

tellectual capacity or material resources to build any kind of new civilization. We should be more likely to have a new Dark Ages rather than a co-operative commonwealth.

This means that the way to save the world is not by a smashup. You cannot establish a revolution on the one hand by talking about it, or on the other by blind destructive fury. We must have all the non-destructive progress we can get. The workers' use of the vote is one way to get this progress. It is not a perfect way. It is not the only way. No single election will vote in the revolution once and for all. Certainly, New York City can't do it next November. BUT while some of us are talking about revolution, the new generation, on which we must depend, is suffering terribly from bad housing, lack of proper playgrounds, high cost of food and the goose-step in education. If we care for realities and not words, we have got to care for housing, markets, schools, etc. The workers are going to be organized politically as they have been organized in trade unions, not merely by pointing to a distant vision, but by showing them something that they can get now. That is our chief purpose in this municipal campaign. We mean to start such an agitation that the old parties cannot ignore the demands of the workers. We mean to educate the people on what New York City could do for them. It is a crime that two-thirds of New York's families have incomes well under \$2,500 a year. That is the fault of our crazy system. The city government as such can't help that, but it can provide more decent housing for the millions who can't pay more than \$7 to \$8 per room each month. Men and women who live in decent houses will be more and not less able to get other good things for themselves.

It is ridiculous nonsense to suppose that the less you know or care about the homely everyday details of city government, the better revolutionist you are. The times call not for men and prophets which can destroy in blind fury, but for those who can build. The capitalist system does plenty of destructive work. This campaign gives the Socialist Party a chance to show that it has ideas, determination and organization for building.

Norman Thomas

THE RAND SCHOOL'S NEW TERM

THE Rand School of Social Science, which claims to be the oldest and largest workers' school in America, is just now beginning its twentieth season of educational activity in the service of the Socialist and Labor movement. The young ladies at the registration desk are kept busy every evening enrolling students for the various classes, and Algeron Lee, director of the school, declares that present indications point to a very lively season.

The staff of teachers and lecturers includes David P. Brenberg, V. F. Calverton, August Claessens, Prof. Henry E. Crampton, Edgar H. Davis, Herman Epstein, Nathan Fine, Marius Hansome, Morris Hillequit, Julius Hochman, Mrs. Hannah Jakobson, Dr. Morris H. Kahn, Algeron Lee, Meyer London, Joseph M. Osman, Bernard M. Parelhoff, Walter N. Polakoff, Leo E. Saidla, David J. Saposs, Dr. Samuel C. Schmucker, Randolph Somerville, Dr. Norman R. Thomas and Clement Wood. It is stated that some additions will be made to this staff later in the season.

The list includes several new names. Mr. Osman is taking over the work in psychology, formerly done by Dr. Mar-

gan last week, was so overcrowded that a second section has been formed, to meet at half-past eight on Tuesday evenings.

Mr. Davis, who will give a course in newspaper work later in the season, is an instructor in journalism at Columbia University. Mr. Somerville, who is instructor in dramatics at New York University and director of the Washington Square Players, is to give a course on the social significance of the drama. Vernon Loggins, formerly of the same university, became known to many Rand School folk by his lectures at Camp Tamiment last summer, and is to give a course on literature in the school.

Two important short lecture courses have been prompted by the K. K. K. and Fundamentalist attack on the teaching of the evolution theory. One of these is the course on "The Evolution of Life," to be given on Saturdays at half-past one, beginning this week (October 10), by Professor Crampton, of Columbia University, who is one of America's foremost biologists. This will be followed by a course entitled "Man's Life on Earth," by the well-known scientific lecturer, Samuel C. Schmucker.

Courses in modern world history and descriptive economics, by David P. Brenberg; in critical sociology, by Marius Hansome, and by Algeron Lee

tion, and appreciation of literature, complete the schedule as it now stands, but additional courses will be starting every week from now till the middle of November.

The library, which has been closed through the summer, is now open from 4:30 to 8:30 p. m. four days in the week, and from 1 to 5 on Saturdays.

The Women's Committee, which is one of the valued auxiliary organizations of the Rand School, met last Wednesday to plan its activities for the fall and winter, and a meeting of the executive committee of the Rand School Fellowship was held the same day.

On Monday of last week an informal reception was tendered to Thomas Johnson, secretary of the Irish Trade Union Congress and leader of the Labor party in the Dail Eireann, and to Rennie Smith, I. L. P. member of the British Parliament. Comrade Johnson's account of the economic and political conditions that prevail in Ireland was listened to with intense interest. Rennie Smith is to lecture in the school Saturday, October 17, at 1:30 p. m., on the question: "Is British Labor Going Left?"

The Rand School Gymnasium, under the direction of Richard Blechschmidt, Jr., opened its doors Monday evening, and a number of its classes are already overcrowded, while others are rapidly

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PROGRESSIVE ADVENTURING A HOPEFUL CONVENTION

By Marx Lewis

Milwaukee, Wis.

"In again, out again" is a game which Socialists cannot successfully play, if their experience in the special election held last Tuesday be considered a fair example of what is likely to happen when you lead your people into another camp and then try to lead them back again.

Having spent a while in the La Follette camp last year, the Socialists this year either stayed away from the polls to show their disgust with the manner in which the progressives turned on the principles they proclaimed last year, or the less informed of them went to the polls and voted for the son of the man the Socialists idolized a year ago and whose principles they still professed to cherish.

The Socialists did not expect to fare well in this election—and they fared just a little worse than they expected. While 40 per cent of the number that participated in the elections last year went to the polls in the special election last Tuesday, the Socialist candidate, John M. Work, polled only 30 per cent of the vote polled by the Socialist candidate for Governor last year. To have held their own as compared with the elections last year they would have had to receive 18,000 votes. They received a little less than 15,000.

The loss is not as substantial as the size of the vote would at first thought seem to indicate. A more energetic campaign, the holding of a few meetings up-state, a little more interest on the part of the numerous elected Socialist officials in this State, would have more than made up the difference.

The Discouraging Feature

But while the Socialists about held their own, and thus have little ground for discouragement, the discouraging feature of the elections is the way the so-called progressives turned back on their principles, and how the people unwittingly acceded to it.

In refusing to accept the platform upon which his father was a candidate last year, young La Follette retreated over ground it will take several years to recover. In making their campaign on this basis, and in appealing to the progressives for their support because the Socialist candidate stood exactly where the Progressive standard-bearer stood last year, the Socialists evidently drove many of the genuine progressives to disgust with the progressive outfit without convincing them that they should stand by the Socialist candidate.

But about 234,000 did vote for young La Follette, including some who ordinarily vote the Socialist ticket. Some of them, the overwhelming majority of them, were merely hero worshippers, idolizing La Follette, rather than progressives. Others swung to the progressive candidate when the conservative Republican accepted, or at least did not repudiate, the endorsement of the Ku Klux Klan. And some Socialist voters, evidently enamored by the name, and knowing little of the importance of the principles involved, fell into line.

A Desire to Break With Progressivism

The situation this year was an unusual one. When the death of Senator La Follette made the calling of a special election imminent Socialists were hoping that a contest with the progressives would be avoided this year. The announcement that young La Follette would be the candidate made bad matters worse, for his entry was bound to make confusion worse confounded. The sentimental appeal was one the Socialists knew it would be hard to resist—for sentiment cannot be reasoned with.

Some Socialists thought that the logical thing to do was not to name a candidate at all this year. Without money, with the clarion calls of last year still ringing in the ears of the Socialist voters, and with little or no time to make a real campaign, they thought that this would be not time to measure Socialist forces with the Progressives. But others, including the party membership, were anxious to cut with the past, and the Progressive affiliation as rapidly, as completely, and as thoroughly as possible. They felt it was

Wisconsin's Experience in the La Follette Campaign Brings Re-Valuation of Worth of Party's 1924 Policy

something they must live down, and the sooner they start, the sooner the result will be achieved. Despite the outcome, the Socialists are satisfied. They can now pursue the even tenor of their way, avoiding the bypaths which threw them into a company of irresponsible politicians and turncoats.

The Strong Point Against La Follette

During the campaign, there was just one hope of withstanding the La Follette-Blaine trend. It was the repudiation of the late Senator La Follette's principles by his son. This was the message that the Socialists hoped would split the machine forces. That was why the outcome of the campaign became more doubtful as the Socialists continued to pound away at this issue. If they had had the resources, and the time, they would have had young La Follette on the defensive. But they had neither, and so La Follette continued to ignore the charges the Socialists made.

The situation next year will not be an unusual one. The voters will be called upon to ratify a deal made between La Follette and Governor Blaine by which the offices would be parcelled out next year. There are already

some rumors to the effect that the large majority young La Follette has received has strengthened his determination to wrest control of the State machine from Blaine's hands, and that the deal will not be lived up to. If it is, the people will know that they are called upon to ratify a deal; if it is not lived up to, the rancor that will be left as a result of the fight to which it will give rise is bound to inure to the benefit of the Socialists.

From a broader standpoint, the election marks the closing chapter of the record that Wisconsin has written in the annals of state progress. Once the laboratory of every social experiment that could benefit the people by extending their political rights, Wisconsin is now in the hands of a group of machine politicians, who know little and care less about experimenting along lines that offer some hope to the common people. There has not been a constructive proposal emanating from that group in a dozen years. The degeneracy of the state is so marked that those who understand how the downfall has occurred are likely to begin a real struggle to restore Wisconsin as the state from which may come the lessons of social progress. That the Socialists will play their part in that struggle is certain.

By Murray E. King

Minneapolis, Minn.

POLITICAL action by the organized workers through the Farmer-Labor Association was endorsed by the annual convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, which has finished its work at Austin, Minn.

This action was more than many progressives throughout the State had hoped for, as recent developments in the labor movement here justified the belief that the labor movement had been swung back to the non-partisan policies of the American Federation of Labor. While the vote on this question was unanimous, much to the surprise of many, it was worded to make it appear to be a straddle between the A. F. of L. non-partisan policies and the Labor Party policy.

After endorsing the A. F. of L. political policies, the resolution goes on to unqualifiedly endorse the Farmer-Labor Association. It is explained that there is no contradiction here, as the A. F. of L. non-partisan policy permits the endorsement of those candidates and principles that most completely serve labor's aims, and that it can be shown beyond a doubt that the Farmer-Labor Association and candidates are much truer to organized labor's aims than either of the other political parties or sets of candidates.

What this resolution actually does is to conform the Minnesota movement formally to the A. F. of L. policy, while actually allying it with a third party

Minnesota Labor Renews Its Support to Independent Political Action by the Farmers and City Workers

movement. This stand was plainly an attempt to placate conservative elements that have been working in this State recently to swing the movement back to the conservative position and the still large progressive movement here which will not willingly consent to return to such a position. It puts the conservatives, some of whom are the highest officials in the State federation, more completely behind the labor party movement in this State than ever before, and lays the foundation for a more complete co-operation of the entire organized labor movement of the State in building up the Farmer-Labor Association than has ever existed before.

This decision seems to be the first definite turn toward a more progressive and independent political stand by labor than this State has experienced for about two years. Largely as a result of the bitter anti-Communist and anti-Red drive here in the organized labor movement, labor has been swinging in a most appalling manner further and further to the right.

Minneapolis, once the hotbed of labor progressivism, developed a Central Labor Union that to all outward appearance was a typical conservative A. F. of L. body politically and industrially. St. Paul preserved a slightly more progressive attitude. The small-

er cities seemed to have gone back entirely to the non-partisan A. F. of L. attitude.

Federation Given Only Lukewarm Support

The Farmer-Labor Association, launched so auspiciously at a splendid convention in St. Paul last summer, got no active support to speak of from organized labor, except some half-hearted support in St. Paul. Most of the unions formerly connected with the Farmer-Labor Federation dropped out. In Minneapolis and most other cities no general Farmer-Labor Association meetings were held following the enthusiastic convention which founded the Farmer-Labor Association as the successor to the Farmer-Labor Federation.

The influence of the official A. F. of L. representatives working within this state in behalf of the nonpartisan political policy perceptibly and steadily increased. This was why there was widespread fear that the State Federation of labor convention at Austin this year would give the death blow to the Farmer-Labor Association, the Farmer Labor movement and independent political action by passing a straight nonpartisan resolution.

The tide seems to be turning. This week Minneapolis labor held the first general Farmer-Labor Association meeting that has been held in this city since the association was formed. It was called by Roy Wier, secretary of the Central Labor Union. Other meetings of a similar character are scheduled in other cities of the state. A drive is about to begin which will have for its purpose the bringing of the trade unions all over the state into the association in conformity with the resolution passed by the representatives of most of the unions.

Communist Party Members Are Barred

The same convention which saved the labor party idea from going by the board in Minnesota, passed a resolution a part of which says: "No person shall be permitted to sit as a delegate at conventions (of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor) who is a member of the Communist-Workers-party, or a sympathizer or teacher of the doctrines of that organization."

It is believed that this development has paved the way for an early return of Minnesota Labor to its former politically advanced position. It was the fears, bitterness and prejudice aroused by the same extreme policies and methods employed by the Communists to control the Minnesota Labor movement that caused this movement more than anything else to swing so far to the right. This swing became so pronounced that Socialist and other progressive ideas began to be mistrusted and banned by a growing element in the trade union quite after the fashion prevalent twenty years ago.

Now that the Communists are ousted and the fear of their tactics removed, it is believed that real constructive Socialism and progressivism will rapidly regain their former influence.

The convention adopted without a dissenting vote a good straight Socialist resolution advocating the nationalization of the anthracite coal industry as the only possible solution of the present plight of the workers and the consumers in relation to that industry. Other resolutions that should have passed (like the one) protesting against the policy of Secretary of State Kellogg in excluding Saklatvala from the Interparliamentary Union in Washington) and another advocating the recognition of Soviet Russia, were dodged. They were referred to the Executive Council.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

THE INTERNATIONAL

How Fascists Abuse Minorities

Full confirmation of frequent charges to the effect that since the accession to power of the Fascist Government the rights of the Germans and Slavs living in territory awarded to Italy following the end of the World War have been practically abolished and these minority peoples subjected to cruel persecutions by the minions of Mussolini has been laid before the Minorities Commission set up by the Socialist and Labor International at the Marseilles Congress in August. Under the Chairmanship of Louis de Broeckere of Belgium, the Minorities Commission has collected detailed information as to the treatment of these Germans and Slavs from Socialist leaders of Italy, as well as from those living in the districts in question.

In a report on the situation, the Commission points out that in the German and Slav districts there exists the same state of a total denial of rights of the people under the Fascist autocracy as prevails in the remaining parts of Italy. Thus for example in a comparatively small town like Bozen is no less than three hundred cases the Fascist ill-treated their political opponents with castor oil. A German teacher was murdered. In the great market in Bozen, 48 Germans were wounded. Three moderate middle-class leaders of the German Minority, among whom were the former Mayor of Bozen and a former deputy, were roughly handled. In May, 1925, in St. Jacob, near Bozen, on one day 22 persons were so ill-treated by the Fascists that several had to be taken to the hospital. Similar outrages are also of daily occurrence in the Slav districts. These Fascist outrages are in no wise different from those in Italy proper. But directed against the members of national Minorities they have different psychological effects than in Italian districts. For in the German and Slav districts there appears as the expression of foreign nationalist rule what in Italy proper appears as the method of one Italian party against another.

