

## LABOR PARTY RULES GREAT BRITAIN

### NICOLAI LENIN, HEAD OF SOVIET STATE DEAD AT MOSCOW

### HAD BEEN ILL FOR YEARS—FOUNDER OF SOVIET STATE

Moscow, Jan. 22.—Nicolai Lenin, Premier of the Russian Soviet Republic since November revolution of 1917, died today. He was nearly 54 years old, and for several years he had been so ill that he had practically retired from active work.

Lenin was the only man who was head of a state at the time of the close of the great war who remained at the head of the government undisturbed by political storms in his and other countries.

Lenin's official title was President of the Council of People's Commissars.

Lenin's real name was Vladimir Ilyich Ulianoff. Like all Russian revolutionists, he did his work under several aliases in order to evade the secret police. He was born April 10, 1870, at Semiborsk, the son of a landed proprietor. He was therefore a son of the soil and a scion of the nobility at one and the same time.

#### His Brother Is Hanged

The young man was sent to the Kazan university, and there he became a mild revolutionist. But in 1887, his brother Alexander, ten years older than he, was hanged for an attempt upon the life of Czar Alexander III. The brother was a terrorist, and while the younger man never joined the terrorist party, the execution of his brother made him a confirmed revolutionist. At school by some strange prank of fate, he studied under a schoolmaster who was the father of Alexander F. Kerensky.

It is not generally known that Lenin was a lawyer, but at the university he studied law and was admitted to the bar. But he never practiced. He had become a sworn enemy of Czarism and had devoted his life to the revolution.

#### Becomes a Writer

During his early years of activity the young man wrote incessantly, his subjects being economics, statistics, sociology, history as well as Socialist subjects. His pen names were Ilyin, Ilyitch and Lenin, and the latter name stuck to him and so it happens that he will be known for all time by that name.

During his early years, also, Lenin wrote an exhaustive economic history of Russia under the title of "The Development of Capitalism in Russia." The book is considered a standard and authoritative work, and if he had done nothing else, he would be remembered for that work alone.

Early in his career, Lenin followed most of the active Russian revolutionaries in exile in Siberia. But exile did not stem the output of his pen. Later he was in exile in France and Switzerland, joining the great Russian exile colony in Geneva.

In Geneva, in the last years of the nineteenth century, Lenin joined Paul Axelrod, Leo Deutsch, George Plechanoff and others in the Social Democratic Labor Party, the first Marxian party of Russian revolutionists organized some years earlier. In 1901, Lenin founded "Iskra," the party organ.

#### The Bolsheviks

Disputes arose in the party, however, both over methods of organization and over the immediate program to be fought for. As a result, there was a split at a party congress that met in London in 1906, the faction to which Lenin belonged winning the victory on the issue of party organization. The Russian word for "majority" is "Bolshevik," and the faction came to be known as the Bolsheviks, while the other section came to be known as "Mensheviks" or "minority." But there was no actual break in the ranks until the 1917 revolution. The Bolsheviks were a violently partisan faction, vehemently attacking their opponents.

In the years preceding the revolution, Lenin lived in Geneva, studying, reading, writing and acting as leader of his party. There he was

(Continued on Page 2)



NICOLAI LENIN

### LENIN MEMORIAL HELD TONIGHT

A memorial meeting, commemorating the life and work of Nicolai Lenin, will be held in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum tonight (Friday), under the auspices of the Brownsville Educational Center.

There will be speeches and a brief musical program, and the speeches will discuss the life and work of the late head of the Soviet State in the light of the latest developments in Russia and Great Britain.

A. I. Shipiloff, educational director of the Educational Center, will preside, and the speakers will be Meyer London, James Oneal, William M. Feigenbaum and Charles Solomon.

The Brownsville Labor Lyceum is at 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

### LEWIS OFFERS OLIVE BRANCH TO FARRINGTON

Indianapolis, Jan. 23.—John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, caused a ripple of surprise at the sixth biennial convention of the organization when he appointed Frank Farrington of Illinois to head the scale committee. Lewis and Farrington have been at odds for a number of years and the appointment is regarded by many as the extension of the olive branch to Farrington.

Among the members of the scale committee appointed to negotiate with the bituminous mine owners are a number who are considered progressive, those who favor independent political action and nationalization of the mines. These members are John Hessler of Indiana, Rinaldo Cappellini, John Brophy, William Feeney, Thomas Kennedy and Christ J. Golden of Pennsylvania, and C. F. Keeney of West Virginia.

In addition to independent political action and nationalization of mines, it is expected that resolutions will be adopted reaffirming opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, and action on the appeal of Alexander Howatt, the deposed president of the Kansas miners.

A disappointing performance at the opening session was the speech of Vice-president Murray. The miners have been disturbed by Communist intrigues but Murray's attack on them was of the cheap political variety. "In this country," he said, "there is too much soap, too many razors and not enough whisks for it to accept the bearded philosophy of Russianized revolution." Many delegates resent this method of attacking a group which after all is insignificant.

### MELLON PLAN TO AID RICH ONLY

Analysis by L. I. D. Shows  
Why "Big Biz" Is Whooping  
Up for It.

The Mellon plan for the reduction of taxes is denounced as a plan to benefit only the wealthy portion of the community, and to deprive the nation of funds for needed public works, in a statement made by the League for Industrial Democracy.

The statement goes on to say that it is significant that only those people who oppose public works and the extension of public enterprises are enthusiastic over the plan to lighten business men's taxes.

The statement reads, in part: "Mr. Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, is a smart man. The papers all say so. And, besides, he is one of the richest men in the United States, and that, according to the standards of Main Street—and Wall Street—proves it. The New York Times says that he is a magnificent teacher of the essentials of public finance. If so, we are poor students, for we fail to follow some of his teachings. Everybody wants tax reduction provided it is not carried on at the expense of government activities, that really serve the people. No one wants waste or extravagance.

"The question is, how shall taxes be reduced and for whose benefit? Mr. Mellon says: 'Lighten the burden on the man of small income; make a difference in the rate upon taxing earned and unearned income.' So far, we agree with him. We wish that he would also suggest lightening the burden of taxation on the necessities of life by reducing the pockets of one set of people—in order to put it into the pockets of another set. But that would be too much to expect from a Republican of Pittsburgh.

"Our present quarrel with Mr. Mellon had to do with his proposals to reduce the surtaxes on great incomes. Why not make further reduction in the taxes of ordinary folks? No one has noticed great suffering among very wealthy men in America. But Mr. Mellon and Mr. Henry Ford and a lot of other very rich men assure us that this reduction in surtaxes is necessary to remove from them the temptation to avoid paying the higher income taxes by investing their wealth in tax exempt bonds.

"What happens today is that big corporations re-invest their own profits, thus escaping the heavy burden of taxation that would fall upon individual large shareholders.

"Perhaps there is a reason, but we observe that most of the people who are opposed to the extension of public ownership and most of those who want to keep the profits of private monopoly of public service are enthusiastic about either ending the exemption of bonds from taxation or the reduction of the surtaxes on great incomes derived from business investments or both. And Mr. Mellon's concern for reducing rates of taxes upon the very rich looks like a step backward and not forward."

### MONTREAL COPS

The police of Montreal organize a Union.

The City Council orders the men to quit the Union or resign from their jobs.

The Chief of Police is given instructions to go to the limit to carry out these orders.

Organized Labor asked for an injunction restraining the City Council.

The Superior Court had its ear to the ground and granted the injunction.

The stage is now set for a big fight for Montreal Policemen's right to organize.

### Trade Unionists and Socialists Form New Government of United Kingdom

### MARK DALEY IS REPULSED IN HIS LATEST ATTACK

Assault Upon State Labor  
Department by Super-  
"Patriots" Collapses.

Albany.—Charges against the management of the State Labor Department appear to have collapsed when the Associated Industries of New York State withdrew two counts in the hearing before Governor Smith. Mark A. Daley, general secretary of the association, refused to explain on what evidence his organization made the charges.

It is being recalled that this organization was subject to a sweeping indictment in March, 1920, by the New York State League of Women Voters. Daley occupied a central position in this indictment as an agent of the most reactionary capitalist interests in the State.

The league charged that Daley and his political tools in Albany were "assuming to impose upon this State a minority dictatorship." A large fund, it is charged, was employed in "pseudo-patriotic propaganda." Legislation that proposed to make the lot of the workers easier or to protect human life in industry was assailed as "Bolshevism."

The women introduced their indictment by saying of Daley and his organized cohorts: "We have found that there exists in New York State a dangerous subversion not only of legislative opinion but of public opinion as well. We have found a condition by virtue of which it is evidently difficult for any constructive social or industrial measure to get adequate and unbiased consideration before either the public or the legislative opinion of the State, and we have found that the influences at work, so far from being invisible, are flagrantly and cynically open and are rapidly becoming notorious."

After this blast Daley and his associated patrioteers retired to the background and it is believed that only because people had forgotten the exposure of 1920 have they ventured into the limelight to work their old game.

### AMERICAN RULE DEPOPULATING VIRGIN ISLANDS

Rothschild Francis, Social-  
ist Legislator, Tells of  
Woes of His Countrymen.

The traditional blindness of the American Government to the needs of peoples under its control is rapidly ruining the Virgin Islands, according to Rothschild Francis, a Socialist member of the Colonial Council (or Legislature) of the Virgin Islands. Mr. Francis is in America on a mission to persuade the government at Washington to support measures to restore industry to the islands, and to stop the continued flow of the population to Jamaica, Barbados and Curacao.

According to Francis the population of the Virgin Islands is now

(Continued on Page 2)

Ramsay MacDonald Becomes Premier When Baldwin Is Ousted by Combined Votes of Liberals and Labor—Snowden Chancellor of Exchequer, and Wheatley, Ousted Last Summer for Protests Against "Economy" in Health Department, Is Minister of Health.

London, January 23.—Great Britain has a Labor government. Three years after Winston Churchill declared that Labor is "not fit to govern," the King summoned J. Ramsay MacDonald, Parliamentary leader of the Labor Party and Chairman of the Labor Party organization, to form the first Labor Cabinet in the country.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain is ruled by a life-long Socialist, who has associated with him in the conduct of the affairs of the Government a Cabinet representing every section of the Labor and Socialist movement.

The Government does not command a majority; and it exists because no party has a majority of members in the House. It is not likely that it will last long, because of the peculiar circumstances surround-

### MAKE-UP OF THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT

Margaret Bondfield, Parli-  
amentary Secretary, First  
Woman Member of Min-  
istry—I. L. P.'ers Pre-  
dominate.

