

Rents High; People Live In Kennels, Is Report

Housing Conditions Worse After Three Years
of "Emergency" Laws; Socialists Demand
Municipal Housing

The housing situation is bad, and is getting worse.

The "emergency laws" were passed in New York in September, 1920, and have been in operation for a little over three years. They were passed as a result of a situation that made certain people fear that unless something were done, there might be riots and bloodshed.

After three years of operation, a careful survey is made of the entire situation by the very elements that have been supporting the laws, and the report is that the situation is worse than it ever was.

The masses of people have no alternative other than to live in foul, unlighted, insanitary, stinking kennels; or else to pay the highwayman's rents, double up families and live under conditions that make decency one of the lost graces.

Six years ago, the Socialists proposed in a series of bills in the New York legislature and the Board of Aldermen looking towards the immediate establishment of a system of municipal housing.

No Building for Years.

For several years there has been no building. The energies of the business world were directed toward the creation of engines of destruction. Capital that had previously been invested in building was now being invested in munitions. The Socialists realized as long ago as those early days that a housing shortage was inevitable. But the old party "statesmen" had proper answer to beat them up, to yell at them to "shut up" and to bury their bills in committee.

But with the close of the war, the situation became intolerable. Tenants' unions began to be formed. And still there was no building.

Since the enactment of the "emergency laws" there has been a good deal of building, but not one single house has been built calculated to take care of the working people and poorer paid professionals.

As one landlord testified before the State Housing Commission in the City Hall, last October, "Why should we build lower-class apartments and make only 10 to 15 per cent. when we can build the same houses only a few blocks away, put

fancy names to them, and charge rents accordingly and make 50, 60 and 75 per cent. a year instead?"

Slum Conditions Revealed

Testimony before that committee indicated two things: there is a population of several hundred thousand in New York—and presumably in all large cities—condemned to live in old fire trap tenements with dark stairways, and sanitation that cannot be described in decent language. And there is no provision in new building for moderately well off people. Such people must either "buy" one or two family houses and tie themselves up for years in mortgages that are worse than rents; or else to pay high prices for inadequate apartments, and submit to overcrowding by taking fewer rooms than are required for decency, and by "doubling" up.

Competent real estate men have said that IF THERE WERE NO SPECULATION IN THIS VITAL PUBLIC NEED homes could be built and rented at \$6 and \$7 a room. There is speculation, and the lowest rent asked for the new houses is \$20 a room.

The statements that were made by the Socialists six years ago are being made now by legislators and governors, who have only just discovered what inevitable result of speculation in this vital public need must be.

These are the principal findings set forth in the report of the commission:

1. Unjust, unreasonable and oppressive agreements are being generally exacted by landlords under the stress of prevailing conditions.

2. Such is the scarcity in dwelling accommodations, especially in New York city, that freedom of contract between landlords and tenants no longer obtains.

3. Conditions existing in the poorer quarters as a result of congestion, due to scarcity of dwelling accommodations and high rents, constitute a distinct menace to public welfare, health and morals.

Commission's Report

On the basis of these findings the commission urged the extension of the emergency rent laws in all the (Continued on Page 2.)

And Kate Richards O'Hare will also be present.

Frau Adele Schreiber, Socialist member of the German Reichstag, will be there too, to represent the international movement.

Others who will be present are Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Meyer London, Jacob Panken, Abraham Cohan, and all the active and hardworking members of the party hereabouts. Or as many as will be able to get in.

And Agnes Laidler will sing. Those who have heard her know what that means. It will be a rare treat.

Morris Berman has reserved a table, as have the irrepressible Yip-sels, and the 6th A. D., Manhattan. The supper will be served at 6 p. m.—or at least, that is the intention.

It's going to be a big party. Just what this paper deserves.

PEOPLE MULCTED OF MILLIONS IN SALE OF SHIPS

"President" Ships, Costing \$28,000,000, Sold to Robert Dollar for Less Than \$4,000,000—Federal Aid for Profit Takers But No Public Enterprise.

Government ownership—with reservations—has just cost the people over \$24,000,000, in the matter of the sale to private interests of seven "President" ships for a little more than ten cents on the dollar.

Seven ships that cost the people \$28,501,836.02 when the people were besought to "give until it hurts" were sold the other day to the Dollar Steamship Line of California for \$3,850,000. Robert Dollar was given 12 years in which to pay.

This is the last, and most notorious of the transactions in "Government" shipping, by which the Government has spent hundreds of millions of dollars, not to establish a system of government owned and operated shipping for public benefit, but to aid the profit seeking capitalist shipping interests to the extent of tens of millions of dollars.

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THE LABOR GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE advent of the first labor government in Great Britain will mark a definite turning point in the world's history. Within recent years we have witnessed the establishment of labor governments in other countries, but the political victory of the English workers stands out as an event apart because of the combination of three salient circumstances under which it has been achieved. The British Labor Party comes into power as an avowed Socialist organization; its rule is the result of steady and normal growth in electoral and parliamentary activities, and the country in which it operates is the largest and mightiest empire of the world.

Our American newspapers just now are eager to impress their readers with the "conservatism" and "respectability" of the British Labor Party, carefully relegating its Socialist character to the background. During the electoral campaign, when they expected the party would come out a bad third and lose its standing as the official opposition, the same newspapers made it a point to refer to it uniformly as the "Socialist" party of England. They were, however, unintentionally, quite truthful in both instances. The British Labor Party is a party of both labor and Socialism. In fact it could not be otherwise. Every Socialist party is essentially a labor party and every political party of workers is bound in the long run to arrive at the economic and political conceptions of Socialism. This is precisely what has happened to the British Labor Party. From its conservative starting point of a mere reform program, the party was by the logic of the political fight driven to more advanced positions year after year, until in 1918, it made the unequivocal declaration in its constitution that its object is "to secure to the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

TO leave no doubt about its stand, the Parliamentary group of the Labor Party has chosen as its official leader a prominent and life-long Socialist and has deliberately sought and obtained an opportunity to announce to the whole world its full acceptance of the philosophy and program of Socialism by precipitating the famous Socialist debate in the last parliamentary session.

From this point of view the victory of the British Labor Party is infinitely more significant than, for instance, the past victories of the Australian Labor parties with their somewhat vague programs.

The Soviet Government of Russia came into power through an unprecedented combination of unusual and abnormal events: a prolonged and ruinous war followed by complete pauperization of the people and demoralization of the entire structure of government and industry; the overthrow of the autocratic regime of the czars and of the succeeding weak bourgeois government; the absence of a strong ruling class and of an effective political organization of the masses; a disorganized country going begging for a government with the ancient and characteristic Russian plea: "Our land is large and abundant, but there is no order in it." Under the circumstances the Bolsheviks took the government by default; they continue to rule by virtue of the political inertia of the Russian people. The Russian Soviet Government is a government of Communists, but Russia is not a communist regime or a co-operative labor commonwealth. It is a party dictatorship which may and probably will fight its way to an order of social democracy through many years of suffering and struggle. The Russian experiment may be a historic necessity for Russia, but it does not point the way to the workers in countries of western civilization.

Even in Hungary the short-lived Soviet regime was suppressed by a brutal capitalist dictatorship which has maintained itself in power ever since.

The Socialist governments set up in Germany and Austria in 1918 must also be considered as mere passing incidents of the military defeats and political revolutions in those countries.

(Continued on Page 5.)

GREETINGS FROM ACROSS THE SEA

From the British Premier

(Special Cable to The New Leader)

London, January 17.—My heartiest greetings and welcome to The New York New Leader.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

From England and France

(Special Cable to The New Leader)

London, January 17.—We desire to send heartiest greetings to our American comrades upon the occasion of the starting of The New Leader, and we call upon the great working class movement of America to rally to support the new organ of Socialism.

ROBERT SMILLIE, M. P.
RICHARD C. WALLHEAD, M. P.
JEAN LONGUET (France)
S. GRUMBACH (France).

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British Labor Govern- ment to Relieve Distress

Recognition of Russia, Social Legislation and
World Peace Planks in MacDonald's Plan,
Says Snowden.

By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M. P.

(Editor's note: The following article was written by Snowden for American readers in anticipation of the overthrow of the Baldwin government, and the assumption of office by the Labor Party. The fact that it was written before events that are now well known to readers accounts for certain allusions to events in the future that are now in the past.)

THE wildest political excitement prevails. Capitalists and financiers are trembling with fright. The Stock Exchange is stagnant. The most exaggerated fears of impending disaster are prevalent. All this is due to the imminence of a labor government in office.

The Conservative Government, in spite of their overwhelming defeat at the polls, decided to hold on to office until they were dismissed by a vote of the House of Commons. It is quite clear that one of the reasons which induced the government to make this decision was the hope that they might between the election and the meeting of Parliament be able to come to some arrangement with the Liberals by which the Conservatives could remain in office with the Parliamentary support of the Liberal Party. That hope has been abandoned, for Mr. Asquith, addressing a meeting of his supporters shortly after election, announced that his party would do nothing to keep the present discredited government in power.

The debate on the Address will open on Thursday, January 17th, and two or three days later the government will be overthrown by a hostile vote of the House of Commons. No approaches have been made, nor will any approach be made, by the Labor Party to the Liberals. The Liberals of their own accord will support a Labor Amendment to the Address which will be a direct Vote of Censure on the government. The Amendment will be carried, and the Prime Minister will resign. According to constitutional practice the King will send for the leader of the official opposition and ask him to undertake to form a government. The Executive

of the Labor Party has unanimously decided that in such an event the Parliamentary Labor Party must accept the invitation and Comrade Ramsay MacDonald will then proceed to form his government.

It will be a purely labor government. The Labor Party is under no delusions as to the difficulty of its position in these circumstances. It has not a Parliamentary majority. It can command only 192 votes out of a total Parliamentary membership of 615. A combination of the Labor and Liberal votes in the division lobby will give a majority of about 70 over the full Conservative numbers. A moderate secession of Liberals to the Conservatives might at any time secure a hostile vote against the labor government. In the past it has been the usual practice for a government to regard any hostile vote on an important issue as decisive, and to resign in consequence. In the present circumstances of no party having a clear majority this practice is impossible, and the labor government would not resign except upon a direct Vote of Censure being carried against it.

THERE are differences in the Liberal Party as to the attitude it should adopt towards a labor government holding office by its toleration. There is a small section which would favor an understanding with the Conservatives in order to prevent a labor government from taking office. There are others, and they are probably the largest section of the Liberal Party, who want to give a labor government a fair chance. They argue that labor has raised itself to the position of the second largest party in the state by strictly constitutional means, and that labor is entitled to the reward of its success. Mr. Lloyd George is among this section, and is using his influence to get the Liberals to support the labor government so long as it is promoting legislation to which the Liberals are not decidedly hostile.

Mr. Asquith appears to be playing a very deep and clever game. So far as one can fathom it, it is to let (Continued on Page 2)

GERMANY NEEDS FOOD AND WORK, SAYS WOMAN M.P.

Adele Schreiber, Socialist
Member of German Parli-
ament, Tells of Needs of
Her People — Not Dicta-
torship, But Chance to
Work.

The success of the British Labor Party and the imminence of a Labor government in Great Britain are the sole rays of hope that brighten the future of the German people, according to Adele Schreiber, Socialist member of the German Reichstag. Otherwise, the future is dark, and the people of Germany are sinking into despair.

Frau Schreiber is in the United States on a speaking tour, and Tuesday night she spoke at a meeting for Local New York of the Socialist Party, addressing a packed hall at the Labor Temple on 84th Street.

The German people were overwhelmingly in favor of the Republic, she said, when the Revolution toppled over the Imperial throne and the 22 minor thrones in all parts of Germany.

"It was such a fine revolution," she said, "and the people were so eager for it! If the people had remained united, there would have been such splendid progress. Then came the Weimar Constitution, one of the finest documents ever adopted in the history of the world. Even if Germany should go down, even if our people and our Republic are destroyed, the Constitution, with its freedom for everyone, its splendid provisions for the welfare of women and children will remain as a monument for all time.

"The cause of Germany's downfall was the iniquitous Versailles treaty. The people had believed in the promises by Woodrow Wilson for a free peace, and they were compelled to witness the betrayal of those promises."

Frau Schreiber showed that Germany is dependent upon her industries for the support of the people, while Russia is essentially an agricultural country. The dis-

mantling of Germany's industries and the occupation of the Ruhr meant that the German people are left entirely without means to support themselves. Which means that they cannot pay any more billions to France or any other country.

"And what is France doing with the money that has been paid in reparations?" she asked. "Why, preparing for more wars, arming herself and Poland and Czechoslovakia."

The German people are tired of politics. They need food. "We could take over the government any day," she said, "but what would be the use? It would not help anything or anyone. We need food and the reconstruction of our industries. We must be permitted to get back to work. When we have that, it will be time to talk of other things. Now, our people are starving and freezing. Their morale is getting lower and lower. They are getting desperate. They don't care what will happen tomorrow. The only reason they don't overthrow everything in sight is because there is no use to do anything at all."

The speaker urged the passage of Congressman Victor L. Berger's bill creating a revolving fund of \$1,000,000,000 to aid Germany's recovery, and she said that after the re-establishment of economic stability Germany wanted a commission of experts to determine just how much she could pay.

She spoke of the offer of the German workers to rebuild devastated areas of France, which was accepted by the French workers and inhabitants of the regions and rejected by the French chauvinists.

Comrade Schreiber is a Viennese by birth, but she has lived the better part of her life in Germany. For a quarter of a century prior to the 1918 revolutions she devoted herself to the feminist cause, fighting for suffrage, for equal rights for men and women, for the popularization of birth control information, and for child welfare legislation.

Following the revolution she joined the Social Democratic Party, and was elected among its first deputies in the Reichstag of the republic, and among the first women in that body. She is a brilliant speaker and she speaks English like a native.

She spoke at the Easter conference of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain last year, and is popular in Socialist circles in countries other than her own.

WELCOME PARTY FOR NEW LEADER ON SUNDAY NIGHT

People's House to Be Scene
of Supper and Jollification — Upton Sinclair,
Adele Schreiber, M. P.,
Hillquit, Panken Will Be
There.

The appearance of The New Leader will be welcomed by the Socialists of New York at an old-fashioned get-together that will be held tomorrow (Sunday) night at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street. The hur for the beginning of the festivities has been fixed for 6 p. m.

The big auditorium will be packed, according to present indications, and this paper is due for a royal send-off on the part of those whose enthusiasm and faith in their cause has made its appearance possible.

The gathering will be in the nature of a supper and — What comes after the supper is a deeply guarded secret, not even the editors of The New Leader being admitted into the confidence of the managers of the affair. But from what they know of the promises usually made by George H. Goebel, who is running it, they are cancelling every date to be sure to be there on time.

It isn't going to be only a New York City affair, either. Representatives of the Socialist movement of the City and State and of the national and international movement will be there to give the infant the start that every Socialist paper requires upon the occasion of its first issue.

For example, the State Executive Committee of the party, which will be in session all afternoon, will adjourn on time to take part on behalf of the 150,000 Socialist voters of the State of New York.

Upton Sinclair, whose most recent exploits have been to run for United States Senator from California as the Socialist candidate and to write a book that was the third best seller in the non-fiction field last year, will be present to represent the climate, the real estate business, the movie studios, the university presidents and the Socialists of the Coast,

NATIONALIZATION AND LABOR PARTY MINERS' PROBLEMS

**Convention April 1 Will Take
Up Hours, Wages and National-
ization Program—Howatt
May Be Reinstated.**

Indianapolis.—The national convention of the United Mine Workers will meet here next week and one of the chief matters to be considered is the wage scale, the old scale expiring on April 1. There is little doubt that the miners in the bituminous fields will demand an increase in wages of 30 per cent.

Another matter that will receive careful consideration is the anarchy in the management of the mining industry and which condemns hundreds of thousands of miners to casual and uncertain employment. In order to introduce something like stabilization of work in the industry a five-day week of 30 hours will be seriously considered. This does not mean an actual reduction of the hours of labor from the theoretical eight hours that prevail. It means that the miners insist upon the five-hour day as a guarantee of an average of five hours per day for each working day of the year.

If such a demand is won, the radical and Socialist miners do not see how it can become effective without carrying out a large measure of nationalization of the mines. It is pointed out that the waste of materials, the uncertain employment and general anarchy that prevail in the mining industry are due to private ownership of the mines. The Nationalization Research Committee, headed by John Brophy of Pennsylvania, was appointed by the convention in 1921. The report of this committee recommends a plan of nationalization of the mines of the nation. The recommendations are on the whole in accord with what some of the leading industrial engineers of the country have urged as a solution of the problems of coal production.

In the report issued last year and which brought a controversy with some of the national officials of the union, the committee outlined under

six heads what is required of the industry. These are:

1. Administrative organizing minds in the public service.
2. A competent technical staff.
3. A 100 per cent organized union.
4. Collective bargaining publicly accepted as the basis of wage agreements.
5. A large labor representation in all departments of government.
6. A political labor party.

It will be observed that the research committee considers that nationalization of the mines carries with it the necessity of the working class organizing and using its political power independent of the capitalist parties. The miners in national conventions have recorded themselves in favor of independent political action a number of times in recent years yet it is expected that the conservative elements will offer their usual opposition to the proposal which is now a part of the nationalization program of the research committee.

Supporters of the nationalization program point out that the mining industry is the most hazardous in this country. More men are injured and killed in the mines than in any other industry. Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, pointed out a few years ago that the mining industries are more hazardous than enlistment in the United States Army and from two to three times as dangerous as the average of all occupations in which male workers are employed. The annual death toll of the mines constitutes a terrible indictment of the profit-making motive in the industry, these workers contend, and civilized organization and management are required to wipe out this hideous blot. This can be realized only by nationalization of mines under safeguards that will give the miners a voice in management and also insure union organization of the miners.

Other matters that will come before the convention are the reinstatement of Alexander Howatt as a member of the Kansas district organization; the recognition of Russia, and a full consideration of the action of the national administration in removing officials of the Nova Scotia miners during the strike in that region last year.

HOUSING

(Continued from Page 1.)

cities to which they at present apply, except Rochester, where conditions are pronounced normal; the immediate introduction of proposals to amend the Constitution with a view to making it possible two years hence to have the State and municipal administrations of local housing and planning boards to co-operate with the State Housing Commission, which will continue its investigation and quest for remedial measures.

The report says: "In New York City the housing emergency still exists. In spite of the large number of dwellings constructed during the last two years, tenants are in no better position today than they were in 1920 to bargain with landlords. Rents have risen continuously and congestion has increased. Families are being forced into poorer and smaller quarters. They are obliged to double up, two families living in rooms which under normal conditions would be occupied by one family; they are increasingly forced to take in lodgers. The dilapidated, insanitary old houses which were considered uninhabitable in 1920 are now fully occupied and overcrowded. The conditions of upkeep and repair have grown steadily worse. If the emergency rent laws were needed in 1920 they are even more necessary at the present time."

While the old party bunglers and real estate statesmen are fiddling with the housing problem, practically every Western European country has established the principle that is so repugnant to the American law makers, that is, that a public need

No Profits in Housing
In England, Holland, France, Belgium, Denmark and other countries, the principle has been written into the law that no business man has the right to speculate in so vital a public need as housing. In all these countries extensive and far-reaching plans of public housing is under way.

In America, no one has had the vision and foresight to make the same demand except the Socialists. The Legislature is going to fool around with the question, a few speeches will be made expressing sympathy with the poor tenants (for political purposes), and the "emergency" laws—under which the emergency got steadily worse for 36 months, will be continued.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Party is continuing its fight to popularize the idea of municipal housing as the only way out of the jam.

TAKE THE PROFIT OUT OF THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS!
That's the only way out.

PEOPLE MULCTED

(Continued from Page 1.)

Another ship that has just been sold at terms that arouse serious questions as to the honesty of the transaction was the City of Los Angeles, sold last August for \$100,000 to the Los Angeles Steamship Company. It cost the government \$2,826,000.

The "President" ships were all built under contract by the New York Shipbuilding Company of Camden, N. J., and are rated as "A-1 E" by the American bureau of shipping. Practically new, they were delivered to the shipping board in 1920 and 1921.

The following table shows the cost of these seven steamers—all of about the same size—19,500 tons:

Ships—	Cost.
President Adams.....	\$4,992,015.27
President Garfield.....	4,062,456.76
President Harrison.....	4,063,528.93
President Hayes.....	4,063,528.93
President Monroe.....	4,076,336.66
President Polk.....	4,076,332.30
President Van Buren.....	4,067,215.37

Total.....\$28,501,836.02

Under the terms of the contract the Dollar Line agreed to "maintain for a period of five years a round-the-world route" and to pay \$530,000 for each of the steamers.