The autonomy of the municipalities is denied. In all the larger German towns the Municipal Councils have been dissolved. The municipalities are administered by Commissioners of Italian nationality and mostly Fascist, named by the state authorities. Often the dissolution of the elected municipal body follows some obvious pretext. Thus, for example, the Municipal Council of the German town of Brixen was dissolved on the ground that the authorities were not in a position to defend it from Fascist acts of violence. In addition, the autonomy

of the small Slav and German village councils has been seriously restricted. From many municipalities the right to elect their own town clerks has been withdrawn and the nominations are now made by the government representative in the province.

In the district of the German Minority the very important tourist clubs for this Alpine land have been closed and their mountain chalets handed over to the Italian tourist clubs. In this way the chalets of the Labor Tourist Club, "The Friends of Nature," on the Iffinger near Moran, which the workers of Meran had established by their own special efforts, were stolen. Even the fire brigade unions in the German territory have been suspended by the authorities. Inn keepers who place their premises at the disposal of the national Minorities, lose their licenses. Thus intimidated the inn keepers do not dare any longer to lodge unions and gatherings of the national Minorities. At the last elections to the Italian Parliament the restrictions on the German Socialists in Bozen made any election meeting impossible. The most intense feeling among the national Minorities is provoked by the treatment of education. All elementary schools are Italianized. In the

lowest four classes of the elementary schools instruction is given only in Italian; from year to year still higher classes are given over to Italian instruction. Even private instruction in the mother tongue is forbidden. The Labor Movement has been deliberately destroyed in both districts. At first the authorities dismissed the overwhelming majority of the German and Slav railway workers, who had formed the strongest trade union organization in this district. Then the Fascist organizations brought the strongest pressure to bear upon private enterprises to dismiss their workers and employees of German and Slav nationality. Everyone who was organized in the old trade unions and who refused to enter the Fascist unions was threatened with dismissal. Thus the trade unions were completely smashed up. In the same way as the trade unions, the Labor Press was destroyed. Thus the Socialist Volksrecht in Bozen has been forbidden for more than a year on the ground that Fascist would demolish the printing presses if the paper were to appear.

The Minorities Commission considers it urgently necessary to direct the attention of all Socialist Parties to this reign of terror. It asks all Socialist publications in the world to

make public the facts it has established. It calls upon all Socialist Parties to make use of every opportunity to demand for the Slav and German Minorities in Italy the restoration of local and provincial autonomy; the right to the use of their own language in schools, in state matters and in the courts; freedom for communal life, freedom of the Labor Movement. However, it is under no delusion and knows that the terror ruling in the Slav and German districts of Italy is but a part of the terror to which the Fascist dictatorship has subjected all the people in Italy. Therefore it declares that the fight against the oppression of the German and Slav Minorities in Italy can only be carried on as a part of the universal fight against the Fascist dictatorship, among whose worst crimes is the fact that by its ill-treatment of the national Minorities it has fostered hatred between the Italian people and their neighbors. The Minorities Commission calls upon the persecuted German and Slav comrades and workers in the districts annexed by Italy to keep in mind that their liberation from national oppression can be won in no other way than by the closest union with the Italian workers and Italian democracy, whose power alone can break the Fascist rule of violence.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL BAG

Reply to Sifton

Editor, The New Leader:—

I notice a letter published in The New Leader of September 26, in which Paul Sifton criticizes, with a little more heat than the exigencies of the situation would seem to warrant, a reference I made in one of my news stories. The statement which I made—and which he refuses to believe without evidence—is as follows: "La Follette repudiated the program upon which his father made his presidential campaign last year."

On August 16 young La Follette announced his candidacy, in a statement the very first paragraph of which heads: "I am a progressive candidate on the platform endorsed by the voters of Wisconsin three years ago when Robert M. La Follette was elected to his fourth term in the United States Senate."

In repudiating the program upon which his father made his presidential campaign last year young La Follette repudiated one that was also ratified by the voters of Wisconsin to the number of 453,000, and by the voters of the nation to the extent of 5,000,000. It is fair for those who want them

to demand the evidence. But before hurling epithets at others for stating conclusions without giving the facts, a reader might refrain from indulging in conclusions of his own concerning a writer's veracity before he has the facts.

Your reader disbelieved my statement because he considers young La Follette "a damn good politician,"—too damn good to overthrow his father's principles. He is a good politician—and as such he knows that the people do not read political platforms and do not care about them. He said he was going to stand by his father's principles, ran through his hair with his hands while on the platform, the crowd cheered and shouted "He is a chip of the old block," and everything else was forgotten.

He refused to defend his father's principles of last year, some of which he "did not think were popular, while the conservatives were attacking them. The Socialists defended and justified them without stopping to wonder whether they were popular or not. They know that after defending and justifying them for years, they will become popular, and when they do, then Bobbie La Follette will announce that he is for them. To advocate unpopular ideas requires the spirit of the pioneer, a man with a backbone, and years of devotion to unpopular ideals and of pioneering have given the Socialists that backbone. They do not expect Progressives, who must steal their way onto the Republican ticket so as to catch the votes of some who will think they are Republicans, to develop a backbone of their own.

MARX LEWIS.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Editor New Leader:

What position will the Interparliamentary Conference take in the case of the barred British members? Will they rise to the assertion of their dignity as a body? Will they feel it a moral duty to stand up for a fellow member? My memory carries me back to the

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days when the then powerful Knights of Labor by invitation held their national convention in Richmond, Va.

District Assembly 49 of New York sent thirty delegates, among them Frank Farrell, a full-blooded Negro.

When our delegates reached Richmond they found that no hotel there would house and feed Farrell.

Therefore our delegation refused to stomach the insult offered their colored brother. They found quarters among the colored population, and every morning and evening marched in close ranks through the city, with Farrell in their midst.

How much pluck and self-respect will the foreign parliamentarians show?

MOSES OPPENHEIMER.

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KAUTSKY SURVEYS THE POST-WAR SCENE

By James Oneal

IT was about twenty-five years ago that Karl Kautsky delivered a series of lectures in Amsterdam which were later published under the title of "The Social Revolution." These lectures were necessarily theoretical and throughout he maintained a scientific approach to the problem of what would face the working class when historical forces called it to power. That little book was accepted by Socialists in all countries as one of the best contributions to a problem which, because of its remoteness, was difficult to consider.

In another book recently published Kautsky again takes up the problem but he now has the advantage of discussing it in relation to upheavals in Europe which brought one Socialist group in control of Russia and Hungary and for a time found Socialists in a few other countries with a larger measure of power than they ever had before but not with full power or a united working class behind them. This revolutionary period is also associated with the exhaustion and chaos that followed a World War. Nevertheless, despite the abnormal conditions that prevailed this post-war period provides valuable material for a study of the problems of social revolution and the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

Passing of Judgment Not Easy

Considering the famine, the economic prostration, the hatreds and hysteria, the racial feuds and uncertainty that brooded over the working class, it is not easy to pass final judgment of what happened, what was possible, what mistakes were made and what lessons are to be derived from this period. Still, we are better able to consider some questions than we were before this period and Kautsky considers them not only in relation to it but also in relation to other revolutions before it.

"Although we are now on the threshold of the transition, it would be premature to attempt to pronounce final judgment upon it," he writes. "But we can no longer be contented with our former ideas. We must find our feet without delay in the flood of new problems which is breaking over us."

It is in this scientific mood that he approaches the problems associated with the transition to a Socialist order. Of the coalition governments that included Socialists during this abnormal period he observes that it is absurd for opponents to dilate upon the advantages of a purely Socialist Government. That is taken for granted for no Socialist would prefer the first if the second was possible. The coalitions occurred where Socialists were not strong enough to maintain a working class government but "powerful enough to render any Government impossible" which adopted a hostile attitude to the workers.

Moreover, the most immature sections of the working class, maddened by their sufferings, ignorant of the laws of economics, became a prey of various adventurers who made brilliant promises. "The struggles of these sections against the bourgeoisie during the revolution were at the same time struggles of ignorance against economic insight." Thus the most backward sections of the proletariat were pitted "against the trained, experienced, and most highly developed sections of the workers." In such a situation "every rude attack of amateurs or illiterates threatens to bring it, (production) to a standstill, and the suspension of production signifies death." In the most backward countries, such as Hungary, an illiterate population "falls under Communist leadership, and even the trained section of the working class is swept off its feet." In this connection we recall the passage in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels regarding the "rotting social scum" at the bottom of society which is more likely to play a reactionary role in a revolution than an intelligent one.

The Situation in Germany

In Germany the situation was still further complicated by the fact that during the winter of 1918-19 when a purely Socialist Government survived for several months the working class revealed its unreadiness for power by indulging in internecine strife. Three Socialist factions fought each other with fury while two of them also developed internal factions of their own. A working class thus divided cannot proceed to any program of socialization. Added to this internal warfare was the crippled and stagnant capitalism which was further weakened by the staggering "peace" of the Allied victors. The German working class, even if united, would have faced grave difficulties in consolidating its power and transforming production on a Socialist basis. Having missed its opportunity, Kautsky believes that the German working class will now have to wait until it has "imposed a higher training and discipline upon the politically still illiterate masses" before it can think of a policy of socialization, a policy that is likely now to come first in England.

*THE LABOR REVOLUTION. By Karl Kautsky. New York: The Dial Press. \$2.50.

Heir to the Cloaks of Marx and Engels Analyzes the Socialism of Recent Years

Naturally, Kautsky gives considerable attention to the Communists and the Russian Soviet power. He traces a number of analogies between middle class revolutions and the Communist view of revolution. There are those who "deem it their most important duty to figure as revolutionaries, whether the occasion be appropriate or not" and they regard society as a house to be razed to the ground and a new one set in its place. But it is not a house. It is rather to be compared to an organism which develops. Even if it be considered a house "the site on which the old house stands is the only site on which we can dwell, produce, and live. Where should we live during the interval between the pulling down of the old house and the construction of the new?"

Society is an organism yet its economic phases do not develop uniformly. "We find provinces in which the private undertaking has become a monopoly and is ripe for socializa-

tion, and others in which the immediate abolition of private enterprise is out of the question" and for decades to come "a considerable portion of our production will be conducted on capitalist lines." The attempt to suppress capitalism root and branch may injure the capitalist class but it would also tend to bring production to a stop and injure the workers in the end. The larger industries may be socialized and the working class might well take another business to "serve as a place for investigations and experiments" and private initiative be finally abolished as experiments developed the business and brought it under social control. "To commence the application of socialization at the right end is the most important task of the Socialist parties in the domain of economics as soon as they achieve political power. It would be disastrous if they commenced to socialize everywhere at once, and not less disastrous if they began at the wrong end, as, for instance, in agriculture."

Kautsky repeatedly returns to Russia where the Communist Party attempted to carry a social revolution beyond the stage permitted by the backward economic development of the country. Having overshot the mark the time came for capitalist reaction to step in as has frequently happened when a revolution is pushed beyond the point that is justified by historical development. This reaction has been generally carried out "through the agency of one party which overthrows another" but it has been reserved for the Bolsheviks themselves to carry out the reaction from the revolution to the reaction. Astonishment is expressed at the vitality of their regime, but this does not depend upon the vitality of the revolution which they introduced, but upon the fact that, as soon as they saw the end of the revolution approaching, they thoughtlessly took over the functions of the counter-revolution themselves. The Vicar of Bray was ready to serve any Govern-

ment, revolutionary or reactionary, with equal devotion. Lenin beat the vicar, inasmuch as he himself formed both the revolutionary and the reactionary regimes."

This, of course, refers to the New Economic Policy which is designed to give room for capitalist industry to develop. Of the Soviet form of government, Kautsky regards it as absurd to contend that a particular form guarantees the rule of any class, asserting that this inverts the materialist conception of history.

"That no constitution," he writes, "can be devised which would assure the rule of one class irrespective of all economic conditions is implied by the materialist conception of history, and it is a very peculiar brand of Marxism which, from the standpoint of economic determinism, sets out to discover a form of government of this kind."

The bourgeois bureaucracy detested by the Leninists has been replaced by a more deadening bureaucracy although

Lenin had written a philippic against bureaucracy before the Bolsheviks came into power. That philippic "is now strictly forbidden by the agents of the Cheka as a subversive and therefore a counter-revolutionary piece of writing." Kautsky is at pains to draw comparisons between the bureaucracies of middle class revolutions and the bureaucracy of Russia but we cannot follow him in all these comparisons. He sums up his criticism on this score with the following paragraph:

"If Bolshevism today persists in clinging to the forms of the middle class revolution, this is an indication of the backwardness of Russian conditions. A peculiar irony of history lurks in the fact that Lenin seeks the special attributes of proletarian democracy in institutions which either characterize the middle class revolution or arise from a condition of undeveloped middle class democracy."

Kautsky is now 71 years old and he writes with a freshness and with the same critical powers that he did many years ago. He is just as critical of Socialists as he is of Communists although the romanticism of the latter occasionally leads him to the use of invective. Yet, considering that he was a spectator of much of the romanticism of which he writes and observed its demoralizing influence, he displays on the whole a reserved and scientific attitude which is commendable.

AMY LOWELL'S POSTSCRIPT

By Clement Wood

THIS VOLUME of posthumous miscellaneous poems gives us a reminiscent opportunity to glance again at the strange blend of aggressiveness and blare that constituted Amy Lowell. Cousin to James Russell Lowell, sister to the present president of Harvard, she was born Feb. 9, 1874, and matured slowly. Her first volume of poems, juvenile and with no especial promise appeared in 1912, when she was thirty-eight years old; the thirteen years more of her life saw three prose critical works, concluding in the awkward and fragmentary study of John Keats, six volumes of verse, and one volume of translations in which she collaborated. In the eyes of many, she was modern American poetry: her advertising flare, her noisy aggressiveness, was akin to Roosevelt's. She did not shine in oral controversy: on one memorable occasion she broke down and cried, at her lecture in Philadelphia, because of pointed questions from the sedate president of the Philadelphia Browning Society. She was well-to-do, a conservative outside the technique of poetry (as witness her disgraceful and unfair anti-German poems during the war), extremely unattractive of person, and as magnetic in personality.

This volume, but for one surprisingly lovely lyric, is obscure, colorful, superficial, and unimportant but as a self-revelation. It is not poetry which humanity will cherish and preserve: she lacked finality of utterance, she lacked an ear for song, she saw only glitter and heard only discord in the main. She saw her own self clearly: "Footling Up a Total," in this book, says what I have said even more clearly.

Yes, alas! and when they were clanged me to my grave
Wrapped gaudily in pale blue and magenta;

When muted bugles and slackened drums
Have brayed a last quietus;
What then, my friend?...

Will that person (someone coming from the funeral) remember bones and shouting do you think?
She is the bones, she says; she is the shouting. Her conclusion is that she will not be remembered, compared to a "highly unsuccessful conferee":

The future is the future, therefore—
Damn you!
Grant her self-revelation, then. As poet and critic she pictures herself and some others—but thank God, not all of the rest!

Little poet people snatching ivy,
Trying to prevent one another from snatching ivy.

Her "Grave Song" pictures her as a "pocketful of emptiness," a good description; with a "mind like ashes split a week ago." The succeeding poem confesses that her "little gift of speech" was a failure.

Her history is written without too great symbolism in several of the more ambitious verses. The one entitled "Which, Being Interpreted, Is as May Be, or Otherwise"—a strange revelatory title—shows her as a worn-out dreamer who attempts to weld her dream to a dead 13th century dream, dying in the attempt. In "The Red Knight" she is unable to fling her handkerchief to the knight "through backward centuries."