London, Jan. 23.—Premier Ramsay MacDonald's Labor government was announced today. It contains three peers, and while no woman is a member of the Cabinet, Margaret Bondfield is in the Ministry as one of the Under-Secretaries.

The Cabinet is as follows:

J. Ramsay MacDonald, Premier and Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

John Robert Clynes, Lord Privy Seal and deputy leader in the House of Commons.

Lord Farmoor, Lord President of the Council.

Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Viscount Haldane, Lord Chancellor.

Arthur Henderson, Secretary for Home Affairs.

J. H. Thomas, Secretary for the Colonies.

Stephen Walsh, Secretary for War.

Sir Sydney Olivier, head of the Indian Office.

Brigadier General Christian B. Thompson, Air Minister.

Viscount Chelmsford, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Sidney Webb, President of the Board of Trade.

John Wheatley, Minister of Health.

Noel Buxton, Minister of Agriculture.

William Adamson, Secretary for Scotland.

C. P. Trevelyan, President of the Board of Education.

Tom Shaw, Minister of Labor.

Vernon Hartshorn, Postmaster General.

Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, Chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster.

Fred W. Jowett, Commissioner of Works.

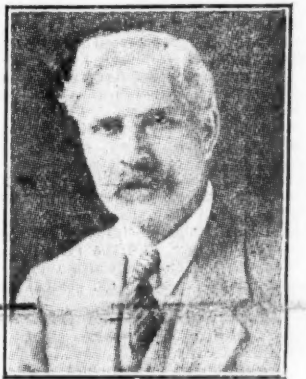
Arthur Ponsonby will be Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Margaret Bondfield, who is also Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, will be Parliamentary Secretary of Labor.

J. Ramsay MacDonald is Chairman of the Labor Party, and one of the leaders of the Independent Labor Party, the Socialist propaganda organization of Great Britain.

He served as Chairman of the I. L. P. for three years, and he was closely associated with J. Keir Hardie in building it up. He refused a cabinet post in 1914 and resigned his leadership of the Labor Party in Parliament because, as a Socialist, he could not support the war. He was defeated for Parliament in 1918, after serving since 1906 and his political career was then supposed to be over. He is editor of the Socialist Review, a monthly magazine published by the I. L. P., and a member of its national executive. By profession he is an author and editor. He is fifty-seven years old.

John Robert Clynes went to work in a textile mill at ten. He is a great Parliamentarian and a popular member of the Labor Party. He was leader of the Labor Party in the House when MacDonald was out of Parliament. He supported the war, and during the war he was a member

(Continued on Page 2)



J. RAMSAY MacDONALD

ing the ousting of the Tories. But it is significant as the first avowedly Labor government in the history of the world that took office following constitutional elections, and the second time in the history of the world that an avowed and active Socialist Party assumed office as head of a state following constitutional development. Hjalmar Branting, Premier of Sweden, was the other.

#### Baldwin's Bull

Premier Stanley Baldwin, old fashioned Tory who is one of the biggest iron and steel magnates in the country, brought about his own downfall by bad political tactics in calling the elections of December 6, on the Tariff issue. His party lost its majority, and while the Liberals gained, Labor gained more. In many constituencies, Labor was faced by a fusion of the two old parties, and in some cases, notably in MacDonald's district, the Tories urged their followers to vote for the Liberal to defeat the Socialists.

But as a national party, the Liberals could not vote against the Labor motion of lack of confidence in the Baldwin government, for the reason that Baldwin had called the election on the issue of Protection and the Liberals are traditionally Free Traders. To vote against the motion of lack of confidence would be to write themselves down publicly as hypocrites in voting for a government that had just made a fight for protection. That is why they were compelled to vote with Labor, the second largest party, in ousting Baldwin.

The summoning of the Labor Party to power was therefore inevitable under the rules of British parliamentary procedure.

#### A Remarkable Government

The Government is generally declared to be a remarkable one. Nearly every man in it is a specialist. There are three peers, because certain offices are required to be filled by members of the House of Lords.

MacDonald was driven from public life only five years ago, and treated as an outcast, a pariah, a "traitor," because of his Socialist stand.

When MacDonald resigned as leader of the Labor Party in the first moments of the war, in order to express his opposition to the war, he was joined by only four men, Philip Snowden, Keir Hardie, W. C. Anderson and Fred Jowett, constituting the Independent Labor Party group in the Labor Party. Hardie and Anderson are dead and the remaining three men are in the cabinet.

(Continued on Page 2)

## THE NEW LEADER

By S. A. De Witt

There are hordes on endless hordes  
Lost in hopelessness and pain,  
Each one deadened to the dream,  
Each one is Bastilled in his brain.  
But here you come—a leader sprung  
Full armed, full grown, to bear anew  
The Banner of—the Brighter Day;  
But those who follow are so few.  
The dream is still a dazzling dream,  
The way is longer than our sight;  
But there is fearful lack of faith,  
And there is fearful need of light.



## ONLY SOCIALISM CAN SAVE CIVILIZATION, SAYS SINCLAIR

Diners at L. I. D. Dinner Hear Defense of Capitalism by Van Loon and Friday—Hillquit and Upton Sinclair Show Socialism as Only Solution.

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

CAN Western Civilization Be Saved? was the subject for discussion at the symposium arranged by the League for Industrial Democracy last Friday. The dinner and symposium were attended by nearly 500 and Norman Thomas presided.

Morris Hillquit and Upton Sinclair contended that civilization can be saved if Socialism won out in the race now taking place in the world between the disintegrating forces of capitalism and the constructive forces of Socialism. Glenn Frank, editor of the Century, stated while the old civilization of the old order was doomed, the new material was at hand for a new order and that the major sources from which this new material can be gleaned are science and religion. David Friday, economist, contended that Western civilization is worth saving and that he has every confidence that it can be salvaged. Hendrik Van Loon warned against too great impatience and against confusing the political state with cultural forces in Western civilization.

### The Old Order Has Passed

Glenn Frank, the first speaker, declared that his function was that of supplying a preface to a four-chapter book.

"The present social fabric is disintegrating. The economic machinery is running down. The world is full of thousands of hates and fears. Many of our noblest traditions are being repudiated. If the situation goes on as at present, mature men and women in this country may be able to continue to enjoy life, but the world, including America, will face a bleak twilight a quarter of a century hence. It is now well-nigh impossible for business men, educators, or religious leaders to map out and follow constructive programs continuing over many years.

"There is a great body of opinion today which predicts the doom of Western civilization.

"There is the economic fear that industrial civilization cannot endure, that the overdevelopment of machine production will inevitably lead to chaos. There is the administrative fear, that men cannot administer modern industry because of its vastness, and the moral fear that the present generation is cutting adrift from the old ethical traditions.

Mr. Frank concluded that "We must utilize the white light of science warmed by the rays of idealism and religion in bringing about the new Renaissance."

### Increase of Productivity

Dr. Friday dwelt upon the marvellous economic attainment of present day civilization. "We have seen nothing else like it," he declared. "In agriculture, productivity has increased 40% while the number of men employed has increased 5%. The soil is becoming more fertile. As a result of scientific application it will be possible for us to feed 25% more people without increasing our agricultural population by a single unit. We produce 2½ times as much manufactured products as twenty years ago. The average working hours are 8, whereas ten years ago they were 10. Twenty years ago we marvelled at what was accomplished then, but we have greatly surpassed these accomplishments. We have come much nearer to the abolition of poverty than any

other country in the world, and this increased productivity can be kept primarily for the masses.

War and Capitalism Inseparable, Says Hillquit

Morris Hillquit, gave a bird's-eye view of the civilizations of the past that had been snuffed out as a result of private monopoly and injustice, and agreed that if we had another World War we would turn back morally and spiritually into savagery. His address appears in another column.

Develop Ourselves First, Declares Van Loon

That it was a mistake to confuse the political state with civilization was the contention of Hendrik Van Loon, author of "The Story of Mankind."

"It is true," said Mr. Van Loon, "that the Roman state fell, but the Roman laws, the Roman language, the Roman idea has survived. The Austro-Hungarian Empire has fallen, but Vienna as the home of Mozart and Beethoven is still influential. In our future histories, instead of giving volumes to King Charles and a footnote to Newton, we will write volumes about Newton and attach a footnote that during the life of Newton a more or less indifferent king named Charles was sitting on the throne."

Mr. Van Loon referred to the World War as a revolution, stated that it was not true that capitalists were all to blame.

### Sinclair Draws Tragic Picture

Upton Sinclair objected vigorously to Hendrik Van Loon's optimism regarding the condition of labor in the United States. Thousands of school children were going to school under-nourished in our cities. Many of the poor lived in filthy hovels. In a recent county he visited in North Dakota every farm had been sold for failure to pay taxes. Millions of dollars of food were being shipped to the city and wasted.

"The outlook," declared Sinclair, "is frightful beyond comprehension. Civilizations have gone down. Do not lure ourselves with false hopes because we have saved from former civilizations a few laws and a few scraps. If during the life of Cicero you had told him just what would be left of Roman civilization in the seventh and tenth centuries, he would not have been so optimistic as is Mr. Van Loon about the survival of Roman civilization of Babylon, of Assyria, of Greece? The world that has eaten out the heart of these civilizations has been a monopoly of the land and a means of production by a small class which has made it impossible to produce and impossible to consume."

## Labor Government

(Continued from Page 1)

Last summer, John Wheatley was expelled from the House for participating in a "scene." He had joined three of his comrades in denouncing the Ministry of Health as "murderers" for cutting off certain funds that supplied milk to orphan-babies, and as a result of which over 1,000 babies died. Today he is Minister of Health.

### Former Workers

Several of the new members of the cabinet were workmen who had no schooling whatever. Tom Shaw, Minister of Labor, having gone to work at 10, as did John Clynes. James H. Thomas, Secretary for the Colonies, went to work at 9.

Three of the members are scions of enormous wealth. Charles P. Trevelyan, Arthur Ponsonby and Josiah C. Wedgwood, all of whom deserted the Liberals and became Socialists as the result of the government's policy during the war. They are active and enthusiastic Socialists.

The Cabinet will take office at once and will receive its vote of confidence February 12. The first task of the Labor government will be to make up a budget for the fiscal year that ends March 31. That is to be Philip Snowden's task, and it is believed unlikely that his budget will be defeated. After April 1, the life of the Ministry is on the lap of the gods.

nearly everybody has ground enough to grow a few potatoes and garden vegetables. This has kept the people from actual starvation.