During the war, enthusiastic theorists declared that the era of private, profit seeking shipping had passed forever. But with the close of hostilities, there was no more need of placating liberal opinion, and there were no more hints of public operation of the various lines.

But with the disorganized condition of world shipping some subsidy was considered necessary by those who refused to admit the principle of public ownership and operation. Out of that has arisen this scandalous situation. Tens of millions, possibly hundreds of millions, of dollars have been poured out to private shippers, while our rulers have been horror-stricken whenever anyone suggested public ownership and operation, as if one were to suggest the overturning of our most sacred institutions.

IGNORANCE IS THE ONLY FOE

By GEORGE LANSBURY, M. P.
(Former Editor of the Daily Herald,
London.)

Here's best of luck and good wishes to all American comrades and friends. I hope The New Leader will be a great success and also be the means of uniting all sections of our movement into one great party for the capture of political and industrial power.

Let us give up fighting amongst ourselves about methods and concentrate all our efforts on converting the masses to our views. Once they see and understand economic

LABOR GOVERNMENT

(Continued from Page 1.)

the Labor Party take office, and then when an opportunity comes to cast the votes of his party with the Conservatives against the labor government on an issue which will involve the resignation of the government. He hopes that the King will refuse to accept advice of the Labor Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament and have a general election, but will send for him to form a new government, which he will do by an understanding with the Conservatives. In this way it is hoped to "dish" the Labor Party, who will be discredited by a few months of office in which they have had no time to carry out any big programme.

That appears to be Mr. Asquith's game. But it is doubtful if it will work out quite as he has planned. It is more likely to lead to a split in his own party, and to a great accession of strength to labor. Such a policy, involving an understanding between the Liberals and the Tories, will make it plain to everybody that the main motive of these two parties is to kill the Labor Party.

MUCH of course will depend upon the way in which the labor government acts. As a minority party it cannot expect to carry a Socialist program. That will have to wait until it can command a majority in the House of Commons and in the country. Its most serious difficulty will probably be in its own party. There is a small extremist section of the Labor Party which does not seem to realize the facts of the situation, and are pressing the party to act as if it were a government with its own majority in Parliament.

The whole problem of the present position is this—Will the labor government, realizing the limitations of its power, try to do heroic but impossible things; or will it try to get through Parliament some useful but moderate legislation with the support it can get from the Liberals? The first course would be magnificent but it would not be war. The second course might result in some really useful legislation being carried. The Liberal Party at the recent General Election issued a program, which apart from nationalization and the Capital Levy, was almost identical with the labor program. It would be good tactics for the labor government to take some of the most advanced items which are common to the two programs, and embody them in Parliamentary bills. This would put the Liberals in the position of having either to support these bills or repudiate their election pledges.

THE two most pressing problems are the international situation and unemployment. The Liberal policy which is practically identical with that of the Labor Party and the Socialist International. They declare themselves in favor of the full diplomatic recognition of Russia. If the labor government recognized Russia, the Liberals could not very well oppose. Indeed they would be bound to support, and also to support the granting of trade credits to Russia. That would have a very considerable beneficial effect on trade. The labor government will be judged mainly by its success in reducing the volume of unemployment. There is work enough in dealing with these two problems profitably to employ the energies of a labor government for many months ahead. It would be difficult for Mr. Asquith to find the opportunity to

truth, all other things will be added unto them and us.

Our only foe is the ignorance of our own people. Therefore The New Leader should become the greatest educational force on behalf of labor in the United States.

I am glad to say the Daily Herald, together with British Labor, is marching on to victory. This has happened because in spite of every obstacle some people persevered and thus never could be defeated. Our opponents have often written us down as dying and dead, but always we have refused to die.

We want our comrades, women and men, across the water to come into line with us so that from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Indian Ocean to the North Sea there shall be established real labor governments who in turn will establish a true League of Nations, not governments.

This is the work the labor organizations in the States and your

weekly newspaper, The New Leader, must help accomplish.

turn out the labor government either on its international policy or on its proposals for dealing with unemployment.

The second very important matter is that of national finance. A labor government will find the national finances in a very serious situation. There will probably be a deficit on the budget this year, and additional taxation may have to be imposed to meet that deficit, which will make it difficult to increase taxation still further for schemes of social reform. The Labor Party cannot propose its scheme for a Capital Levy, because two-thirds of the House of Commons are opposed to it. If the Labor Chancellor of the Exchequer confines his financial proposals to the recognized methods of taxation there should be no difficulty in getting a majority of the House of Commons to support them.

Comrade Ramsay MacDonald has gone to his native place in the North of Scotland for a holiday and to think out the way the very grave problems he will have to face in a few weeks' time. No leader of an opposition ever had a more difficult situation. He will have to form his government almost wholly of untried men; for with the exception of Comrade Clynes and Comrade Arthur Henderson (who is not in Parliament at present) no member of the Labor Party has had previous experience of government. It is rather remarkable, however, that amidst all the criticism of the newspapers upon the forth-coming labor government, practically nothing is being said which reflects upon the capacity of the men who will have to form the labor government. On the contrary, apart from the fact that they have had no previous experience in office, the comment is general in the capitalist press that ability and knowledge and administrative capacity the labor government will probably be the equal of any previous government, and certainly far superior to the present Conservative government.

THE selection of the men to fill the various government posts will be left entirely to MacDonald. The British Labor Party does not carry theoretical democracy to the point of thinking that a vote of the members of the party can select the most suitable men to fill the various offices. The Labor Prime Minister will have the responsibility for the government, and he could not be expected to accept the responsibility for Ministers who had been appointed by others. I know nothing of what Comrade MacDonald's present intentions are as to filling the various government offices, beyond the fact that he is giving the matter very serious attention so that when he is summoned to form a government there will be no undue delay. The press is full of rumors of who is going to be this Minister and that Minister, but they are merely conjectures. The only suggestion which may turn out

to be true is that Comrade MacDonald may himself take the post of Foreign Secretary in addition to that of Prime Minister. It will be an exceedingly heavy task to take up the duties of these two offices, but in the event of his doing so he will probably hand over the work of leading the House of Commons to a colleague.

I have written as though the early advent of a labor government were a foregone conclusion. There is many a slip between the cup and the lip, but there never was an unaccomplished fact so certain to come to pass as that within a month there will be a labor government in office in Great Britain. And yet in a sense it seems impossible to realize it.

It is only twenty-three years since the Labor Party was formed. Political parties are trees of very slow growth. We have talked about a

labor government as a thing for which we were working, and which we believed would some day, in the course of historic evolution, come to pass. But it is coming much sooner than we ever dreamt. And it is very gratifying to know that on the whole we are prepared for it. We may not realize all that may be expected from a labor government, but reasonable people will make due allowance for the difficulties of our position.

I am confident labor in office, if not in power, will justify the claim of the common people to govern their own country. Much will depend upon the spirit of toleration and comradeship in the Labor Party itself, and upon the extent to which every individual member realizes his individual responsibility to the party and to the cause.

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RESOURCES	LIABILITIES
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Other Securities . . . 15,002,622.22	9,240,069.68
Cash, Exchanges and Due from Banks and Bankers . . . 13,786,356.46	Unearned Discount . . . 364,329.49
Customers Liability Under Letters of Credit and Acceptances . . . 89,300.29	Reserved for Interest Accrued and Contingencies . . . 674,977.59
Banking Houses . . . 798,745.10	Dividends Unpaid . . . 136,716.00
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SOCIALIST NEWS

HUDSON COUNTY
ENDS BIG YEAR,
BALANCE IN BANK

**Holds 124 Meetings, Sells
Thousands of Books, and
Gets Many New Members
—An Off Year, Too!**

This is a report of the activities of just one Socialist local during an "off year" campaign.

Robert Leemans is secretary of the Socialist Party campaign committee in Hudson County, New Jersey, and he has just completed his report for the activities of 14 branches, June 1 to November 15, 1923. The work of the local was not to elect an Assemblyman or to get a big vote, but to carry on educational work, and to make socialists. It was an "off year" for politicians, you understand, but not for Socialist workers. And incidentally, they got a good vote, too.

Altogether, 124 meetings were held in Hoboken, West New York, West Hoboken, Union Hill, Bayonne, Jersey City, and North Bergen. Literature was sold to the extent of \$1,094.54, and expenses (including the cost of quantities of free leaflets) were \$1,061.64. That means, a vast amount of propaganda was carried on, speakers were brought from distances and paid, tens of thousands of people heard about Socialism for the first time—and a profit made on the transaction!

That is the work that was done in just one county—and each county and town thinks it is alone. Each town thinks itself a lonely outpost, but they are going to find out all about each other in The New Leader.

And by the way, at the last meeting of the Hudson County Committee, Val Branch moved that every local and branch secretary in the county be placed on the list for The New Leader for a year—at the County's expense. Edward Mead seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE
CONVENTION

(Special to The New Leader)
Reading, Pa., Jan. 17.—A state conference of the Socialist Party will be held in Harrisburg on March 1. At this conference the future policies of the party will be decided upon and other business transacted. All locals and branches have been asked to send as many representatives as they desire at their own expense.

A large and representative gathering is expected.

LABOR PARTY
IS PLANNED

(Special to The New Leader)
Reading, Pa., Jan. 17.—A conference will be held in this city next Friday (January 25) by a group of working people and representatives of working class representatives interested in the organization of a genuine labor party.

The Socialist Party has elected as its official representatives J. Henry Stump, George W. Snyder and Raymond S. Hofes.

New Branch in Brooklyn

A new branch of the Socialist Party is being organized in the Kings Highway and Flatbush sections of Brooklyn, which are in the Second Assembly district, Kings County.

The Second Assembly district is one of the largest districts in the city, and while there is an excellent branch in Brownsville with its own headquarters at 420 Hinsdale street, the vast territory south of Brownsville is uncovered by organization.

Socialists who are or have been members of the party, and those who are willing to join the party, are requested to send their names and addresses to William M. Feigenbaum, 1745 East 8th street, Brooklyn. It is planned to hold brief business meetings in connection with informal talks on Socialism and on related subjects. The organizers of the new branch hope to build up an active lecture center for the rapidly growing Kings Highway section, which is without any intellectual activities of any kind.

REFERENDUM ON AMALGAMATION.

The locals in Greater New York are now debating the advisability of merging the locals of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Richmond and the Bronx into one Greater New York Local. A referendum on the subject is now being voted on.

Should the referendum receive a favorable vote one central office will be opened for the greater city, one Central Committee, and one Executive Committee would govern the activities of the Socialists of the entire city, and one Executive Secretary would be placed in the field for the purpose of aiding the party branches in carrying on their work and they will help organize new

The Progressives in Repertoire

By Marx Lewis

(Washington Correspondent of The New Leader)

Now that the preliminary skirmish between the Progressive group in the House of Representatives and the organization with which they are still affiliated has been fought and, by their own admission, won, it would be both interesting and instructive to examine the nature of the contest, the objects it was intended to accomplish, and the extent to which it is likely to achieve its proclaimed purposes.

In the nine months that intervened from the date the present Congress came into being until it actually began, or rather made an attempt to function, the great political rebellion in the Northwest, of which the insurrectionary movement of the Progressive group in the House was supposed to be a direct result, constituted the principle topic of conversation in discussions in Washington on the work of the 68th Congress. Numerous conflicts of Progressives and radicals in both Houses of Congress, occasional statements to the press, frequent reports of ultimatums that were being drafted—all served to create and strengthen the hope that the condition of unrest throughout the nation and more particularly among the farmers would find expression in a concrete program of legislative action, upon which the Progressives could rally the liberal elements of the nation.

At last, on December 3, "Der Tag" arrived. Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives caucused. Each placed its candidate for Speaker in the field—Speaker Gillette was the Republican nominee; Finis Garrett, the Democratic nominee; and Henry Allen Cooper, of Wisconsin, the nominee of the Progressives. The nomination of Cooper deadlocked the House, neither one of the candidates being able to receive a majority of the votes cast. Upon receiving assurances from the Republican leaders that an opportunity would be afforded sometime in January to discuss the rules of the House and to offer amendments to them, the Progressives yielded. Speaker Gillette returned to preside over the deliberations of the House, and the deadlock was broken. And it was a victory for all concerned—the Republicans declaring that they had all along been prepared and willing to permit such a discussion and amendment of the rules; the Democrats were happy that they had shown to the nation that the Republicans, in spite of their technical majority, were unable to organize the House; and the Progressives were overjoyed in that they had gotten an opportunity to liberalize the rules.

Some Assumptions

In a few days the House will proceed to a discussion of its rules. It may be that with the aid of the Democrats a liberalization along the lines demanded by the Progressive group may be effected. Let it be assumed that such a liberalization will be made; that all of the demands of the Progressives will be granted; that it will no longer be possible for the chairman of a committee and for the Rules committee to prevent the consideration of measures upon which the House desires to vote; that a minority of 100 members may be able to bring out a bill consigned to eternal rest in the committee to which it has been referred. Assuming, conceding, and granting all of this, what effect will it have on the course of legislation? What effect can it have on the problems with which the people are concerned, or on the ills which afflict them? And, in the first instance, what relationship do the rules of the House bear to the problems which the Progressives declare they are out to solve?

The assumption upon which the Progressives proceeded is that the inability to enact remedial legislation is due to the rules by which the House is governed—rules which restrict the influence of the rank and file and enable a few influential chairmen of committees, and more particularly the chairman of the all-powerful Committee on Rules, to decide what legislation should be considered, whether it should be subject to amendment, and whether the House membership or only the committee members shall be able to offer amendments.

Now, there is no question but that the rules governing the House prevent and are designed to prevent the individual member from exercising any influence on the course of legislation. From the time a new member takes his seat until he completes his legislative career, unless he becomes a leader, his experiences consist of a series of disillusionments. Students of parliamentary government agree that Congressional government in the United States is only committee government. It has been called a government by the chairman of the Standing Committees of the House, and the committee which rules all other committees is the Committee on Rules. Someone has said that Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, while Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work.

The means by which the leaders of the House are able to run things their own sweet way would require a discussion of Congressional procedure altogether too long for the limitation of this article. But that those means exist, that they prevent Congress from being a deliberative body—assuming that, if given an opportunity, it would be—and that while they exist the average member may as well go home and let the leaders do the legislating—of that, there can be no question.

Defects of Liberalization

It may also be conceded that if the rules of the House could be liberalized, so liberalized as to afford an opportunity for intelligent study and discussion of legislation—if they could be so modified as to permit the individual member who has a suggestion to make or a plan to propose an opportunity to make himself heard and felt, it would be no mean accomplishment in itself, even though it would not, because in its very nature it could not, have the far-reaching effects on representative government that the advocates of liberalization propose. It would at least promote a livelier interest in governmental problems, and it would, perhaps, develop an understanding of the fundamental social, political and industrial problems affecting and affecting the nation.

But the rules of the House have been developed under, and largely because of, the constitutional system in vogue—a system deliberately designed to create so many checks and balances that the demands of the people would not be able to crystallize themselves into concrete results. And a revision of the rules, if it were to be effective, would involve an overhauling of the entire system—a proceeding with which the Progressives are not concerned, and to which they may even be opposed.

"Liberalization of House Rules" has been a favorite pastime for Progressives ever since Congress was conceived. During the last few decades there have been any number of insurrections and rebellions in the House. In fact, the history of the House is replete with these insurrections, in most cases staged by well-meaning Progressives, whose intentions were superior to their vision. Now and then the rules would be liberalized somewhat, only to lead to new evils requiring further modification of the rules.

The results of the numerous campaigns made by Progressives for the liberalization of House Rules have been to carry the House from one extreme danger to another. When the rules were liberalized, it was found that the minority acquired rights by which they could prevent the majority from transacting business; and when the rules were modified to eliminate this possibility, it was found that the majority were in a position to deprive the minority of an opportunity to make itself felt.

Some History

The greatest fight over House procedure came as a result of what has since been termed "the storming of the parliamentary Bastille," on January 29, 1890. On that day, the minority, in an effort to prevent the enactment of legislation to which they were opposed, indulged in the favorite trick of absenting themselves to prevent the presence of a quorum and the transaction of business. Speaker Reed, who was then the Chief of the House, ordered the doors bolted. In the fight that ensued, members dodged under their seats, others hid behind screen doors, and a number were injured while trying to get by the bolted doors. When the scene was over, a move was inaugurated to prevent a repetition of it, and the rules were modified.

After the adoption of the rules, one of the members rose to ask Speaker Reed what rights, if any, were retained by the minority, to which Reed replied: "The right of the minority is to draw its salaries, and its function is to make a quorum."

The minority enjoyed this right and performed this function until March, 1910, when the Progressives organized their rebellion against Cannonism. For two days and two nights they fought the reactionaries and Cannonism, and when it was over, on March 19, 1910, the House was free. Instead of the Speaker appointing all the standing committees, a committee was to do the assigning.

In the fourteen years that have elapsed since the fight against Cannonism was fought and won, the average member played no larger part than he did prior to that time. The few leaders of the House still dominated the situation, dictated the legislation that was to be enacted, and stifled every attempt on the part of individual members to make themselves felt. The minority continued to exercise its right of drawing its salaries and continued to perform its function of constituting a quorum, except when, on rare occasions, the practice of absenting themselves to prevent the transaction of business was resorted to.

The Problem

The problem of House procedure, and the contests that have been conducted to make it more workable and adaptable to the needs of the time, will remain as long as the old political parties continue to manage and direct the destinies of the nation. For, in the last analysis, the only effect that a liberalization of the rules can have, as has been shown by experience and history, is to enable a minority to prevent the majority from transacting business, and this must lead to new changes and rebellions.

When all is said and done, legislation in the House is passed by a majority vote. The majority are responsible for its crimes, whether they be of omission or of commission. A majority can at all times prevent the passage of undesirable legislation, and in some instances, where a two-thirds vote is required to adopt special rules of procedure, one-third of the membership may make itself felt.

The avowed purpose of the Progressive group in making the fight for liberalization is to make the members more responsible for their activities by having them placed on record; but the mere fact that the members vote to adopt such rules which prevent them from having a voice in the affairs of government is, or should be, sufficient to convince any thinking worker that the difficulty is not with the personnel of the House, but with the personnel and the political parties which line up the personnel whenever it is necessary.

Bills which leave the clerk's desk to cross the parliamentary bridge of sighs whence they never return die not because of the restrictive rules, but because the members of Congress—the overwhelming number of them, as may be seen from the way they lined up on the Speakership fight—desire that sort of a system, and by their votes sustain it. Debates are cut short, opportunities for examination of legislation are limited, bills are not given sufficient study, not because the rules, but because those who make the rules, and all the members of Congress are responsible for the rules, for they adopt them at the outset of each session.

As previously stated, underlying the fight of the progressives is the assumption that the majority of the members desire to vote for progressive or meritorious legislation, but that the rules prevent them from doing so. The program of the Progressives, so far as it relates to the liberalization of the rules, is premised on that assumption. And the assumption is without warrant.

The Capitalist Parties

The representatives of both old parties are pledged to the things which are favorable to the vested interests. Many of them are beneficiaries of special interests. Others are capitalists who have become rich as a result of the protection which they received from government before the government became paternalistic—that is, before it began to consider legislation to help the unemployed, the sick, the aged. They are elected by the political machines which receive their campaign contributions and their support from corporations—the Republicans from big corporations, and the Democrats from little corporations. No change of rules can affect them; they are committed to the perpetuation of the system which considers the interests of the plunderbund first, last and all the time.

And the Progressives, honest and well-intentioned as they undoubtedly are—some of them, anyway—cannot escape their share of the responsibility for the continuation of things as they are. By remaining affiliated with the Republican Party they sustain the greatest delusion of all—that the Republican Party can ever be anything but what it was made and is paid to be—the political expression of the vested interests of this country. They lead the millions of farmers and industrial workers who are now venturing to hope for a better day into the trap from which it should be their first duty to free them. Now and then—mainly then—the dominant elements of the Republican Party, yielding to the demand of political expediency, may throw a bone to the Progressives in the form of a piece of legislation. But those dominant elements cannot do more and still remain republicans. If they do more they will be classed as deserters from the camp of special privilege.

The Progressives, have, it is true, a program of their own, dealing with tax legislation, railroad legislation. At some future time, it may be profitable to discuss the merits or demerits of the proposals they advance. But if they are meritorious, and therefore, injurious to the industrial monarchs of the country, the Progressives will find that they stand no more chance of getting them enacted into law than the proverbial snowball in the hot regions stands of keeping cool.