For which unreasonable reason
I am determined to remain a virgin.
She was mannish in body, and smoked big black cigars; her love, espe-

WHAT'S O'CLOCK. By Amy Lowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co. \$2.25.

An Opportunity to Take A Glance Backward

cially in this book, is man's love to woman (or woman's love to woman,) and never woman's love to man. She sings to "the lady of my choice," says to Sappho—significant choice!

I wish I could have talked to Sappho,
Surprised her reticences by flinging mine

Into the wind.
—And Sappho was not noted for reticences. Of her she says,

We two were sisters

Of a strange, isolated little family.
Superficially, this refers to the family of women poets. She is the youth Endymion, or a maiden Endymion, loving the moon:

All of me spent in amazing,
Longing for her wheat-white thighs
I have lain with Mistress Moon.
In the parakeet poem, she adores a woman:

I tossed her arms apart and pressed
Myself upon her, breast to breast...
I forced her lips till they caught on mine,
And poured myself down her throat like wine.

I mingled with her, part for part.
Her love, then, was Sappho's, at least in desire.

Her America she saw strangely:
With no tradition and no past.

But in it she did not see the common people, laboring humanity, at all; she has no word for them, no sight of them. Verse after verse is a mere affected conceit, unreal, wholly insignificant. Her poetry, as a rule, graves the Lord's Prayer on a pinhead. Nor is her technique invariably excellent: she overuses the adjective "queasy," which means "sick at the stomach," in such odd uses as "queasy cupids." She can lapse from grammar and all decent word usage to say that the cardinal sing "terribly sweet." And she can write a solitary poem as lovely as "Nuit Blanche":

I want no horns to rouse me up to-night,

American Literature Under the Sociological Microscope

AMONG the new lecturers at the Rand School this year is V. F. Calverton, of Baltimore, author of "The Newer Spirit." Mr. Calverton's course deals with Social Interpretation of American Literature.

In his first lecture last Friday night, Mr. Calverton dealt with the Puritans in America, traced the bourgeois origins of their life and showed how they established not a democracy but a bourgeois theocracy. The literature of the time, concentrated in the hands of the hierophants, reflected this state of social mind. He quoted from John Cotton, Cotton Mather, Nathaniel Ward, and then to show that, due to the frontier conditions, there was a conflicting element urging real democracy, he quoted Roger Williams and Hooker.

Calverton also showed how the poems of William Witherell and Anne Bradstreet, among others, reflected this psychology and instanced the philosophy of Jonathan Edwards as an example of the reflection in metaphysics. He gave particular attention to Freneau, Trumbull and Dwight.

The main figures of the period, two men who expressed in most vivid form the spirit of the time, Calverton chose as Thomas Paine and Benjamin

And trumpets make too clamorous a ring

To fit my mood, it is so weary white
I have no wish for doing anything.
A music coaxed from humming
stings would please;

Not plucked, but drawn in creeping cadences

Across a sunset wall where some

Marquise

Picks a pale rose amid strange

silences.

Ghostly and vaporous her gown

sweeps by

The twilight dusking wall, I hear

her feet

Delaying on the gravel, and a sigh,

Briefly permitted, touches the air

like sleet.

And it is dark, I hear her feet no

more.

A red moon leers beyond the lily-

tank.

A drunken moon ogling a sycamore,

Running long fingers down its

shining flank.

A lurching moon, as nimble as a

clown,

Cuddling the flowers and trees

which burn like glass.

Red, kissing lips, I feel you on my

gown—

Kiss me, red lips, and then pass—

pass.

Music, you are pitiless tonight.

And I so old, so cold, so languorously

white.

The rhyme "more...sycamore" is false, but the poem rings true. It and largely it alone, justifies the book, as a volume of poetry. As a volume of self-revelation, it has higher value.

For many are called poets, and few are worthy; and Lowell is not among the few, but for this lyric and a few brief others. She did her best, cursed by her ill-favored body, her eye bewildered by brilliance rather than beauty, her innate subservience to dead ideals of saprophyte aristocracy. She was a gong, calling men to serve

This Friday night Mr. Calverton will lecture on Emerson and the Transcendentalist movement. Next week his subject will be Poe and Hawthorne. Other lectures will be on the New England school, later Bellamy, Norris and Phillips, and finally the modern school. Anderson, Dreiser, Cather, etc.

It is positively shameful to hurl a "Thou shalt not steal" at a hungry or ragged human being. Let us all dress and have dinner before we talk morals.—Frank P. Walsh.

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AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY THE EXPRESS WORKERS' BOLT

By Jan Oudegeest

Secretary International Federation of Trade Unions

SOME days ago Kellogg, the American Secretary of State, in a speech in Detroit stated America's attitude on the Chinese question. He upheld China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and advocated a policy of the open door towards this country. Nor is Kellogg the only American statesman who is breaking a lance for China. Senator Borah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, has also recently been uttering some truths about economic imperialism, and has stated that "American and other foreign interests, and above all the schemes of the Chamber of Commerce, are at the bottom of the troubles in China." At the end of the same speech he said "The American Chamber of Commerce in China is a part of the imperialistic combine which would oppress and exploit the Chinese people and charge the result of their offenses to someone else."

There can be no doubt whatever as to the justice of these accusations. We cannot fail to be struck, however, by the difference between these accusations and the attitude of these two statesmen on other questions. For it was Kellogg who dispatched the notorious note to Mexico, and that surely meant something very different from respect of Mexico's sovereignty. Moreover, it is the American Government which has schemes on foot in regard to the whole of Latin America, which do not seem to have a great deal in common with the "open door" policy.

Latin-American Nations in Protest

The countries of Latin America, which are well aware of the imperialist intentions of American capital in their part of the world, have taken the opportunity of the Mexican note to make a unanimous protest against this aggressive policy. But, instead of withdrawing, America has now added insult to injury. Davis, the American Secretary of Labor, has issued a report on racial conditions in Latin America, in which it is declared that not more than 10 per cent. of the 90 million Latin Americans are of pure white stock. The rest are classified as belonging to various "colored" races. Anyone who knows how thorny the race question is in these countries, and how easily feeling is roused on the subject, can imagine what an effect the publication of such a report would have in Latin America. It called forth such deep sentiment that the Department of Commerce had to send to the press a statement that the publication of this report at a time when Latin-American trade had reached record figures had been a most unfortunate error.

But these are not all the intrigues going on against Latin America. Bar

America's Imperialism in Latin-America Draws the Attention of Secretary of Amsterdam International

Association has for some little time been drafting, with the aid of the State Department, treaties and conventions, the ratification of which would mean nothing less than the establishment of an All-American League of Nations, which would involve a possibility of future conflicts between this league, ruled by American imperialism, and the League of Nations. To judge from the South American press, it certainly does not look as if public opinion in any of the Central or South American states is any too well pleased at the prospect of being alienated from the League of Nations. The "Prensa" of Buenos Aires is the most emphatic: it takes particular exception to the following clauses of the proposed Convention: "The American republics hereby declare that in matters touching America, American interests shall be given primary considerations: if possible in accord with the principles of international law; otherwise, they shall be free to set up or create new principles or precedents, such as are essential to the welfare of the American continents." The "Prensa" considers that this clause leaves no doubt whatever as to the real intentions of the originators of these draft proposals.

"The Only International Law"

Another Argentinian paper says: "Obviously the only international law which the U. S. A. seems to recognize is that of Uncle Sam's Intervention." "Listin Diario" (Santo Domingo) says plainly that these faced attacks thoroughly discredit Monroeism and Pan-Americanism in Latin America; and it further states the cause of these attacks as being the U. S. A.'s policy of commercial expansion. "Pan-Americanism has come into ill-repute

because its only aim is the promotion of the capitalist and imperialist interests of the United States. God grant that Kellogg may cut himself free from the policy of his predecessors." This prayer does not seem likely to be answered at present. Borah has lately been attacking the League of Nations, and even more, the Permanent Court of International Justice with growing violence. At one moment he says he would rather give up his mandate as Senator than vote for affiliation with the Permanent Court of International Justice; the next he is bemoaning the fact that "we are going to have conditions in the East that everyone who loves peace will regret."

Thanks is certainly due to the American Federation of Labor for its exposure of these contradictions. The protest made by Green, the President of the A. F. of L. against Kellogg's Mexican Note, has found an echo throughout the whole of Latin America. This is confirmed by a recent speech of Senator Justo in the Argentinian Senate, in which he declared that the Government of the United States in its policy towards Mexico was leaving the welfare and freedom of the Mexican people entirely out of consideration. He went on to say that the Buenos Aires press is today contrasting the declarations of the American Federation of Labor in favor of the Government of Mexico with the statements of the United States Government.

There can be no mistaking the spirit of the workers organized in the A. F. of L. and the Pan-American Federation. In their declaration that they want the friendship of the Latin Americans not for the sake of their trade, but for the sake of friendship and good will.

There have been occasions in the trade union movement when a large number of the members of a union believed it necessary to withdraw and organize for more efficient service to the members. These occasions have been rare as members always hesitate to break with an organization with which they have been identified a long time, and the break then comes because of what they consider deep-seated grievances. This article is presented to our readers because of its news value to all who are interested in the organized working class.

By Joseph B. Hagerty

OF the many reasons for the express workers' action in severing their connection with the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees and their affiliation with the American Federation of Express Workers, the following are outstanding: Corruption, we believe, launched and fostered by E. H. Fitzgerald, Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Fitzgerald, with the aid of some members of his machine, promoted a \$10,000,000 investment company for personal gain and used his office as chief executive of the Clerks to give his wild-cat scheme much-needed prestige. He circulated the entire membership, giving them the impression that the investment company was a Brotherhood proposition. He sent salesmen to New York City and other points for the purpose of selling stock to the Brotherhood membership. They carried credentials signed by Fitzgerald, Geo. S. Levi, Grand Secretary-Treasurer; G. C. Millam, Vice Grand President; and Phil E. Ziegler, Editor, Railway Clerk, made charges against him in connection with this activity. The Grand Executive Board tried him and found him guilty as

The Reasons for the Organization of an Independent Union as Told by an Insurgent Leader

charged, but as the national convention was shortly to meet, in an effort to keep the organization intact they only reprimanded him.

Shortly after this, members of Fitzgerald's machine made charges against the members of the Grand Executive Board. The Grand Executive Board suspended Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald suspended the members of the Grand Executive Board. This without any trial. A lay member, Charles Herbst, took the matter into court. He charged Fitzgerald with conspiracy and asked the Court to restrain him from interfering with the functioning of the Grand Executive Board. This the Court did after a long and costly trial. The whole matter then rested in status quo for action by the convention.

The convention met May, 1925. On a roll call ballot taken on the question of Fitzgerald's guilt, 819 voted guilty, 682 not. Four or five days passed; the machine worked hard. The delegates then took the very illogical action of re-electing Fitzgerald to office as Grand President of the organization. Corruption triumphed and in the saddle. The result for the membership was thousands of dollars wasted and the time and effort of all the national officers given, not to constructive effort, but to a dispute brought about by Fitzgerald's effort to enrich himself at the expense of the membership. The simple fact that, during the trouble described herein, it was found necessary to force Fitzgerald to resign as president of the organization's bank (Brotherhood of Railway Clerks National Bank) should in itself be sufficient to convince any thinking man that he was and is unfit to be the Chief Executive of a Labor organization.

We have a still more important reason for severing our connection with the Brotherhood of Clerks. For a number of years there has existed a jurisdictional dispute between the Brotherhood of Clerks and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees to instruct the officers of local unions and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees to comply with this decision and disassociate from membership in that organization those who are employed as drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and garage employees who are not mechanics and helpers (the term helper meaning all men who load and unload wagons and trucks), and who by this decision come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

The situation forced the organized intelligent express workers to act for their own protection. The natural result was the formation of a national independent organization, known as the

classification under the duties of an employee arises which would occasion a jurisdictional dispute on the employee in question, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America shall designate a representative, and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees shall designate a representative, to meet and investigate in detail such duties, reporting back to their respective chief executives their findings.

This is not all the evidence we can present to prove our contention that it was the intention of these organizations mentioned to hopelessly divide the organized express workers. Mr. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, under date of August 1, 1925, directed a letter to Mr. George S. Levi, grand secretary-treasurer, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. We quote in part: "That jurisdiction over the men involved in this dispute properly belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America; that both organizations be notified to this effect, and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be instructed to disassociate from its membership all drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and garage employees who are not mechanics, and helpers (the term helper meaning all men who load and unload wagons and trucks), by transferring them to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, or disassociate them from membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. (El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor.)" "The Executive Council call upon the officers of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees to instruct the officers of local unions and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees to comply with this decision and disassociate from membership in that organization those who are employed as drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and garage employees who are not mechanics and helpers (the term helper meaning all men who load and unload wagons and trucks), and who by this decision come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America."

The situation forced the organized intelligent express workers to act for their own protection. The natural result was the formation of a national independent organization, known as the

(Continued on page 11)

:- Sparks and Flashes :-

YES, comrades, we (it isn't good newspaper manners to say I), are also going columning. "It seems to me" that one more chatterbox, conning tower or Coldigger can alight upon this worried earth without cracking its crust. No, four times no, we are not attempting competition with all those other clever guys. This column must and shall be different! At least that's our announcement. Whether the goods will keep company with the label is another matter. Anyway we shall try to do our best—our darndest.

Our Bill of Fare

We promise to conduct a strictly kosher Socialist propaganda column. Short paragraphs, quick jabs and upper-cuts. We shall load and fire against this infernal capitalist system—or more correctly, lack of system—all nature and manner of missiles, buck-shot, grapeshot, shrapnel and Big Bertha pellets. Perhaps there may be some duds in the assortment. Well, . . . who can predict . . . any one can flop sometimes . . . it happens among the best of them . . . but . . . anyway, we shall be careful and do our very meanest to hit the bull's ear.

Small doses, hard hits, tough morsels, wise cracks and occasional quotations—that's all on our menu. And since some of you know that we have a funny bone in our skeleton, naturally, you can not expect us to sour on this blasted civilization. We simply can't do it. It's too ridiculous, too nutty and too bughouse an outfit to take too seriously. Yes, we know its tragedies, its sordidness, its brutality,

outrages and abominations. But, my comrades, altogether, we haven't enough tear juice in our optical viaducts to drown this cussedness. Then again, if it can be drowned, washed away and out—well—we can produce more of the required saline solution by laughing. That's our plan.

Are There Any Questions?

We shall also solicit questions on Socialism. Let them come, hard and soft ones; wise and foolish ones. Snare, trap, rope and capture them. Box and ship them to us C. O. D. and we shall unscramble our brains to answer them all. Also, please send us clippings, quotations and arguments for or against capitalism. Only, remember, they must be short, stunted ones—not over 100,000 words, including punctuation.