The government has made an effort to give employment to some of the unemployed by starting work on a salt water flushing system. About 150 men have found jobs at this work, but union men refuse to accept the wages of 12 and 15 cents an hour that is offered by the government.

Francis intends to ask for an investigating committee, but not one that is composed of the usual junket congressmen. He wants a committee of experts sent out by the executive department who would be competent to make a real survey of the situation, and who could suggest remedial legislation. Anything short of that would mean the ultimate extinction of the population of the Virgin Islands.

Francis is a Socialist, and the editor of a weekly Socialist paper called the Emancipator.

## LECTURE FORUMS

### JUDGE PANKEN IN NEW HAVEN

Jacob Panken, Justice of the Municipal Court of New York, will lecture tomorrow (Sunday) night at Herman Sons' Hall, Crown street, New Haven, on "A Social Aspect of the Law." The meeting is one of a series under the auspices of Local New Haven, Socialist Party.

Future lectures will be held at Trades Council Hall, 215 Meadow street. Next week, Ernest Schleifer of the Machinists' Union will speak.

## LABOR CABINET

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Coalition Cabinet as Food Controller. He is a member of the I. L. P.

Lord Parmoor is a scholar and well known writer. He is seventy-two years old, and was created a Baron in 1914. He will be leader in the House of Lords.

Viscount Haldane was Lord Chancellor, 1912-1915. He accepts the bulk of the Labor program. As Lord Chancellor he will preside over the House of Lords. He is a noted scholar and author of a number of books, one being a biography of Adam Smith.

Philip Snowden is one of the ablest men in the British Socialist movement. Born in 1869, the son of a weaver, he entered the civil service at 22. At 30, he was seriously injured in a bicycle accident, and has been a semi-invalid since. He was first elected in 1906, and joined MacDonald in his courageous anti-war stand in 1914. His resolution on Socialism last spring precipitated one of the most interesting debates ever staged in a legislative body. He is a master economist.

Arthur Henderson is not now in Parliament, but a seat will be found for him. He succeeded MacDonald as the leader of the Party upon his chief's resignation in 1914, and was a member of Lloyd George's war cabinet. He is a talented speaker and a great organizer. His two sons were elected to Parliament last month, on the same day that he was defeated.

### The Under-Secretaries

The members of the Ministry who have not Cabinet rank are as follows:

Frederick O. Roberts, Minister of Pensions. Roberts is an official of the printers' union, and is considered an expert on pensions.

Patrick Hastings, Attorney General, is a King's Counselor, which means that he practices in the highest courts. He is one of the ablest lawyers in England, and has been a Socialist for many years.

Henry H. Slesser is Solicitor General. Slesser is general counsel of the Labor Party. He is not a member of Parliament as yet.

William Graham, Financial Secretary of the Treasury, is one of the pillars of the I. L. P., and a leading Socialist propagandist. He is a man of remarkable intellect.

Jack Lawson, who was MacDonald's Parliamentary secretary last year, is Financial Secretary of the War Office. He is a miner, a member of the I. L. P., and considered one of the coming men of the Labor movement.

Ben Spoor, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, is another I. L. P. veteran.

Major Clement R. Attlee, Under Secretary for War, is another "reclaimed" Liberal. He served as a Liberal member for years, but joined the I. L. P. and the Labor Party several years ago. He was elected as an I. L. P. member in 1922 and 1923. He is an active Socialist propagandist.

Sydney Arnold, Under Secretary for the Colonies, has been MacDonald's private secretary.

Rhys J. Davies, another of the I. L. P. stalwarts, is Under-Secretary for Home Affairs.

Robert Richards, M. P., is Under-Secretary for India.

James Stewart, another of the I. L. P. stalwarts and long time Socialist propagandist, is Under-Secretary for Scotland. Stewart is one of the team of men from the Clyde that the Capitalist press has tried to erect into a hostile faction within the Labor Party. MacDonald is effectively hitting the canard on the head by including several members of that group in his cabinet. Because he, too, is a Scottish I. L. P. member.

The Parliamentary secretaries, who are also members of the Ministry, follow:

Charles G. Ammon, Admiralty, is another of the I. L. P. veterans. He was a delegate to a number of international Socialist congresses.

Walter Smith, Agriculture.

Albert V. Alexander, Board of Trade.

Morgan Jones, Education, served in jail during the war as conscientious objector. He represents a Welsh mining district, is a member of the I. L. P. executive, and is a teacher.

Arthur Greenwood, another I. L. P. veteran, is Parliamentary Secretary for Health.

Emmanuel Shinwell, Mines, is the only Jew in the Labor Party in Parliament. Philip Snowden considers him the greatest Parliamentarian in the party, and a man of transcendent ability. He, too, is an I. L. P. veteran.

William Lunn, Overseas Trade, is another I. L. P. veteran.

The Parliamentary Secretaries are part of the ministry, and their job is to defend the actions of the various departments in debate against the assaults of the other parties.

on "Connecticut." Other speakers will be Frank R. Crosswithe, Roger N. Baldwin and August Claessens.

### NEW BRONX FORUM

The American Labor Party and the Bronx Forum are opening their lecture season Friday next (February 1st) with a lecture "Topics of the Day," by Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman. The lectures will be held at the Socialist Party headquarters, 1167 Boston road, and will be given every Friday night.

### CLAESSENS TO BE IN BROOKLYN TUESDAY

August Claessens will continue his lecture course Tuesday night at the Socialist Hall, 319 Grand street, Brooklyn, with a lecture on "Incentive and Efficiency." The lectures are under the direction of the 4th and 14th A. D., Socialist Party and are held every Tuesday.

### VLADICK AT ARION HALL NEXT SUNDAY

B. C. Vladick lectures Sunday morning at 11 A. M. at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place, Brooklyn, on Current Topics. The lectures are held every Sunday morning, and are under the direction of the 13th and 19th A. D., Socialist Party.

## LENIN

(Continued from Page 1)

joined by Gregory Zinoviev who was his Boswell, his ardent admirer, and his unquestioning disciple. Lenin never took part in the revolutionary movement in any country other than Russia. In this he was different from Trotsky, who threw himself into the Socialist movement wherever he happened to live—occasionally, as was the case in New York, getting into violent quarrels with local Socialists over the conduct of their affairs.

### Opposes the War

From the outbreak of the European conflict Lenin was opposed to the war, unlike George Plechanoff, Leo Deutsch, Prince Kropotkin and other revolutionaries who supported the Russian cause. He aided in organizing the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences in 1915 and 1916 when the "left" sections of Socialist movements in every country laid the foundations for what later became the Communist International.

In March 1917 Czarism in Russia fell as a result of a combination of circumstances: military defeats, hideous corruption of the Government, generals who offered victories to Hindenburg at so much per, the failure of the food supply, the luxury and corruption at the court, the ugly rumors connected with Rasputin's name, plus the work of the revolutionary movement.

### The Revolution

In what he called the "honeymoon" period of the revolution, Alexander F. Kerensky declared a general amnesty, opened the jails, invited the exiles from Siberia and abroad and prepared for a reign of joy and happiness. Trotsky came from New York, and Lenin and Zinoviev were permitted by a sardonically humorous German government to pass in a sealed train through Germany back to Petrograd.

Lenin and the other Bolsheviks began to attack the Kerensky government, and in July, 1917, incited an armed revolt. It was crushed, however.

The Kerensky government fell November 7, 1917. The Bolsheviks picked up the government and Lenin was named Premier. The first act of the new regime was to disperse the Constituent Assembly—in which the Bolsheviks had a minority of delegates.

### The Soviet Regime

The Bolsheviks changed their name to Communists, and built up a new system of government. There was to be no democracy but a dictatorship of the proletariat, functioning through the Soviets, controlled by the Communist Party. Lenin was elected President of the "Sovnarkom" or Council of People's Commissars, at every All-Russia Council of the Soviets. That body is now holding its annual sessions, and Lenin was just re-elected a day or two before his death.

In the summer of 1918, Lenin was shot by Dora Kaplan, a member of the old Terrorist party. The Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks promptly disavowed the act and expelled Dora from their party, but that attempt at assassination was the excuse for the persecution of the non-Bolshevik Socialist parties later and the notorious Moscow trial in 1922. Lenin never fully recovered from the effects of the bullet.

When the great Communist experiment did not work out as it had been hoped, Lenin was the first to insist on a new economic policy. He laughed at the "infantile disorders" of the left wing—and while the left wings in every country read his book in which he dissected them and circulated it, none of them seemed to get the point of his ridicule of them.

As a member of the executive Lenin signed the various manifestoes and theses and statutes and resolutions of the Communist International but it is believed that his signatures were merely perfunctory, that the work of shattering Socialist and Labor movements for the greater glory of the Russian Revolution was Zinoviev's, not Lenin's.

In recent years, Lenin was out of public affairs. His serious illness transformed him into a legend, and all factions in the Communist party used him as a lay figure, each one saying that they spoke for Lenin's ideals.

### WOLINSKY AT CONEY ISLAND

The Socialists of Coney Island will hold the second lecture of their series Friday night, January 25, at the Boardwalk Hotel, 3033 West 22d street. Ossip Wolinsky will lecture on "Labor Rule in England and its reflection on Europe and America."

The lecture for Friday night, February 1st, will be on "Current Topics" by Judge Jacob Panken, to be followed by W. M. Feigenbaum of The New Leader, Friday, February 8th, on "Socialism Today."

### BEARDSLEY SPEAKS FOR THE CUTTERS

The Amalgamated Cutters' Union, Local 4, will open its Educational meetings January 25, at 9 p. m., at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street. The speakers are from the American Labor Party Union Lecture Bureau. The first speaker will be Samuel E. Beardsley, who will speak on the "Labor Union of Today and Yesterday."

### HELD AT HENNINGTON HALL

Adolph Held, who has just returned from several years' work in Europe in connection with the Joint Distribution Committee, will lecture Sunday morning at 11, at the forum of the Socialist and American Labor Party, at Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street. Held is a former Socialist alderman from the East Side, and is a talented speaker. He has an important message for the people.

### ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN TO SPEAK AT BROWNSVILLE FORUM

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will speak at the People's Forum, 1709 Pitkin avenue, Brooklyn, Sunday night at 8 p. m. Her subject will be "The Fight for Freedom." The forum is under the joint auspices of the Socialist and the American Labor parties.

### EAST SIDE FORUM

The down town branches of the party, 1st-2nd A. D., the down town Jewish branches and the 4th A. D., are cooperating in a Sunday morning Forum in the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway, which is proving highly successful. Among the speakers of their Forum are A. I. Shiplacoff, Abraham Cahan, Jacob Panken and others.