Just now the Progressives, in their drive for liberalization, are showing, like the Progressives who every once in a while make a similar fight, that they are good in repertoire. Whether they are good for anything else will depend on what they do to convince the people that the salvation of the nation lies in cleaning out the two old political parties.

What is spoken of as the "struggle for existence" is not, as is assumed by certain loose writers and speakers, a necessary accompaniment of life; it is, as a matter of fact, quite indefensible among a people where reason and the moral law are supposed to hold sway.—Keir Hardie.

Yet it may be better simply to say with William Morris, that Socialism is fellowship, and that fellowship is life, and the lack of fellowship is death. Fellowship is heaven and the lack of fellowship is hell: "Therefore, I bid you not dwell in hell, but in heaven, or while ye must, upon earth, which is a part of heaven, and forsooth no foul part."—J. Bruce Glasier.

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7:15 p. m.—American International Church
"LIFE AS AN ADVENTURE"
JOSEPH D. CANNON
8:15 p. m.—Public Forum
"THE ETHICS OF THE UNION SHOP"
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23
DR. WILL DURANT
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GREETINGS TO THE NEW LEADER

THE TIDE HAS TURNED TO THE NEW LEADER

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

Never as now was the future so ripe with promise for a paper which heartiest of best wishes to The New Leader! The existing confusion and speaks in clear tones for a finer social order. On all sides are the manifestations of keen approval with what is going on in the political, industrial and social worlds. Everywhere is sensed the need of an organ which sounds the sentiments of the thronging multitude calling for change.

In our own country the black pall of reaction, rising like a cloud of smoke from the mad fires of war, hung heavy so long that we waited almost with despair for it to lift and the sun of sanity to break through. That has well-nigh happened. The onslaught upon our political liberties is about over. The frenzied agencies of hectic chauvinism have either dissolved or are being ridiculed off the stage. Men of conviction can breathe again.

It was those who "won" the war who lost democracy, as was to be expected. But with our lately "valued and associated" governments the change has set in. Italy, to be sure, is still on dress parade with a mock Man of Horseback. If Napoleon the Third was "Louis the Little," then Mussolini ranks only with such baggage as the wasted rouble and mark. Dependent upon England for coal, raw materials and credit, the Italian bandit will coo as any dove when Britain waves the feed bag.

France and Belgium have been hitting the big drum. But they are on the verge of industrial breakdown and will likely modify their noise very soon or run the risk of social convulsion. Europe is too near catastrophe for the wreckers to have a free hand.

England recovered most quickly from the war mania. Lloyd George, the little tin god of the private crew, is now at the rear of the parliamentary procession, even if the Liberal Party found common ground for its two factions before the trough of patronage. The Conservative Party likewise has been repudiated for its false issues. The Labor Party, swings to the front, soon to sweep into power to stay for the building of the new civilization.

The Labor Party takes the lead with its champions who were vilified and shunned during the war now its recognized spokesmen. It takes the lead after defining its stand clearly and uncompromisingly in the resolution offered by Philip Snowden to declare capitalism bankrupt and Socialism opportunity.

The Labor Party takes the lead as the accepted section of the international labor movement, which alone offers a peaceful democratic and final settlement of the critical difficulties which beset the old world and without which movement there can be only more war and further devastation until society itself is destroyed.

Europe's leaving the couch of troubled sleep cannot but help arouse the masses here out of the nightmare which has been their slumber. There are many signs that this is happening.

The war-made majority of the reactionary Republican Party has been smashed. Just as was that of the Wilson democracy before it. The rise of the progressive element to a place of balance of power shows the direction the wind is blowing.

Far better than that, since the war there has been new impetus to the sentiment within the ranks of the trade unions to make the Socialist movement their own, to have effective organs of expression, to cope with large problems in economic affairs and to go in for labor politics.

It is in this time, with its voice never more needed and with its chances for a hearing never more certain, that The New Leader comes to bring the message of democracy to humanity.

CORDIAL GREETINGS

By JOHN M. WORK

Associate Editor, Milwaukee Leader.

Human nature cannot be expected to forget the splendid Call right away, but let's look at the bright side for there is one. A weekly can go along without the incessant financial struggle, and thus center its efforts upon pushing the Cause, rather than upon the struggle for its existence. My message to the comrades of New York and surrounding territory is this: Face the future with indomitable courage and boldness. The New Leader will call you might!

Do not waste your time on social questions. What is the matter with the poor is poverty; what is the matter with the rich is uselessness. G. Bernard Shaw.

Whoever produces anything by weary labor does not need a revolution from heaven to teach him that he has a right to the thing produced. —Robert G. Ingersoll.

Under Socialism, the avenues to culture and recreation, to the great treasures of art and literature, would be wide open for all to travel in. —Keir Hardie.

By JOSEPH D. CANNON

Out from the wreck and ruin of former efforts comes a voice of hope anew. From the sacrifice and loyalty of our comrades of another generation came The Worker, from The Worker came The Call, and from The Call came The Leader, and now, Phoenix-like from the ashes of these comes The New Leader. Long may it lead! Lead in voicing our hopes, recounting our efforts and recording our gains to be!

May its pages become the inspiration that will bring from us redoubled energy expended in the cause of Labor and Socialism, may its columns become the repositories laden, week by week, and soon we hope, day by day with chronicles of bigger and better achievement of and by those whose toil is producing everything worth while.

This time, let us build on a firmer foundation, build as rapidly as we can, but not so rapidly as to endanger the structure itself. Let us not mortgage the future to give us a greater immediate spread than present efforts justify.

Surely none will gainsay the fact that in this greatest city in the world, a city with a hundred thousand Socialist and labor party voters, there is both room and need for a bonafide labor and socialist paper. Circumstances, just now, compel us to make it a weekly, but careful and wise management that will develop and husband our resources will bring growth and prepare the field for the daily that few of us realized was so necessary for our work and progress until we lost The Call.

Now we do know its need. We have had a bitter, bitter lesson. I am still damning those responsible for that. I will not attempt to control my views as to whom is to blame. I shall not try to hide the culprits from the full glare of the shame they should feel for their neglect in not giving adequate support to The Call when just a little more effort would have tied it over its difficulties and put it on a self-supporting basis.

The culprits, comrades, are most of the readers of these lines—Yes, others made mistakes and blundered, but that does not excuse us. We let our paper wallow in dire straits when our combined efforts would have saved it for the work ahead. Do not let us repeat the error. Let us resolve, every one of us, all of us, individually and in concert, that we will support The New Leader, that we will buy The New Leader, that we will establish The New Leader in the field of progress and success where we so much need it.

Let us show our loyalty to the cause that has so worthily enlisted our efforts by giving enthusiastic backing and support to those on whose shoulders is placed the responsibility of building and guiding our great venture, The New Leader, to its immediate field, a medium of expression for the hopeful and aspiring workers, and to its ultimate goal, the great metropolitan daily for Labor and Socialism.

Let us forget our failures, live the future instead of the past, and above all, comrades, let us realize that we, and we means US, all of US, we must and we will make a success and a real torch-bearer of The New Leader.

A Long-Felt Want

By Otto Branstetter

National Executive Secretary Socialist Party

Greetings to The New Leader! It fills a long-felt want in the Eastern States, and should be of invaluable service to the Party in that section.

I sincerely hope the comrades give it the support necessary to maintain it as a militant, aggressive organ, capable of utilizing the opportunity for service that unquestionably lies before it.

FROM THE A. L. P.

The Executive Committee of the American Labor Party at its meeting on Monday, December 17, at 231 East 14th street, resolved to send greetings and best wishes to The New Leader.

We hope that the forward looking elements and the labor unions will give the full support you deserve to your efforts in establishing a press dedicated to the interests of labor for a better civilization.

A WELCOME WISH

By BERTHA HALE WHITE

Assistant Executive Secretary Socialist Party.

Welcome to The New Leader! May it be a Leader indeed. Good wishes! I have a very choice assurance—that the long, long road shall not daunt its courage nor bewilder it into by-paths that lead nowhere. That the icy winds of criticism, if they blow, shall never lessen its zeal for the ultimate goal, nor its determination to reach it.

Those are very nice wishes, I think. But as the new paper is a Socialist paper, we can take all that for granted. There is no use wishing for it qualities every Socialist paper has—courage, zeal, determination. Let me try again.

I'll wish for The New Leader the one thing it cannot supply without assistance. Support. Subscriptions. May they come in so fast that no unaided about Saturday's payroll will ever cramp your editorial style! I'm confident no one has sent you a better wish than that.

By EUGENE V. DEBS

It is a privilege I appreciate to send this word of greeting and good wishes to the initial issue of The New Leader, the new Socialist weekly which begins its career with such enthusiasm of spirit and under such favorable conditions in New York, although I write from a sick room in which I am temporarily held prisoner until I can recover the physical strength necessary to take up my work again.

It is exceedingly inconvenient to find one's vigor waning when the spirit is so militant and eager to serve, but it is an experience that comes to us all sooner or later, and the best we can do is to bear it patiently until the tailing strength has been recovered and we are permitted to resume our former activities, without which life would have but little meaning.

If ever a Socialist paper was born at the right time and in the right place and under right conditions it is The New Leader that now enters upon the stage of action in New York. From the description I have had of it by its organizers and founders, I am convinced that it will be exactly the kind of a paper to fit the situation in New York and that it will make strong appeal for support from its very first issue and soon develop the influence and power of a militant Socialist publication now needed as never before in all the history of the Socialist movement.

The character and ability of the comrades who are launching The New Leader insures the character and standing of the paper; and if they will but remain united in spirit as they now are and adhere to the policy they have outlined, and carry it out with the vigor and enthusiasm which unanimity assures, there is no reason why The New Leader should not grow into a daily Leader in time to serve the presidential campaign next year.

The daily Call should have lived after its many years of brave, tempestuous, and often desperate struggle. The brutal and shameful persecution, the outrageous and infamous maltreatment, to which it was subjected by the malodorous Federal administration of Woodrow Wilson, which ruthlessly and lawlessly threw it out of the mails, held up its editions and subjected it to hundreds of thousands of dollars of needless expense for the reason that it would not prostitute its principles and crawl, spaniel-like, at the feet of the brutal silk-hatted war lords who have since been revealed to the nation in all their monstrous greed and rapacity—it was this fierce and relentless order which tested The Call's resources to the limit and so weakened it that it was unable to resist and overcome the internal dissension which arose as the result of disagreement as to the policy to be pursued when the war was over in dealing with the changed, chaotic and baffling situation.

The organizers of The New Leader are well aware of the mistakes and weaknesses which led to the downfall of The Call, and they will be certain to convert that unfortunate experience into all possible profit and advantage for the benefit of the new publication.

Having entire confidence in the comrades who are launching The New Leader, I have no hesitancy in predicting for it a career of high usefulness, wholesome influence and commanding power in the service of the revolutionary movement, nor in recommending it to the workers of New York and the nation at large as an ably edited, fearless, clean-cut, and uncompromising exponent of Socialism and working-class emancipation, entitled to their united sympathy and their substantial support.

I close with hearty congratulations to The New Leader and my warmest wishes for a most prosperous and fruitful career!

HOW LONG CAN AMERICA BE AN EXCEPTION?

By ABRAHAM CAHAN

The Socialist movement has been advancing with great strides in every civilized country in the world. This country is an exception. How long will it be one?

Our comrades in Europe are puzzled. It seems incomprehensible that a great industrial country like this should not have a respectable representation of the Socialist Party in Congress.

To our opponents it is only too natural that it should be so. But, then, there was a time when a similar situation existed in England and when the opponents of the socialists in that country regarded that situation as permanent. They were mistaken. And they now know it but too well.

With 123 members of the Labor Party in Parliament, England does not look like a country untried for the growth of a Socialist movement. Conditions alter. America's conditions of today have not come to stay. They are bound to change just as England's conditions of thirty years ago have changed.

I am speaking of England because the psychology of English-speaking peoples is supposed to be something distinct. The English tongue is regarded as the language of the practical and the cool-headed, while Socialism has been described as the ideal of dreamers and fanatics. Now then, if practical, cool-headed England has seen fit to elect as the second largest party the party of Socialism, this practical country of ours is sure to follow a similar course sooner or later.

There is as much room for Socialism in this country as there is anywhere else, and more.

More, because things in America usually travel more rapidly than they do anywhere else. Human progress under the Stars and Stripes proceeds more rapidly than it does in old Europe.

Present stagnation is due to specific conditions directly traceable to the war. It is a temporary aberration. Things are bound to come our way in the very near future, and when they do our ranks will swell with a truly American tempo.

Let us hold ourselves in readiness. Let us hold the fort.

TO THE NEW LEADER

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Editor, The Messenger.

Permit me to bid The New Leader onward, forward, upward! The times are out of joint and only clear, fundamental thinking on economic, social and political questions, affecting America in particular and the world in general, can set it right.

The task of setting at the roots of the world's vexatious problems is up to the socialist groups in all capitalist countries. The old capitalist order is dying. In every land the captains of the old regime are challenged by a state of chronic worldwide unemployment.

What can be done to solidify our forces? What can be done to prepare the workers' minds for a creative and constructive unity? This question must be answered by every earnest socialist.

Hence the need for The New Leader. The period of wild-eyed hair splitting is past. Metaphysical disquisitions on what is and what is not Marxian, are no longer in point. The immediate challenge is that we be severe realists, avoiding the Sevilla of impractical and irrational emotional extension on the one hand and the Carthage of third, sterile, bankrupt reaction on the other.

Such is our problem. We must be scientifically cautious but not afraid or hesitant; aggressive but not impetuous. The golden mean in thought and action is now the consummation devoutly to be wished. This we can, must and will achieve for upon it will depend the preservation of the culture of the world which is fit to preserve and the organization and direction of the social forces to the end of social improvement.

LONG LIFE TO THE NEW LEADER

SOCIALISTS AND UNIONS BY U. S.

Much needed aid, in the shape of financial contributions to treasuries depleted by the fall of the mark, is being collected for the German Socialist movement by the American Socialists.

A committee has been organized by Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the party, to raise funds to send to the labor and Socialist movement of that country, to aid in its rebuilding, and thus to aid in the rebuilding of Europe.

The American Federation of Labor has formed a committee to raise funds for the German unions, and the Socialist party's committee will cooperate in every way with that body. Morris Berman is treasurer of the Socialist committee, and contributions are to be sent to him at 100 Stone Ave.,

the building of the Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway, New York. Contributors are asked to designate what part of the contribution is to go for the trade unions and which for the party.

The fall of the mark has wiped out the treasuries of the unions and the Socialist party, and their work, so necessary for the rebuilding of the shattered structure of society, has been correspondingly hampered. The unions and Socialist Party work in common and neither can be rebuilt without the other.

Lecture—To-night

PSYCHOLOGY and CIVILIZATION—by

Dr. Alexander

Goldenweiser

FRIDAY, JAN. 18th—8:30 P. M.

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Greeting

It is a great privilege to us to be able to greet the readers of The New Leader and to extend our good wishes to all those who have made possible the publication of the new weekly. For years we have contributed our share to the support of the labor press, and it was a great disappointment to us that the labor daily was compelled to suspend publication.

We knew, however, that the cause which inspired the readers of the New York Call to make tremendous sacrifices to maintain a militant daily in this city cannot remain long without an organ of publicity. The news, articles and comments of interest to the wideawake workers cannot be found in any other publication, and we look forward that The New Leader will not only grow to become a powerful weekly but will eventually blossom out into a much needed daily. In the meantime the great lesson of solidarity and co-operation taught by the daily will be of benefit to the management of the weekly and its readers will utilize all the opportunities to extend its usefulness and promote its interests.

One of such opportunities is afforded by increasing the revenue from advertisements, a revenue which will only increase in proportion to the support given by the readers. They must remember the friendly firms who advertise in their paper and give them their full patronage. One of such firms is the well-known clothing firm of F. & S. Remember their location on the S.E. corner of 84th street and Third Avenue. It is easily accessible from any part of Greater New York, and you will find there a full up-to-date selection of clothing and gent's furnishings at prices that defy competition. Go there at your first opportunity and give them additional evidence that it pays to advertise in the labor press.

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Outfitters for Men and Boys

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THE LABOR GOVERNMENT

(Continued from Page 1.)

THE victory of the British Labor Party, on the other hand, is the result of normal political development, the fruit of a quiet, persistent and untiring work extending over a quarter of a century. Beginning with an organized membership of about 375,000 in all affiliated bodies, the parties polled 62,000 votes and returned two members to Parliament in the initial year of its existence, 1900. Since that time, there has been no let-up in its work and struggles and no break in the growth of its membership, vote and representation. The 192 Labor M. P.'s in the British House of Commons represent an organized membership in excess of three millions and a body of over four million electors. They speak for the workers of their country by direct mandate, not merely as self-constituted guardians.

Our British comrades entertain no illusions about the stability of their first government. Although the assumption of power by the British Labor Party is legitimate and logical under the rules of parliamentary precedent, the party still represents a minority of the electorate and a minority in the House. On the first vital issue a labor government at this time is bound to fall before the united opposition of the two capitalist parties in Parliament.

But short-lived as the first political rule of British labor may prove to be, it will be of inestimable benefit to the workers of England and to the Socialist and labor movements of the world. It will effectively break down the age-long political superstition that government is the exclusive function of the capitalist political parties; it will demonstrate the capacity of the workers to govern, to govern better than the old parties, and to govern in the interests of the large masses of the people rather than for the privileged few. In the frequent parliamentary elections which will undoubtedly mark the unstable political equilibrium of the next few years in England, the Labor Party will gain strength in every succeeding contest and will be alternately in and out of the government until it will enlist the steady support of the absolute majority of a voting population. Then it will be solidly and permanently in the saddle and have its first opportunity to enter upon the systematic work of social reconstruction along the lines of its program.

THE contemporary political developments in Great Britain offer abundant food for interesting reflection about the methods of Socialist struggle and the probable form of Socialist success. Seventy-five years have passed since Marx and Engels formulated the slogan of the "capture" of the powers of government by the working class and about fifty years have elapsed since Marx coined the phrase of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." In those days Great Britain and the United States of America were the only countries governed on the principles of political democracy, and in England the suffrage was practically limited to the possessing classes. The rest of the world was ruled by absolute monarchies in form or in substance. The only way to take the political power out of the hands of the reigning dynasties was to capture it by force; the only way to accomplish a change of government was by revolution. This may still hold true with respect to the very few remaining absolute states and to such countries in which the parliamentary regime has been suppressed by dictatorial rule, as in Italy, Hungary and Spain. But in most advanced countries of Europe, political democracy seems firmly established, and in these the transition from capitalism to socialism is more likely to be characterized by the alternating political rule of capital and labor than by a "dictatorship of the proletariat," and the final passing of political power to the latter is more likely to come by a decisive electoral victory than by a revolution in the conventional sense.

The immediate effect of the British labor victory will be to strengthen the parliamentary methods of Socialist struggle and to stimulate independent working-class politics everywhere. In the long run, it is also bound to have a powerful and salutary influence on the political cause of American labor.

So full of contradictions is our present economic order that men must go without coats because too much clothing has been produced, and children must go hungry because the production of goods has been overabundant. As the Socialists have said, with some measure of truth, "In civilization poverty is born of plenty."—Richard T. Ely in "Socialism and Social Reform."

Where strife and force are the rule, evolution has not succeeded in raising the race much above the level of some of the lower forms of brute life.—Keir Hardie.

Those have studied Socialism to little purpose who imagine that the Socialist approves of all activity of

government whatsoever, and that he is ready to endorse any plan which will enlarge the functions of government. As a matter of fact, it is probable that Socialists disapprove of nine projects out of ten calculated to enlarge the sphere of government, which are brought forward, nevertheless, by some party or faction.—Richard T. Ely in "Socialism and Social Reform."

In the United States capital has long owned the leading universities by right of purchase, as it has owned the highways, the currency, and the press, and capital has used the universities, in a general way, to develop capitalistic ideas.—Brooks Adams in "The Theory of Social Revolutions."

FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

Under this heading The New Leader will reprint excerpts from books, ancient or modern, that our readers should be glad to keep for future reference. Readers are invited to offer selections for consideration. The name of the author and the title of the book from which the selection is taken must accompany each contribution.

The Mission of the Working Class

By FERDINAND LASSALLE

From "The Workingman's Program."

WE have now seen, gentlemen, two periods of the world, each of which is dominated by the ruling idea of a particular class of the community which impresses its own principle on all the social arrangements of its time.

First the idea of nobility, or of the possession of land, which forms the ruling principle of the Middle Ages and permeates all its institutions.