Dividing Up; You Still Hear It

If you still encounter that stupid dividing-up argument, pipe this one from the wittiness of Abraham I. Shipiloff. Our comrade was consuming his lunch hour on a park bench and for his dessert he

was feasting on a Socialist paper. Like all ardent propagandists, Shipiloff never destroyed or carelessly flung aside a precious sheet after he had finished reading it. No, sir, he always ironed out its wrinkles, folded it neatly and laid it on a vacant seat for a new customer. One day a queer prospect arrived, grabbed the paper and sat down to scan its contents. He was, apparently, a gentleman of leisure—of the lower strata—a bedraggled, unwashed, mangy kind of a tramp. With all that, however, he was of a lively nature. His right hand was continuously exploring and agitating the moss under his hat, on his chest and in his armpits, and his back kept caressing the back of the bench. Some animated cuss, he was! Suddenly, our friend let out a roar and guffawed gutturally. Shipiloff was perplexed. "Pardon me, but what strikes you so funny in that paper, my friend?" asked he. The tramp stuck his paw down the back of his neck to dislodge an annoyance and replied, "Why, this is a Socialist paper. Don't ever know. Them dam fools want us fellows to divide up!"

Socialists do not advocate the dividing up of wealth. In fact, most forms of wealth are incapable of being divided. True, land could be divided into equal portions but the growth of large cities and the nature of various types of farming make such a plan preposterous. You can not divide up a railroad, a factory, a mine or a machine and get any use out of it. Nor can you distribute a nation's resources—unless you do it a la Fall and Denby. Neither can money be divided equally—assuming that such a futile notion was proposed. The intrusion of the births and deaths of individuals during every fraction of a second would make a just division or calculation impossible. No sane person advocates the division of wealth.

Socialism proposes the division of the hours of toil, the benefits of leisure, the comforts of life, the joys of culture and travel. Socialism desires a greater equality of opportunity to the end that the gifts and talents that lie dormant in most of us, may blossom and ripen into fruit so that the enhancement of each shall enrich the lives of all.

Counter-Revolutionist: A Definition

We were asked the other evening at a street meeting, what is a counter-revolutionist? - A belligerent communist provoked the question. He had just conferred this high-flutten decoration upon Norman Thomas. So we brushed back our straggling pompadour and replied as follows: "A counter-revolutionist is one who labors counter to, or tries to counter-act a revolution. Since there is no revolution on in this country at present there is no such animal in our midst. Unless—and then we lapsed into a serious mood—you accept small storekeepers as such. They surely are counter-revolutionists. All day long and during a large part of the evening they make revolutions around a counter."

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4. What Negro in Miami is reported to be worth \$2,000,000?
5. What two Negroes recently gave \$25,000 each to Negro education?
6. How many Negroes disappear into the white race yearly?
7. What portion of their income do Negroes in the United States spend on cosmetics and cheap jewelry?
8. What United States colonial possession has a Negro literacy of 95 per cent.?

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

A Communist Prayer

The Fun of the Fight

MARY BLANKENHORN is just back from England with the following lovely song, written by G. D. H. Cole of the British Labor Party and sung to the tune of "Keep the Home Fires Burning":

"THE COMMUNIST PRAYER."

Get the job done quickly,
Wage the class war strictly,
Ang the rich to lamp-posts 'igh
But don't 'ang me.
Stick to Marx my 'earty
Damn the Lybor Party,
Keep the Hell fires burning for the bourgeoisie."

Mary says that her husband Heber, who writes about the British Labor Party for our contemporary, "Labor," will be back around the first of the year and make out that we for one won't be glad to see him, he being our idea of a regular writing guy who always has his head about him and plenty of guts to boot.

Courage and sympathy and oodles of brains—that's what the Blankenhorns are made of. Mary, herself, after a two years' absence abroad working for underdogs of all nationalities, had no sooner gotten off the boat than she plunged head foremost into the Norman Thomas campaign and took on the job of secretary for the Thomas Non-Partisan Committee. She and her husband are thoroughbred underdog fanciers.

Which brings us to the subject of why folks like Norman Thomas and the Blankenhorns and heaps of others whom we have met in the radical movement get gray-headed and frayed-nerved breaking their backs on behalf of those who for the most part just don't seem to give a damn and run off and desert their natural friends for any old Tammanyite with a job in his pocket.

The answer is that it's the fun of the fight. Some people get their pleasure sweating and exploiting other people. Some get it playing golf and drinking Scotch whiskey. Still others get it writing for "arty" magazines. And there are such things as psychoanalysts and harmonica players.

But here and there all through the radical movement, sweetening it and giving it life and space, you will find men and women who will never stop fighting for a finer order of society until the undertaker's assistant comes around to lay them out.

They love the good things of life as intensely as any aesthetes, they hunger after music, books, paintings and sculpture, but they want others, lots of others, to have a shot at these things, too. They want to square up life, not to level it down and until that little kid who plays the violin so beautifully over on New York's Avenue B and that factory girl in Chicago who can paint rings around the Academicians get their chance, these stiff-necked folk will not be happy.

It's too bad. The friends and relatives of these people are wet with tears over the evil ways they have fallen into. But there is a touch of the crocodile about those tears.

When someone tells me what fine work Norman Thomas could have done had he stayed inside the Protestant church and someone else bewails the fact that Blankenhorn didn't stick to the "Evening Sun" and another says that Stuart Chase should never have left commercial accounting, I feel coming over my left ear a swift and severe pain.

We are not especially noted for our Biblical lore, but one line from the New Testament has always made a hit with us. "What profiteth it a man that he gain the whole world and lose his soul?"

The fun of the fight! Only when you have tasted that can you know what it means to be free in America, at a time when freedom is everywhere disappearing.

I think it was old Wendell Phillips who said that no matter whether or not the radicals ever won a victory, by the very act of enlisting against greed and opposition they had won freedom for themselves.

He said it better than that, but we can't find the exact quotation and you get the idea. Never was it truer than now when so many old-time radicals are falling by the way-side and the banks and capitalist newspaper offices and counting-houses are filled with "tired radicals" who shot their bolt in 1917 and found that they had no further fights in them.

God deliver us from the "One-fight Radical." There seems to be quite a number over in the district where we are running—in a manner of speaking—for Assembly, just as you probably find them in your district, men who tell you that they have gone into salesmanship because they must live (query: why must they live?) and haven't time to do any work for Socialism, but you should have been there in 1917 when they swept the district and so on, ad nauseum.

Well, there's a man in town who did considerable stuff in 1917 and 1907 and 1897 for that matter and never yet have we heard him putting up any alibis for not keeping on as keenly as ever.

Perhaps it's because he's working so hard today that he has no need nor time for alibis.

You may have heard of him.

His name is Debs, Eugene Victor Debs from Terre Haute and Atlanta.

We are going up to Carnegie Hall on Sunday afternoon to hear him talk and we bet all you out-of-town readers envy us.

Whenever we get low in our mind about this so-called human race, whenever we decide that, after all, salesmanship has its good points and why continue the struggle, we think of that shining soul that bears the earthly name of Debs and a little thrill runs up and down our backbone and our heart beats a bit quicker and we shake our fist at the imaginary figures of exploiters and their treacherous parasites whom we summon in for the occasion and we say, "Damn you. If an old man like Debs will go down with his boots on, we'll have a kick or two at your precious shins before we're done."

McAlister Coleman.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

The Poor Fish says: that he would stand solidly for the rights of labor if labor were more than three per cent. of the population, but the vast majority of the people in the United States are respectable citizens.



Beginnings of Marxism

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

UNTIL the middle of the last century, the school of socialist thought which held the center of the stage, as we have elsewhere observed, was that of Utopian socialism. During the thirties and forties, however, the concepts of the utopians were subjected to merciless criticism by a group of able writers committed to fundamental social change. Among these critics was a brilliant young Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Jena, Karl Heinrich Marx, and a young German business man residing in England, with a bent for economics, Friedrich Engels. Their "Communist Manifesto," issued in the revolutionary year, 1848, at the behest of a small international workingmen's organization, was at once an interpretation of the role of the working class in past and future history and a clarion call to labor to unite for the purpose of securing its emancipation, and through that emancipation, the freedom of all mankind. It marked the definite decline in the leadership of the utopian school of thought among the advocates of a new social order. It marked at the same time the advent of Marxian or "scientific" socialism, a social philosophy which has exerted such a powerful influence on the political, social, economic and cultural thought of the last half century and which seems destined to play a still larger role in future historical developments.

Early Life of Karl Marx

The real author of "scientific" socialism was, of course, Karl Marx. The career of this remarkable student and leader of men—the outstanding working class theorist of all times—was a striking one. Marx was born in Treves, southeastern Germany, on the fifth of May, 1818. His father was a Jewish jurist of an unusual type and his grandfather, a German Rabbi. His mother was descended from a Dutch Rabbi's family which had emigrated from Hungary to Holland in the seventeenth century.

When Karl, one of several children, was six years of age, his family embraced Christianity. In the grammar school of Treves and at the home of L. von Westphalen, his future father-in-law, a government Privy Councillor of a literary turn of mind—with Homer and Shakespeare his favorite poets—Karl received his early education. To this cultured friend, Marx afterwards dedicated his doctor's thesis, describing him as one "who welcomes every progressive movement with the enthusiasm and sober judgment of a lover of truth, and who is a living proof that idealism is no imagination, but the truth."

Marx's Days at the University

Following his elementary education, Marx matriculated, at the age of 17, at the University of Bonn, with the object of taking up the study of law,

in deference to the wishes of his father. The next year, 1836, however, he transferred his undergraduate work to Berlin University, and threw himself into his studies with great intensity, applying himself to a wide variety of subjects, including philosophy, jurisprudence, history, literature, and art.

"Giving up social intercourse, he worked night and day, making abstracts of what he read, translating Greek and Latin, working at philosophical systems, setting down a considerable number of his own thoughts, and drafting outlines of philosophy and jurisprudence, as well as writing three volumes of poems." His intellectual studies during 1837, when he was still but nineteen years old, led him to reject the abstract idealism of Kant and Fichte and to seek refuge in Hegel.

"From the idealism which I had cherished so long," he wrote to his father, "I fell to seeking the ideal in reality itself. . . I had read fragments of Hegel's philosophy, the strange, rugged melody of which had not pleased me. Once again, I wished to dive into the midst of the sea, this time with the resolute intention of finding a spiritual nature just as essential, concrete and perfect as the physical, and instead of indulging in intellectual gymnastics, bringing up pure pearls into the sunlight."

Embraces Hegelian Philosophy

The Hegelian philosophy finally took possession of him. He became ill, burnt his poems and material for short stories, and during his illness and his subsequent rest at Stralau acquainted himself with Hegel's philosophy and that of his followers from beginning to end. Later he became an ardent member of the Graduates' Club of the University, in which he continued long arguments on philosophical questions.

His father admonished him against such intellectual dissipation and urged him to follow the example of other students who attended their lectures regularly and had an eye to a future career.

"Indeed," the elderly Marx declared, in a fatherly letter to his restless son, "these men sleep quite peacefully except when they now and then devote a whole or part of a night to pleasure, whereas my clever and gifted son Karl, passes wretched, sleepless nights, wearying body and mind with cheerless study, forbearing all pleasures with the sole object of applying himself to abstruse studies; but what he builds today he destroys again tomorrow, and in the end he finds that he has destroyed what he already had, without having gained anything from other people. At last the body begins to ail and the mind gets confused, whilst these ordinary folks steal along in easy marches, and attain their goal, if not better at least more comfortably."

ably than those who condemn youthful pleasures and undermine their health in order to snatch at the ghost of erudition, which they could probably have excoriated more successfully in an hour spent in the society of competent men—with social enjoyment into the bargain."

But Karl was bent on seeking the truth, and, abjured an easy life. Nor did an official career have any appeal for him. He wrote:

Let us not in base subjection
Brood away our fearful life,
When with dead and aspiration
We might enter in the strife.

Marx Received His Doctorate And Turns to Journalism

Karl's ambition soon became one of securing a lectureship at the University of Bonn, where his friend Bruno Bauer hoped to be appointed professor. His father became reconciled to his position, but died the following year in May, 1838. Karl gave up the study of law, became completely engrossed in philosophy, and, in 1841 at Jena, at the early age of twenty-three, received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, after defending his dissertation on the "Natural Philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus." He applied for the lectureship, but the Prussian universities were not free centers of thought. They turned down the application of both Bauer and Marx, as too non-conformist in their attitude. Thereupon young Marx turned to freelance journalism.

Marx Studies Economics

About that time a group of liberals in the Rhine provinces founded a newspaper. Marx, a friend of the editor, was asked to contribute to it. His contributions were so trenchant that, on the resignation of the editor, in October, 1842, Marx, then 24, was asked to take his place. It was at that time that he was first forced to begin a serious study of economic problems. In his "Critique of Political Economy" (1859) he writes:

"As editor of the Rheinische Zeitung, in 1842 and 1843, I came up, for the first time, against the difficulty of having to take part in the controversy over so-called material interests. The proceedings of the Diet of the Rhine provinces in regard to wood stealing and parceling out of landed property, and their action towards the farmers of the Moselle districts, and lastly debates on free trade and protection, gave the first stimulus to my investigation of economic questions. On the other hand, an echo of French socialism and communism, feebly philosophical in tone, had at that time made itself felt in the columns of the Rheinische Zeitung. I declared myself against superficiality, confessing, however, at the same time that the studies I had made so far did not allow me to venture any judgment of my own on the significance of the French tendencies."

Saved Again

Let the Prince Come

AN American missionary in China has made a great discovery. Listen. He has found out that the negative slogans of the Chinese nationalists conceal constructive aims.

For instance, anti-imperialism expresses the love of the Chinese for democracy. Anti-capitalism means that the Chinese workers want consideration for themselves in the new industries. Anti-foreignism means that the Chinese are developing a national consciousness. Anti-religion is not really a hostility towards religion, but a hatred of certain aspects of it, especially a contempt of preaching that has no works to back it in practice.

Now isn't that marvelous? It takes a missionary to discover that there is a demand for something back of every attack against something. What wonderful intelligence! Maybe he will discover next that there is a demand for beer and wine back of the negative slogans against prohibition.

We have always had a lurking suspicion that the foreign imperialists understood the Chinese negative slogans perfectly. We even believed that they sent missionaries to China for the same purposes for which the Spaniards used to send padres to America. The Christian missionaries in China, we thought, had the same mission.

Anyway, the Chinese did not "reduce" as easily as some American Indians. The marvelous discovery of the American missionary means that he and his kind failed as "reducers." And we will bet a tarnished dime that the American imperialists knew it before he told them.

Well, we can console our American imperialists with the comforting information that the European capitalists discovered long ago that religion is not as much of an opium for the workers as Moscow thinks. Even religious workers rebel against capital.

URRAH! The country is saved again.

Secretary of State Kellogg saved it in the nick of time. The revolution was already on its way to our hospitable shores in the person of one Sapatista Saklatvala. M. P. The M. P. stands for member of Parliament.

Mr. S. S. M. P. is a Communist and a red of the deepest dye. He has preached revolution in and out of the Parliament of the Mother Country for some years. It didn't revolutionize Parliament or the Mother Country. Seems like you can't sell revolutions to folks who are not in the market for these things. So the Government of his Majesty, King George (God save the King) let brother Saklatvala talk until his face was as red as his heart, and even his Majesty is still drawing his breath and salary.

If Saklatvala had remained in the King-ridden territory of the old world, he might still be recommending revolution to the benighted subjects of King George; but he didn't appreciate a good thing. Nothing would do him but to come to the land of the free and the home of the brave to peddle revolutionary notions among us sovereigns. But, ha, ha, Secretary fooled him. Secretary Kellogg may be a lame-duck, but there is nothing slow about him when it comes to stopping revolutions. He told S. S. M. P., to stay away from the land of the free, etc., and to make sure that he stayed away he caused the American Ambassador in London to revoke the visa on his passports.