### AUGUST CLAESSENS

#### Harlem

The Harlem Educational Forum will conduct an open meeting at 62 East 106th street, Friday, January 25th, with August Claessens, who will deliver a lecture on "The Home; Present and Future," dealing with the emancipation of the household drudge. The women will, of course, turn out, but the men are advised to come to see what is likely to happen to their happy homes when the women have taken Claessens' advice.

#### East Side

On February 3rd Claessens will speak at 257 East 4th street on "What is Socialism, how may we get it, and how soon." These meetings are all announced for 8 P. M.

### Solomon and Waldman At 8th A. D. Forum

The Socialist Party of the 8th Assembly District, with headquarters at 73 St. Marks place, will open the Sunday night Open Forum with a program including addresses by Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman. These speakers will discuss "Current Events." In addition to the speeches, a fine entertainment will also be presented at the beginning of the program. The meeting starts at 7:30 SHARP.

On February 3rd, 7:30 P. M., Lena Morrow Lewis, National Organizer for the Socialist Party, will address the Forum on "The Political Cycles in the West and their significance." On February 10th Dr. Simon Berlin will speak on "Jack London: His Life, Work and Philosophy." On February 17th David Berenberg will speak on "The Debasing of the Public School System."

### HERMAN AND McKEE DATES

Seattle, Jan. 24.—The district office of the Socialist Party has just made public the dates for Harry McKee and Emil Herman, Socialist Party organizers, for the second week of their tours.

McKee will fill the following dates: February 3, Portland, Ore.; 4, McMinville, Ore.; 5, Buxton, Ore.; 6, Goble, Ore.; 7, Astoria, Ore.; 8, Camas, Ore.; and 9, Roy, Ore.

Herman's dates will be: February 5, Buxton, Ore.; 6, Goble, Ore.; 7, Astoria, Ore.; 8, Camas, Ore.; 9, Roy, Ore.; 10, Tacoma, Wash.; 11, Jig Harbor, Wash.; 12, Jig Harbor, Wash.

## FORCE WORKERS TO ENDORSE TAX REDUCTION PLAN

Arizona Governor Tells of Coercion of Railroad Men to Back Big Business' Pet Device.

(Special to The New Leader)

Washington, D. C.—Economic pressure to support Secretary Mellon's plan to reduce taxes paid by the big business interests is being brought to bear upon railroad workers by their employers, according to a letter from Governor Hunt of Arizona to Senator Ashurst of that state.

The charge is made directly that the employees of the railroads are not at all enthusiastic over the plan, that the heads of the railroads in that state are anxious to make it appear that all the people hunger and thirst and clamor for the enactment of Mellon's plan, and that daily telegrams from headquarters are sent to employees to urge them to keep the pot boiling and make it appear that the demand for the enactment of Mellon's idea is overwhelming.

Governor Hunt's letter reads: "My Dear Mr. Ashurst: I am in receipt of a communication from an employee of the Arizona Eastern Railroad in Arizona, submitting several letters received by him and which are addressed to all of the agents of that railroad in the State.

Included among the documents is a copy of an editorial which appeared in the New York Herald of December 26, 1923, on the subject of the Mellon taxation plan and the soldiers' bonus. The editorial advocates the flooding by voters of the Congressmen and Senators with communications on the subject.

The letters from the Arizona Eastern to its agents instruct them to interview various business men and citizens in their communities—a list of names being submitted—and to urge that these citizens write the Congressmen and Senators asking support for the Mellon plan, and the agents are requested to notify the vice president and general manager of the railroad that the letters have been written.

It appears that the agents have not been enthusiastic about the matter, and they have received letters and telegrams daily from either the president, vice-president, general manager, or the superintendent, the latest message reading to the effect that not sufficient interest is being taken by agents and insisting that a better showing be made.

You will, therefore, understand that economic pressure is being applied by the railroad to compel the employees to endorse the Mellon taxation plan.

I am calling this to your attention for your information and such action as you may desire to take.

Very truly yours,  
GEO. W. P. HUNT, Governor.

## ANDREW LAFIN FOR GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

(Special to The New Leader)

Chicago, Jan. 24.—Andrew Lavin, old time Socialist Party worker and organizer, was named as a candidate for Governor at a state convention of the Socialist Party held here.

Tilden Bozarth was named for Lieutenant Governor; Otto Branstetter for Secretary of State; Samuel Block for Attorney General; John T. Whitlock for State Treasurer; Ansel Brooks for Auditor of Public Accounts; John C. Flora and August Sandburg, Congressmen at Large; Emma Roberts, Ellen Persons and Bertha Hale White for Trustees of the University of Illinois.

The convention was large and enthusiastic, and an excellent state campaign was predicted.

## CALLERY FIGHTS INDUSTRIAL LAW

Phil H. Callery, a veteran worker in the Socialist Party and now a prominent attorney in Pittsburgh, Kansas, was in Washington, D. C. last week arguing the constitutionality of the Industrial Court of Kansas before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Sold with Guarantee  
direct from the  
Manufacturers

**O. W. WUERTZ CO.**

PIANOS and PLAYER PIANOS  
COLUMBIA and VICTOR PHONOGRAPHS  
COMPLETE STOCK RECORDS ALL LANGUAGES  
THIRD AVE. NR. 86<sup>TH</sup> ST. THIRD AVE. N.E. COR. 152<sup>ND</sup> ST.



## Woman Socialist M. P. Wins Debate with British Liberal

Adele Schreiber, Member of German Reichstag, Given Decision in Debate With Helen Fraser.

By LENA MORROW LEWIS

CARNEGIE HALL was the scene of a battle royal last Friday night. Adele Schreiber argued for the building up of Labor parties in all countries as the hope of the world. Helen Fraser denied the claim and defended the cause of liberalism.

John Cowper Powys, well-known Oxford scholar and lecturer presided. With a clever bit of satire mingled with keen analysis, he called attention to the significance of women entering the field of politics.

"Not with steel rapier but with logic and argument these women come to persuade and argue and convince of the better way to solve the problems of the day. Frau Schreiber, who defends the claims of Labor parties," said presiding officer Powys, "is of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and a member of the Reichstag. A party that even gave Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, much trouble and annoyance. She comes," said Powys, "with singular generosity of spirit, 'from a people whom all the world could not bend.'"

With a well-trained platform voice, clear enunciation and a correctly spoken English, Frau Schreiber at once removed all fear that she might not be able to handle the language efficiently or be easily understood.

### Frau Schreiber Opens

A bit of humor at the beginning of her speech served to put the audience in a receptive and kindly frame of mind. Assuming that they were agreed as to the meaning of the term civilization she proceeded to argue in defense of the claim of Labor as the hope of the world. She traced the rise and evolution of society in terms of the tool of production, contending that the growth of Labor parties was an evolutionary process. She pointed out the effect of the machine under private ownership and this very revolt against the conditions produced by the machine in private hands was the basis from which is developing the Social Democracy of our day. The machine is not the enemy of man, but it must be made to serve the interests of society and not the welfare of the few. There is no last and final aim in society, only a next step; the error of today may be accepted as the truth of tomorrow; this is the meaning of revisionism in our own party today.

"People were showing signs of dissatisfaction with civilization before the war. Need we have the waste and extravagance of the rich and the poverty and distress of the poor? The unmarried woman who does away with her unwelcome child receives our condemnation while we are quite indifferent, many of us, to the industrial conditions that kill children in their mother's womb.

"The middle class is crushed between the upper and lower strata of society, talent, genius goes to waste under the present system and even the virtues that crown the capitalists with success could many of them be transformed and used to better advantage under a new social order. In the very nature of things it must follow that labor is the basis for all this new order."

### Defends Liberalism

Helen Fraser, the defender of the negative of the question was presented to the audience as one of the leading representatives and erstwhile defeated candidates of the Liberal Party in England.

Miss Fraser maintained that Labor parties are temporary and sectional in their nature, advocates of class hate and struggle at home while proclaiming universal brotherhood for the whole world. Labor seeking temporary power in the political field does not give you a philosophy, hence it has to fall back on Socialism. She argued that Socialism is not the result of a developed man, but rather something imposed on man from the outside. She took issue with Sidney Webb that we had not arrived at the period of "the Decay of Capitalism," "We are only at the beginning of capitalism, and I predict that ten years from now Socialism as a theory of government will be dead in my country."

Labor's lack of knowledge of the intricacies of finance, its sectional character, its class struggle that divides men and women, all make for its inability to serve and justify the claim that it is the hope of civilization. "It is not class consciousness we want," said Miss Fraser, "but unity consciousness." She emphasized the evils of the program to make all people alike under Socialism, and deprecated the destruction of individuality.

"Man under socialism," argued Miss Fraser, would be a slave to bureaucracy. "We want policies that will serve all sections. Labor's strength in politics is in proportion to the antagonism between capital and labor. It is therefore not to the interest of the Labor Party for peace and harmony to prevail between the capitalist class and the workers."

"A program based on divisions, sectional interests, class differences cannot make for a forward looking movement. For this reason the Labor Party is not the hope of civilization."

Frau Schreiber fairly leaped to the platform as Chairman Powys called her name for her second round. "I do hope that Miss Fraser gets elected to Parliament some day, for then she will lose some

of her sweet innocence about some of the things she is standing for here tonight. My opponent confuses class struggle with class hate. We do not hate the capitalist as a man, we hate the system that makes it so he can exploit us. We oppose the institutions of capitalism and not the individuals in the capitalist class."

Instancing Europe as a sick person who had been experimented by all kinds of quack doctors and then at the last moment a skilled physician was called in but too late to save the patient, she said Labor is being blamed in Europe today because it did not save the world when it immediately came into power. Better co-operation and equality of opportunity is not possible in Germany or any other country until we get rid of class differences, which is the result of private ownership under capitalism.

### Can There Be Freedom?

The beauties and glories of freedom as pictured by Miss Fraser received a solar plexus blow in Frau Schreiber's stinging question, "Is freedom compatible with life in the crowded tenement or slaving drudgery of the mine? Security in the things of life we must have first, and who so fit and able to provide this as Labor? Who are so vitally concerned about it as workers? Labor in power, Labor at the helm would mean in time that all persons will in time find some useful place in the world, and thus the chasm that today divides people would be bridged in the service of each and all."

"In reply to the charge that there is no idealism in the Labor parties, in Socialism, I ask how does it come there are so many artists and men and women of genius accepting our ideas? How is it that the youth of Europe are responding to the claims and program of Labor?" she asked as she paid a glowing tribute to the "youth movement," "if it were not for the ideals that the great cause of Labor upholds?"