This period closed with the French revolution, although you will understand that, especially in Germany, where the change was not brought about by the people, but by very gradual and incomplete reforms introduced by the government, numerous and important extensions of that first period of history have occurred, which even at the present day greatly hamper the progress of the bourgeoisie.

We saw in the next place the period of history which begins at the eighteenth century with the French revolution, which has for its principle large private property, or capital, and makes this into the privilege which pervades all the arrangements of society, and is the condition of participation in directing the will of the State and determining its aims.

You see, gentlemen, that if the revolution of 1789 was the revolution of the TIERS ETAT, the third class, it is now the fourth class, which in 1789 was still enfolded within the third class and appeared to be identical with it, which will now raise its principle to be the dominating principle of the community and cause all its arrangements to be permeated by it.

But here, in the domination of the fourth class, comes to light this immense difference, that the fourth class is the last and the outside of all, the disinterested class of the community, which sets up no further exclusive condition, either legal or actual, neither nobility nor landed possessions nor the possession of capital, which it could make into a new privilege and force upon the arrangements of society.

We are all workingmen in so far as we have even the will to make ourselves useful in any way to the community.

This fourth class in whose heart therefore no germ of a new privilege is contained is for this very reason synonymous with the whole human race. Its interest is in truth the interest of the whole of humanity, its freedom is the freedom of humanity itself, and its domination is the domination of all.

Nothing is more calculated to impress upon a class a worthy and moral character than the consciousness that it is destined to become a ruling class, that it is called upon to raise the principle of its class to the principle of the entire age, to convert its idea into the leading idea of the whole of society and thus to form this society by impressing upon it its own character.

A revolution can never be made; all that can ever be done is to add external moral recognition to a revolution which has already entered into the actual relations of a community, and to carry it out accordingly.

To set about to make a revolution is the folly of immature minds which have no notion of the laws of history.

From the lofty mountain summits of science, gentlemen, the dawn of the new day is seen earlier than below in the turmoil of daily life.

Have you ever witnessed, gentlemen, a sunrise from a lofty mountain?

A purple streak colors the extreme verge of the horizon blood red, announcing the new light; mist and clouds gather, roll themselves in a mass, throw themselves against the glow of morning, and succeed in covering its rays for a moment. But no power in the world can avail to hinder the slow and majestic rising of the sun itself, which an hour later stands in the firmament visible to all, giving light and warmth to all the earth.

What an hour is in this spectacle which nature presents to us every day, one or two centuries are in the far more imposing spectacle of a sunrise in the world's history.

SOME PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONS

THE daily papers tell us of a revolution in Mexico. They are strangely silent on the important issues involved, where they are not guilty of downright misrepresentation. The so-called Mexican revolution is simply a movement by which landowners and oil men are endeavoring to overthrow the anti-militarist government of President Obregon. Obregon has given Mexico the best administration it has ever had. He disbanded most of the Mexican army, cut graft out of the government, and aided organized labor and the co-operative movement in every legitimate way. The opposition to him, centering in the rich oil port of Vera Cruz, has brought together reactionary militarists and landowners in a last violent attack upon this progressive government.

The occasion for the revolution was the approaching national election. President Obregon is not eligible for a second term, and the progressive candidate, Calles, offered to resign rather than precipitate a civil war. Then the revolutionary

generals admitted their aim was economic rather than political, and that they are out to destroy both Obregon and his reforms. The Mexican Federation of Labor, the Mexican Labor Party, and the various farm organizations are standing solidly behind President Obregon. The so-called revolution is already petering out. Friends of Mexican freedom need not be fearful of the outcome, for the people of Mexico, having once enjoyed the light of liberty, will never return complacently to the darkness of the old serfdom.

The pseudo-revolution in Greece and the abdication of the king and queen do not fill us with enthusiasm for the "Grecian Republic" thus established, for the new regime is an undisguised military dictatorship, supported by four thousand officers of the Greek army and navy. Greece has simply changed from an incompetently governed monarchy to a sabbat-governed military despotism. The lot of the common people of Greece will continue to be just as miserable as it was before.

—Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

The Mania of Saving.

Man, much of the time, acquires for the mere sake of acquiring. A business man is never rich enough. If, however, making more money uses his acquisitive capacities too little, he may throw this cultivated habit-activity into acquiring Van Dykes or bronzes or Greek antiques, or on a smaller and less aesthetic scale, postage stamps, signatures, or shaving mugs. Asylums are full of pitiful, economic persons who, lost to the laws of social life, continue as automatons to follow an unmodified instinct in picking up and hoarding pins, leaves, scraps of food, paper.

The savings banks in large part depend on this inborn tendency for their right to exist.—Carleton H. Parker in "The Casual Laborer."

Under Socialism, when the woman—whether as wife, mother or worker—will have a claim in her own right to a share in the national wealth, she will at once engage into greater freedom.—Keir Hardie.

A strong backbone, firm knee joints, head well up, heart sound, courage plentiful, then eyes front and quick march, forward!—Keir Hardie.

IN THE ABSENCE OF A WORKING-CLASS DAILY

published in English, New York City, the center of the world's news and the world's industry, is dependent for information on a group of rich men's papers. Since most news either starts in New York or is relayed through New York, every paper in the country is also dependent on rich men's papers and their news bureaus.

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Monday, 9:10 p. m., beginning Feb. 4.

Descriptive Economics: Algernon Lee—A study of the basic facts of present-day economic life.

Tuesday and Thursday, 8:10 p. m., beginning February 5.

Trade Unionism: Solon DeLeon—History of (continued on other side)

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

The two lectures by Bertrand Russell, postponed because of his illness, will take place on April 5 and April 12. Tickets are now on sale, and are going fast.

Harry Dana will give four lectures on Current Drama on Saturdays, 3:15 p. m., February 2 to February 23.

Morris Hillquit's course of four lectures, entitled *New Problems for Radicals*, will be given on Wednesday evenings, February 20 to March 12. In these lectures Comrade Hillquit proposes to analyze the various things which go under the vague name of Radicalism, in the light of the Socialist philosophy.

Now is the time for young men and women who wish to do serious study to find out details about the three-nights-a-week Workers' Training Course, before the spring term starts. Call at the office or write to the Educational Director for information.

the Labor Movement and Problems of Unionism.

Tuesday, 8:10 p. m., beginning Feb. 5.

Elements of Psychology: Margaret Daniels—A twelve-session course whose aim is to help students to understand the workings of the human mind.

Tuesday, 7 p. m., beginning Feb. 5.

Studies in Socialism: Algernon Lee—Eight lectures on Epochs in the Development of the Socialist Movement.

Wednesdays, 7:30 p. m., beginning Feb. 6.

Applied Sociology: Scott Nearing—A twelve-session study course, based on the work of Lester F. Ward.

Friday, 8:40 p. m., beginning Feb. 8.

Methods of Using Social Facts: Scott Nearing—A twelve-session course, of special value to those who plan to serve the movement as speakers or writers.

Friday, 7:30 p. m., beginning Feb. 8.

Elementary Physiology: Dr. Morris H. Kahn—Ten lectures, illustrated with specimens, explaining the structure and workings of the human body.

Friday, 7:30 p. m., beginning Feb. 8.

CURRENT EVENTS

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Reflections on Science

By BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG

IT IS no reflection on Science to say that it has made us aware of how much we do not know. Indeed, that has been one of the most valuable contributions it has made to human welfare. Thousands of specialists and experts in various fields, recognized by their colleagues as experts and authorities, are now able to say "I don't know," without embarrassment. They need no longer affect omniscience. And thousands of people who are not experts in anything whatever are now able to say of another, "He doesn't know," without disparagement. They no longer expect of anyone that he know everything.

This state of affairs is a tremendous advance over that in which it was tacitly assumed that everything knowable or worth knowing was already known—by somebody, by the experts, or by the "educated." It is a tremendous advance because it makes possible the displacement of revered opinion and superstition with knowledge. No informed person need be ashamed to acknowledge his ignorance. Nobody need be ashamed to ask questions. And when people ask questions instead of pretending to know the answers, there is some hope that they will really find out.

IN THIS country there are scientific congresses or conferences going on almost all the time. But the gala season for scientific displays is the week between Christmas and New Year. Then thousands of experts and investigators and critics—and perhaps some curious hunters—gather to tell and to be told of the new wonders that have been dug up during the previous year. It is getting so that those who wish to come together cannot do so comfortably in any one place; there are too many of them, there would be too much handshaking and informal discussion, their program would conflict. This winter they met mostly at Cincinnati, but largely also in Madison and Washington. Hundreds of papers and addresses and demonstrations and discussions were projected into the future—for it is in the future that all of these ideas are to have effect. The records of these meetings constitute markers for the growth of science—and of ignorance. And the growth is truly wonderful.

What we call science has grown at a tremendous rate during the past century; it has grown at an accelerating rate. More knowledge was accumulated during the last quarter of that century than during several preceding centuries. More knowledge has been gathered during the past decade than during several preceding decades. And every time a scientist makes a discovery or solves a problem or answers a question, he opens up new unexplored territory, new problems, new questions. That is why the body of what we do not know is growing so fast. That is why only the ignorant person is still afraid to say "I don't know."

THE growing realization of the importance of science—that is to say, the growing realization of our ignorance—has made science reputable. Science, as a pursuit or as a full-time occupation, had been reserved for genial cranks, for impractical visionaries, for men of leisure who would cultivate harmless hobbies, for intellectual introverts, for professors. But now research is in danger of becoming as respectable as Salesmanship. Every National Society for the Promotion of This or That must have its Research Committee. Every chain of banks or cigar stores must have a research department. Every manufacturer of candies or cosmetics must have a research laboratory. Even Chambers of Commerce and government bureau must support research—must realize, that is, that they are supported by research. And labor unions are also breaking in. All of this means that more and more are responsible executives and managers and leaders aware of their reliance upon knowledge, reliable knowledge, exact knowledge, unprejudiced knowledge. More and more are shrewd guesses and trade secrets and wild speculations subjected to test—the kinds of test developed in the laboratory, in the experiment station, in the mind of the scientist. The "practical" man who has been brought up among pigs, let us say, still has his place in the community; his knowledge of pigs can be put to use; but it has to be supplemented by the knowledge of the scientist—the man who has been brought up among test-tubes and slide-rules. Indeed, nobody responsible for large numbers of pigs, dead or alive, would rely exclusively on the practical man's judgment. In locating a drug store, an oil-well, a silk-mill, a school, a railway station, a ship-yard, a chicken farm you must consult people of experience and take counsel of the financial expert; but you must consult also the scientist—the scientist or that one, according to what it is you wish to locate.

ALL of this means further that there is a premium upon research workers, or soon will be. It means that the industrial plant or the bank will take away from the university laboratory or from the research institute the men and women who have demonstrated capacity for research. It means also, of course, that well-disposed people of large means will more and more contribute to research rather than, let us say, to foreign missions

or orphanages for Eskimo infants. At present there is already available more money to subsidize research than is called for by scientists in need of financial assistance. It is hard to say whether that indicates an increase of funds more rapid than the growth of interest in science among university students; or whether it means a rapid diversion of scientific talent from disinterested research—to interested research, that is, research in connection with an immediate commercial purpose. The bakery and the cannery and the ink factory and the tannery may be drawing off the potential scientists. We have been accustomed in the past to have the potential scientist maintain that lean and hungry look in default of a patron. Now we have more patrons than can be supplied with budding genius to patronize.

This situation has in it possibilities for good as well as possibilities for evil. A premium on research may turn out to be a premium on science in education and so strengthen the position of teachers, from the university to the kindergarten. It would thus help recruit more and more able men and women for the serious and neglected (albeit we have some three-quarter of a million engaged in teaching) business of teaching. It takes teachers and good teachers—to discover and equip any potential scientific talents the population may contain. On the other hand, a premium on research may deplete the schools and universities of its best material. It may be unthinkable that industrial plants, for example, should continue to draw to themselves students of high capacity for scientific work before these shall have had a chance to demonstrate their capacity in the school or university laboratory. But it is not unthinkable that the industrial organizations would undertake to discover and train scientific talents in total disregard of the universities. Some of the best work in "pure" science is already being done in laboratories conducted in connection with industrial enterprises; and some of the industrialists have already undertaken to train their own personnel in the research department as well as in the production department. Such a development would have the inevitable result of diluting very seriously both education and science.

SCIENCE, as knowledge, is now available in vastly greater quantities than we are able to utilize, notwithstanding the vast number of conscious problems that are clamoring to be solved. This is not because so much of the science fails to touch our practical life intimately enough, although there must always be many facts and ideas that appear remote from practical considerations. The difficulty is chiefly that our heads are too full of old lumber which obstructs the free approach to this knowledge. We might say that there are not enough people trained to make use of science, and that is true. But even among those who have been "educated," among those even who have been trained in science, there remains a tremendous lot of belief, opinion, conviction which is confusing and misleading because it is not recognized as opinion, belief or supposition; it passes for knowledge and so obstructs the recognition of new knowledge or prevents the search for it. For we can with difficulty admit into our minds what conflicts with what is already there; and we are not going to look for the answer to a question so long as we believe that we know the answer.

Every year thousands of well trained and well informed men and women leave the normal schools and colleges to go forth to teach. Some of them are good teachers. Some of them teach science. But with all their learning there is one thing that most of them never learned; and that is, that much of what they learned has only tentative validity, and that most of what they learned has only temporary value. Yet in all the years to come, most of them will teach only what they have already learned. And this is just what has happened in the past. This explains to a degree why it is that "educated" people who are not scientists are a more serious obstacle to the progress of science than ignorant people who are aware of their own ignorance. These educated people know and therefore cannot learn any more; that most of what they know isn't so doesn't disturb them, for they have discovered neither a method for testing their beliefs nor a realization that our beliefs need constantly to be tested.

THE dilution of science must go on, from the nature of a progressive society. But it may go on in two different ways. We may plan to diffuse the results of scientific discovery and the spirit of scientific thinking so that eventually we shall all know the difference between what we know and what we do not know. That is a dilution that would bring about in one generation a new social and intellectual revolution. Or we may dilute science by cheapening or vulgarizing the status of the scientist. The outlook at present is not clear. Education in general is being rapidly diluted in part by the increase in school attendance at a more rapid rate than the increase in trained teachers; standards are being lowered in many communities because well trained teachers are not to be had—at the salaries offered. On

WHAT OTHER EDITORS THINK

Bad Blood

PER population Chicago has about twenty times as many killings with guns as the city of London.

There is a spasmodic crusade going on in the Windy City to stop the sale of guns to private individuals, confining their possession to officers of the law and other public and semi-public persons. It ought to be done—but it will not bring Chicago up to the London standard in point of safety from murderers. There are other ways to kill people besides shooting them. It might not be a bad idea to discourage the desire to kill.

Here is where the advocates of gun-prohibition—the Tribune, for example—are lame. They keep boosting militarism—public murder—but they are against private murder. They keep boosting capital punishment—public murder—but they protest against individuals following the example set them by the State.

Chicago is only a cross section of America. It is a wicked place, and may have more murders in proportion to the number of people than other parts, but America as a whole is long on murders. There seems to be something in the American blood that impels individuals to take private vengeance upon their enemies, and also makes for recklessness on the part of bandits who shoot their victims on the slightest provocation and likewise without provocation.

Whatever element may be in the American blood that creates this lawlessness, it is an element that must be educated out of the American people by an injunction of some sort of more peaceful serum.

A cessation of military teaching, military talk and military drill would help. The abolition of conditions which make for military warfare and for industrial competition and struggle would help still more. It is quite possible to have conditions in which men will cooperate for a living. While they continue to fight against one another, with their wits and with all manner of deception and dishonesty, for a living, it cannot be expected that they will cease to use physical violence frequently to settle scores with each other.—Milwaukee Leader.

We Don't Care If He Never Comes Back

SUPPOSE we let the rich man stay there in his garden of orchids—let him become permanently a white shadow in the South Seas. By going away from us in our hours of cold and hunger, he has amply demonstrated that he is not needed here any longer. The plants could grow next spring, the farmer would hoe, the engineer could throw the throttle, the workman could tend his machine, just as well without the owner, just as well if he never came back.

If, now, while the winter winds blow cold, the workers of the U. S. A. should decide to go right on working, but to just stop sending the regular dividend check to the idlers in Jamaica, Bermuda, Cuba, or the islands of the Pacific! It might be quite a joke on them. And it would be lovely for us. We could get the new overcoat—we might even lay off on the days when the blizzards blow, lay off with full pay of course. Too many of us are idle on no wages a day already.—Industrial Solidarity.

Tools, Thought and Language

SOCIABILITY, with its consequences, the moral feelings, is a peculiarity which distinguishes man from some, but not from all, animals. There are, however, some peculiarities which belong to man only, and which separate him from the entire animal world. These, in the first instance, are language, then reason. Man is also the only animal that makes use of self-made tools. For all these things, animals have but the slightest propensity, but among men, these have developed essentially new characteristics. Many animals have some kind of voice, and by means of sounds they can come to some understanding, but only man has

the other hand, the amount of schooling per capita is also rapidly increasing; such as it is, we are getting more schooling. There is also an increasing consciousness on the part of the more thoughtful and intelligent teachers, regarding their place in the scheme of things, and this must sooner or later strengthen both the quality of the teaching and the standing of the teacher in the community.

It is impossible to foretell, from the available data, just what will happen. But the problem is fairly clear: with a fairly stationary organic and mental type (there is no reason that the species is any more intelligent now than it was in the time of Socrates) we must make available and usable an ever increasing body of reliable knowledge. We may get some of this usable knowledge through the inspiration of a mystic, through the intuition of a poet, through the meditation of a philosopher. We have had such in the past. But for steady, every-day, year in and year out knowledge we must depend upon science; and science must be put to work through education. We are still in need of the truth that shall make us free.

such sounds as serve as a medium for naming things and actions. Animals also have brains with which they think, but the human mind shows, . . . an entirely new departure, which we designate as reasonable or abstract thinking. Animals, too, make use of inanimate things which they use for certain purposes; for instance, the building of nests. Monkeys sometimes use sticks and stones, but only man uses tools which he himself deliberately makes for particular purposes. These primitive tendencies among animals show us that the peculiarities possessed by man came to him, not by means of some wonderful creation, but by continuous development.

The use of tools also presupposes a society, for it is only through society that attainments can be preserved. In a state of isolated life every one has to make discoveries for himself; with the death of the discoverer the discovery also becomes extinct, and each has to start anew from the very beginning. It is only through society that the experience and knowledge of former generations can be preserved, perpetuated, and developed.

—Western Clarion.

The World Moves

A PRINCE of the blood, once Governor of Moscow, with power of life and death in his lightest nod, friend of the Great White Czar, soldiers to do his bidding and servants to leap at his command, now working for a living, two dollars a day, a "supe" in a theatre on the New York East Side.

New York gets them all, some are janitors, some work in clothing shops, countesses waiting in restaurants, or waiting as supernumeraries in cheap theatres in the downtown section of Manhattan.

In all the institutions in this world can anything be more impressive? A few more years and those who survive will doubtless see the four hundred of Newport and the "captains of industry" who never did an industrious act, forced to work also to earn an honest living.

Over the door of a public house in pre-revolution France was the

Here's the Best News of the Year!

It's About Men's Clothing, but Coming from Finkelstein & Maisel, It's Really of Very Unusual Importance.

Fifteen per cent. off of wholesale factory price!

Ask any person familiar with the clothing manufacturing business if this is really a very unusual discount for a MANUFACTURER to offer. He will tell you it is not only unusual, but EXTRAORDINARY, particularly if he operates on a close margin, and most especially so if his standards of manufacturing measure up to those maintained by Finkelstein & Maisel.

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Carefully



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picture of a dog, and underneath the lines:

"I am a dog who gnaws a bone,

I crouch and gnaw it all alone,
The time will come, it comes not yet
When I'll bite those by whom I'm bit."
—Buffalo New Age

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THE REVOLUTIONARY FATHERS

Reviewed by JAMES GNEAL.

REVOLUTIONARY NEW ENGLAND, 1691-1776. By James Truslow Adams. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. Price, \$5.

A British author of a recent volume of historical studies in considering mediaeval views of history states that in the Middle Ages the historians "had no dividing line between legend and authentic history." The same may be said of many American historians who have written of the American revolutionary period. Within the past 20 years, however, an increasing number of historians have been stripping the American revolution of its legends. Foremost among them must be included the author of the present work.