Now, brothers, Saklatvala can't come. The revolution he intended to sell us remains in his sample case, or head, or wherever he carries it. Prospective buyers of revolution in this great democracy are denied the opportunity to examine the working model of the threatened upheaval. The upheaval can't leave. The revolution can't revolve. The country is saved. Thank God for Kellogg who was turned down by Minnesota.

Senator Borah, Chairman of the foreign relation committee does not agree with Kellogg in locking out Saklatvala. But the trouble with Borah is that he is cursed with a brain which makes it almost impossible for him to work with the administration. He deprecated any policy in dealing with this case that implies a greater restriction on free speech in the United States than in Great Britain. "If he comes here and violates any laws of the United States," says Borah, "put him in jail. If he seeks to incite men to commit crime or commits a crime himself, put him in the penitentiary."

Precisely. If we are an aggregation of escaped imbeciles who can not listen to a radical speaker without catching hydrophobia then let's quit this silly twaddle about being an enlightened people capable of governing ourselves. If our institutions are so feeble that any loud mouthed Leonardo Blowhard can come over here and elude them out of existence, then for heaven's sake let's find out what is wrong with our institutions, and last but not least, if a member of the British Parliament can not say in this democracy what he may freely say in the realm of King George, the heir of King George the Third, then let's chuck this slush about freedom of speech.

The long and the short of the matter is that we have traveled so far toward plutocracy that almost any cheap politician can tell the meek little lambkins who blab about democracy what is good and what is bad for them. Free men, thinking men, proud men would resent the action of a repudiated politician of the Kellogg type when he assumes the role of mental guardian of the nation. However, there will be no protest, outside of that uttered by the civil Liberties Bureau last whiff of the spirit of Seventy-Six.

When Saklatvala was apprised of the fact that he could not land in this country, he expressed the naive opinion that the American people wouldn't stand for it. He thinks that after the United States had invited the Interparliamentary Congress to meet here, we would not do such an absurd thing as to say who could and who could not participate in the meet. Well, Sac, don't fool yourself. Kellogg's brand of gall is like honey dew compared to what the Burlesons, Palmers and Daughtries handed to our crowd. They swallow anything that comes from above from one of your worthless lordlings to a World War and the scrapping of their Constitution. Stay away, and let the Prince of Wales represent you at the Interparliamentary Congress. His ancestors hung sundry parliaments and would have hung our first Congress if they had caught it. But a little thing like that won't hinder these noble free men from licking the very ground he falls on.

Adam Coaligger.

The Rand School of Social Science

7 East Fifteenth Street

THE EVOLUTION OF LIFE

Prof. HENRY E. CRAMPTON

Saturdays, 1:30 P. M., Oct. 10 to 31

After reading evangelistic harangues, lawyers' quibbles, and columnists' jokes, how much do you really KNOW about Evolution? Professor Crampton, of Columbia University, speaks with scientific authority, and he knows how to make the truths of biology intelligible to laymen.

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MARIUS HANSOME
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ARTHUR HENDERSON, M. P.

Sunday, Nov. 8, 2:30 P. M.

"Britain's First Labor Government,
Its Coming and Its Going"

Tickets Now on Sale, 50c. and \$1.00

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

CALIFORNIA

Emil Herman, District Organizer, adds another new Local to the roster at Monterey. The State Committee is enthusiastic over Herman and his work. The Committee will be before the National Executive Committee at its meeting this week with a special message arguing that California stands ready to fight a fight worth while and no matter how long—true as steel they refuse to surrender.

INDIANA

William H. Henry has organized two more locals, at Columbus and at Jeffersonville. He attended the Debs meeting at Louisville, Kentucky, co-operating efficiently with Comrade Starke in the organization of a local of seventeen enthusiastic members. Henry, after organizing twenty-eight new Locals, is thoroughly convinced that the life and value, and practical justification of these locals depend upon their being provided with a popular, truly national propaganda paper.

KENTUCKY

Eugene V. Debs had a splendid meeting and conference at Louisville September 26-27. Unhappily the mass meeting was on Saturday evening, and that evening the Republicans opened their State campaign with parade, bands, torchlights and the rest of it. Yet an inspiring audience greeted Debs, listened with rapt attention, breaking again and again into wild applause. The Kentuckians renewed all of the affection of the days before the World War—and added to this the unattained admiration that southerners always pay to unflinching courage.

One valuable result is a vigorous Socialist Local, counting as one of its enthusiastic new members a most prominent and powerful Labor leader, well known throughout the State of Kentucky. Comrade Starke, who, with his committee, had the meeting in charge, is enthusiastic over the speech and the conference. Both were a distinct awakening influence. The recent meetings at Waukegan, Illinois; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Salem, Ohio, and Louisville vastly encouraged Debs. He "went to the bat" in the Pittsburgh meeting like a warrior perfectly armed and sure of victory. Fifteen hundred Appeal sales were obtained.

IOWA

Way out in the land of the great fat farms, at Des Moines, a new Local of eight determined Socialists has been organized.

ARKANSAS

A recent letter from Arkansas: "But there are hundreds of comrades all over Arkansas who are itching to be organized and get to doing something to help bring a sane civilization. . . . But what we need is a greater circulation of Socialist papers such as the American Appeal you plan to publish."

NEW JERSEY

Because of the Regional Convention in New York, the regular monthly meeting of the New Jersey State Committee will be held on the third Sunday of the month, Oct. 18, instead of on the second Sunday as is customary.

Because of the Columbus Day Holiday, the Hudson County Committee will not meet on that date, but on the following Monday evening, Oct. 19. Oct. 13 is the last registration day in New Jersey. All Socialists who have not yet registered should do so next Tuesday, between 1 and 9 p. m.

The three dinners tendered to Comrade Debs (Oct. 3 in Camden and Oct. 4, afternoon and evening, in Newark) were splendidly successful in every way. More than one thousand persons attended the three dinners and some twelve hundred dollars was contributed for Party organization work. Steps are now being taken to crystallize the enthusiasm by these inspiring gatherings. There are prospects of at least six new branches being organized in and near Camden, and the situation in the northern part of the state is equally promising.

Three mass meetings to be addressed by Leo M. Harkins, gubernatorial candidate, have been arranged: Oct. 21, Passaic; Oct. 23, Patterson; Oct. 29, Jersey City. At the Passaic meeting Rhys Davies, British Socialist M. P., will also speak, and at the Patterson and Jersey City meetings, Rennie Smith, another British Socialist M. P., will divide the honors of the evening with Harkins. On Oct. 19, Harkins will speak before the Women Voters' League of Bergen County. Other meetings are being arranged for him.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

At a well attended caucus, Local New Haven nominated the following ticket for the city election in November:

Mayor, Morris Rice; Controller, Gertrude Duell; City Treasurer, William Loeffel; Tax Collector, Joseph Pede; Sheriff, Charles O'Connell; Registrar of Vital Statistics, Dr. Simon Weissberg; Town Clerk, Joseph Freeman; Socialist Town Committee, Morris Rice, Joseph Pede, Charles O'Connell; Mary Ragoza, secretary.

The Alderman will be filled in by the Town Committee. Morris Rice, candidate for Mayor, has been a member of the party for many years, and is quite active as a member of the Workman's Circle, the other candidates have all been members of the party for twenty years or more. The local expects to put up a lively campaign.

The Hon. Rennie Smith, M. P. of the British Labor Party, will be the speaker at the New Haven Trades Council Forum Thursday evening, Oct. 15 at 8:45 p. m.

The Esther Friedman meeting Saturday evening, Oct. 3, was the largest in attendance held this year. A large collection was taken up. Our anti-Socialist friend, John Robert O'Brien, field representative of the National Security League, was in the audience but failed to ask Mrs. Friedman any questions. Later in the evening at the Workers Party meeting on the Central Green O'Brien was placed under arrest charged with vilifying an officer. Mrs. Friedman told about the conditions in general as she found them in Europe.

STATE NEWS

Through a referendum vote just closed the following comrades were elected members at large of the State Executive Committee: Walter E. Davis and Karl C. Jurasek of Hamden and Joseph Pede of New Haven.

Bridgeport

Jasper McLevy is mourning the loss of his mother who died suddenly this week from shock.

Local Bridgeport loses one of its most active workers, Carl R. Johnson, who has moved to Hartford.

The "Debs" Meeting

Everything points to an over-flowing house to greet Eugene V. Debs when he arrives here Thursday, Oct. 8.

PENNSYLVANIA

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS TOUR

Alfred Baker Lewis continues his work in Pittsburgh and has sold a large number of American Appeal subscriptions and secured a number of applications for membership. Lewis went into Westmoreland County on Oct. 2.

Wilson Organizes Another Branch

Birch Wilson organized a branch at Easton with ten members. There has not been a branch in this town for a number of years. Wilson soon got one started. From Easton he went to Bethlehem where he found a skeleton of a branch. He secured a number of new members and put them in touch with what the Socialist Party is doing elsewhere. The result of the work done by Lewis and Wilson show that comrades everywhere are ready to come back into the Socialist Party if only an organizer is sent around to help them.

Organizer Lewis is busy in the Pittsburgh region. District Organizer Birch Wilson's latest work is the organization of a new Local in the college-and-factory town, Easton.

NEW YORK STATE

A joint meeting of the official (elected at primary) and unofficial (provided by Constitution) State Committees with the State Executive Committee will be held at Finnish Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue (near 127th street), Saturday evening, Oct. 10 at 8 o'clock. This meeting will follow and supplement the sessions of the Regional Convention of the Socialist Party to be held at the same place (Finnish Hall) beginning at 10 a. m., and to be presided over by National Chairman Eugene V. Debs. The joint meeting will consider any matters that may come to it as the result of the Regional Convention, and to conduct any other business in the interest of the Socialist movement of New York State.

Arrangements for the Utica and Syracuse Debs banquets have been completed by Organizer Stille and tickets will soon be on sale in both cities. The Utica banquet will be held in the ball room of Hotel Martin on Saturday evening, Dec. 12, and the Syracuse banquet in the ball room of the new Hotel Syracuse the following Monday evening, Dec. 14.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Central Committee

Tuesday, Oct. 13.—Meeting at 8:30 P. M. Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street.

3-5-10 A. D.

Monday, Oct. 12.—Branch meeting at 7 E. 15th street, 4th floor. Thursday, Oct. 15 at 8:30 p. m.—Street meeting at 24th street and 8th avenue. Speakers: William Karlin, Leonard C. Kaye and Jessie Wallace Hughan.

1-2 A. D.

Monday, Oct. 12.—Speakers report at 204 East Broadway at 8:15 p. m. William Karlin, I. Corn, Ida Shapiro and Louis Lieberman.

Wednesday, Oct. 14.—Same place. Speakers: August Claessens, I. Corn and Louis Lieberman.

6-8-12 A. D.

Wednesday, Oct. 14.—Speakers report at 137 Avenue B. A. I. Shipplacoff, McAllister Coleman, Louis Lieberman, Rachel Panken, Raphael Goldstein. Thursday, Oct. 15.—137 Avenue B at 8:15 p. m. Speakers: McAllister Coleman, I. Corn, Rachel Panken, Raphael Goldstein.

Friday, Oct. 16.—137 Avenue B. Speakers: William Karlin, McAllister Coleman, Rachel Panken, Raphael Goldstein.

Saturday, Oct. 17.—137 Avenue B. Speakers: August Claessens, McAllister Coleman, Rachel Panken, I. Corn, Lester Diamond, Louis Lieberman, Raphael Goldstein.

14-15-16 A. D.

Thursday, Oct. 15.—Branch meeting at 227 East 84th street.

Monday, Oct. 12 at 8:15 p. m.—Street meeting at 79th street and 1st avenue. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley, E. Steinberger, George McMullen.

Saturday, Oct. 17 at 8:15 p. m.—Street meeting at 86th street and 3rd avenue. Speakers: William Karlin, E. Steinberger, George McMullen.

17-18-20 A. D.

Monday, Oct. 12 at 8:15 p. m. 62 East 106th street. Speakers: Ernest K. Haarsen and Alexander Schwartz.

Tuesday, Oct. 13.—62 East 106th street. Speakers: McAllister Coleman, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Leon R. Land and Louis Lieberman.

Wednesday, Oct. 14.—Same place. Speakers: Esther Friedman and Alexander Schwartz.

Thursday, Oct. 15.—Same place. Richard Boyajian, Leon R. Land, Louis Lieberman and Alexander Schwartz.

Friday, Oct. 16.—Same place. I. Corn, Leonard C. Kaye, Mary Goff, R. Boyajian, Walter Karp, Louis Lieberman and Alexander Schwartz.

Saturday, Oct. 17.—62 East 106th st. A. I. Shipplacoff, Leonard C. Kaye and Alexander Schwartz.

Upper West Side Branch

Wednesday, Oct. 14.—35th street and Broadway. Speakers: Charles Solomon, William Karlin and Ernest K. Haarsen.

Saturday, Oct. 17.—137th street and Broadway. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley, Walter Karp and Ernest K. Haarsen.

22-23 A. D.

Wednesday, Oct. 14.—146th street and Broadway. Speakers: Leonard Friday, Oct. 16.—157th St. and NU

Friday, Oct. 16.—157th St. and NU Broadway. Speakers: Frank Cross-waith, Ernest K. Haarsen and George F. Meyers.

The Harlem Campaign

The Campaign in Harlem and principally in the 17th Assembly District is now in full swing. A vigorous campaign is promised, reminiscent of those waged in the hey-day of Socialist activity in this district. A promising and hopeful feature of this year's political struggle is that the younger generation composes the vanguard of the present fight. Alexander Schwartz, the candidate for the Assembly and G. August Gerber, the Aldermanic candidate, are both young men still in their twenties. Their campaign is also managed by a young man. With this trio of enthusiastic colts, the local war horses are looking forward to an efficient, energetic and fruitful campaign.

Zaglou assisting these young comrades is a group of veterans such as Zucotti, Cohen, Bein, Fried, Julius Gerber and Isador Silverman of the Painters Union. The generous support of the Party and Cloakmaker branches, the Socialist Consumers League, the local Young Peoples' Socialist League and the Juniors, has been enlisted. The high lights of this campaign will consist of three monster mass meetings.

Ratification Meeting: October 18th, Sunday afternoon, 2:30. The New Star Casino, 107th Street and Park Avenue. Mid-Campaign Rally: October 25th, Sunday afternoon, 2:30. Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street. Wind-up Rally: November 1st, Sunday afternoon, 1:00. New Star Casino, 107th Street and Park Avenue.

All of these rallies will be addressed by prominent Socialist speakers, Harlem Socialists and sympathizers are urged to advertise and attend. There is a raft of Socialist propaganda work to be done and we invite

the assistance of all Harlem Socialists to report at 62 East 106th Street for assignments. Watch announcements for our Theatre Party.

QUEENS

THOMAS IN WOODHAVEN

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor, will be the principal speaker tonight (Oct. 10) at an open air meeting at the corner of Jamaica avenue and Ninety-first street, Woodhaven. Barnett Wolff will also speak, and Israel Koldin, Socialist candidate for Alderman in the sixty-second district, will preside.

BRONX

Street Meetings

Friday, Oct. 9.—Corners 169th and Washington, 169th and Boston Road, 171st and 3rd Ave. Speakers: Samuel Orr, August Claessens, David Kasson, Ben Horowitz, Thomas Rodgers, Fred Paulitsch, Patrick J. Murphy.