"All Liberal parties have dwindled down in the last few years and it seems to me quite significant that in the very first book I ever read in English were words which express my own feelings and belief here tonight, and it is this: 'Liberalism in a few years will be as dead as a door nail.'"

The chairman then called for a vote of the house, and the count stood 20 to 1 for Frau Schreiber's position.

## MINE OWNERS WEEP FOR SANCTITY OF THE FAMILY—THEY SAY

New Excuse for Justifying Exploitation of Women Mine Slaves—This Time It Is in India.

Bombay, India (By Mail).—The coal mine owners of India, organized in the Indian Mining Federation, are fighting bitterly against the proposal of the Government to eliminate the labor of women in the coal mines. They want to safeguard the family relation! The coal masters say that social conditions are not such as to permit the elimination of the labor of women, but what they mean is that it will cost them money.

The mine owners are also opposed to the elimination of the shift system.

The mine owners said that, if women are prohibited from working in coal mines "either the male labor will desert the mines or they will demand extremely high wages. The present system of labor in Indian mines in 'family group' is in entire harmony with the time-honored traditions of Indian social life." The Federation, in support of its contention, quotes the mining labor views embodied in a memorandum, which says "If we are separated, we fear our feelings and principles will be destroyed, and a great many divorce cases will occur among our labor communities to our ruin some time later." If the prohibition is enforced, the Mining Federation is of opinion that 90,000 women working underground in the mines will seek employment elsewhere and the change will lead the husbands also to leave the mines.

Our work is that of the gardener called in to clean away the weeds and rank growth which choke the flowers and the wholesome plants. The most that we can hope for is to see some little shoot of green sprout here and there; but as we toil with hoe and mattock, backs bent and hands gnarled, let us pause sometimes to dream the dream of what the world will be like when our toil is ended and our sowing has brought the harvest.—Keir Hardie.

## The Taxation Problem

By MARX LEWIS  
(Washington Correspondent of The New Leader)

It is not very often that it becomes possible for the "friends" of the people in Congress to reveal their devotion to the cause of the people. As a rule, the legislation considered is of immediate interest to only certain groups, although its far reaching effects may be felt by many more.

Not so, however, with the tax bill which the Coolidge administration has sponsored. Hundreds of letters pour into each Congressman's office daily, although the result of a well-organized propaganda directed by those who are sure to benefit enormously if the Mellon tax plan is adopted, disclose the interest in the subject of tax legislation. Congress will vociferously demand that the plain people be relieved of some of the taxation burden.

### A Sham Battle

It is a sham battle—nothing more than another phase of the struggle staged for the purpose of deluding the people, and a struggle which will end only when the people are awakened to the real situation and threaten to displace both old political parties. This must be evident to anyone who has watched the course of tax legislation ever since the participation of the United States in the World War.

Without embarking upon a discussion of the merits or demerits of the several plans proposed—a discussion which, if detailed, would involve the use of statistics upon which no two statisticians, unless they belong to the same political party, are able to agree—the general features of the tax discussion, and the principles they involve, may be considered with profit.

President Coolidge, in a speech to the heads of various governmental bureaus, went far beyond his contemporaries in either House of Congress in attaching to the matter of taxation an importance which hardly seems warranted by the facts. "There is scarcely an economic ill anywhere in our country that cannot be traced directly or indirectly to high taxes," he declared.

### Some Interesting Figures

An examination of the figures made public by the Bureau of the Census discloses that, desperate as the situation may be, the taxation burden bears slight relation to the problems which really affect the masses. Those figures show that every man, woman and child in the United States paid \$68.37 in taxes in 1922, collected by the national, state, county and city governments. This represents an increase of about 500 per cent over what it was in 1912.

Tremendous as the increase seems to be it requires no profound study to prove that if the masses did not pay a cent in taxes their condition would not be much better than it is today. Even if it be assumed that every cent of this comes out of the pockets of the people the problem would still be untouched.

It was shown, for example, in the debate on the last tax measures that there are close to 18,000,000 families that were not represented at all in the income tax returns, although the head of every family earning over \$2,000 annually was that time subject to a tax. In other words, nearly 18,000,000 families in the United States are supported on an income which all sociological experts agree is not sufficient to maintain decent and comfortable standards of living at present prices.

It was shown, also, that only five per cent of the population, including only the very wealthy, own 65 per cent of the entire wealth of the nation; that 35 per cent of the people, comprising the so-called middle class, own 30 per cent of the wealth; and that 60 per cent of the people, including the rank and file of the farmers and workers, own only 5 per cent of the material resources which their labor has created.

### Deceiving the Voters

If the administration can make the people believe that a slight juggling of the taxation schedules, even if those schedules are juggled in favor of those who pay the taxes—and there is no intention to do this—it will succeed in beclouding the issues and delaying a solution of the real problems.

Another interesting feature of the present discussion of taxation, to which neither the Republicans nor the Democrats seem anxious to revert, in spite of their mad desire to save the plain people from the present tax difficulties, is the cause, or one of the leading causes, of the excessive burdens which the old party politicians are falling over each other in their desire to remove. It is this:

One-fourth of the amount which must be raised by taxation each year—approximately \$1,000,000,000—is for the payment of interest on our war debt, due to those who were able to mortgage the country at the time when the United States entered the World War. At that time, the attention of both the Democrats, who happened to be in control, and the Republicans was called to the fact that their method of financing the war would create the very situation which they now claim they want to relieve.

### Some Past Favoritism

In a report which Senator La Follette submitted on behalf of the minority members of the Senate Committee on Finance, he pointed out that a decent regard for the future dictated that the war should not be financed to such a great extent by the issuance of bonds, which, bearing interest, would in the course of years pyramid the debt and load

down generations to come. In this, he was supported by over 300 distinguished professors of economics and finance, members of the faculties of 47 of the leading universities and colleges of the country, who presented a memorial to Congress. "If the people can support the war at all, they can do it on a cash basis," they declared.

Huge profits were then, at the very outset of the war, being made by the corporations. It was evident that the purpose of the administration was to permit the bulk of the profits to escape taxation, and to finance the war in a way that would leave untouched the huge fortunes of the rich, while compelling the masses to not only endure the suffering on the battlefields but also to pay the cost of the war besides.

The scheme to place the tremendous load upon the masses received the support of both the Republicans and Democrats. They share alike the responsibility for at least the \$1,000,000,000 which the people must now pay annually for the way the war was financed. It was executed with full knowledge of just what it would mean to the masses who are footing the bill today.

This procedure helped create 30,000 new millionaires. The Democrats, who were primarily responsible for the method of war financing and who joined with the conservative Republicans in the House to make the condition intolerable, are most vociferous now in their demand that wealth should bear its just share of the tax burdens. Having enabled the profiteers to amass the fortunes out of the bloody struggle into which they hurled the people, they are now the friends of the people. What a remarkable change being out of office works on these politicians!

### Two-Party Duplicity

The duplicity of which the two old parties are guilty was properly revealed by Senator Norris, of Nebraska, one of the few who fought in the Senate for progressive legislation before, during, and since the war, when he concluded the debate on the Republican tax measure in the last Congress. Enumerating the various provisions included in the tax measure for financing the war, Senator Norris showed how consistently and persistently the Democrats, then in the majority, joined with the Republicans in defeating amendments designed to make capitalists give up some of their profits. Each amendment meant hundreds of millions of dollars. It was only when the Republicans attained power, and tax measures came before Congress, that the Democrats became the defenders of the plain people once more!

### There Is No Choice

Between the Democratic and Republican parties Socialists have no choice, no preference. They are one in their opposition to Socialism, that is to say, the emancipation of the working-class from wage-slavery, and every workingman who has intelligence enough to understand the interest of his class and the nature of the struggle in which it is involved, will once and for all time sever his relations with them both; and recognizing the class-struggle which is being waged between the producing workers and the non-producing capitalists, cast his lot with the class-conscious, revolutionary Socialist party, which is pledged to abolish the capitalist system, class-rule and wage-slavery—a party which does not compromise, but preserving inviolate the principles which quickened it into life and now give it vitality and force, moves forward with dauntless determination to the goal of economic freedom.—Eugene V. Debs.

## WHERE LABOR RULES IN GERMANY

M. Phillips Price in the London Daily Herald.

M. Phillips Price is Berlin correspondent of the London Herald, and has just completed a tour through the Ruhr. He is the first Englishman to enter Germany following the close of the war, and is the author of two books on the German revolution, of which he was an eye-witness.

Thuringen and Saxony are now spoken of as the "Red Heart of Germany."

These former States of the old German Empire have between them a population of under 10 millions, which, in comparison with their northern and southern neighbors, Prussia and Bavaria, is small. Nevertheless, situated in the heart of Central Europe and containing important railway junction like Leipzig and Dresden, they are strategically important areas, in the event of internal disturbances arising out of a Fascist move north from Bavaria.

Quite apart from the strategic importance of Thuringen and Saxony, in the event of a Fascist coup is their importance of Thuringen and Saxony is the fact that labor is definitely in the saddle, and where, within the framework of the Weimar Constitution, labor can and does hold important administrative posts by virtue of the democratic franchise.

My visit here has enabled me to gain an idea of what has been done in the short time that labor has been in power, and I may say from the first that within the rather narrow limits which the Constitution imposes, advances have been made.

The police force has been transformed into a kind of militia, in which at least 70 per cent. are organized trade unionists. A very capable Social Democrat and former soldier, Mueller Brandeburg, has been put at the head of this force in Thuringen. A clean sweep has been made of all the secret Monarchist and Fascist organizations, both in Thuringen and Saxony, and such arms as they had during 1920 and 1921 been collecting in these two lands have been seized.

In each factory the workers have been allowed to form into "hundreds" for the purpose of watching and preventing any reactionary agents getting into posts in the administration. These "hundreds" are unarmed, but maintain discipline, and in the event of need they could be called to the aid of the militia.

In Saxony the Communists have been allowed to become members

of the same "hundreds" as the Social Democrats, but in Thuringen the two parties form separate "hundreds." In an emergency there is no doubt that the two would co-operate.

Social Democrats with whom I have talked here say that their main differences with the Communists are that the latter are forcing the pace too fast and are laying Thuringen and Saxony open to the danger of the intervention of the Government of the Reich, which is a coalition of capitalist parties and which views the events in Middle Germany with great suspicion.

While leaving Bavaria severely alone, the Central Government has written long epistles to Dresden and Jena, lecturing the Saxon and Thuringen Governments and threatening them with intervention for breaches of the Weimar Constitution.