This book is a worthy successor to "The Founding of New England," which appeared in 1921. In the American Historical Review for July Mr. Adams refers to the period of 1731-1763 as an "unexplored region in New England history." In that article he prepared his readers for this book, which covers a longer period, but which also embraces the unexplored region he mentions.

How much other historians have missed in considering this neglected period may be gathered from a brief summary of the contents of this book, which we quote from the author's preface:

During the earlier decades leading up to the revolutionary period proper we have to note, on the one hand, the efforts to advance their position by those upper classes which were endeavoring to control the life of the colonies for their own advantage, and, on the other, the demands made by the less fortunate elements for an increase of power and the betterment of their position. We observe the rapid accumulation of wealth and its increasing concentration in relatively fewer hands; the changes in business methods which operated to the disadvantage of the poorer classes; the alteration in colonial land policy, the speculation in wilderness lands, and the lessening opportunity for persons without capital to rise in the social scale. Throughout the period discontent rose, radical sentiment developed, and there is noticeable a slow slipping of political power from the higher to a lower social class, and a steady growth in self-consciousness on the part of the latter. In the sphere of imperial relations we have endeavored to indicate the prime importance of the part played by the West Indies in complicating and embittering the relations between old and New England. All of these, and the other strands in the narrative, are inextricably woven into the events of the better known decades of open discussion and rebellion following 1763.

A fundamental aspect of the revolutionary struggle, which Mr. Adams makes clear, is the struggle between social classes on both sides of the Atlantic. British society was by no means a happy family of social groups living in harmony with each other. Large sections of the less favored classes in England opposed the ruling classes in their policy toward the American colonies. On the other hand, New England was by no means composed of groups living on terms of affectionate family relations. The American revolution was as much a social revolution and civil war in the minds of large numbers of mechanics, small tradesmen and farmers of the frontier as it was a revolt against royal prerogative in the minds of others.

It is this antagonism between classes in the colonies which Mr. Adams reveals. What gives the revolution the appearance of being a rising of the colonists in general against British authority is that the aristocratic governing classes of the colonies were generally associated with the colonial governors in the administration of public power. These aristocratic classes had their representatives in the upper chambers of the colonial legislative bodies. The struggle against the Governor and his colonial associates in class rule therefore has the appearance of opposition to British rule alone.

But when we consider a colony like Connecticut the illusion vanishes. It was practically an independent republic. "She elected all her own officials, she had practically no communication with the home government, her laws were not subject to review, there was no representative of the Crown within her borders." Here royal usurpation could not be an issue, yet in Connecticut there was the same struggle on the part of the lower classes against the governing aristocracy, and this struggle had been going on since early in the 18th century. What the struggle was leading to was "an attempt to gather all power into the hands of the common people, an attempt to destroy all privileges, political, economic and social." It is therefore misleading to attempt to interpret the civil war between England and her colonies "in terms of royal governors or of parliamentary acts. One might as well interpret an eruption of Vesuvius in terms of the action of human beings on its vine-clad slopes."

Through 450 pages Mr. Adams follows the struggles of groups and classes down to 1776 and documents his work with references to original sources that leave no room for doubting his interpretation. Economic factors bulk large in his history, although he does not believe that economic factors alone are sufficient to explain the past. Here and there Mr. Adams interrupts his narrative for some philosophical observation on events and persons and these passages are among the finest to be found in the writings of any modern historian.

Here is a work that neither the pro-British nor the anti-British propagandists can accept. The reason for this is that Mr. Adams is neither one nor the other. He is a writer who is pledged to only one master—the modern scientific spirit of research and interpretation. He holds no brief for or against British officials. Where they were stupid in judging situations and legislating to meet them, he says so. At the same time he does not hesitate to show that many of the leading revolutionaries were interested in making their own class secure from British interference while at the same time apprehensive of lower classes whose aspirations were denied. The loyalists were not all scoundrels and the "patriots" were not all saints. There was fraud and profiteering in the revolutionary army and among the business classes. There were more enlistments of colonists in the British armies than in the American armies and there were plenty of desertions from the latter. Secret organizations indulging in terroristic acts tried to bring about that "united nation," which Woodrow Wilson made familiar. Above all, "constituted authority" was not respected. Revolutionary bodies usurped public power, removed judges, magistrates and governors, indulged in force and violence, exiled or deported opponents, suppressed meetings and publications, and did all those things which our modern 100 percents assure us are not in accord with "Americanism." If they knew the real history of the "fathers" they would make it a penal offense to write it.

It is not too much to say that Mr. Adams is today one of the foremost of American historians. It is impossible to overpraise his work. It is reported that he will follow this second volume with another devoted to the social and economic history of New England. Those who are acquainted with his work will look forward with anticipation to the announcement of his next book.

OUT OF THE PAST

OUT OF THE PAST. By R. W. Postgate. New York: Houghton Mifflin. A fascinating series of sketches of revolutionary leaders. The book is a footnote to Postgate's "Revolution," his monumental documentary history of revolution from 1789 to the Russian upheaval in 1905 and 1906. The sketch of Blanqui is a

masterpiece of brilliant writing, understanding, historical research and biography. Postgate says the Paris Commune was the model for the Soviet revolution, and that Blanqui was the creator of that great revolt half a century ago. Blanqui's strength was his determination, his devotion, his courage, his intelligence. The weakness of his movement lay in the fact that the revolt depended upon his leadership, and his alone. The accidental fact that he was in prison at the time of the outbreak of the Commune meant its failure. The Commune was a mass movement in that it was in the interest of the masses, but in the sense that it was individually led by the only man who could have led it as it was organized it was a one-man movement and depended for its success upon the accidental fact that the leader was alive and well and out of jail at the time of its outbreak. Postgate is a Communist and he glorifies in the resemblance of the Russian revolution to the Commune. And so the book is a sound and adequate criticism of the Communist revolution in Russia as it has developed, as well as a beautiful sketch of a great revolutionary hero.

ACORNS

By CLEMENT WOOD

I.
You think man is patient?
But there are rocks . . .

II.
Why should that dying sun
Flame through the scornful woodlands,
Burning the shadows?

III.
Let the wind deafen me!
I heard a child crying . . .

IV.
The snow is bright and blinding . . .
My eyes weince shut,
Burned by the glaring splendor . . .
And if they should see truth—

V.
God is a vast umbrella
That shriveled man shoves up
Between him and the dazzling beat
Of truth.

VI.
Truth is a fire in winter,
And in the winter chill
Icy . . . icy . . .

AMONG THE MAGAZINES

The American Historical Review.

This excellent historical quarterly for October contains two articles of special interest, one by Thomas Malone on "The Threatened Prosecution of Alexander Hamilton Under the Sedition Act by Thomas Cooper" and the other on "The Workingmen's Party in Massachusetts, 1833-1834," by Arthur B. Darling. Thomas Cooper had been imprisoned six months because of some trivial criticisms of President Adams. When Hamilton issued his famous letter attacking the President, Cooper believed he saw an opportunity to use the Sedition Act against the great oracle of Federalism itself. Cooper pursued Hamilton with letters in an attempt to extract an admission from him that he was the author of the attack, but without success. This recalls the fact that during the reign of Woodrow Wilson George Harvey published a weekly which pilloried Wilson from week to week and which made a scrap of paper of Wilson's Espionage Act. Harvey, of course, remained at large while Debs went to jail, just as Hamilton remained at large while Cooper served six months in the "jug."

The theme of Darling's article is the correction of some erroneous impressions regarding the Workingmen's Party in Massachusetts that have crept into labor histories. He presents fairly conclusive evidence that the main strength of the party consisted of the rural population and especially in the western part of the state, where the party carried ten towns in the election of 1833. The error lies in exaggerating the rise of industrial cities at this period. "Factory operatives," writes Darling, "were not represented at the convention of the New England Association in 1833 because they had not become conscious that they were a separate industrial class, 'chained to the machines.' They were fully represented by the farmer delegates, who voiced that suspicion of urban capitalists common among all plain country folk." An analysis of the vote cast for the party shows that it was very small in the factory cities of Massachusetts. The author concludes that "The Workingmen's movement was preponderantly a rural and agrarian party, with an urban complement of carpenters, masons, and ship caulks—the 'mechanics' of those days. It was the radical wing of the Democratic party—itsself primarily a 'country party' opposed to the wealthier conservative elements, both urban and rural, which made up the Whig Party, led by Daniel Webster."

masterpiece of brilliant writing, understanding, historical research and biography. Postgate says the Paris Commune was the model for the Soviet revolution, and that Blanqui was the creator of that great revolt half a century ago. Blanqui's strength was his determination, his devotion, his courage, his intelligence. The weakness of his movement lay in the fact that the revolt depended upon his leadership, and his alone. The accidental fact that he was in prison at the time of the outbreak of the Commune meant its failure. The Commune was a mass movement in that it was in the interest of the masses, but in the sense that it was individually led by the only man who could have led it as it was organized it was a one-man movement and depended for its success upon the accidental fact that the leader was alive and well and out of jail at the time of its outbreak. Postgate is a Communist and he glorifies in the resemblance of the Russian revolution to the Commune. And so the book is a sound and adequate criticism of the Communist revolution in Russia as it has developed, as well as a beautiful sketch of a great revolutionary hero.

The American Mercury.

This new monthly review appearing in an attractive green cover, is published by Alfred A. Knopf and edited by H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan. It is reported that the first supply was sold within a few weeks and a second edition was

required to supply the demand. The American Mercury cannot be classified as "liberal," as "radical," as "progressive," or as "revolutionary." From its one editorial the reader gathers that it will scourge bump editors do not believe that "a prairie demagogue promoted to the United States Senate will instantly show all tious ignorance in high places. The sagacity of a Metternich and all the high rectitude of a Pierre Bayard . . . or that a moron run through a university and decorated with a Ph. D. will cease thereby to be a moron." They cannot accept the fatuous doctrine that "the interests of capital and labor are identical—which is to say that the interests of landlord and tenant hangman and condemned, cat and rat are identical." In other words, we are promised war on hokum, political, economic and social.

Isaac R. Pennybaker leads with an article on "The Lincoln Legend," in which he challenges the general belief in the humble origin of Lincoln's ancestors. He contends that the "obscurity of Lincoln's father was but an accident in the family history caused by the Indian's rifle, which left him fatherless at six years." He goes no further back than to Mordecai Lincoln, the great-great-grandfather of Lincoln, who established the first furnace and forge in New England. But two generations before Mordecai, Samuel Lincoln sailed from London as an indentured servant. How long the lowly status of the family persisted from the time of the landing of Samuel in 1637 to the time when Mordecai set up in business Mr. Pennybaker does not say.

An article by Harry E. Barnes on "The Droll Method in History" deals with the Pollyanna conception of history, the conventional view of our Babbitts, bankers, bunco patriots and other vendors of bunk. James O'Neal, of the editorial staff of The New Leader, contributes an article on "The Communist Hoax," in which he compares the Palmer-made Communist delirium with the myth of the Angels of Mons, an army of ghostly figures which many credulous people believe had saved the left wing of the British Army during the Mons retreat. The article is a brief history of the 17 Communist organizations that have appeared in the United States since 1919. Fiction and poetry, book reviews, more serious articles and a delightful collection of news items from many states under the general caption of "Americana" make this initial number of the new monthly a forecast of what is to come in other issues.

Hearst's International.

Editor Hapgood considers the question of a third party in the January number of Hearst's International. He observes that "the Socialists are watching this situation with interest. They have to decide whether to run a national ticket of their own or to support a possible Farmer-Labor ticket." At the same time he does not think the "orthodox Socialists" are important in this country. His friend, Woodrow Wilson, thought otherwise when he was teaching us the "moral forces of the world" through his Espionage Act. On the other hand, Hapgood observes that "The Communist element in American unions has about as much judgment as a half-grown hen," which many will regard as a reflection on the hen. On the whole, Mr. Hapgood believes that La Follette is the man most likely to lead a third party this year. An interesting phase of this article is that it considers the possibility of a third party in terms of personalities, Henry Ford, Robert M. La Follette, William G. McAdoo and Judge William S. Kenyon. As "orthodox Socialists" we learned long before the rise of Beveridge, Roosevelt, Poincaré and Wilson what value to place on those who stand for a "progressive" capitalism.

Other interesting contributions to this number are an article on the Oklahoma Klan by Louis R. Glavis and "What Makes Lenin Great?" by Anna Louise Strong. Mary Garden continues her autobiography and H. G. Wells his novel, "The Dream." The rest is mainly fiction.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

The more or less serious weeklies find in the recent advance of the British Labor Party a theme for editorials and special articles. H. N. Brailsford, editor of "The New Leader," organ of the Independent Labor Party, writes a very informing article on "What British Labor Will Do" in the current number of "The New Republic." As a forecast of the Labor party's policy this contribution is of unusual interest. Murray E. King writes on "Farmer-Labor Party Prospects" for this year, the article dealing largely with the composition of the groups that will attend the nominating convention in Saint Paul on May 30. It is evident from this review of this third party move that it has a distinct rural cast and that it is mainly confined to the wheat belt of the Northwest. "The Red Man's Burden," by Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, does not let us forget the politics and pelf that enter into the Indian question that will soon face the brokers in Congress. One leading editorial considers the Bok prize plan as "an ingenious, statesmanlike and progressive document." Fatuous folly still finds a brisk market in the ranks of our "liberals."

THE FREEMAN

"The Freeman" is always at its best when considering imperialism and the imperialists. Readers of the current issue will probably select "Mr. Bok's Dove" as the strongest editorial dealing, as it does, with the clever work for the holy League of Nations now being done with Mr. Edward W. Bok's ample funds. The prize-winning peace plan now being marketed is the World Court and the League of Nations dressed up in their best bib and tucker. "The Freeman" offers, among other things, the following short summary of the League's feebleness: "The League did nothing when Hungary was invaded by her neighbors; when Poland snatched territory from Russia, from Germany and from Lithuania; when Lithuania looted a corner of German territory; when Italy seized Jugo-Slavian land; when France forcibly occupied the German coal fields; when Italy bombarded and occupied a Greek island." William MacDonald considers "The Plight of British Labor" and believes that the Labor Party is "a party not of principle but of compromise." The shorter editorials are up to the usual standard. Harold Kellock writes an informing review of Shaw's "Saint Joan" while the Miscellaneous and book reviews carry their usual interest for Freeman readers.

TRY TO DISFRANCHISE WORKERS

Sydney, N. S. W.—At the recent election here the Labor Party gained a large measure of control over this, the capital city of Australia, and the Conservatives (or Nationalists, as they call themselves) were ousted. Now the latter are maneuvering to put a bill through the State Legislature to disfranchise the "lodger vote"—those who live in hotels and rooming houses—unless they are possessed of a certain amount of property rights over the rights of humans.

Comic Supplement

"There is no more unhappy tendency in our contemporary American life than to persecute those individuals and those doctrines with which we may not ourselves happen to agree. This spirit of persecution is far more un-American than anything which Signor Papini could possibly say or write about us."

Nicholas Murray Butler.

The Class Struggle.

Internally, then, the commonwealth today can only express itself in terms of a class struggle. The machinery of State is dominated by the classes which possess the actual political and economic authority, while the classes whose power is only potential are driven to build up counter-organizations designed for the capture of the State and the industrial machine. It is true that there are questions on which the contending classes co-operate; it is true that the lines of division between classes are neither clear-cut nor definite; it is true that the majority in all classes has no full awareness of the nature of the conflict. But these facts do not invalidate the general thesis that, in its internal relations, the commonwealth tends more and more to express itself as a struggle between social classes contending for economic and political authority.—G. D. H. Cole in "Labor in the Commonwealth."

Ruling Class Wars.

The immense armies which are maintained, and which some mention as a proof that the love of war is increasing instead of diminishing, are merely an evidence that the governing classes distrust and suspect the future, and know that their real danger is to be found not abroad but at home. They fear revolution far more than invasion. The state of foreign affairs is their pretense for arming; the state of public opinion is the cause. And right glad they are to find a decent pretext for protecting themselves from that punishment which many of them richly deserve.—Henry Thomas Buckle in his essay on Mill's "Liberty."

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AWARDED the important La Femina-Vie Hereuse Prize translated into many tongues, hailed in England as one of the great books of the decade, America is now adding its voice in acclaim of this poignant, rich, heart-stirring tale of race prejudice.

"Obviously deserves the award of the important Prix Femina. An altogether remarkable study of great significance."—N.Y. Herald.

"This is indeed a fine book. Some continental critics have declared it a great book, that it has prolonged moments of greatness is undeniable. Doubtless it deserves the distinction it has got, for it will interest and stir one deeply as a beautifully told story."—N.Y. Tribune.

"The book is as subtle as it is simple. A novel of great merit."—The London Times.

"SILBERMANN is the most substantial, the most profound, the most remarkable work which we have been given to read this year. One of the two or three books which is certain to last."—Francis Nohain.

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BONI & LIVERIGHT GOOD BOOKS

NEW YORK, N.Y.

MR. BOK AND PEACE

By Paul Davidson

The great award has been made. The world is richer by one more scrap of paper. Some one, still anonymous, will be richer by \$50,000. Europe has one more laugh on America—and wars, rumors of war, and competitive armaments will go on as before.

How anyone could take the Bok plan seriously is for the future pathological psychologist to determine. Mr. Bok's motives are as limp and clear as quartz crystal. Money could buy many things, but it could not buy immortality—at least not immediately and directly. But Mr. Bok's news sense told him that at least a text-book immortality might be his. Some spectacular stunt that would create, not a nine days' wonder, but that might hope to attract the attention of historians, would give him the tawdry and spurious immortality that he hoped to have. And who shall say that he has failed? Certainly historians will have to notice his grandiose effort to coax the world into peace. But the motives of those who backed the Bok plan, and those who lent their name to the jury that made the award are as devious and as complicated as the mind of Ah Sin.

The award is League of Nations propaganda. That is evident on the face of the plan. The selection of the winning plan was made thirty-six days after the close of the competition. Some 22,000 plans were submitted. Mr. Bok was sick in bed, and Mr. Whitlock was in Europe. These are only some of the factors that make the award suspicious. The Harvard Alumni Association sent a request to its members to vote for the plan as early as January 4, while the award was not made public until January 7. How anyone, or any responsible committee could have read 22,000 plans, compare them critically, and come to a decision within 33 days, remains unexplained. It is one of the minor miracles of history.

The plan, as outlined on the ballot submitted to the public, contains the following proposals:

(1) That the United States enter the World Court.

(2) That the United States cooperate with the League of Nations under conditions that would substitute moral force for the economic and military force provided in Articles X and XVI of the League of Nations Covenant, that would safeguard the Monroe Doctrine, that would not involve acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles, and that would open membership in the League of Nations to all nations.

The plan contains not a word of recognition of the failure of the League of Nations to discipline its own members. We have not yet forgotten the invasion of the Ruhr by the French, or the insolence of Mussolini toward Greece in the Corfu incident. There is in the plan no suggestion for a "league of free peoples" instead of a league of capitalist governments such as now exists at Geneva. No hint is given that the author recognizes that armaments are in themselves fruitful causes of war, and that all plans for world peace must begin with concerted disarmament. For the author of the Bok plan the war was fought in vain, and the events after the war had no meaning. He does not see that the continued sword clashing, the continued search for a "place in the sun" the continued aggression of Japan on China, of England on Persia, of Spain on Morocco, of Italy on the Mediterranean basin, will go on as long as the premises of the commercial world remain what they are. Within the limits of Capitalist society there can be no peace, but only truce of greater or less duration, and of greater or less inviolability. Nothing short of an association of nations who put peace above profits will ever make an earnest effort to realize peace. And the nations that compose the League of Nations today cannot put peace above profits.

All this is commonplace. It has been said a thousand times, and will be said again and again, until one fine day the self-appointed geniuses who propose highfalutin plans for World Peace on the outworn premises of the capitalist system will wake up to find that their system itself has gone to pot. When that day comes, plans for peace will be made without taking them or their plans into account.

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that within the limits of capitalism, World Peace is a possibility, the intellectual bankruptcy of the author of the Bok Peace Plan, and of the committee that made the award, is astonishing. The plan does not advance us a single step toward any solution of the present deadlock. Everything that the plan contains has been put before the American people. The World Court has evoked no enthusiasm. The League of Nations has been overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. The "Nation" points out that we are already cooperating in many of the humane undertakings of the League. Then why was the plan advanced? Did the American mania for something "practicable," something that will work "now," so completely hold the author and the committee in its grip that they were compelled to go into the dusty past for their plans?