Saturday, Oct. 10.—Corners Wilkins and So. Boulevard, Aldus and So. Boulevard, Simpson and 163rd St. Speakers: Samuel A. DeWitt, Samuel Orr, David Kasson, E. Deutsch, Richard Boyajian, L. G. Dobsavage.

Monday, Oct. 12.—The following speakers are to report at 1167 Boston Road at 7:30 P. M.: Richard, Deutsch, Sam Padgug, Ben Horowitz, Dr. Leon R. Land, Samuel Orr, I. Phillips, David Kasson, Max B. Walder, S. A. DeWitt, I. G. Dobsavage. Meetings at various corners.

Tuesday, Oct. 13.—Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas at the Hunts Palace, 163rd and So. Boulevard. All other Bronx speakers will report at headquarters for overflow meetings.

Wednesday, Oct. 14.—Speakers: Richard Boyajian, Max Walder, E. Deutsch, M. Golden, Samuel Orr, I. Phillips, Ben Horowitz, I. G. Dobsavage, H. Diamond, Max Walder, J. Tuvin, E. Deutsch, Samuel A. DeWitt, will report at 1167 Boston Road at 7:30 P. M. Meetings at various corners.

Thursday, Oct. 15.—Large Rally at 180th St. and Daly Ave., and other meetings. The following speakers will report at 1167 Boston Road at 7:30 P. M.: Samuel A. DeWitt, Samuel Orr, Esther Friedman, I. Phillips, J. G. Murphy, Hoffman, Ben Horowitz, I. G. Dobsavage, H. Diamond, Max B. Walder, J. Tuvin, E. Deutsch.

Watchers' meeting at 1167 Boston Road. Instructors, Samuel Orr, Julius Loeb.

Friday, Oct. 16.—Meetings at various corners. The following speakers will report at 1167 Boston Road: M. Orbach of the I. L. P. London; Max B. Walder, Samuel Orr, August Claessens, Esther Friedman, David Kasson, Fred Paulitsch, P. J. Murphy, J. G. Friedman, Hoffman and Ypsels.

Saturday, Oct. 17.—Large Rally at corner Intervale and Wilkins and other meetings. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley, Charles Solomon, William Karlin, M. Orbach, Samuel A. DeWitt. The following speakers will report at 1167 Boston Road: Samuel Orr, I. G. Dobsavage, David Kasson, E. Deutsch, Max B. Walder, I. Phillips, Ben Horowitz, Arthur Fasberg, H. Diamond, Hoffman and Hertzberg.

BROOKLYN

Borough Plan of Organization

The borough meeting last Sunday decided that we at once start to reorganize our branches and put them under more strict supervision of the County Office. A committee of seven was elected to investigate the condition of each branch and adopt such plans as may be necessary to put the branches in good working order.

Thursday, October 15
All branch and open-air meetings are postponed, as this is Debs Night in Brooklyn. All comrades will meet in the Academy of Music.

Saturday, October 10
Central Committee meeting will be held at the County Office. All delegates should be there without fail.

Second A. D.
Tuesday, October 13—Suffer avenue (Continued on page 11)

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 3, F. I. C. A. S. Office and Headquarters, 948 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stags 4226. Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.

FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President. Secretary

NECKWEAR CUTTERS Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L. 7 E. 15th St. Street 7678. Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 165 East 22nd Street. President: N. Uman. Recording Sec'y: Henry Lutz. Vice-President: J. Rosenberg. Financial Sec'y: Gus Levine. Chas. Rasmussen, Treasurer.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION LOCAL 15 Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St. A. E. ESTER, Vice-Chairman. H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 948 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: Stags 4226. Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.

M. REISS, President. S. FINE, Vice-President. E. FRIEDMAN, Sec.-Treas.

FUR CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 1 Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St. F. STACH, Vice-Chairman. H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION LOCAL 10 Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St. H. KLIEGER, Chairman. N. WEISS, Sec.-Treas.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION LOCAL 9 Executive Board meets every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St. COHEN, Chairman. N. WEISS, Sec.-Treas.

UNION DIRECTORY

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

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 231 East 14th Street. Telephone Lexington 4129

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

DISTRICT COUNCIL MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION Office: 3 WEST 16TH STREET. Telephone Chelsea 2148. The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday. The Board of Directors meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. H. GREENBERG, President. S. LEPKOVITZ, Manager.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 68, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4500

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. SECTION MEETINGS: Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 2nd Friday at 8 P. M. Bronx—E. 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M. Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M. Daily—108 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—74 Montgomery St. SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

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

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 181st St. Melrose 7630

CARL GRADNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 69, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board of Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 3 West 31st Street. Telephone 7748—Watkins.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

139 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-718

Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-3-4-5

SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA 759 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4330, 9010, 9011

JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MAYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four" Office: 44 East 13th Street. Stuyvesant 8868.

Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.

PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager. MARTIN RICKL, Sec'y-Treas.

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Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10 A. C. W. of A. Office: 355 Bushwick Ave., Flushing 3150

Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m. J. Berowitz, Sec'y. Sam' Berger, Chairman. J. Kleinholz, Fin. Sec'y.

J. Partner, Bus. Agent. J. Kleinholz, Fin. Sec'y.

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Office and Headquarters, 1 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1290

Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M. THOMAS DINONNO, FRED CAIOIA, SAM SCHWALL, FLORENCE OELLER, President. Treasurer. JOHN REPACI and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

Downtown Office: 419 Broadway. Phone Spring 4448

Uptown Office: 10 West 47th Street. Phone Flurry 1536

Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening. HTMAN LEDERMAN, J. MULINAK, Recording Secretary. ALEX. ROSE, Chairman Exec. Board. Recording Secretary. H. GOODMAN, Secretary-Treasurer. ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, L. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

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

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

— D R A M A —

Eugene O'Neill on the Stage By James Stephens

London

It is occasionally good to see plays like "The Long Voyage Home" and "The Emperor Jones," now showing at The Ambassadors, if it be only that we may not forget the other side of the moon; and an author who is capable, not alone of leading us to that meridian, but of actually living there himself, deserves the credit or the commiseration that is due to one who does difficult and painful work.

The majority of authors who are not of the first rank are born with or attain a "habit" of work. Thus, one author will write not even a short story without a murder or some murders in it. Another will not black his pen unless he can black it in an adultery or so per book. Somewhere between London and Berlin a third will, in volume after volume, steal important dispatches from a Government courier. Yet another will write of no man unless he be at once a peasant and an idiot. They all eliminate everything but their own obsession out of the life that they claim to reproduce artistically.

The "habitual-writer" totals more than three-quarters of all our writers, and he always writes about idiots. None of these authors are aware that they are making and multiplying profoundly interesting, although profoundly indecent, exhibitions of themselves. Every plot that a writer contrives has been contrived by him; it is his own. The characters and events that he invents to be interested in are externalizations of his own interests. The murders, adulteries, pilferings and idiocies that he sells to readers are all of his own growth and culture and marketing; and in every statement that he makes on these matters he provides a detailed and faithful index to his own temperament, mentality and health.

We have no objection to an author exercising his talent on any subject that interests him, but we should object when the work proves that he is only partially conscious of what he is doing; and it is right that a critic should warn him that he has become a writer who works from a habit, instead of out of a necessity or a curiosity; and, further, that every habitual-writer becomes a bad writer.

Mr. O'Neill has so many "saving graces," and is still so young a man, and so energetic an artist, that one may hope he will escape from the mould of misery and distortion that is gradually tightening around him. If he does not so escape it must come to be said that his future is all behind him. The artistic statement of a man is (or ought to be) his matured utterance upon life, and Mr. O'Neill should not profess in another book or play that the sun has never shone upon him, that he has never smelled a flower, nor eaten a fruit, nor felt, even once, the relative content of a digested meal or a sound sleep. That solemn pretence in a young person is charming, and very valuable mentally for the young person, in lending a necessary contrast to a period of life that could be too simply muscular or too lazily self-contented; but in a grown man or a grown artist this attitude is anything else but charming.

Misery is certainly a real thing, so real that it must be cogitated and avoided. But the artist is the creator, and the artist who creates nothing but misery is a rotten creator. "The Long Voyage Home" is the story of a drunken sailor, who, after long sailing on harsh seas, makes up his mind that he will go home and live out the rest of his days on the farm; that to do so he must drink no more, and that he will drink no more. He does not drink any more, but neither does he go home. He is doped and robbed in a pot-house by a prostitute and her ghoul of a master, and he is shipped to sea again in the worst boat that fate could invent for him. Every character in this play is a ghoul. That there should be ghouls in the world is not matter for wonderment or for censure, but that an author should liberate to us nothing but ghouls is detestable.

"The Emperor Jones" is most wonderfully acted by Mr. Paul Robeson. The splendid negro of the opening scene slips, by the most convincing stages, to the crazed and lamentable debris of a human being at the end. This play is a veritable tour de force of terror, and it is almost impossible not to be thrilled by the consummate ease and realism of the action. The scenery also, for so intricate and intimate a subject, has been worked out with the utmost skill, and the endless tapping of the drum heightens a horror that is already in itself excessive. The only weak moment in the play is the scene where the Emperor is sold as a slave. This scene added nothing to the terror which at that moment should be cumulative. It is not only unnecessary, it is unnecessarily long-drawn and relaxes the audience at the moment when an audience should be most intense. But for this "pocket" the play would be absolutely dreadful as it urged to its end.

Only a masterful theatrical technique could have brought this play into being. Properly speaking, neither of these pieces are plays. They are short stories thrown into dramatic dialogue, and it is possible that no one but Mr. O'Neill could have put them into the completed shape that they now have.

When an event has occurred the ordinary human being, critic or otherwise, has the right to ask what it is that has happened; and, for he has been invited to participate in that action, he is justified in inquiring wherein he has benefited. A work of art that invokes or provokes no emotional or intellectual reaction has been worked at uselessly. A play that arouses disgust, or one that results in simple, primitive terror does take something out of its audience, but it adds nothing to them, and worse, it adds nothing to its author. There is a term (although its truth too is debatable) in which the human being can be purged by terror. But such a purging will be achieved by no primitive, or fetiche, or hobgoblinish means. The terror that purges, if it can be aroused, is a lofty, a spiritual, and a rare gift, whether in author or audience. But the terror of this play is barren of any result of that quality, or of any result whatever, except a nightmare.

BRUCE McRAE



opens Wednesday night in a new comedy by Jesse Lynch Williams, "Lovely Lady," at the Belmont Theatre.

"A Holy Terror"

Geo. Abbott Outstanding Hero of a West Virginia Mining District Play at the Cohan

THE outstanding success last season of "What Price Glory" and "They Knew What They Wanted," with the "rough guy" featured, has evidently led the New York managers this season to continue presenting plays featuring this type. The latest of these is "A Holy Terror," presented by John Golden at the George M. Cohan Theatre. The play is in a prologue and three acts, and is by Winchell Smith and George Abbott, with Abbott himself featured in the leading role, that of Dirk Yancey, a West Virginia mountaineer addicted to drink, curses and wife-coveting, with a sprinkling of numerous other backslidings as a side line. Dirk is a feuder of the feudists, the surest shot in seven counties, and in the course of events is appointed chief of police of the village that is torn asunder by a mining strike.

The new play proceeds as a sanguinary romance, with numerous good types to fix the atmosphere and some necessary comic relief presented in the midst of the more serious happenings without offense.

Briefly the plot concerns itself, after the preliminary as above, with the descent of a band of coal company detectives on a West Virginia mining town, their rout by the "Holy Terror" in his role of chief of police, with dramatic development when the town is placed under martial law and the hero is unjustly accused of the murder of the village mayor, as he was in love with the mayor's wife and they had been found in a compromising position. But Dirk comes through with flying colors after the colonel in charge of the regiment sent to quell the disturbance has put him through a hasty court-martial, and all ends well and happily. George Abbott as the "Holy Terror" gives a most sympathetic and virile rendering of the part. G. Albert Smith as his friendly enemy and then deputy possibly comes nearer to any one else in the cast in suggesting the typical mountaineer in looks and speech, his dialect being especially good. The two chief women in the long cast are Leila Bennett and Leona Hogarth as the wife of the mayor, then widow, and finally as the bride of the "Holy Terror" himself. The three acts and prologue are all well set and atmospheric.

In short, "A Holy Terror" is a picture of the West Virginia coal mines under strike conditions, with the proceedings led off by a rough-and-ready character that should appeal especially to the women in the audience and carry the play to success—to what degree we are not prepared to say, as "A Holy Terror" is entertaining, well cast, well acted and well mounted, but not so engrossing as several other plays now on the boards in New York featuring the same type of character.

Harold Lloyd's Latest Comedy, "The Freshman," at the Colony

Harold Lloyd in "The Freshman" will celebrate the fourth week of his engagement at Moss' Colony, starting Sunday. Capacity business has been the rule through this engagement. "Speedy, the Sponder," as Lloyd is known on the campus, is a "Grandma's Boy" type of chap, who tries to succeed with an imitation personality, and doesn't learn the error of his methods until his heart has been broken by laughs and jeers.

"Campus Capers," the pretentiously staged atmospheric prologue, is the principal stage attraction, in which Broderick and Felsen, Hill's Blue Devil's Orchestra, Samon Krevoff, University of Southern California Trojan Five and the Colony Ensemble participate.

Two new skits have been added to the "Garrick Gaieties" program at the Garrick Theatre. One is "Subway Manners" by Benjamin M. Kaye, the other is "One of the Finest."



Johanna Keston

— THEATRES —

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

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EVENINGS, 8:25
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GREAT CAST
16 GENTLE HOFFMANN GIRLS

WINTER GARDEN

SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT
TARE FROM "ARTISTS AND MODELS," "BIG BOY," "GAY PAREE," "STUDENT PRINCE," "JUNE DAYS" and other headline acts
JACK ROSE, Master of Ceremonies

JOLSON'S

THEATRE, 59 St. & 7th Av.
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HOWARD MARSH and ILSE MARVENGA

Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN
Symph. Orch. of 40. Singing Chorus of 100
Balcony Seats \$1.10, \$1.55, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.50
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DENNIS NEILSON-TERRY

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By MONCKTON HOFFE

From the COMEDY THEATRE, LONDON

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ORIGINAL CAST AND PRODUCTION DIRECT FROM THE GARRICK THEATRE, LONDON

"I WAS SORRY TO GO HOME."
—ALAN DALE

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THEATRE, 47 St. & B'way. Evenings, 8:30.

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LAST WEEK:

THEATRES

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Eva. inclg To-night, 8:30.
Mats. Today and Tomorrow, 2:30.

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RICHARD

BARTHELMESS

with **DOROTHY MACKAIL**

"SHORE LEAVE"

A Sailor's Adventures on the Sea of Love

MARGARET YOUNG

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Week of October 10th

"THE HAREM"

with William Courtney and a

distinguished cast

MUSIC

San Carlo Opera

Fortune Gallo's fourth and last week at the Century Theatre, will include three operas which have not yet been sung by the San Carlo Opera Company this season—"The Barber of Seville," "Hansel and Gretel" and "Otello."

Five singers will make their debut next week. They are Douglas Stanbury, formerly with the Chicago Opera; Rosalinda Rudko, Phyllis Archibald, an English contralto; Gioacchino Villa, a new Spanish baritone, and May Korb, a young American soprano.