The Social Democratic Ministers are thus in a very difficult position—between the Scylla of the Berlin Government and the Charybdis of the Communists, but they have managed to maintain themselves so far. The Communists, while recognizing the value of an administration which alone in all Germany is making a wholesale clearance of reactionary Monarchist officials from the local Government departments, are nevertheless concerned with the mass movement, which is going on more particularly in the industrial districts in the Erzgebirge.

There is great poverty among the workers in this part of Saxony, and the collapses of the mark have brought large sections of the population to a state of starvation. For Saxony, being essentially industrial, and Thuringen, having a large population working in the small glass and toy factories and in the State forests, are fed largely from outside and their fate is closely bound up with fluctuations of the dollar.

In the Erzgebirge a movement has sprung up to demand payment in gold wages at pre-war rates. Large strikes, led by shop stewards, have broken out, and the militia is siding with the strikers. Berlin is threatening to bring in the Reichwehr to protect blacklegs.

Significant of the position in Thuringen and Saxony is the fact that that they are the only parts of Germany where the standard elementary school has been introduced for all sections of the population, and no privileges are given to the well-to-do by the subsidizing of special schools for their children.

## Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

# EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality.

Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

## SPECIAL SALE

of the best

# WINTER OVERCOATS \$27.75

Which were Sold Always

at \$50.00—NOW ONLY.....

and

# SUITS AND TOP COATS

# \$18.50 TO \$32.50

We Also Specialize in Boys' Clothing. Made of the Best Material, Good Wearing Quality, and Cut according to Latest Styles. Just the Clothes to make the Boys and their Parents Happy.

## THE F. & S. STORE

S. E. Corner 84th Street and Third Avenue

Remember the Address!

Just Off the "L" Station

For the Convenience of the Working Public: Our Store is Open Daily to 9 P. M. and Saturdays to 11 P. M.



## ONLY SOCIALISM CAN SAVE CIVILIZATION, SAYS SINCLAIR

Diners at L. I. D. Dinner Hear Defense of Capitalism by Van Loon and Friday—Hillquit and Upton Sinclair Show Socialism as Only Solution.

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

CAN Western Civilization Be Saved? was the subject for discussion at the symposium arranged by the League for Industrial Democracy last Friday. The dinner and symposium were attended by nearly 500 and Norman Thomas presided.

Morris Hillquit and Upton Sinclair contended that civilization can be saved if Socialism won out in the race now taking place in the world between the disintegrating forces of capitalism and the constructive forces of Socialism. Glenn Frank, editor of the Century, stated while the old civilization of the old order was doomed, the raw material was at hand for a new order and that the major sources from which this raw material can be gleaned are science and religion. David Friday, economist, contended that Western civilization is worth saving and that he has every confidence that it can be salvaged. Hendrik Van Loon warned against too great impatience and against confusing the political state with cultural forces in Western civilization.

**The Old Order Has Passed**  
Glenn Frank, the first speaker, declared that his function was that of supplying a preface to a four-chapter book.

"The present social fabric is disintegrating. The economic machinery is running down. The world is full of thousands of hates and fears. Many of our noblest traditions are being repudiated. If the situation goes on as at present, mature men and women in this country may be able to continue to enjoy life, but the world, including America, will face a bleak twilight a quarter of a century hence. It is now well-nigh impossible for business men, educators, or religious leaders to map out and follow constructive programs continuing over many years.

"There is a great body of opinion today which predicts the doom of Western civilization.

"There is the economic fear that industrial civilization cannot endure, that the overdevelopment of machine production will inevitably lead to chaos. There is the administrative fear, that men cannot administer modern industry because of its vastness, and the moral fear that the present generation is cutting adrift from the old ethical traditions.

Mr. Frank concluded that "We must utilize the white light of science warmed by the rays of idealism and religion in bringing about the new Renaissance."

**Increase of Productivity**  
Dr. Friday dwelt upon the marvellous economic attainment of present day civilization. "We have seen nothing else like it," he declared.

"In agriculture, productivity has increased 40% while the number of men employed has increased 5%. The soil is becoming more fertile. As a result of scientific application it will be possible for us to feed 25% more people without increasing our agricultural population by a single unit. We produce 2½ times as much manufactured products as twenty years ago. The average working hours are 8, whereas ten years ago they were 10. Twenty years ago we marvelled at what was accomplished then, but we have greatly surpassed these accomplishments. We have come much nearer to the abolition of poverty than any

### VIRGIN ISLANDS

(Continued from Page 1)

16,000. When the United States bought the islands from Denmark in 1917 the population was 26,000. Since December, 1922, virtually all of the 16,000 people still left on the islands have been without employment. This is in part due to the seven-year drought on the island of St. Croix, which normally produces sugar. The cane workers of St. Croix have migrated to Santo Domingo, where more nearly normal conditions prevail. Conditions in St. Croix naturally reflect on the inhabitants of the sister island, St. Thomas.

But employment conditions in St. Thomas are greatly aggravated by circumstances entirely independent of the drought. Prohibition regulations, quarantine regulations and the income tax have driven and are driving industry out of the islands. The federal government, says Francis, applies these laws and regulations as if the Virgin Islands were part of the United States, and without regard for local conditions. He points out that St. Thomas is not a port of entry, but a port of call, and asks that the same regulations apply that already exist in the Philippines and at the Canal Zone. In these places ships are allowed to keep their liquors, not under seal, provided they do not attempt to land them. The quarantine regulations provide that no ship may enter the port of St. Thomas after sundown. This violates a long established custom of the West Indies, and has had the effect of driving away much shipping.

The result is that industry is at a standstill. If it were not for the fact that living in the Virgin Islands is comparatively cheap, the suffering of the population would be acute. As it is, the children are undernourished and everybody is on short rations. Pineapple, "sourap," and bananas may be had for the picking, and

other country in the world, and this increased productivity can be kept primarily for the masses.

**War and Capitalism Inseparable, Says Hillquit**

Morris Hillquit, gave a bird's-eye view of the civilizations of the past that had been snuffed out as a result of private monopoly and injustice, and agreed that if we had another World War we would turn back morally and spiritually into savagery. His address appears in another column.

**Develop Ourselves First, Declares Van Loon**

That it was a mistake to confuse the political state with civilization was the contention of Hendrik Van Loon, author of "The Story of Mankind."

"It is true," said Mr. Van Loon, "that the Roman state fell, but the Roman laws, the Roman language, the Roman idea has survived. The Austro-Hungarian Empire has fallen, but Vienna as the home of Mozart and Beethoven is still influential. In our future histories, instead of giving volumes to King Charles and a footnote to Newton, we will write volumes about Newton and attach a footnote that during the life of Newton a more or less indifferent king named Charles was sitting on the throne."

Mr. Van Loon referred to the World War as a revolution, stated that it was not true that capitalists were all to blame.

**Sinclair Draws Tragic Picture**

Upton Sinclair objected vigorously to Hendrik Van Loon's optimism regarding the condition of labor in the United States. Thousands of school children were going to school under-nourished in our cities. Many of the poor lived in filthy hovels. In a recent county he visited in North Dakota every farm had been sold for failure to pay taxes. Millions of dollars of food were being shipped to the city and wasted.

"The outlook," declared Sinclair, "is frightful beyond comprehension. Civilizations have gone down. Do not lure ourselves with false hopes because we have saved from former civilizations a few laws and a few scraps. If during the life of Cicero you had told him just what would be left of Roman civilization in the seventh and tenth centuries, he would not have been so optimistic as is Mr. Van Loon about the survival of Roman civilization of Babylon, of Assyria, of Greece? The worm that has eaten out the heart of these civilizations has been a monopoly of the land and a means of production by a small class which has made it impossible to produce and impossible to consume."

### Labor Government

(Continued from Page 1)

Last summer, John Wheatley was expelled from the House for participating in a "scene." He had joined three of his comrades in denouncing the Ministry of Health as "murderers" for cutting off certain funds that supplied milk to orphan-babies and as a result of which over 1,000 babies died. Today he is Minister of Health.

**Former Workers**  
Several of the new members of the cabinet were workingmen who had no schooling whatever. Tom Shaw, Minister of Labor, having gone to work at 10, as did John Clynes. James H. Thomas, Secretary for the Colonies, went to work at 9.

Three of the members are sons of enormous wealth. Charles P. Trevelyan, Arthur Ponsonby and Josiah C. Wedgwood, all of whom deserted the Liberals and became Socialists as the result of the government's policy during the war. They are active and enthusiastic Socialists.

The Cabinet will take office at once and will receive its vote of confidence February 12. The first task of the Labor government will be to make up a budget for the fiscal year that ends March 31. That is to be Philip Snowden's task, and it is believed unlikely that his budget will be defeated. After April 1, the life of the Ministry is on the lap of the gods.

nearly everybody has ground enough to grow a few potatoes and garden vegetables. This has kept the people from actual starvation.

The government has made an effort to give employment to some of the unemployed by starting work on a salt water flushing system. About 150 men have found jobs at this work, but union men refuse to accept the wages of 12 and 15 cents an hour that is offered by the government.

Francis intends to ask for an investigating committee, but not one that is composed of the usual junkie congressmen. He wants a committee of experts sent out by the executive department who would be competent to make a real survey of the situation, and who could suggest remedial legislation. Anything short of that would mean the ultimate extinction of the population of the Virgin Islands.

Francis is a Socialist, and the editor of a weekly Socialist paper called the Emancipator.

## LECTURE FORUMS

### JUDGE PANKEN IN NEW HAVEN

Jacob Panken, Justice of the Municipal Court of New York, will lecture tomorrow (Sunday) night at Herman Sons' Hall, Crown street, New Haven, on "A Social Aspect of the Law." The meeting is one of a series under the auspices of Local New Haven, Socialist Party.

Future lectures will be held at Trades Council Hall, 215 Meadow street. Next week, Ernest Schleifer of the Machinists' Union will speak.

### LABOR CABINET

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Coalition Cabinet as Food Controller. He is a member of the I. L. P.

Lord Parmoor is a scholar and well known writer. He is seventy-two years old, and was created a Baron in 1914. He will be leader in the House of Lords.

Viscount Haldane was Lord Chancellor, 1912-1915. He accepts the bulk of the Labor program. As Lord Chancellor he will preside over the House of Lords. He is a noted scholar and author of a number of books, one being a biography of Adam Smith.