Of all the Utopias that have appeared to the minds of men, the hope of World peace is the most appealing, and the hardest to realize. Why did the author of the plan, why did the committee that made the award, not realize that a shining Utopian plan with no hope of immediate chance of realization, would have furthered their avowed ends

far more than this moth-eaten and dust-laden hoax that they have given us? They wanted to turn the minds of men toward peace, they said. It is curious commentary on the committee's imagination that it could think this plan would turn the trick. Among the 22,000 plans submitted, there must have been some quite visionary and some with the breath of hope in them. Surely this dusty rag of thought is not the summit of American power to visualize a world at peace!

The plan will be adopted by the popular vote. We are not able to doubt this outcome. The ballots are being circulated industriously. Those who want the plan to be adopted will work indefatigably to gather votes for it. Those who are opposed will not be able effectively to mobilize their adherents because they are disorganized. The result will be an overwhelming endorsement of the hope of peace, which will however, be interpreted by the Bok group as an endorsement of the World Court, and by indirection, of the League of Nations.

And when the shouting dies away, we will go on making munitions of war, spending huge sums on armaments, coercing small nations, and bleating about peace, while the world rushes headlong into the next war.

But Mr. Bok will have his name in the history books.

SPAIN

The November number of "Current History" carried an article by Primitivo R. Sanjurjo of Middlebury College on "Socialism in Spain." The Socialist movement has faced the usual obstacles in the Latin countries presented by clerical reaction and lack of any great proletariat. The movement developed out of academic and intellectual circles into the hands of organized workmen of the cities, led by the veteran Socialist, Pablo Iglesias. An unfortunate phase of its development was the attraction of a number of adventurers, one of whom proved to be a grafter who, for a time, appears to have negotiated with the capitalist classes on terms satisfactory to himself.

Of the progress made by the Socialist movement in Spain the author writes: "In brief, it may be affirmed that there has been progress of an economic nature. The salaries of the workmen have increased fivefold. In spite of this, the poverty of the workman is very great because he suffers exploitation. His conquest of the inviolable eight hours of work has brought him misfortunes." He claims that the increased leisure has increased drunkenness. However, the workers have built Socialist clubs where they play cards and engage in political controversy. "In comparison with the other socialists of Europe, they never can, for example, create a revolution as in Germany. One attempt was made in August, 1917, and failed. At that time all Spain was the battlefield of a Socialist war. The workmen on the streets of the cities fought with the army. . . . It was an episode disastrous for the Socialist Party and for the nation." Our recollection is that this attempt to "create" a revolution was really a great strike against the intolerable exploitation which Professor Sanjurjo admits still prevails in Spain.

Bullheaded Bigotry

RECENT local incidents are as foreboding as that tumult amid which "Kubla heard from far ancestral voices prophesying war." To cite just one, a number of bombs have been exploded on the premises of the University of Dayton, and fiery crosses burned. Between us and the boneheaded bigot who would explode a bomb and burn a fiery cross on the premises of the University of Dayton there is an impassable gulf fixed. The very principle of liberty for which we contend is violated by such an outrage. So long as other people do not agree with us that their children would be better educated without ecclesiastical auspices, any attempt by us, either by private violence or legislative invasion, to prevent them from sending their children to such schools, is tyranny.

A brilliant young acquaintance of ours, a corporation lawyer, remarked to us recently that the Socialist is inconsistent; that he advocates drastic invasion of personal liberty in business enterprise, by government, but fights for personal liberty in such matters as free speech, assembly, press, and rights of conscience. The criticism is unjust. The Socialist opposes Capitalism just because it is an invasion of personal liberty—reducing the masses to a dead level of wage-serfdom, dependent upon the world of the owners of the tools of production for even the poor privilege of earning one's daily bread. He is for Socialism and the collective ownership of those tools of production just because that will give personal liberty to all men: the freedom to pursue the objects of legitimate desire in all fields of activity when such pursuit will not mean the subjection and enslavement of others.

Servile Imitation.

Originality is dying away, and is being replaced by a spirit of servile and apish imitation. We are degenerating into machines who do the will of society; our impulses and desires are repressed by a galling and artificial code; our minds are dwarfed and stunted by the checks and limitations to which we are perpetually subjected.—Henry Thomas Buckle in his essay on Mill's "Liberty."

SOCIALIST PARTY PROSPECTS

By EMIL HERMAN, Seattle.

Out here, where the West ends so far as the jurisdiction of the United States (with the exception, of course, of our colony, the Philippine Islands) is concerned, confusion still reigns supreme in the minds of masses of the people—that is, speaking politically.

Washington is normally a Republican state, with a strong Socialist Party opposition—so it was for several years and up before the war. But last year a good Republican Senator, Miles Poindexter, who was first elected in 1912 as a Progressive, met defeat at the polls by a Democrat while the vote that usually went to the Socialist Party—the Socialist Party not having sufficient organization to place even one candidate in the field, to say nothing of an entire ticket.

Now the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington has sealed its doom by having endorsed the Workers' (Communist) Party by officially going on record to co-operate with the "Federal Farmer-Labor Party" in national politics.

This again leaves the field open to the Socialist Party as the only party which presents a program that truly represents the immediate interests of the working-class (whether in industry or on the farm) and holds out the promise of revolutionary change in the ownership of industry by which alone the workers can achieve their emancipation.

But the struggle of rebuilding is a difficult one. We are hampered by lack of funds, and willing workers are still very scarce, so that much sacrifice on the part of a few will be necessary to pay the foundation on which the Socialist Party will grow to the power and achievement which the logic of events dictate.

During the war the Socialist Party was so completely smashed in the states of Washington and Oregon that not a single local was left. This was done by Government persecution, the government then as now consisting of Republican-Democratic lawyer politicians under the domination of Wall Street, and by treachery from within our own ranks.

Last July the "North West States Organization District" of the Socialist Party was established, comprising the states of Montana, Oregon and Washington. At that time there were three locals in Montana, one of twelve members—and inactive—in Seattle, Washington, and no members of the party in Oregon.

Then came the Debs' lectures which brought full houses everywhere and overflow crowds in Everett, Tacoma and Portland. These lectures did much to batter down the wall of prejudice which had been built up by the lying press of capitalism and the still more despicable press of the Workers' Party, all of which had circulated practically unchanged prior to the establishment of the district organization.

After the passing through of Debs, organization meetings were held at every place where he had spoken and locals organized at all of them except Butte, Montana. In addition there followed an organization tour of thirty-four days, through Montana, by the district secretary, so that we now have seven locals in Montana, three in Washington and one in Oregon. Nothing to boast of, certainly—nevertheless an improvement over five months ago.

What the future holds in store for the Socialist Party of the Northwest depends entirely on what financial assistance we receive from the National Office and those others who may be interested in having the party gain strength in this part of the country.

That there is a healthy sentiment for the Socialist Party is evidenced by the fact that in response to two hundred letters mailed out, fifty applications for a speaker were received. As a result, a route of 59 lecture dates has been laid out. These dates will be filled by Comrade Harry M. McKee of California beginning on January 27, 1924, commencing in Southern Oregon, from where he will travel north through Oregon and Washington, then east through the western part of Montana, and then south and west to eastern Oregon. This will be the tryout in the campaign of 1924 and if successful will be followed up with active organization work which will result in placing full Socialist Party tickets in the field in Oregon and Washington for the first time since 1918.

A few of us are pledged to give our all; whether or not enough others will assist to reach the desired goal remains to be seen.

Working Class Culture.

There is grave danger that, in building up a "working class culture," the workers will merely repeat the errors of the bourgeoisie. Finding half-truths in the bourgeois historians and economists, they may all too easily put into their own works only that other half of the truth which these writers have left out. And, in the same way, their teachers may teach only that half of the truth which finds no place in bourgeois teachings. If they do this, I do not say that they will be as bad as the bourgeois, but they will be fighting the bourgeois with the weapons of the bourgeois, and with vastly inferior resources; that is to say, if they play at that game the bourgeois will beat them.—G. D. H. Cole, in "Labor in the Commonwealth."

To live without an object, an aim; to live an empty, meaningless life; to live a sordid, squalid, poverty-stricken life; to live a selfish, mean, ambitious life is not worth doing.—Keir Hardie.

FROM OUR DEVOTED NEW LEADER ARMY

From California to Vermont and from Minnesota to Tennessee have come hundreds of letters enclosing subscriptions and extending greetings to The New Leader. It is impossible to report the names of all those who have sent greetings, subscriptions or contributions. It is sufficient to say that these letters are still pouring in as this issue of The New Leader goes to press. We have selected a few samples from the bulk, which indicate the extensive territory from which these letters come. We are grateful to the many comrades who are extending this encouragement. We know that The New Leader, thanks to their devoted aid, has an assured future of service to the Socialist movement in this country.

Our friends will also be glad to know that our success in another field is just as gratifying. Owing to the large amount of advertising received for this issue, we are running ten pages instead of the promised eight. Following are a few of the many letters that have reached us:

Oscar Bates, Phillipsburg, N. J.

Find \$2 for a year's subscription. I have been a steady supporter of The Call and will do all I can to get the former readers here to subscribe for the weekly.

H. W. Doyle, Downsville, N. Y.

Find check for four subs and am very much gratified to have a new Socialist paper once more and will do all in my power to help the good cause along.

E. M. Rich, Huntington, Mass.

Find M. O. for a subscription and donation. Our family has missed The Call very much and we are glad of the coming weekly, as we can't get Socialist news in the capitalist papers. While this is a farming community, will do my best to get more subs for you.

Winfield Scott.

I am 75 years old and my grand-father was on Lincoln's bond for Postmaster at New Salem, Ill.

Count on me to do all I can to help make your weekly a great success. J. F. Sheehy, Newport, Ky.

Find money for 14 subs one year each and more to come. In the meantime best wishes for your success.

George C. Wollman, Phila., Pa.

I am very happy to find The Call coming to life again even under the form of a weekly. I can only send you my own subscription now, but will be glad to contribute more if it is necessary, to the best of my ability.

E. K. Sheldon, Greenfield, Mass.

I was certainly glad to get the news of the coming out of The New Leader as we have all missed The Call. I enclose cash for three subscriptions and I am sure that there will be many more, soon as I can spread the good news here.

M. Wagman, Detroit, Mich.

Accept my donation also one year subscription to The New Leader with my best wishes for its success and my heartiest endorsement of its editor.

W. S. Wheeler, Johnson City, Tenn.

I appreciate your efforts as I have been in this great movement some 33 years, spending hundreds of dollars, regretting nothing, only wish I had done more. Sorry that I am too old now, only 83 years old, yet I will do my little mite while I live.

A. O. Grigsley, Tolesboro, Ky.

I had great hopes for The Call and made frequent small contributions to help it pull through and now that it has been pulled out, I still hope that it has done enough good to reimburse all the unselfish contributors.

I now send in an investment in The New Leader feeling fully assured by the personnel of the committee in charge of its affairs that it will give a good account of itself.

D. Edison Smith, Santa Ana, Cal.

Here is my yearly subscription to The New Leader. Glad to help you

and only wish I could do more. I am poor, 85 years old and nearly blind, but will do all I can to get subscribers.

J. A. Cumming, Barre, Vt.

Find enclosed check for my subscription and sorry that I can't do more just now. If you are unable to get started before a month let me hear from you and will send more.

Nora McNally, Lorain, Ohio.

Am sending you money for three subs, also names of sympathizers who might subscribe. I hope that your paper will be a "hammer," and I wish you the greatest kind of success.

Chicago City, Mich.

This is a farming community whose background is old bourbon Republicanism and while it is hard to get subs will always keep you in mind and do all I can. I only hope that The New Leader will prove to be as good as The Call.

John Latimer, Utica, N. Y.

I am pleased to hear of The New Leader and herewith find my contribution. It would be sad indeed to be without a paper. When in need call on me.

Julia Eldred, Ellensburg, Wash.

I am sick over the loss of my beloved Call and rejoice over the prospects of its revival under the new weekly. I send all I have, if only a trifle, but I am nearly eighty and unable to hunt much for subs, but you will hear from me often.

L. W. Robertson, Mercer, Pa.

Find money for two subs, am keeping the sub blanks for more subscribers to be sent soon. All power to The New Leader and best wishes.

R. B. Toupet.

One of the very first to be heard from, even before we had a chance to print our subscription blanks, was Comrade Frank J. Lavanier of Covington, Ky., with over twenty subscriptions. He has been heard from several times since, each time with additional subscriptions. With a few dozen such hustlers the success of The New Leader will be more than assured.

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SOCIALIST NEWS

SOCIALISTS OF
NORWAY NOW
UNITED AGAIN

The Norwegian Labor Party, the only mass party of the workers in any country that had affiliated to the Communist International, has been badly split over the question of dictation by the Moscow executive committee of the tactics and actions of the party.

The majority of the party, which is one of the largest in the country, has balked at the demands of the committee presided over by Gregory Zinoviev, and has broken away from Moscow. This means an early reunion of the Socialist forces in the old and powerful Social Democratic Party, which was disrupted at the direct order of the notorious Zinoviev and his committee following the organization of the Communist movement.

The minority group has resolved to work for what they call the "United front" by continuing their disruptive work in company with the Communist elements in other countries.

The minority party has taken the name Norges Kommunistiske Parti (the Communist Party of Norway) and has started its own newspaper. Each claims to be the legitimate successor of the Norwegian Labor party, and accordingly to have control of the party machinery throughout the country.

The Communist group in the Storting is divided into two blocs, each having fourteen members.

Since 1918 the Norwegian Labor party has come into much closer contact with the Russian revolutionaries than the Socialists in any other country.

New men took the lead, the famous Moscow thesis appeared, and in 1921 came the break: the Norwegian Labor Party became a Communist party affiliated to the international at Moscow. The Social Democrats walked out and formed their own party.

At the Storting the Communists have been represented by twenty-two representatives, the Socialists by 8. This year one of the Communist representatives left the party, thus leaving twenty-eight, who are now equally divided into two groups. The Socialists thus have 22, the Communists 14 members.

The underlying cause was the same on both occasions: the Moscow international have laid down principles which are suited to Russian and not to Norwegian conditions, and demand a blind obedience, which conflicts with the independence and high educational standard of Norwegian workmen.

Cologne Socialists
Start Movement for
Reichstag Election

Cologne.—The Socialists of Cologne have started a movement for Reichstag elections to be held in the near future. The reasons for this step, stated in a resolution adopted by a large majority of the Cologne Socialists, is distrust of the law establishing extraordinary powers in the hands of the Dictator. The Cologne resolution is symptomatic of the German state of mind throughout Germany.

"The adoption of the law giving extraordinary powers to the national government has created a situation which will be hard to tolerate for the Socialists party and will not be endured long," the resolution states.

"This meeting demands of the Reichstag's Socialists that they keep a close watch over the national government and its use of the extraordinary powers. As soon as the government issues decrees which injure the masses, the Reichstag must be called together and the repeal of the noxious decrees must be demanded."

"We demand that the Socialists Party, in view of its general responsibility for the conditions of the nation, make use of its liberty to act as the opposition party. Reichstag elections, preceded by a repeal of the military rule and a restoration of political party rights, are necessary."

Polish Socialists
Announce a More
Intense Opposition

Warsaw.—The central executive of the Polish Socialist Party's representatives in Parliament has adopted a resolution announcing a more intense opposition to the present Polish government.

It is declared that this opposition will be carried on until the present government is overthrown and a labor government installed.

The working program of the Polish Socialists demands political and industrial democracy, defense of constitutional majority rule, practical application of the laws regulating the index figures of the cost of living, social insurance, abolition of unemployment, care of the present unemployed, and a better system of education.

Toil on, then, comrades, not with despairing heart and trembling spirit, but with strength and courage, nobly doing battle for right, and thus fill your own life with a satisfaction which gold can never afford nor poverty destroy.—Keir Hardie.

THE NATIONAL
OFFICE ASKS FOR
AGENDA MOTIONS

(Special to The New Leader.)
CHICAGO, Jan. 18.—The first call for motions for the agenda of the next National Convention was issued today by Otto Branstetter, National Secretary of the Socialist Party.

The various locals, branches and State organizations have the right to make motions to place upon the agenda, the National Executive Committee, acting as an agenda committee, having the final say as to the form in which they will appear before the delegates to the convention.

The official call to the local and branch secretaries in the United States reads:

CALL FOR AGENDA PROPOSALS

The attention of the membership is called to the following provision of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party:

Agenda Committee.

Section 11, Article VII.—"The National Executive Committee shall formulate the agenda for the party convention. The committee shall issue a call for resolutions and suggestions four months before the convention, allowing one month for filing of same with committee. After preparing a preliminary agenda based upon the material received at the expiration of the allotted time the committee shall send it to the sub-divisions of the party for amendment and revision, allowing one month for the same. Upon receipt of revisions the committee shall prepare a final draft of the agenda, which shall be sent to the party sub-divisions and submitted to the convention."

Agenda propositions, as provided by the above section, are now in order and should be mailed to the National Office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, not later than February 1st. The motions will be submitted to the National Executive Committee in session February 9, at which time a preliminary agenda will be drafted. It will be published in the February issue of the Socialist World, and one month will be allowed for amendment and revision by the locals and branches. The final agenda will then be prepared and published prior to the 1924 National Convention of the party.

Fraternally submitted,
BERTHA BALE WHITE,
Assistant Executive Secretary.

IDAHO SOCIALISTS
REORGANIZING

(Special to The New Leader.)

Boise, Idaho, Jan. 16.—A State organization of the Socialist party has been formed here, and plans are being made for the 1924 campaign. C. H. Cummings, Box 31, Boise, is state secretary and has ten counties lined up already for campaign work.

The last time the Socialist Party appeared on the ballot here was in 1916, when over 10 per cent. of the total vote was cast for its candidates. Since then, war terror and hysteria broke up the organization, and the Socialists co-operated with the Non-Partisan League in building up the "Progressive" party. The Socialists are now hard at work rebuilding their own party, and it is expected will win an important place in the State's political life.

PARTY REVIVAL
IN NORTHWEST

(Special to The New Leader.)

Seattle, Wash., Jan. 16.—Taking advantage of the greatest interest in Socialist work in many years, Emil Herman, Northwest district secretary of the party, has been carrying on more intensive work than has been the case since the pre-war years.

Locals are being organized everywhere, and in localities where no local has ever been formed, requests are coming in for speakers.

The Socialist Party is the only radical political organization in existence, all other organizations that thought the Socialists "too radical" or not radical enough having disappeared.

The district office has arranged a tour for Harry M. McKee of Los Angeles, one of the most popular of the Western party speakers. McKee will be on the road continuously for two months. His first week's dates will be exclusively in Oregon. They will begin January 27 at Grant's Pass, and the following dates will be filled: Lorne, Newport, Clatskanie, West Stayton, Silverton and Hillsboro.

Seattle.—Emil Herman, district secretary, is at present on an agitation tour, his dates for the first week being January 29, Puyallup, Wash.; January 30, Crabtree Ore.; January 31, West Stayton, Ore.; February 1, Silverton, Ore.; February 2, Hillsboro, Ore.; February 3, Portland, and February 4, McMinnville, Ore.

All work must be equally honorable which is the free expression of a man's life its honorableness is in no way affected by its being expressed by medium of his hands or by medium of his brains.—Keir Hardie.

Felipe Carrillo—Nov. 8, 1876-Jan. 2, 1924

By ROBERTO HABERMAN

The de la Huerta rebellion reached its highest peak of villainy and bestiality on January 2d, 1924, when it assassinated in Merida, Yucatan, Felipe Carrillo, who besides being Governor of the State of Yucatan was President of the Socialist Party of the Southeast, ex-Treasurer of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and a member in good standing of Lodge 1567 of the International Association of Machinists, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Felipe Carrillo was born on November 8th, 1876, in Motul, Yucatan, Mexico, of Maya Indian parents, one of a family of 22 children. He began working in childhood, obtaining his first job at the age of fifteen on the railroads of Yucatan as a brakeman, from which he was promoted to conductor and later on to station-master. After nine years of railroading he went to work for himself as a carter, hauling machinery, bales of sisal hemp, and other goods from the railroads to distant plantations. His social instinct was deep-seated even at that time and he got into trouble with the authorities for dividing up his profits with the men associated with him.