The Pavlov Oukrainsky Ballet Russe will again be a feature. Carlo Peroni will conduct. The repertoire for this week is:

Monday matinee, "Aida," with Roselle, DeMette, Salazar, Chirardin, DeBlasi and Kravitt. Monday evening, "The Barber of Seville," with Rudko, Schalk, Oliver, Valle, DeBlasi and Cerl. Tuesday, "Madame Butterfly," with DeMette, Tafuro, Valle, Cerl and DeBlasi. Wednesday, "Cavalleria," with Saroya, Divine, Tafuro and Jackson; "Pagliacci," with Roselle, Salazar, Chirardin, Stanbury and Cerl. Thursday, "Il Trovatore," with Saroya, Archibald, Salazar, Villa, Sjoyk and Cerl. Friday, "Tosca," with Axman, Schalk, Tafuro, Valle, DeBlasi, Cerl and Cerl. Saturday matinee, "Hansel and Gretel," with Korb, Schalk, DeMette and Inter-rante. Saturday evening, "Otello," with Saroya, Schalk, Salazar, Chirardin and DeBlasi.

Music Notes

Elena Gerhardt, lieder singer, will give a Schubert-Brahms recital in Aeolian Hall on the evening of October 13.

Katherine Gorin will give a piano recital at Aeolian Hall Monday evening.

Clara Rabinowitch, pianist, will give her recital in Aeolian Hall Saturday afternoon, October 17.

The Old Masters Trio will give a program of Schubert, Bach and Haydn at

WILHELM MENDELBERG



the brilliant and talented conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra will wield the baton at the opening concert in Carnegie Hall Thursday evening.

Philharmonic

The Philharmonic Orchestra begins its eighty-fourth season on Thursday evening at Carnegie Hall, with Wilhelm Mengelberg conducting. The opening program, which is to be repeated at Carnegie Hall on Friday afternoon, consists of the B minor Suite of Bach, Strauss' "Don Juan" and the Second Symphony of Brahms. During the week of October 13 the Philharmonic goes on tour, playing in Philadelphia, New London, Boston, Northampton, Holyoke, New Haven and again in Philadelphia. The next New York concert of the Philharmonic takes place in Carnegie Hall on October 29 and 30, with Alfredo Casella as soloist. Two of Casella's works will have their first New York performance at these concerts.

Mr. Mengelberg will conduct the Philharmonic until the middle of January, after which Arturo Toscanini will appear as guest conductor for eleven concerts. The balance of the season's concerts will be led by Wilhelm Furtwaengler.

Their first concert this season in Aeolian Hall Saturday evening, October 17.

The Lyric Guild of New York will give a performance of "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci" at the Brooklyn Academy of Music this Saturday. Vito V. Moscato will conduct. The principal singers are Beatrice Eaton, Mildred Parissette, Philip Culcasi, Alfredo Zagaroli, Anna Tysen, Luigi Dellemolle, and Joseph McKenna.

Maria Theresa will give an all Chopin program at her dance recital in Carnegie Hall Tuesday night.

James Friskin will give a piano recital in Aeolian Hall, Tuesday evening.

Oscar Ziegler, pianist, will make his debut at Town Hall on Wednesday evening.

Beryl Rubinstein, pianist, makes his reappearance in Aeolian Hall Wednesday evening. His program contains the Liszt Sonata in B minor, Mozart's Theme and Variations in B-flat, Bach's arrangement of Siciliano from Sonata in G minor and a group of Debussy, Prokofiev, Godowsky and Chopin pieces.

MUSIC and CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

WILHELM MENDELBERG, Conductor

Season Opening

Thursday Eve., Oct. 15, at 8:30

Friday Aft., Oct. 16, at 2:30

At CARNEGIE HALL

BRAMH'S SYMPHONY NO. 2

Strauss "Don Juan," Bach Suite. Sub-

scriptions and single seats at box office.

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. Steinway Piano

AEOLIAN HALL, Wed. Eve., Oct. 14, at 8:30

PIANO RECITAL

BERYL RUBINSTEIN

Concert Mgt. Daniel Mayer, Inc. Steinway Piano

AEOLIAN HALL, Sun. Ev., Oct. 18, at 8:30

SONG RECITAL—ELENA

GERHARDT

BRAMH'S-SCHUBERT PROGRAM

Mgt. George Engles. Steinway Piano

DRAMA

Noel Coward Scores Again

"Hay Fever" Hilariously Amusing, and Witty Trifle Is Well Done at the Maxine Elliott Theatre

HAY FEVER, the second of the plays of the extraordinary Noel Coward to be brought to this country, opened at the Maxine Elliott Theatre, Monday night, and is utterly unlike his other

play, "The Vortex." Mr. Coward seems to be the dazzling genius of the moment, and his star is in the ascendant. Possibly, however, he will take time off to explain what the deuce the same of his new play means.

Unlike the grim bitterness of his first play in New York, "Hay Fever" is a light and airy trifle, quite in the earlier style of Dr. W. Somerset Maugham when he was writing troupe-fous for Billie Burke. Strictly speaking, "Hay Fever" isn't a play at all, but rather a situation and a series of character sketches depending for its effect upon the brightness of the dialogue and the expertness of the acting.

It's all about the feather-headed Bliss family, father, mother, son and daughter. Judith Bliss—brilliantly played by Laura Hope Crews—had never become reconciled to her retirement from the stage. Her husband is a popular novelist and the son and daughter, Simon and Sorel, had just ambled aimlessly into maturity without much attention from the parents.

On the Saturday afternoon of the play each one of the four had separately and without consulting the others invited (1) a flapper, (2) a young fellow, (3) a young fellow, and (4) a flapper. They all drift in, they make up one of the maddest house parties that even contemporary British fiction records, they get tangled up in momentary love affairs that not one of the crazy, irresponsible family takes seriously, and that the four guests wonder how they can get out of. Only Sorel has sanity enough to speak. She had been caught in the library kissing and being kissed. Mother solemnly declares that she must marry the man and she says, "Sure, I'll marry him."

"But—but—" Sandy sputters. "I don't want to marry you." "Of course, you don't," says Sorel, after her mother had departed to see the man who had fallen for her ample charms, "and I don't want to marry you. But Mother expects that sort of talk and we all play up to Mother. You kissed me because you wanted to and I let you be."

Hilarious Fun

"Merry Merry" a Snappy, Tunesful Musical Show, at the Vanderbilt Theatre

"Merry Merry" offers a full evening of hilarious fun, snappy tunes and somewhat less snappy lines at the Vanderbilt Theatre. It has something unique in the way of chorus. It is one of the hardest-working choruses we have seen in a long time. Each member has her bit and, as a rule, she carries it off well.

As a whole, "Merry Merry" impresses one as having been written to supply elaborate setting to Harry Archer's music. If the songs fail to register—and there seems to be no likelihood of anything like that happening—it won't be the fault of Harry Archer's Orchestra, which has been given every opportunity to get them over. "It Must Be Love" was played and sung a score of times if it was warbled once. Even at that we can't remember the tune.

The plot (so the word has come to be used), occupies itself with a group of chorus ladies, one blackmailer, a love-sick husband, and two sweet, innocent young things, one of each sex. Sadi LaSalle, star of the stage, has contrived to turn one of her affairs with the rich Mr. Penwell into dollars and cents. J. Horatio Diggs, her accomplice in the matter, invents a broken rib supposed to have been inflicted by Mr. Penwell in the course of an amorous evening. Adam Winslow is chosen by the Mr. Penwell as rib tester. The shy Adam performs his appointed rounds not finely but too well. Through situations which could only come to pass in the brain of a writer of musical comedies, it is the ribs of Mrs. Penwell that come to be tested.

Harry Puck, who planned and directed the activity called dancing, was the shy Adam, and as such provided a number of laughs. He also sang and usually with Miss Marie Saxon, whom he meets in the subway and discovers "It Must Be Love." Others in the cast are Sacha Beaumont, Lucilla Mendez, William Frawley and Robert G. Pitkin.

PATTI HARROLD



has an important role in the Continental operetta, "Holla Polka," opening at the Lyric Theatre Monday night.

cause I liked it. Come back into the library!"

Sunday morning finds a bewildered quartet of guests quietly sneaking out while the family, totally oblivious of the existence of the guests sit around and have a wild family row over whether the Rue Rivoli goes into the Place de la Concorde in Paris or not.

The situation is hilariously comic and the dialogue is as witty as anything we have seen hereabouts this year. In addition to Miss Crews the honors go to Frieda Innescourt who plays the delightful, sophisticated and deeply understanding part of Sorel. The rest of the cast is excellent, and the settings of the one scene is superb.

W. M. F.

ETHEL BARRYMOORE



plays Ophelia in Walter Hampden's new production of "Hamlet," which opens at the new Hampden's Theatre this Saturday night.

The Blarney Stone Up to Date

"Applesauce" Shows the New Sort of Flattery Putting It Over at the Ambassador

ALLAN DINEHART should donate a vote of thanks to Barry Connors, for Connors' "Applesauce," which Richard Herndon is serving at the Ambassador, hands 99 and 44/100 of its rapid-fire lines to the young hero Dinehart so nonchalantly passes out. The lines move as swiftly as the knees of a flapper doing the Charleston, and usually much more smoothly; that is, the line that Bill McAllister (Dinehart) spills across the swelling chests of his fellow-townsmen—and their smiling wives. Bill is a college graduate, so he may not have heard of the Blarney Stone, but if he hasn't kissed that, he has Oh! so delightfully kissed the outlandish wrists of the languishing ladies of his burg. He is the town's prize distributor of what various generations refer to as soft soap, banana oil, and applesauce. How he makes this applesauce for the goose bring home the old bird that lays the golden eggs, to feather his own little nest, how first this banana oil has helped to fry his rival and let the little Hazel Robinson slip over to him—that is the story of the play. Which means that the play, except for some flat moments of old, old efforts at humor when Bill is off-stage, runs merrily in chase of the fly flippant fluency of Bill.

It is unfortunate that a man who can give his hero such a swift patter of clever lines could find nothing more substantial to fill in the gaps when he had to give Dinehart a rest. Most of the subsidiary action shows the nagging of the Robinson seniors, with Mrs. Baldwin chiming in to tell what an unforgetful sinner her husband is. These parts are almost all familiar and unrefreshed, save for the high-pitched, wavering voice of Jessie Crommette as Ma Robinson, which is effective. Walter Connolly, as Bill's wealthy rival, is also mainly effective because of a voice that seems to have caught a permanent "changing" in adolescence; it jumps at the oddest moments from high to low pitch, and helps make the villain sufficiently ludicrous. A dash of sentimentality is, of course, supplied; what play could catch Broadway without it?—and every little applesauce victim in New York will probably enjoy seeing how the other fellow falls for the stuff in "Applesauce."

J. T. S.

Broadway Briefs

The final performance of "White Collars" will be given at the Sam Harris Theatre this Friday night. The company opens in Chicago at the Cort Theatre Sunday.

Harry J. Conley is now a member of the cast of the Earl Carroll "Vanties," at the Earl Carroll Theatre. Several new sketches and new numbers have been introduced by Bernard Lohmuller, art director.

Isabel Irving and Robert Warwick have been engaged by Rachel Crothers for parts in her latest play, "A Lady's Virtue."

Another new number will be added to the "Garlick Galettes" Monday night, when Stella Bloch puts on her Javanese dance.

The Socialist Party At Work

(Continued from page 9)

and Hinesdale street. Speaker, Richard Boyajin.

Wednesday, October 14—Powell street and Newport avenue. Speakers, F. Rosenfarb and I. M. Chaitoff.

Saturday, October 17—New Lots and Williams avenues. Speakers, Richard Boyajin and F. Rosenfarb.

Friday, October 16—Branch meeting, 420 Hinesdale street.

Fourth and Fourteenth A. D.

Tuesday, October 13—Union avenue and South Second street. Speakers, B. J. Riley and H. Nemser.

Friday, October 16—School meeting, P. S. 19, South Third and Heap street. Speakers, city ticket and local candidates.

Saturday, October 17—Havemeyer and South Fourth streets. Speakers, Esther Friedman and H. Nemser.

Fifth A. D.

Tuesday, October 13—Broadway and Monroe street. Speakers, S. Friedman and J. Axelrod.

Sixth A. D.

Tuesday, October 13—Floyd street and Sumner avenue. Speakers, Morris Wolfman and Esther Friedman.

Friday, October 15—Throop avenue and Ellery street. Speakers, J. A. Well and Morris Wolfman.

Ninth and Sixteenth A. D.

Friday, October 16—Hall meeting, Crystal Palace Hall, Forty-third street and Fourteenth avenue. Speakers, city ticket and local candidates.

Thirteenth and Nineteenth A. D.

Monday, October 12—Graham avenue and Varet street. Speakers, J. A. Well and I. M. Chaitoff.

Friday, October 16—Graham avenue and Debevoise street. Speakers, Rev. Leon R. Land and Gertrude Green.

Twenty-second A. D.

Monday, October 12—Sutter and Sheffield avenues. Speakers, August Claessens and H. Koss.

Twenty-third A. D.

Monday, October 12—Sutter avenue and Sackman street. Speakers, Sadie Rivkin and August Claessens.

Tuesday, October 13—Pitkin and Thatford avenues. Speakers, L. Sadoff and Richard Boyajin.

Wednesday, October 14—Pitkin avenue and Barret street. Speakers, J. A. Well and Sadie Rivkin.

Saturday, October 17—St. Marks and Saratoga avenues. Speakers, Sadie Rivkin and Richard Boyajin.

Coney Island

Friday, October 16—Twenty-fifth street and Mermald avenue. Speaker, Dominick Luchese.

BROWNSVILLE

To Canvass Voters

All party members of the 23rd A. D. will meet in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum at 219 Sackman St., Sunday at 10 A. M. sharp. They will canvass all the voters of the district, distribute propaganda literature and point out why they should vote for their own interests, for their own party, the Socialist Party.

The campaign in Brownsville has a good start with two very successful indoor rallies, many well attended open air meetings, and the comrades are urged to keep up the good work by coming to the Lyceum and help spread the message of emancipation.

JUNIOR YIPSELS

Due to the urgent need of the Socialist Party for Yipsels to aid in office and literature distribution work, the Juniors have been at practically a stand-still during the past few weeks. Until election day is over, almost all activities will be curtailed. The Juniors have rendered valuable and necessary work. Their sole desire is that the Socialist Party, in return, will take due recognition of that fact by taking measures to aid the Juniors by giving them directors, lecturers, etc.

Circle II held its quarterly elections last Sunday, Oct. 4, at their headquarters, 1336 Lincoln Place. The following officers were elected: Organizer, Louis Yavner; Educational Director, Frank Penchok; Recording Secretary, Philip Frish; Financial Secretary, Benj. Wilensky.

The Central Committee will hold its next meeting Saturday, Oct. 17, in the Rand School of Social Science at 7:30 p. m.

The Junior Yipsels are extremely interested in the coming Debs' meetings. For many, it will be the first time they have seen or heard Eugene Victor Debs. A large number will assuredly be present to greet their "Gene."

The Express Workers' Bolt

(Continued from page 6)

American Federation of Express Workers, taking in all classes of express workers, with the exception of the trades men. The basis of the new organization was ten of the most powerful of a total of sixteen districts throughout the country. At this early date we can only say that we know that the membership in the districts not as yet officially with us are strongly in favor of the new movement.