Philip Snowden is one of the ablest men in the British Socialist movement. Born in 1869, the son of a weaver, he entered the civil service at 22. At 30, he was seriously injured in a bicycle accident, and has been a semi-invalid since. He was first elected in 1906, and joined MacDonald in his courageous anti-war stand in 1914. His resolution on Socialism last spring precipitated one of the most interesting debates ever staged in a legislative body. He is a master economist.

Arthur Henderson is not now in Parliament, but a seat will be found for him. He succeeded MacDonald as the leader of the Party upon his chief's resignation in 1914, and was a member of Lloyd George's war cabinet. He is a talented speaker and a great organizer. His two sons were elected to Parliament last month, on the same day that he was defeated.

### The Under-Secretaries

The members of the Ministry who have not Cabinet rank are as follows:

Frederick O. Roberts, Minister of Pensions. Roberts is an official of the printers' union, and is considered an expert on pensions.

Patrick Hastings, Attorney General, is a King's Counselor, which means that he practices in the highest courts. He is one of the ablest lawyers in England, and has been a Socialist for many years.

Henry H. Slesser is Solicitor General. Slesser is general counsel of the Labor Party. He is not a member of Parliament as yet.

William Graham, Financial Secretary of the Treasury, is one of the pillars of the I. L. P., and a leading Socialist propagandist. He is a man of remarkable intellect.

Jack Lawson, who was MacDonald's Parliamentary secretary last year, is Financial Secretary of the War Office. He is a miner, a member of the I. L. P. and considered one of the coming men of the Labor movement.

Ben Spoor, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, is another I. L. P. veteran.

Major Clement R. Attlee, Under Secretary for War, is another "reclaimed" Liberal. He served as a Liberal member for years, but joined the I. L. P. and the Labor Party several years ago. He was elected as an I. L. P. member in 1922 and 1923. He is an active Socialist propagandist.

Sydney Arnold, Under Secretary for the Colonies, has been MacDonald's private secretary.

Rhys J. Davies, another of the I. L. P. stalwarts, is Under-Secretary for Home Affairs.

Robert Richards, M. P., is Under-Secretary for India.

James Stewart, another of the I. L. P. stalwarts and long time Socialist propagandist, is Under-Secretary for Scotland. Stewart is one of the team of men from the Clyde that the Capitalist press has tried to erect into a hostile faction within the Labor Party. MacDonald is effectively hitting the canard on the head by including several members of that group in his cabinet. Because he, too, is a Scottish I. L. P. member.

The Parliamentary secretaries, who are also members of the Ministry, follow:

Charles G. Ammon, Admiralty, is another of the I. L. P. veterans. He was a delegate to a number of international Socialist congresses.

Walter Smith, Agriculture.

Albert V. Alexander, Board of Trade.

Morgan Jones, Education, served in jail during the war as conscientious objector. He represents a Welsh mining district, is a member of the I. L. P. executive, and is a teacher.

Arthur Greenwood, another I. L. P. veteran, is Parliamentary Secretary for Health.

Emmanuel Shinwell, Mines, is the only Jew in the Labor Party in Parliament. Philip Snowden considers him the greatest Parliamentarian in the party, and a man of transcendent ability. He, too, is an I. L. P. veteran.

William Lunn, Overseas Trade, is another I. L. P. veteran.

The Parliamentary Secretaries are part of the ministry, and their job is to defend the actions of the various departments in debate against the assaults of the other parties.

on "Connecticut." Other speakers will be Frank R. Crosswaite, Roger N. Baldwin and August Claessens.

### NEW BRONX FORUM

The American Labor Party and the Bronx Forum are opening their lecture season Friday next (February 1st) with a lecture "Topics of the Day," by Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman. The lectures will be held at the Socialist Party headquarters, 1167 Boston road, and will be given every Friday night.

### CLAESSENS TO BE IN BROOKLYN TUESDAY

August Claessens will continue his lecture course Tuesday night at the Socialist Hall, 319 Grand street, Brooklyn, with a lecture on "Incentive and Efficiency." The lectures are under the direction of the 4th and 14th A. D., Socialist Party and are held every Tuesday.

### VLADECK AT ARION HALL NEXT SUNDAY

B. C. Vladeck lectures Sunday morning at 11 A. M. at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place, Brooklyn, on Current Topics. The lectures are held every Sunday morning, and are under the direction of the 13th and 19th A. D., Socialist Party.

### LENIN

(Continued from Page 1)

joined by Gregory Zinoviev who was his Boswell, his ardent admirer, and his unquestioning disciple. Lenin never took part in the revolutionary movement in any country other than Russia. In this he was different from Trotsky, who threw himself into the Socialist movement wherever he happened to live—occasionally, as was the case in New York, getting into violent quarrels with local Socialists over the conduct of their affairs.

#### Opposes the War

From the outbreak of the European conflict Lenin was opposed to the war, unlike George Plechanoff, Leo Deutsch, Prince Kropotkin and other revolutionaries who supported the Russian cause. He aided in organizing the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences in 1915 and 1916 when the "left" sections of Socialist movements in every country laid the foundations for what later became the Communist International.

In March 1917 Czarism in Russia fell as a result of a combination of circumstances; military defeats, hideous corruption of the Government, generals who offered victories to Hindenburg at so much per, the failure of the food supply, the luxury and corruption at the court, the ugly rumors connected with Rasputin's name, plus the work of the revolutionary movement.

#### The Revolution

In what he called the "honey-moon" period of the revolution, Alexander F. Kerensky declared a general amnesty, opened the jails, invited the exiles from Siberia and abroad and prepared for a reign of joy and happiness. Trotsky came from New York and Lenin and Zinoviev were permitted by a sardonically humorous German government to pass in a sealed train through Germany back to Petrograd.

Lenin and the other Bolsheviks began to attack the Kerensky government, and in July, 1917, incited an armed revolt. It was crushed, however.

The Kerensky government fell November 7, 1917. The Bolsheviks picked up the government and Lenin was named Premier. The first act of the new regime was to disperse the Constituent Assembly—in which the Bolsheviks had a minority of delegates.

#### The Soviet Regime

The Bolsheviks changed their name to Communists, and built up a new system of government. There was to be no democracy but a dictatorship of the proletariat, functioning through the Soviets, controlled by the Communist Party. Lenin was elected President of the "Sovnarcouncil" or Council of People's Commissars, at every All-Russia Council of the Soviets. That body is now holding its annual sessions, and Lenin was just re-elected a day or two before his death.

In the summer of 1918, Lenin was shot by Dora Kaplan, a member of the old Terrorist party. The Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks promptly disavowed the act and expelled Dora from their party, but that attempted assassination was the excuse for the persecution of the non-Bolshevik Socialist parties years later and the notorious Moscow trial in 1922. Lenin never fully recovered from the effects of the bullet.

When the great Communist experiment did not work out as it had been hoped, Lenin was the first to insist on a new economic policy. He laughed at the "infantile disorders" of the left wing—and while the left wings in every country read his book in which he dissected them and circulated it, none of them seemed to get the point of his ridicule of them.

As a member of the executive Lenin signed the various manifestoes and theses and statutes and resolutions of the Communist International but it is believed that his signatures were merely perfunctory, that the work of shattering Socialist and Labor movements for the greater glory of the Russian Revolution was Zinoviev's, not Lenin's.

In recent years, Lenin was out of public affairs. His serious illness transformed him into a legend, and all factions in the Communist party used him as a lay figure, each one saying that they spoke for Lenin's ideals.

### WOLINSKY AT CONEY ISLAND

The Socialists of Coney Island will hold the second lecture of their series Friday night, January 25, at the Boardwalk Hotel, 3033 West 22d street. Ossip Wolinsky will lecture on "Labor Rule in England and its reflection on Europe and America."

The lecture for Friday night, February 1st, will be on "Current Topics" by Judge Jacob Panken, to be followed by W. M. Feigenbaum of The New Leader, Friday, February 8th, on "Socialism Today."

### BEARDSLEY SPEAKS FOR THE CUTTERS

The Amalgamated Cutters' Union, Local 4, will open its Educational meetings January 25, at 9 p. m., at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street. The speakers are from the American Labor Party Union Lecture Bureau.

The first speaker will be Samuel E. Beardsley, who will speak on the "Labor Union of Today and Yesterday."

### HELD AT HENNINGTON HALL

Adolph Held, who has just returned from several years' work in Europe in connection with the Joint Distribution Committee, will lecture Sunday morning at 11, at the forum of the Socialist and American Labor Party, at Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street. Held is a former Socialist alderman from the East Side, and is a talented speaker. He has an important message for the people.

### ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN TO SPEAK AT BROWNSVILLE FORUM

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will speak at the People's Forum, 1709 Pitkin avenue, Brooklyn, Sunday night at 8 p. m. Her subject will be "The Fight for Freedom." The forum is under the joint auspices of the Socialist and the American Labor parties.

### EAST SIDE FORUM

The down town branches of the party, 1st-2nd A. D., the down town Jewish branches and the 4th A. D., are cooperating in a Sunday morning forum in the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway, which is proving highly successful. Among the speakers of their forum are A. I. Shipiloff, Abraham Cahan, Jacob Panken and others.

### AUGUST CLAESSENS

Harlem

The Harlem Educational Forum will conduct an open meeting at 62 East 103rd street, Friday, January 25th, with August Claessens, who will deliver a lecture on "The Home; Present and Future" dealing with the emancipation of the household drudge. The women will, of course, turn out, but the men are advised to come to see what is likely to happen to their happy homes when the women have taken Claessens' advice.

East Side

On February 3rd Claessens will speak at 257 East 4th street on "What is Socialism, how may we get it, and how soon." These meetings are all announced for 8 P. M.

### Solomon and Waldman At 8th A. D. Forum

The Socialist Party of the 8th Assembly District, with headquarters at 73 St. Marks place, will open the Sunday night Open Forum with a program including addresses by Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman. These speakers will discuss "Current Events." In addition to the speeches, a fine entertainment will also be presented at the beginning of the program. The meeting starts at 7:30 SHARP.

On February 3rd, 7:30 P. M., Lena Morrow Lewis, National Organizer for the Socialist Party, will address the Forum on "The Political Cyclones in the West and their significance." On February 10th Dr. Simon Berlin will speak on "Jack London: His Life, Work and Philosophy." On February 17th David Berenberg will speak on "The Debasing of the Public School System."

### HERMAN AND MCKEE DATES

Seattle, Jan. 24.—The district office of the Socialist Party has just made public the dates for Harry McKee and Emil Herman, Socialist Party organizers, for the second week of their tours.

McKee will fill the following dates:

February 3, Portland, Ore.; 4, McMinnville, Ore.; 5, Buxton, Ore.; 6, Goble, Ore.; 7, Astoria, Ore.; 8, Camas, Ore.; and 9, Roy, Ore.