Yucatan, cut off from the rest of the Republic of Mexico by the absence of roads and railways, developed a system of political and economic feudalism that made even the terrible slavery of the Congo seem as tame by comparison. Before the middle of the last century the country has been wholly agricultural and self-sufficient, raising fruits, sugar, cattle, corn and beans, and exporting but little of its products. The discovery of the commercial possibilities of the henequen cactus, from which sisal hemp is made in the manufacturing of binder-twine comes, changed things in a short period. The great jungles were transformed into henequen plantations and the Indians enslaved to work on them. Although the Constitution of Mexico prohibited slavery, these unfortunate peons were held in the most abominable and degrading serfdom under a law passed especially to defeat the constitution, a law making it impossible for a worker to leave the employ of his master while owing the master money. The masters took good care that the Indians came into their debt and that they never got out of it. Most of these debts were fictitious, passing from father to son. The slaves were lashed with impunity, often to death. Their comelier women were taken into households of the plantation owners to gratify their lust and that of their sons, when these were at home instead of living riotously abroad. When tired of these women, the masters ordered some other peon to marry them, often some Chinese coolie who had to be imported to replenish the labor supply, rapidly diminishing due to the savagery of the slavery regime.

All this happened, in what all the American labor exploiters both here and in foreign lands call the "the good days when Mexico had a strong Government, when Porfiro Diaz was President."

It was while Felipe Carrillo was working as a carter and traveling about plantations that he learned to hate the cruelty and injustice that he saw visited upon his fellow Indians. The Indians, so that they may not become aware of their legal rights, were not permitted to learn Spanish, and thus had no manner of learning about their rights under the Constitution nor to deal with the authorities. Felipe Carrillo believed that the Constitution was more than a document to be pored over or to be tinkered with—in lawyers' offices and in Supreme Courts by dusty and musty minded judges, and he began going about the plantation reading a translation of the Constitution in the Maya language. For this he was imprisoned, and after being in jail for more than a year, he came out more determined to work for the liberation of the peons.

Carrillo spent about seven years in the various jails of Yucatan for his work of organizing its workers, and with the overthrow of the tyrant Porfiro Diaz, the regime of slavery in Yucatan came to an end.

From that time until his election as Governor of Yucatan in February, 1922, Carrillo as President of the Socialist Party, was the real ruler of Yucatan. No country in the world is as well organized as Yucatan, 94 per cent of the male population carrying cards in their local Leagues of Resistance. On election day Carrillo received nearly 70,000 votes as against about 6,000 for all of his other opponents. To test out the strength and loyalty of the membership of the League of Resistance, Carrillo put at the disposal of his opponents free special trains and gave them all the money necessary for their campaign.

After he became Governor he was hardly ever seen at the Governor's Palace, but he could be found working at the headquarters of the Socialist Party from seven in the morning until eight to ten at night. He used to say that is where he belonged because it was the workers that elected him Governor, and while in this place he used to refuse to receive anyone who did not carry some sort of a union card, saying that non-workers or those non-members of labor unions could only see him where he was not the workers' Governor, but Governor of the State holding office in the regular palace.

The most notable achievement of Carrillo's activities was the distribution of lands to all the Indians, which made them free not only in name but in fact. Carrillo used to say that "freedom to starve is a spurious freedom indeed." Today the Indian is free because he has a choice of working for himself or for the master.

At the time of the downfall of Diaz there were hardly any schools

government that is more radical and extremist than Yucatan. It will therefore surprise the moderates and conservatives that today the State of Yucatan is one of the most prosperous. All is peace. All cooperate. An indisputable general wellbeing is noticeable.

"There exists no small group that has acquired power and riches. Work, which no one lacks and which is well paid, has achieved the miracle within a stable organization of satisfying the needs of the people. Despite a formidable crisis, which threatened to ruin it, Yucatan has recently succeeded in raising the price of henequen, its principal source of wealth. The fields are being tilled assiduously. The railroads are a going concern. Streets and highways are being built. Industry is picking up. And this under a Socialist government!"

Whatever maybe the color of the present administration the certainty exists that Yucatan is prospering, that Yucatan is growing stronger every day, and that its people are happy."

On May first of last year, which is a state holiday in Yucatan, Carrillo's plea to the people was: "Use your freedom to become better and freer citizens—never basely to revenge yourself on some individual who was himself a victim of the old wretched order which is gone forever. Forget the past, except as a lesson for your future guidance. Hate corruption, hate vice, hate cruelty, hate the institutions that breed them, but not the individuals caught up in their meshes. Destroy the worn-out forms, expose the fallacy of ancient doctrines which have been used to enslave men, and a better day will dawn for all."

Felipe Carrillo was made a prisoner during the counter-revolution started by Mexico's greatest traitor, Adolfo de la Huerta backed by Mexico's blackest reaction, on December 24th. Carrillo was captured in company with three of his brothers, one of whom Benjamin, was the Secretary of the Socialist Party of Yucatan, and also a group of followers. That very same day, the Governor appointed by de la Huerta, General Ricardéz Brocas, issued a decree in the "Official Daily," No. 8020, published at Merida, the capital of Yucatan, abolishing "all labor unions, leagues, and any other associations of labor," making it a crime to belong to any of these—an attempted return once more to the old days of slavery.

The present counter revolution was begun by de la Huerta against the government of General Alvaro Obregon, probably the nearest to a workers' government in the history of humanity, on the sixth of December of last year. The reforms that were taking place in Yucatan were also being gradually put into practice by President Obregon throughout the Republic of Mexico. Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., in a manifesto calling on all American Labor to aid the Mexican Government and labor, issued on the 21st of December, 1923, said:

"Under Diaz there was slavery, for the peonage system was nothing less. Today there is freedom.

"We have seen a great trade-union movement grow and establish itself, bringing more freedom to the people, raising their standards of life and living and, best of all, giving them hope and inspiration.

"The de la Huerta rebellion would destroy all that has been achieved. The action of the de la Huerta leaders in shooting trade-union presidents as their first act in practically every city of importance in which they have operated is an unimpeachable indication of the character and purpose of that despicable movement."

On January 6 President Alvaro Obregon issued the following statement to the Mexican Nation:

"The assassination of Felipe Carrillo brings grief to the homes of the proletariat and thousands of humble beings will shed tears of reproach for this crime. De la Huerta will realize the magnitude of this crime upon receiving the angry protests of the proletariat throughout the world for the assassination of Felipe Carrillo. The noble blood of Felipe Carrillo is a testimony of the apostasy of de la Huerta, and from now on neither he nor his adherents will attempt to falsify the facts in denying the object of their movement."

And this despicable movement has reached its highest point of brutality on January 2, 1924, when in the jail of Merida it shot down in cold blood Felipe Carrillo, his three brothers and all that political prisoners that were there.

And the world is so much more poorer for it has lost one of the most unique of the kindest and greatest of men.

Force is the law of the jungle.—Keir Hardie.

Any person under the age of 20 who, having any knowledge of the existing social order, is not a revolutionist is an inferior.—Bernard Shaw.

Next to Socialism, the greatest thing on earth is working for Socialism.—Ben Hanford.

The curse of the poor is servility. They are taught to revere not the great but the rich, and so deeply ingrained does the habit become, in time it amounts to second nature.—Keir Hardie.

LECTURE FORUMS

Dr. Durant to Lecture on
Jews

Dr. Will Durant will lecture next Friday night at 167 Tompkins Avenue, Brooklyn, on "The Epic of the Jews."

This will be one of the series under the direction of the Neighborhood Open Forum, recently launched. Other lecturers will be Solon De Leon, "Trade Unionism of Yesterday," February 1; Marius Hansome, on "Workers' Education," February 8; Joseph A. Whitehorn on "The Russian Revolution," February 15; Jerome T. De Hunt on "Labor's Next Step," February 22; and Norman Thomas February 29, all at the same address.

NEW BROOKLYN
FORUM

A forum under the auspices of the American Labor Party and Local Kings County, Socialist Party, will open with lectures by Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman on "Issues of the Day," tomorrow, (January 20th) at 8:00 P. M., at 1709 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn. This is the first of a series to be conducted at these quarters. Others to follow will be by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on "The Fight for Free Speech," and Dorothy Bocker on "Birth Control and the Workers." Dr. Bocker is associated with Margaret Sanger. Admission free.

East Side Forum
Sunday Mornings

Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman will launch a lecture forum in the 6th A. D. tomorrow (Sunday) morning, with a discussion on "Issues of the Day." The forum is to be conducted at Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street under the auspices of the 6th A. D. of the Socialist party and the American Labor party. Marie B. MacDonald will preside.

Lecture by Oneal

James Oneal, Editor of The New Leader, will lecture tomorrow (Sunday) night at Workmen's Circle Hall, 17th street and Tyler place, West New York, N. J. Oneal's subject will be "How We Get Our Ideas."

Claessens' Lectures

August Claessens, "little giant" of the Socialist platform, will lecture tomorrow (Sunday) night on "Lessons From the World War," at 257 East 4th street, the headquarters of the 6th Assembly district, Local New York. The lecture is the third in a series on "The Elements of Socialism."

Other lectures will be delivered as follows: February 3, "What Socialism Is; How We May Get It and How Soon"; February 10, "The Distribution of Wealth"; February 17, "Industrial Democracy"; March 2, "Socialism and Religion."

Vladeck's Sunday
Lectures Big Success

The lectures held every Sunday morning at the Amalgamated Temple, Arion place, Brooklyn, under the direction of the Thirteenth and Nineteenth Assembly districts, Local Kings County, are continuing, with even more success than in previous years.

B. C. Vladeck, former Socialist Alderman, lectures every Sunday morning at 11 to audiences that number 1,000 and more.

The Fourteenth Assembly district is building up a lecture center at 315 Grand street, Brooklyn, with lectures every Sunday at 11 a. m.

Other districts in every part of the city are establishing and developing their lecture work, and new members for the party are being won regularly.

CONEY ISLAND FORUM

Charles Solomon, noted Socialist lecturer, will be the initial lecturer at a new forum that will open at the Boardwalk Hotel, Coney Island, Friday night, January 18. Solomon will speak on Socialism and the Socialist movement today.

B. C. Vladeck will speak next Friday on "Problems of the American Labor Movement," and the two following Fridays, the speakers will be Judge Jacob Panken and William M. Feigenbaum.

The Boardwalk Hotel is at West 22d street and the Boardwalk and admission will be free. The lectures are to be held in the big ball room of the hotel.

A. L. P. MEETS
THURSDAY

The General Council of the American Labor Party will hold its regular meeting Thursday night at 231 East 14th street. James Oneal, member of the Executive, will make a report for that body covering the year's work.

The meeting Thursday will take up an invitation recently received from the Conference for Progressive Political Action to send delegates to their St. Louis convention next month.

The workers are never consulted about going to war, and for that reason alone should refuse either to countenance or take part in the fighting.—Keir Hardie.



FELIPE CARRILLO

D R A M A

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

Brock Pemberton will present Pirandello's "THE LIVING MASK," at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre with Arnold Korff, Ernita Lascelles, Thomas Chalmers, Stuart Bailey, Rex K. Benware, Ralph Macbane and Arthur Bowyer.

At the Knickerbocker Theatre, Henry W. Savage will offer the dancing musical comedy, "LOLLIPOP," by Zelda Sears, with music by Vincent Youmans. The featured player will be Ada-May, who as Ada Mae Weeks won favor as a dancing comedienne in "The O'Brien Girl" and "Listen Lester." This is Miss Ada-May's first singing, dancing and acting role.

The Astor Theatre will reopen as a legitimate theatre when Laurence Schwab brings his new musical comedy "SWEET LITTLE DEVIL," with Constance Binney for its New York premiere. Presented by the producer of "The Gingham Girl," "SWEET LITTLE DEVIL" is a musical comedy in three acts with the book by Frank Mandel, and Laurence Schwab, music by George Gershwin, and lyrics by B. G. DeSylva. Sammy Lee staged the musical numbers. Edgar MacGregor staged the book and Lee Simonson designed the production and costumes.

TUESDAY

Anna Lambert Stewart will present "THE GIFT," the new play by Julia Chandler and Alethea Luce, at the Greenwich Village Theatre, with Doris Kenyon and Pedro de Cordoba in the two leading roles. While Mrs. Stewart has made numerous vaudeville productions; is a concert manager of note, and a composer of distinction, "THE GIFT" represents her first full-length production to be offered New York.

Brock Pemberton will present Zona Gale's "MISTER PITT," at the Thirty-ninth Street Theatre. This is Miss Gale's first play since "Miss Lulu Bett," which won the 1921 Pulitzer Prize. The title role will be played by Walter Huston, and the cast includes Antoinette Perry, Minna Gombell, Ethel Wright, Minnie Thirteenth Street Theatre. This is Miss Gale's first play

Saint Joan: Forerunner of Freedom

(Saint Joan, by Bernard Shaw. The Theatre Guild, at the Garrick.)

Writers have pictured Joan of Arc as sinner or as saint, the recipient of blessed visions or the harlot hanger-on of camps. Shaw finds in her the awakening of the social consciousness, the symbol of the great movement toward individual freedom.

Not that the simple Joan is aware of this. She knows only her voices, telling her she must go on—voices which she can attribute only to her saints, but which every sincere man hears today. But those whose birth have given them better training than Joan's are aware of the meaning of it all. The captain is afraid of harm's coming to the girl, because her father—though not a gentleman—is not a serf, and can begin to make trouble. The lord sees in her the beginning of his end, the widening of vision away from the local feudal lord to nationalism, the first step on the way toward internationalism. The priest sees in her the end of the power of the church as dictator over men's minds; her heresy is greatest when she says: "What judgment have I to judge to save my own?" So they burn the Maid. And within a century feudalism has died, with the indisputable power of the lords over men's bodies; and the Reformation has ended the indisputable power of the priests over men's consciences and souls. Meanwhile the Maid has been seen through both lord and priest. She is the symbol of the common people coming to their senses; her simple honesty scents out the wolves at court. She sees not only their greed at home but their lust abroad; "When one goes into another's land to conquer it, the devil enters with him." And her common sense and directness of purpose lead her to the success she desires, while all the devices of cunning and self-concern fail. To the lords she holds up the virtue of the countryman, the backbone of the land: "If we were as simple in our village as you are in your court, you would soon be without wheat for your bread."

But the chief tragedy of the play

—and of life—lies deeper than these surface sores. It lies first in the fact that the world is not ready for honesty and simple faith. Conflicting interests, scheming to crush one another, unite to destroy their common foe, this Maid who embodies the recognition of their selfish purposes, the awakening of social consciousness. Joan's death awakes a few to realize the evil of their life; just as, after the Great War, a similar revolution brought some moments of honest statements from politicians and revealed the rottenness of things; Joan saw the coming of such world wars when she cried in anguish: "Must I be burned anew in every generation?" But even the people about her do not understand Joan. In her own group there is no recognition of common interest, no genuine sympathy; the people throughout France are inflamed with equal enthusiasm to canonize or to burn. Only the broken priest says: "If you could really see the things you think about, you would not think about them as you do." We lack the imagination that would put us in the other fellow's place, that would unite us in common brotherhood against a common foe. Deeper of all, Joan herself, the people rising to assert themselves, lack an understanding of the true goal. She sees the immediate evil, and looks beyond it to hope for a greater good, and she finds—the king, another product of the same system, who, after he has drained her of all value to himself, wishes she would "keep quiet or go home." There is, she sees, no hope in lord or priest, who would aim to divert her from the king. She—the consciousness of the people—has not risen to see that no one must stand between man and his conscience, man and his country, man and his work on earth, and the reward of his honest labor. This is the tragedy and the symbol of Saint Joan, as one of the keenest, most honest minds of today sees her. Her last words are a pleading, "How long? How long?"

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

The New Pictures

BROADWAY—"Through the Dark," Cliff Nazario and his orchestra. Other Keith vaudeville.

CAMEO—Jane Novak in "The Lullaby."

CAPITOL—"Under the Red Robe"—Stanley J. Weyman's thrilling story.

CENTRAL—Mabel Normand in "The Extra Girl." Presented by Mack Sennett.

COSMOPOLITAN—"The Great White Way." Victor Herbert and his orchestra.

COHAN—"The Ten Commandments." Directed by Cecil B. De Mille.

CRITERION—"The Covered Wagon."

ON THE BOOK SHELF

By RYAN WALKER

Macmillan's have recently issued in four volumes, "English Literature," by Richard Garnett and Edmund Gosse. This edition has much new material contributed by John Erskine, professor of English at Columbia. It is a story of English literature starting with the beginning, carrying English literary his-

tory to the time of Tennyson. Professor Erskine's supplementary chapter covers briefly from 1892 to 1922. These volumes, profusely illustrated, make not only an excellent reference work for the library—but also is of great value to the student. Garnett and Gosse are essentially conservative in their view point and Erskine does not depart after the new and the revolutionary in writing. As a matter of record it, however, is an excellent work.

Who Is Insane?

"My father," says the student in The Spook Sonata, "was well-to-do, and naturally, surrounded by friends. But he was keen, and saw through all of them, saw their hypocrisies and their self-interest. One day when he was rather tired, he could no longer endure the politeness of conventionality; he assembled all his friends at dinner, and stripped them one by one of all their fine pretense, listing the deeds and greedy desires of every one. Then he told them all to go to hell. He was taken to a madhouse, where he died." Society is as well aware as this student that it would collapse if every one were frank. Therefore, many critics of The Spook Sonata (presented for the first time anywhere in English by the daringly successful Provincetown Players) suggest that the author himself wrote it in a spasm of insanity.

But wild and difficult as much of the play is, Strindberg has a very definite message that he definitely puts across:

"Must man forever reap what he planted? Happy is he who has done no evil. Wrong that was wrought in moments of anger Never by added wrong can be righted. Fear and guilt have their home together."

This is the conclusion of the student, who has watched the disintegration of a group where one old man would wreak vengeance, a social group that is poisonous with crime and evil hope. This society, these spoiled, enervated "blue-blooded" beings, are dominated by a brawny cook who cries: "You take the sap out of us, and we out of you. We keep the blood for ourselves and leave you the water—with the coloring. It's the color that counts!" The student sees that the basis of society is respectable silence, but he has found also that "to keep silent too long is like letting water stagnate till it rots"; so he turns in disgust, lost in his search for beauty, honor, faith. "Where can I find anything that keeps its promise? Only in my own imagination! They say that Jesus Christ descended into hell. It refers merely to His wanderings on this earth."

Perhaps we can begin to understand why critics, content with society as it is, suggest that the author of this play was temporarily insane. He too has been mad enough to tell the truth.

J. T. S.

"Sally, Irene and Mary" at Bronx Opera House Next Week.

"Sally, Irene and Mary," one of the biggest musical comedies hit on Broadway last season, will be presented by Messrs. Shubert, with the original cast and production, at the Bronx Opera House on January 21, with the usual Wednesday and Saturday matinees. Eddie Dowling and Louise Brown are featured players; others include Margaret Zander, Katherine Mulqueen, Josie Intrepid, Maude Odell, Clara Palmer, George Elms, Herbert Ross, Burford Hampden, Frank Connor, D. J. Sullivan, Henrietta Byron, Lois Arnold and Grace Stafford. "Cat and Canary," greatest of all mystery plays, will be the following attraction.

Notes

A consultation between Luigi Pirandello, the Italian author, and Brock Pemberton, producer of his plays, ended in a decision to change the title of "Henry IV" to "The Living Mask," retaining the name under which the play has been acted throughout Europe, merely as a subtitle.

The change was decided upon when it became increasingly apparent that a great many people in the United States did not know the Pirandello play was by Shakespeare, and in the further mistake that it is an historical drama instead of the modern comedy it is.

Maurice Schwartz, director of the Yiddish Art Theatre, is offering a revival of Abraham Goldfaden's comedy "Kamelok" on Friday night, January 25. It will be continued Saturday and Sunday, matinee and evening.

"Violent Heming, who is appearing at the Knickerbocker Theatre in "Spring Cleaning," will be seen in a sketch called "Playmates," at the Actor's Fund Benefit to be given at Johnson's Theatre the 25th. The sketch is by Otto Kruger who will appear in it with Miss Heming, Patricia Collings and Grant Mitchell.

The next production of the Equity Players at the 48th Street Theatre will be a drama by Abby Merchant, in four acts, entitled, "THE NEW LEADER." It will be produced some time in February.

"The Wonderful Violt," a play by St. John Irvine and H. G. Wells, will be presented at the Lenox Hill Theatre early next month.

Kyra, the sensational dancer in "Artists and Models," who has just perfected a startling dance in which every muscle of the human body is brought into play. Before embarking on a stage career Kyra was a lecturer on the subject of physical culture.

Of "Sun Up," the absorbing drama in which Lucille LaVerne is appearing at the Princess Theatre, it may be said without exaggeration, that this production, showing as it does the innate prejudices, smothered ambitions, and inarticulate aspirations of North Carolina mountaineers, represents, in measure, a "Sun Up" for the contemporary theatre.