Our executive office and the office of our national president is located at Washington, D. C. Our vice-president, G. C. Milam, has an office in Chicago, Ill. This in order that at all times we will have a representative before the United States Railroad Labor Board for handling our cases as provided for under the Transportation Act. James J. Forrester, our national president, was formerly grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, etc., and was also a Labor representative on the Labor Board. Our vice-president, G. C. Milam, is the man who for the past three years has handled all cases be-

fore the Labor Board for express workers.

Now, for the first time in the history of Labor organization in the express industry, the express workers have a national organization exclusively for express workers. Platform-men, clerks, drivers, helpers and train messengers are the class of men forming the basis of this organization.

All these classes are covered by the agreement we have with the Express Company on wages and working conditions. This agreement is equal to any in existence in the industry. Any death Benefit Policy held by a former member of the Clerks' organization will be fully honored and a policy equal to it is issued by the American Federation of Express workers. With these two important points taken care of, there is no real worth while argument that an express man or woman can give for not being a member of an express workers' organization.

One industry. Why not one Labor organization? With one Labor organization covering all classes of express workers, the natural result would be strength and purpose.

Vaudeville Theatres

Moss' Broadway

B. S. Moss announces that Richard Barthelmess, in his latest screen production, "Shore Leave," will be shown at the Broadway beginning Monday.

The vaudeville bill includes Margaret Oung, the R. C. C. dancer; Theodore Stefanoff and company in "Ballet Russe"; Murray and Maddox in a comedy by Paul and Ed Smith; "The Parisiennes," with Garrick's Orchestra; Sandy Lang and company, with Eleanor Bunting; Hector and His Gang; Jack and Alice McMahon, and other acts.

Palace

Rae Samuels, Florence Reed and Roger Wolfe Kahn and orchestra head the coming week's program at the Palace Theatre. Other acts include Alice Hamilton and George Hayes in "The Spirit of '76," by Paul Gerard Smith; Wade Booth, with Mildred Davis at the piano; Achilles and Morton, and other features.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—Richard Barthelmess and Dorothy Mackail in "Shore Leave."

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, October 10, 1925

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress, August 24, 1912, of THE NEW LEADER

Published weekly at New York, N. Y., October 1, 1925. State of New York, County of New York, ss.: Before me, a Notary Public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Usher Solomon, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Leader and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, and circulation of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher—The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor—James Oneal, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor—James Oneal, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager—Usher Solomon, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Alexander Kahn, President, 220 Broadway, N. Y.; Meyer Gillis, Treasurer, 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Julius Gerber, Secretary, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; 225 Stockholders, none of them owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

USHER SOLOMON, Business Manager.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1925.

(Seal) KARL E. GOTTFRIED,
Notary Public, New York County No. 180, Commission expires March 30, 1926.

A BUDGET OF CRIME

AMERICAN capitalism is probably the most disorderly society of any in the world. Crime is rampant. It is asserted that Chicago has averaged one murder each day for a year while it is rare that the New Yorker picks up his morning paper that he is not served with stories of several robberies or one or more murders. Gang wars of criminals add color to the scene. Two New York magistrates advise a return to the whipping post and nine courts have decided to speed up the punishment of crime. Add to this the fact that the last remaining death cell at Sing Sing is filled, and we have a portrait of the "spiritual uplift" that has followed making the world safe for democracy.

Quetelet, the founder of statistical science, wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century that "since crimes which are committed year by year seem to be a necessary result of our social organization, and since their number cannot diminish unless the causes which bring them about are first modified, it is necessary for legislators to recognize these causes, and to dispel them insofar as possible."

But legislators and courts generally ignore the causes of crime and regard the criminals as examples of pure cussedness. More punishment is their answer. More than a hundred years ago England abolished the death penalty for pickpockets when it was discovered that petty thieves attended public executions of pickpockets and purloined trifles from individuals.

Quetelet regarded most crimes as the product of the present order and suggested that lawmakers should prepare a "budget of crimes just as that of national receipts and expenditures" because "it is society which prepares the crime" and "the guilty man is but the instrument by which it is accomplished." By all means let us have a budget of crime and thus recognize that our "civilization" is productive of abnormal creatures who must be provided for in annual expenditures because it is unable to guarantee a decent and wholesome existence for millions.

THREE BIG MEETINGS

WE ARE approaching the closing weeks of the campaign in New York City and the coming week will witness three of the greatest mass meetings of the campaign. It is important that each of these meetings should be packed with friends and sympathizers and we expect every resource of the Party organization will be strained for this purpose.

It has been many years since Tammany and the Republican crowd have had so little interest shown in their campaigns. The Tammany primary sore is still festering and many voters

The News of the Week

The Oily Boys of patriots, Harry F. Sinclair and Albert B. Fall, charged with conspiracy to defraud the Government in the Teapot Dome Naval Oil lease, have filed demurrers in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, in which they assert that former Secretary of the Navy Denby bears responsibility for the lease. This is rather bad treatment of a good pal, but they add that Denby really did nothing unlawful in acting up to this responsibility. Should this demurrer be sustained it would put an end to the prosecution of Sinclair and Fall. They also raise objections to the indictment on the ground that it is not technically drawn. Probably an i was not dotted or a comma was left out somewhere. In any event the demurrer serves to further complicate the case, which will not be heard for a week or two. Both boys have lots of cash and can fight the case through the courts if necessary. Meantime, the Doheny case is being heard in California in the cross-appeal of the Government against the Doheny interests which involves the cancellation of the Elk Hills leases. Now, if the boys can only find a goat as a sacrifice, "justice" will be satisfied, as it often is when members of the ruling class violate the rules of the game.

Dictator Nicholas Wild Plot Tales Horthy evidently feels the necessity of throwing a scare into the Hungarian Radicals and Socialists and at the same time making readers of foreign newspapers believe that he is battling valiantly against the Red hosts of ex-Dictator Bela Kun, backed by Moscow and unlimited "Bolshevist gold." Consequently, the Budapest correspondent of the Associated Press sends out stories of the arrest of scores of "Communist emissaries," including Matthias Rakoski, once a member of the Kun Government, and the seizure of elaborate plans for overthrowing the Horthy Government and the assassination of the Dictator and Prime Minister Bethlen. Reports from Vienna add that some of the prisoners have been cruelly abused and forced to "confess" their share in the alleged plots, while from Moscow, via Budapest, comes a story to the effect that the Russian Government has seized a couple of young Hungarians traveling in Russia, who happen to be sons of prominent officials at home, and is holding them as hostages for Rakoski. Similar stories have come from Budapest periodically ever since Horthy was put into power in the Fall of 1919 by the Allies and the Rumanian Army and began his reign of terror. What they

generally signify is that the Hungarian masses are becoming restless and that Horthy is seeking to prepare foreign, and domestic, opinion for some deed of ferocious repression. Of late the Socialists and labor leaders in Hungary have become more militant than usual, encouraged by popular sentiment, and forced to action by the desperate economic situation of the bulk of the people. The advocates of a restoration of a Hapsburg regime in the person of young Otto, son of the late Emperor Charles, have also been carrying on an active campaign, despite the jailing for three years of Edmund Beniczky, one of their leaders, for having accused Horthy of direct responsibility for the murder of Bela Bacsó and Bela Somogyi, editors of Nepszava, the Budapest Socialist paper, in January, 1920. It is possible that they, too, are aimed at by the present revival of terrorism.

Reaction in England British Government officials appear to be on the eve of taking over the Palmer policies with which we were blessed in 1919. Scared by the Communist mouse, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the Home Secretary, in a speech at Liverpool gave his blessing to the organization for the Maintenance of Supplies, a private organization formed to break any large or general strikes, and that the government would be glad to use its services. J. Ramsay MacDonald writes to the London Times that this means that "private enterprise is being entrusted to maintain order in such a way as to make a breach of order inevitable." It is as though the American Government were to quietly arrange with a strikebreaking organization to break the strike of the miners. This threat of using private mercenaries is due to Communist agitation for the seizure of power and establishment of a dictatorship. A later cable from London states that special legislation is being considered to create a new criminal offense and that it is aimed at the Communists, but all experience teaches that such legislation, if enacted, will also fall heavily on the trade unions and Socialist organizations. Our "friends" of the left are again demonstrating that their one contribution to history is to give a pretext to ruling classes to enact arbitrary laws to tie and gag intelligent organization and educational work of the organized working class.

It is a poor week that does not provide some news of the class struggle in West Virginia. That province of the steel trust and the coal barons this week witnessed

53 miners walking into the Marion County Circuit Court without legal counsel to answer for alleged violation of an injunction against picketing. They contend that they have been acting in accord with their constitutional rights, evidently forgetting that West Virginia does not belong to the United States and that the Constitution does not extend across its frontiers. Governor Gore had given an interpretation of legal picketing and the miners claim that they had been acting in accord with the governor's dictum. The solemn judge is reported as threatening the miners with the use of all the forces of the State to enforce his imperial will. The miners in turn threatened to fill all the jails of Northern West Virginia. Agents of the coal companies were on hand with testimony and the case may come to an end by the time this appears in print. So West Virginia gets into the news again just to remind us that the "law n' order" of the owners of coal mines is not to be challenged.

A proposed bread trust is prominent in the headlines this week and it is reported that the Department of Justice will ascertain whether this \$400,000,000 merger is in violation of the anti-trust laws. Two members of the Federal Trade Commission assert that the commission made a complaint last April, but that the majority members withheld it. Basil M. Manly of the People's Legislative Service has written President Coolidge urging that he demand the resignation of the majority members. Manly points out that 157 bakers will control the price of bread if the merger goes through and that the price "paid for the shares of the General Baking Company, \$225 a share, is equivalent to \$1,350 for each share of the original stock, which was split up six to one in 1922 by stock dividends," while the original stock sold for \$2 a share. Manly protests against the outrageous profits by the constituent members of the bread trust and the protection given it by the majority members of the commission. The publicity is all to the good, but opposition to the union of great corporations is practically good labor wasted. Since the last decade of the nineteenth century the tendency has been the consolidation of the great powers of business and legal barriers to this tendency have been swept aside by mighty economic forces. Anti-trust laws have been effectively applied against trade unions but not against capitalist consolidation. (Since we cannot break up the latter, why not vote to own them collectively?)

Spilling the Beans SO eager are army officials to get recruits that they unwittingly tell masses of workers that their wages are so small that they can never hope to travel unless they enlist. A two-color leaflet has been published by the War Department which stresses this argument. "How much do you have left after you've paid your bills?" is the question asked of prospects. "How often can you afford to buy a new suit, hat, shoes, etc? . . . How far can you travel? What can you see on what you have left?"

Just keep cool with Coolidge while you contemplate this cynical admission that the income of many wage workers is not sufficient to enable them to gratify normal wants to say nothing of seeing something of the world in which they live.

Having taunted the masses with this economic adversity they are asked to join the army where they will be assured of a new suit, hat, shoes and travel. Incidentally they may "serve their country" by following up the investments of our noble bankers in Latin America or China, "civilizing" the natives, and insuring that our bankers will never have to worry about suits, shoes, hats and travel.

Coolidge should look into this. Some dull wit at Washington is spilling the beans.

JUSTICE FOR CASH

IT is reported that \$282,715 has been spent on the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, the two Italians who are the victims of a frame-up in a Massachusetts murder case. The New Leader has published the amazing incidents associated with this atrocious miscarriage of justice and it is not our purpose to dwell upon them here.

What is interesting in this report is the almost certain conclusion that were it not for the raising of this large sum these two men would have been in their graves long ago. They were friendless and were routed for the electric chair when interest became widespread in their case and the publicity given the case contributed something to saving their lives.

What is apparent in this and many other cases involving workers is that "justice" is a matter of cold cash. These men were convicted on circumstantial evidence and the testimony of a perjurer. There was no question about the guilt of Harry Thaw and he has walked the streets a free man for years. One thing and one thing alone saved Thaw, his millions. Had he been without funds the electric chair would have taken him many years ago.

In a society with economic classes, one with enormous wealth which gives

THE CHATTER-BOX

More Sonnets to That Lady

When I am surest that our love is strong,
And peace is on us, and the skies are fair,
There comes a broken cadence in my song
No skill can hide or ecstasy repair.
Your hair has all its incense, and your lips
Hold all the promise of the gifts you gave;
Yet, knowing how the brightest candle drips
And every strutting thing stalks to a grave,
So droops upon my singing sense the pall
Of an unconscionable doubt that this
Fond faith of ours will spring no miracle
Beyond the magic of the last sad kiss.
Thus comes the broken cadence in my song
When I am surest that our love is strong.

TWO SONGS FOR MINNESINGING

One Vibrant Night

One vibrant night, and yet no note is gone;
Music still lingers on the ledge of dawn.
We have not wended on the rutted path
Of gluttony feasting and the aftermath.
We were so strong together, standing still
Drinking the moonwine on our trying hill.
We are so strong together, standing still
Like two lithe saplings on a lonely hill.
Pointing our vision out against the skies
For flame to light the tinder in our eyes,
We are so strong together, dream entwined,
Like two trees tied together by the wind.

Romance

For joy's lush sake, my lady,
Remain with me to sing,
I with my humble verses,
You with your lute and string.
For you are lute and fingers,
And I am but the words;
Since I am one with mortals,
And you are of the birds.
Such song we will make together,
In sweetness seldom heard,
Because you are the music,
And I am but the word.

The above little verses have been the net result of repentance over the utter absence of poetry from our columns lately. To be taken up with such material matter as hospitals and doctors is doing the Muse a most unthankful turn. So that to be equitable at least, we ought to dig up from our desk drawer a long neglected contribution and relieve the tension of prosy seriousness that has so long pervaded this space. Although seven phone calls and a dozen letters insist that we keep up our crusade against the medical Gorgons, let Pan pipe, and Sappho stroke her lyre a spell. No?

TO THE COMMONPLACE

I walk across the meadow, dreaming of Parnassus,
A violet shrinks, and pours its purple passion
Beneath my feet.
An ant flees, too late to save its universe
From my unheeding tread.
My eyes in the sun-swimming clouds,
I soar toward heights I can never reach,
Nor see that I am crushing common loveliness
Beneath my wingless feet.
—Gloria Goddard.

If you believe that Mac Coleman does any log-rolling for us in his Tower of Trumpeting, what we say here will be most ineffectual. Last week he proclaimed himself along with us as one of the only two authorities on love in the world. Our claim might somewhat hold in view of our recent plethora of Sonnets and blue-eyed lyrics, all written to that most perfect and adorable of all women—an Imaginary Lady. Tell that to Isabel, says Mac. Isa, by the way, has only feline feelings, so why confide to her bewhiskered infidelity any of our heart's dark secrets? Mac should remember that mixing himself up with those who tread the heights requires a certain dexterity of poise and step. However imaginary our Dark Sonnet Lady may or may not be, she is a perfect lady, nevertheless, and the authority we have acquired through her on love should in no way be compared to the post graduate course on emotional nuances that his pet cat Isabel has afforded Mac. Perish the comparison, Mac. You might be more considerate about our super-sensitiveness over love.

If we were not afraid that a further upbraiding might impair Coleman's effectiveness as a future assemblyman, and so prevent him from sharing in the experiences we enjoyed as an assemblyman for fifteen minutes, we would devote next week's space to a full tirade.

FOR A DEAD LOVE

How awily you left me,
Without a formal sigh,
Without the usual quiver
And tremor at good-bye.
I wish the world would leave me
As easily, when I die.
S. A. de Witt.

Business men have formed a league to support Waterman for mayor on the ground that he will boom business. We would urge all business men to vote for Waterman and all workmen to vote for Thomas. In that case, who would win?