Allie Brady returns to Broadway in her most successful play, "Zander the Great," for a week's engagement at the Shubert Theatre, commencing Monday. Miss Brady will be assisted by the original Empire Theatre cast.

"Roseanne" will move from the Greenwich Village Theatre to the Century Box next Monday night.

The Longacre Theatre will house L. Lawrence Weber's musical comedy, "Moonlight," which is scheduled to open Wednesday evening, January 23. The production will be transferred to the Little Theatre, Monday, January 25th.

"Midweek Matinee" at the Times Square Theatre on Wednesday instead of Thursday as has heretofore been the custom of this playhouse.

The Berkeley Theatre, on Fifty-second Street, will open on February 4 with "Myrtle," a new play by Willis Maxwell Goodhue, under the direction of Oliver Moros.

"Coq d'Or" to Be Revived at the Metropolitan Monday Night With Galli-Curci.

Rimsky-Korsakoff's fantastic opera-pantomime which will be restored to the Metropolitan Opera repertoire by General Manager Gatti-Casazza Monday night, has not been given here for three seasons. Mme. Galli-Curci for the first time will sing the music of the Queen whom Miss Rosina Galli will impersonate in the pantomime. Mr. Didur will sing King Dodon mimed by Mr. Kosloff. Other singers will be Mmes. Alcock and Robertson and Messrs. Diaz, Reschlian, D'Angelo and Audisio. The other mimes will be Miss Rudolph and Messrs. Bartik and Bonfiglio.

The work has been restudied musically under Mr. Buschek who will conduct the performance. Miss Galli has prepared and rehearsed the chorographic side of the production. Willy Pogany's colorful scenery will be used.

"Le Coq d'Or" will be preceded by "Cavalleria Rusticana" sung by Mmes. Easton, Perini and Wakefield and Messrs. Chalmers and Pico. Mr. Moranzoni will conduct.

"Marta" as matinee on Thursday with Mmes. Aida and Howard and Messrs. Gigli, Didur, Masetta, D'Angelo and Reschlian. Mr. Papi will conduct.

"Traviata" on Thursday evening with Mmes. Gatti-Curci, Eger and Alcock and Messrs. Chalmers, DeLuca, Tibbett, Picchi, Bada and Pico. Miss Galli and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance. Mr. Moranzoni will conduct.

"Die Walkure" on Friday evening with Mmes. Easton, Alcock, Eger and Alcock and Messrs. Chalmers, DeLuca, Tibbett, Picchi, Bada and Pico. Miss Galli and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance. Mr. Moranzoni will conduct.

"Carmen" will be given on Saturday night for the benefit of the French Relief Committee. The programme will include the first act of "Carmen" with Mmes. Easton, Alcock, Eger and Alcock and Messrs. Chalmers, DeLuca, Tibbett, Picchi, Bada and Pico. Miss Galli and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance and Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

A Grand Operatic Concert will be given Sunday night under the direction of Maestro Giulio Selti. The programme will include the first act of "Carmen" with Mmes. Easton, Alcock, Eger and Alcock and Messrs. Chalmers, DeLuca, Tibbett, Picchi, Bada and Pico. Miss Galli and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance and Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Walter Damrosch will resume the Beethoven Cycle with the pair of concerts of the New York Symphony Orchestra in Carnegie Hall, Thursday afternoon and Friday evening, January 24 and 25—it being the last pair but one in the Beethoven series.

John Barclay, baritone, will be the soloist in the programme planned by Mr. Damrosch will have the King Stephen Overture, Leontine Overture, No. 3, and for the particular, Symphony No. 3 in F, Wellington's Victory or the Battle of Vittoria. Swedish Folk songs for voice, violin and piano including Sunest, Sweet Were the Hours and Bonnie Laddie. Highland Laddie will be performed by Mr. Barclay, Gustave Tintot, Lucien Kirsh and Mr. Damrosch, and Mr. Barclay, will also be heard in the Song of the Flea and The Kiss.

The New York Symphony Orchestra will be heard in Walter Damrosch's fourth Symphony Cycle for Young People in Carnegie Hall, Saturday afternoon, January 26, with Pablo Casals, the cellist as the soloist and a programme including the Glazounov's Symphony No. 3 in B flat, the Concerto in B flat for Violoncello by Beethoven, and the Wagner's "The Ring" Overture, both by Johann Strauss.

STATE SYMPHONY

Josef Stransky will play Tchaikovsky's Symphony "Pathétique" at the third Wednesday evening subscription concert of the State Symphony Orchestra, to be held on January 23rd at Carnegie Hall. Mitja Nikisch will be the soloist and will play Beethoven's Emperor Piano Concerto. The program will open with Brahms' Akademische Overture.

At the third Sunday afternoon subscription concert on January 27th at the Metropolitan Opera House, Percy Grainger will play Grieg's Piano Concerto, and the State Symphony Orchestra will render Rimsky-Korsakoff's picturesque Symphony, Suite "Sheherazade" and excerpts from Wagner's Ring arranged by Josef Stransky.

CLEVELAND ORCHESTRA

On Tuesday night at Carnegie Hall, the Cleveland Orchestra, Nikolai Sokoloff conducting, will present the following program: Overture, "The Roman Carnival," Op. 3, Berlioz. Symphony No. 2: B Flat Major, Op. 57, d'Indy.

Pastoral on a Theme by Thomas Tallis, R. Vaughan Williams, for Double String Orchestra. "Beria," Images pour Orchestra, No. 2, Debussy.

"In the streets and by the wayside" "The fragrance of the night" "The morning of the fete day," Overture Tannhauser, Wagner.

MUSIC NOTES

Lewis Richards, an American harpichordist of European reputation, will make his New York debut at Aeolian Hall on Tuesday afternoon. He will have the assistance of George Barrere, flautist, in a program comprising a Handel and a Bach Sonata for harpichord and flute, two groups for harpichord and a group for the flute.

Mischa Levitzki, will give his last recital of the season at Carnegie Hall on Saturday afternoon January 19th, playing an all-Chopin program.

The music for the tone poem which runs through "The Gift," the new play by Julia Chandler and Alethea Luce which Anna Lambert Stewart will show New York next Tuesday night at the Greenwich Village Theatre, is the composition of Anna Lambert Stewart, who is a composer of considerable distinction.

Edith Mason will give a song recital at Carnegie Hall, Tuesday afternoon.

Wednesday evening at Aeolian Hall a recital of songs will be given by Ethel Grov with the New York String Quartet.

Earle Laros will give his second piano recital in New York Sunday night, January 27th, at Aeolian Hall, his first one having been heard last spring, when two of his own compositions, a Gavotte and a Prelude, were well received.

Katherine Bacon is giving her second and last piano recital this season Tuesday night at Aeolian Hall.

Georges Enesco will give his violin recital at Aeolian Hall, Saturday afternoon, January 19.

Hutchinson will give his next recital at Aeolian Hall Saturday afternoon, January 26. Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Chopin will be represented in his program.

Samuel Dushkin, violinist, has selected for his first recital appearance in Aeolian Hall, Sunday afternoon, January 20, the following program: Tartini's Sonata in G minor, Sonata in B for violin alone by Bach, Dreams by Wagner-Auer, Ronde by Mozart, Capriccio No. 29 by Paganini-Kreisler and Wieniawski's Le Carnaval de Rome.

On January 23, Evelyns Taglioni will play three concertos with 60 players from the State Symphony Orchestra, Josef Stransky conducting, at Aeolian Hall.

Ernesto Berumen will give his first evening annual recital at Aeolian Hall on February 1.

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THEATRES

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

"The most talked-of play on Broadway. . . . You are going to feel pretty well out of it at any sort of party if you have not seen 'OUTWARD BOUND.'"

—Burns Mantle, News.

at the

RITZ THEATRE

W. 45th St. Evgs. 8:30.

Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

The THEATRE GUILD Presents

BERNARD SHAW'S

SAINT JOAN

"The finest play written in the English language in our day."

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GARRICK 65 W. 55th St. Evgs. 8:15

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:15

THE SELWYN present

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CHARLOT'S

REVUE OF 1924

with Beatrice Lillie, Gertrude Lawrence and Jack Buchanan.

A Clean Revue with Clean Comedy, Clean Songs and Clean Girls!

TIMES SQUARE Theatre, W. 43d St. Evgs. 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30

THE COMEDY HIT OF THE YEAR

SPRING CLEANING

by FREDERICK LONSDALE

with Violet Heming, Estelle Winwood, Arthur Byron, A. E. Matthews.

ASK ANYBODY!

Evgs. 8:30, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

ELTINGE THEATRE W. 43d St.

THEATRE, W. 43d St. Evgs. 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30

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THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement

Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association
Room 507, People's House, 7 East 15th Street
New York City

Subscription Rates

United States	
One Year	\$2.00
Six Months	1.25
Three Months	.75
Single Copy	.05
To Foreign Countries	
One Year	\$3.00
Six Months	1.50
Three Months	.75

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THE NEW LEADER

THE NEW LEADER greets its readers and loyal supporters with confidence that it will merit their hearty support. We are not of those who believe that the point of view is limited when it assumes a definite classification. The New Leader is Socialist in its point of view. It is published to support the Socialist Party. It is not "liberal," or "radical," or "progressive." Not a few careerists, and certainly some charlatans, take refuge behind these names. Men like Gladstone and Woodrow Wilson have scuttled whole cargoes of "liberals" and "progressives" and other gudgeons await the same fate.

On the other hand, the Socialist interpretation of modern civilization has been verified by events in the past nine years. A philosophy of society and history that has thundered its lessons through giant guns; that finds its justification in forecasts that were verified when many foreign offices yielded up their dirty secrets; that refused to accept the coin of the statesmen of capitalism and in the post-war period proved that it was counterfeit; that anticipated the grab and loot of the peace treaties and the abysmal reaction of the exponents of "democracy," is a philosophy which we are proud to defend.

We Socialists have paid the price of our scientific perspective. But we have our own self-respect. We were not taken in by swindlers. We have lost nothing worth while during these tragic nine years. We have been gagged. We have been mobbed and jailed. But we have had no illusions. We think now of the "war for democracy" what we thought of it in 1917. Many others are coming to think as we do.

We have seen many of those who were formerly with us attracted by the imperialist vendors of hokum. They were used for a time and then cast aside by their employers. We have seen still others who left us adopt programs in anticipation of imminent social upheaval in the United States. We observe them now as the most incorrigible of petty opportunists, ready to support any "progressive" third party that will permit them to crawl in at the back door. It is no accident that these two types may eventually meet on common ground.

Considering this recent history, there is urgent need for The New Leader, a Socialist publication that will interpret current events and tendencies in the labor movement, in industry, in politics, and international relations. The working class is being developed and disciplined by social evolution to play a great role in history. That role is to liberate modern society from the crazy contradictions in which it is now caught. The capitalist nations of the world have entered upon a career of drunken imperialism. Within each nation the struggle between the classes grows ever sharper. Above the mass of workers the struggle is over the plunder extracted from labor power. These struggles are being fought out in terms of politics, government, and law, as well as in war and diplomacy, trustification and concession-hunting, and in strikes, lockouts, and the achievements of the unions of Labor.

The present capitalist "order" is not final, no more than the regime of feudalism was. There is every reason for believing that the Fourth Estate, the working class, will play the chief and most important role in re-

organizing society on a basis of cooperative ownership and administering it on a basis of democratic equity. While believing that this is the mission of the next great class in history, we shall not make the mistake of glorifying the working class. It does not have all the virtues, but in the triumph of its claims for emancipation is bound up the peace and security of a warless world.

The New Leader will heartily support the struggles of the workers for shorter hours, more income, better sanitary conditions, and increasing control of industry. We shall support the idea of a labor party that will include the powerful trade unions whenever they are ready to act, but we cannot follow any ill-defined and vague "liberal" or "progressive" party rooted in temporary discontent and not specifically aiming at the overthrow of capitalism. We shall urge the recognition of Russia and take pleasure in puncturing the anti-Soviet fairy tales turned out by the rumor factories of the kept press. At the same time, we shall avoid those droll humorists, the Communists, and their bizarre programs, "theses," catechisms, manifestoes, and the like.

In a word, The New Leader will be a publication devoted to the Socialist Party and will aid in rebuilding the Socialist movement in the United States. Into the Socialist Party has gone the devotion and sacrifice of thousands of workers in the past twenty-two years. It has gone through the fires of persecution; it has won the affection of those who appreciate devotion to convictions when men and women were mobbed, jailed, ostracized, or deported by the crazed tools and dupes of a reactionary class.

The Socialist Party is here to stay. The New Leader calls to the colors those veterans and enthusiasts, hundreds of whom have already responded from all parts of the country with subscriptions and letters of encouragement and which forecast a bright future for it. Our editorial staff will make The New Leader indispensable to them. They must introduce it to their friends and so extend its circulation and influence until it is a power in shaping the thought and action of the working class.

FIRST AID TO THE ENEMY

THE NEW LEADER is not averse to offering first aid to editors of the more reactionary press upon the appearance of this first issue. Either they should ignore it entirely or follow a course that has often served them in earning their weekly stipends.

The latter course should take the following form: In the face of the prostration of capitalism abroad tell us that Socialism "will not work." Ignore the rise of nearly a dozen dictators in Europe and tell us that we would "destroy democracy." Forget that legislation in this country for several years tends to standardize opinions, conscript labor for the owners of capital, and regulate thought, and tell us that we would "reduce all to a dead level." Remain blissfully ignorant of the war loot taken by our glorified profiteers and tell us that we Socialists would "confiscate" everything, including your servile salaries. Never mind the Soviet of oil, railroads, coal, and banks that rules at Washington. Tell us that we would run the government in the interest of a class. Forget Coolidge's advice to the plundered farmers that "no resort to the public Treasury will be of any permanent value in establishing agriculture," and then urge that a few millions be handed over to the shipping interests.

All this serves as a good lead in dealing with such "unpatriotic" discontent as we represent. The theme has endless variations and you are capable of working it for all that it is worth. Be happy in the knowledge that you are serving your beloved country, to say nothing of the Christian gentlemen who have gathered it in as their corporate property to be administered for their ease and happiness.

ARTHUR GLEASON

MUCH less than justice has been done by the press, and particularly by the Radical and Labor press, to the memory of Arthur Gleason, the news of whose sudden and all too early death broke in on the pleasures of holiday week. Perhaps no one is to blame. Those who had associated with him closely enough to know the essential goodness of the man may feel that his friendship was a thing too intimately fine to be written about. To the masses whom he had served so well, and would have served yet more fruitfully had

his life been spared, Arthur Gleason's personality was almost unknown. He had never been much in the limelight, and so his passing had not very much "news value."

Gleason was modest to a fault—literally to a fault, for his good influence might have been greater than it was had he been less loth to push himself to the front. But it is a lovable fault, characteristic of big and honest men.

Is "honest" a cold and colorless word? Not if one really means it. Most of us are honest in a formal, negative, external way. Not so many are actively and positively honest—whole-hearted and intellectually as well as morally straight—"made of one piece," as the Germans say. Arthur Gleason was.

It was this rarer kind of honesty that distinguished Gleason from the greater number of the so-called "intellectuals" who concern themselves with Labor problems. He was not seeking emotional thrills, any more than he was seeking personal glory. He saw the working class as it is, with all its weakness and all its strength, and he respected it and believed in it—which few of its "friends" really do. Therefore he neither flattered the Labor movement nor impatiently scolded it, nor sought leadership within it, but found out what he could do that it needed done, and did just that in simple good faith.

His work will live, so completely merged into the growing life of the Labor movement that only a few will be able to say just what his contribution was. Perhaps that is just the kind of a monument he would have desired.

SOCIALISM, AN "IMPORTATION"

"SOCIALISM as an orthodox importation is nothing but a mess in the United States," observes Norman Hapgood in Hearst's International for January. He might just as well have said that music, and science and art are importations. Is it not queer that many who are regarded as having open minds will lapse into the idea that opinions are taboo if it can be said that they have their origin across the frontier?

But in this case the view of Socialist ideas as an "importation" reveals lack of information of American history. It would be an easy task to quote statements from early labor documents in this country of a distinct Socialist character years before the Communist Manifesto was written. That this is possible might be easily surmised from the fact that similar conditions give rise to similar ideas. Declarations avowing the existence of class struggles were made as early as 1830 in this country. This was seventeen years before the Manifesto was written.

Mr. Hapgood is no more fortunate when he refers to the British Labor Party as "the most powerful progressive party in the world." It is affiliated with a socialist international whose objective is the reorganization of capitalism on a Socialist basis. That its own objective is the same way be seen from its declaration of principles:

To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry by service.

The "progressive" in this country would faint if asked to subscribe to this declaration. He would likely consider it an "importation" from England just as the British "progressive" would consider it an "importation" from Germany or France. Socialism is not an importation in any country. It is an international movement, as international as capitalism itself and represents the intelligent revolt of workers who have been emancipated from "liberalism," "progressivism" and the like.

THE FOLKLORE ECONOMISTS

No economist of modern times has done more to maintain the prestige of what Thorstein Bøden calls "the folklore of political economy" than J. Laurence Laughlin. In the Yale Review for January Professor Laughlin treats his readers to an article on "The Logic of Capitalism." The folklore of the infant days of political economy is served as twentieth century wisdom.

Considering the development of tools which have enabled society to produce wealth in ever greater abundance, the writer brings us to the time when a man accumulated a little surplus "for idleness, or for

leisure to construct a new implement." This was "epoch-making." Because in this accumulation we date "the birth of capital."

This cannot be reconciled with science or history. It is folklore, one of those pleasant tales invented by the old economists to account for the accumulation of capital in the hands of one class while another class labors to increase that capital for the greater glory of its owners. In this country this folklore is a source of comfort to our capitalist nobility who are generous in endowing chairs of political economy that this folklore may be drummed into the heads of unsuspecting youth.

Nowhere in the world has the origin of capital been so apparent, except to the economists, as in the United States. It has its origin in the seizure of lands, piracy and the slave trade. Even before the Negro was seized in Africa and brought to Virginia to enjoy the task of working for his Christian masters, the white laborers of Europe were sold into limited servitude in America. Some were kidnapped, some were beguiled, others were imported as convicts and political offenders from England.

These facts form the rosy background of the origin of capital in the United States. The laboring masses, black and white, produced that original surplus which formed the first installments of private capital in the colonies. The rest was easy. The colonial governments in the possession of the owners of this early form of capital were the coercive agencies for keeping the laborers to their tasks.

There is much more of interest in the further development of capital which we cannot consider here, but in outline the above are the main facts. Capital had its origin not in the honesty, hard work and Christian virtues of brotherhood, but in usurpation, robbery and force. When folklore is driven out of political economy science and history may have a chance, but not before.

FELIPE CARRILLO

Socialists everywhere will sorrow at the death of Felipe Carrillo, Socialist Governor of Yucatan, who was murdered by the counter-revolutionists. Roberto-Haberman, long an intimate, associate and comrade of Carrillo, writes a touching tribute to him in this issue of The New Leader.

Another side of that man who gave his life for the people should also be mentioned, his work for science. When expeditions from New York were investigating the great Mayan ruins in Yucatan a year ago, investigations that have resulted in remarkable discoveries of the greatest importance to history, science and archaeology, they found Governor Carrillo of the greatest aid to them. He placed all the facilities of the State at their disposal and entertained them royally before they plunged into the wilderness.

Carrillo, the Socialist, the peon, the revolutionist, who did so much for his own people, still had time to think of interests that were not bounded by the frontiers of his State. Many rulers in countries that call themselves "enlightened" cannot say as much for themselves.

THE Socialist and Labor movement of New York is to be congratulated upon the opening of two important institutions within the past few days.

The day following the opening of the East Side Socialist Center the International Bank threw open its doors to the public. The International is the fourth Labor bank in the city, and it is peculiarly the property of those unions and organizations that are closest to the Socialist movement.

The East Side Socialist Center is destined to be the nucleus of a great political and educational movement that will fully justify the difficulties that had to be overcome in its establishment.

Long life and usefulness to both of them!

Boris Brasol, representative of the Grand Duke Cyril of Russia, denies that the latter has given up his rights to the Russian throne. "The Grand Duke Cyril," said Boris, "took upon himself the guardianship of the Imperial Throne because he deemed it his duty, and cannot relieve himself of his burden." We will relieve Cyril of his "burden" if he can tell us where in the scrap pile the Russian throne can be found. As a curio it might bring enough on the market to feed a half-dozen Russian children.

The Popular Mechanics Magazine carries an item to the effect that the hunt for the origin of America's name leads to the Dark Ages. We are inclined to think that the hunters are on the right trail.