Herman's dates will be:

February 5, Buxton, Ore.; 6, Goble, Ore.; 7, Astoria, Ore.; 8, Camas, Ore.; 9, Roy, Ore.; 10, Tacoma, Wash.; 11, Jig Harbor, Wash.

In recent years, Lenin was out of public affairs. His serious illness transformed him into a legend, and all factions in the Communist party used him as a lay figure, each one saying that they spoke for Lenin's ideals.

## FORCE WORKERS TO ENDORSE TAX REDUCTION PLAN

Arizona Governor Tells of Coercion of Railroad Men to Back Big Business' Pet Device.

(Special to The New Leader)

Washington, D. C.—Economic pressure to support Secretary Mellon's plan to reduce taxes paid by the big business interests is being brought to bear upon railroad workers by their employers, according to a letter from Governor Hunt of Arizona to Senator Ashurst of that state.

The charge is made directly that the employees of the railroads are not at all enthusiastic over the plan, that the heads of the railroads in that state are anxious to make it appear that all the people hunger and thirst and clamor for the enactment of Mellon's plan, and that daily telegrams from headquarters are sent to employees to urge them to keep the pot boiling and make it appear that the demand for the enactment of Mellon's idea is overwhelming.

Governor Hunt's letter reads: "My Dear Mr. Ashurst: I am in receipt of a communication from an employee of the Arizona Eastern Railroad in Arizona, submitting several letters received by him and which are addressed to all of the agents of that railroad in the State.

Included among the documents is a copy of an editorial which appeared in the New York Herald of December 26, 1923, on the subject of the Mellon taxation plan and the soldiers' bonus. The editorial advocates the flooding by voters of the Congressmen and Senators with communications on the subject.

The letters from the Arizona Eastern to its agents instruct them to interview various business men and citizens in their communities—a list of names being submitted—and to urge that these citizens write the Congressmen and Senators asking support for the Mellon plan, and the agents are requested to notify the vice president and general manager of the railroad that the letters have been written.

It appears that the agents have not been enthusiastic about the matter, and they have received letters and telegrams daily from either the president, vice-president, general manager, or the superintendent, the latest message reading: to the effect that not sufficient interest is being taken by agents and insisting that a better showing be made.

You will, therefore, understand that economic pressure is being applied by the railroad to compel the employees to endorse the Mellon taxation plan.

I am calling this to your attention for your information and such action as you may desire to take.

Very truly yours,  
GEO. W. P. HUNT, Governor.

## ANDREW LAFIN FOR GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

(Special to The New Leader)

Chicago, Jan. 24.—Andrew Lavin, old time Socialist Party worker and organizer, was named as a candidate for Governor at a state convention of the Socialist Party held here.

Tilden Bozarth was named for Lieutenant Governor; Otto Branstetter for Secretary of State; Samuel Block for Attorney General; John T. Whitlock for State Treasurer; Ansel Brooks for Auditor of Public Accounts; John C. Flora and August Sandburg, Congressmen at Large; Emma Roberts, Ellen Persons and Bertha Hale White for Trustees of the University of Illinois.

The convention was large and enthusiastic, and an excellent state campaign was predicted.

## CALLERY FIGHTS INDUSTRIAL LAW

Phil H. Callery, a veteran worker in the Socialist Party and now a prominent attorney in Pittsburgh, Kansas, was in Washington, D. C. last week arguing the constitutionality of the Industrial Court of Kansas before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Gold and Lacquer-veneered  
direct from the  
Manufacturer

**O.W. WUERTZ CO.**

PIANOS and PLAYER PIANOS  
COLUMBIA and SONORA PHONOGRAPHS  
COMPLETE RECORDS ALL LANGUAGES  
STOCK  
THIRD AVE. NR. 86<sup>th</sup> ST. THIRD AVE. N.E. (COR. 152<sup>nd</sup> ST.)



## Woman Socialist M. P. Wins Debate with British Liberal

Adele Schreiber, Member of German Reichstag, Given Decision in Debate With Helen Fraser.

By LENA MORROW LEWIS

CARNEGIE HALL was the scene of a battle royal last Friday night. Adele Schreiber argued for the building up of Labor parties in all countries as the hope of the world. Helen Fraser denied the claim and defended the cause of liberalism.

John Cowper Powys, well-known Oxford scholar and lecturer presided. With a clever bit of satire mingled with keen analysis, he called attention to the significance of women entering the field of politics.

"Not with steel rapier but with logic and argument these women come to persuade and argue and convince of the better way to solve the problems of the day. Frau Schreiber, who defends the claims of Labor parties," said presiding officer Powys, "is of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and a member of the Reichstag. A party that even gave Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, much trouble and annoyance. She comes," said Powys, "with singular generosity of spirit, 'from a people whom all the world could not bend.'"

With a well-trained platform voice, clear enunciation and a correctly spoken English, Frau Schreiber at once removed all fear that she might not be able to handle the language efficiently or be easily understood.

### Frau Schreiber Opens

A bit of humor at the beginning of her speech served to put the audience in a receptive and kindly frame of mind. Assuming that they were agreed as to the meaning of the term civilization she proceeded to argue in defense of the claim of Labor as the hope of the world. She traced the rise and evolution of society in terms of the tool of production, contending that the growth of Labor parties was an evolutionary process. She pointed out the effect of the machine under private ownership and this very revolt against the conditions produced by the machine in private hands was the basis from which is developing the Social Democracy of our day. The machine is not the enemy of man, but it must be made to serve the interests of society and not the welfare of the few. There is no last and final aim in society, only a next step; the error of today may be accepted as the truth of tomorrow; this is the meaning of revisionism in our own party today.

"People were showing signs of dissatisfaction with civilization before the war. Need we have the waste and extravagance of the rich and the poverty and distress of the poor? The unmarried woman who does away with her unwelcome child receives our condemnation while we are quite indifferent, many of us, to the industrial conditions that kill children in their mother's womb."

"The middle class is crushed between the upper and lower strata of society, talent, genius goes to waste under the present system and even the virtues that crown the capitalists with success could many of them be transformed and used to better advantage under a new social order. In the very nature of things it must follow that labor is the basis for all this new order."

### Defends Liberalism

Helen Fraser, the defender of the negative of the question, was presented to the audience as one of the leading representatives and erstwhile defeated candidates of the Liberal Party in England.

Miss Fraser maintained that Labor parties are temporary and sectional in their nature, advocates of class hate and struggle at home while proclaiming universal brotherhood for the whole world. Labor seeking temporary power in the political field does not give you a philosophy, hence it has to fall back on Socialism. She argued that Socialism is not the result of a developed man, but rather something imposed on man from the outside. She took issue with Sidney Webb that we had not arrived at the period of "the Decay of Capitalism." "We are only at the beginning of capitalism, and I predict that ten years from now Socialism as a theory of government will be dead in my country."

Labor's lack of knowledge of the intricacies of finance, its sectional character, its class struggle that divides men and women, all make for its inability to serve and justify the claim that it is the hope of civilization. "It is not class consciousness we want," said Miss Fraser, "but unity consciousness." She emphasized the evils of the program to make all people alike under Socialism, and deprecated the destruction of individuality.

"Man under socialism" argued Miss Fraser, would be a slave to bureaucracy. "We want policies that will serve all sections. Labor's strength in politics is in proportion to the antagonism between capital and labor. It is therefore not to the interest of the Labor Party for peace and harmony to prevail between the capitalist class and the workers."

"A program based on divisions, sectional interests, class differences cannot make for a forward looking movement. For this reason the Labor Party is not the hope of civilization."

Frau Schreiber fairly leaped to the platform as Chairman Powys called her name for her second round. "I do hope that Miss Fraser gets elected to Parliament some day, for then she will lose some

## The Taxation Problem

By MARX LEWIS  
(Washington Correspondent of The New Leader)

It is not very often that it becomes possible for the "friends" of the people in Congress to reveal their devotion to the cause of the people. As a rule, the legislation considered is of immediate interest to only certain groups, although its far reaching effects may be felt by many more.

Not so, however, with the tax bill which the Coolidge administration has sponsored. Hundreds of letters pour into each Congressman's office daily, although the result of a well-organized propaganda directed by those who are sure to benefit enormously if the Mellon tax plan is adopted, disclose the interest in the subject of tax legislation. Congress will vociferously demand that the plain people be relieved of some of the taxation burden.

### A Sham Battle

It is a sham battle—nothing more than another phase of the struggle staged for the purpose of deluding the people, and a struggle which will end only when the people awaken to the real situation and threaten to displace both old political parties. This must be evident to anyone who has watched the course of tax legislation ever since the participation of the United States in the World War.

Without embarking upon a discussion of the merits or demerits of the several plans proposed—a discussion which, if detailed, would involve the use of statistics upon which no two statisticians, unless they belong to the same political party, are able to agree—the general features of the tax discussion, and the principles they involve, may be considered with profit.

President Coolidge, in a speech to the heads of various governmental bureaus, went far beyond his contemporaries in either House of Congress in attaching to the matter of taxation an importance which hardly seems warranted by the facts. "There is scarcely an economic ill anywhere in our country that cannot be traced directly or indirectly to high taxes," he declared.

**Some Interesting Figures**  
An examination of the figures made public by the Bureau of the Census discloses that, desperate as the situation may be, the taxation burden bears slight relation to the problems which really affect the masses. Those figures show that every man, woman and child in the United States paid \$83.37 in taxes in 1922, collected by the national, state, county and city governments. This represents an increase of about 500 per cent over what it was in 1912.

Tremendous as the increase seems to be it requires no profound study to prove that if the masses did not pay a cent in taxes their condition would not be much better than it is today. Even if it be assumed that every cent of this comes out of the pockets of the people the problem would still be untouched.

It was shown, for example, in the debate on the last tax measure that there are close to 18,000,000 families that were not represented at all in the income tax returns, although the head of every family earning over \$2,000 annually was that time subject to a tax. In other words, nearly 18,000,000 families in the United States are supported on an income which all sociological experts agree is not sufficient to maintain decent and comfortable standards of living at present prices.

It was shown, also, that only five per cent of the population, including only the very wealthy, own 65 per cent of the entire wealth of the nation; that 35 per cent of the people, comprising the so-called middle class, own 30 per cent of the wealth; and that 60 per cent of the people, including the rank and file of the farmers and workers, own only 5 per cent of the material resources which their labor has created.

**Deceiving the Voters**  
If the administration can make the people believe that a slight juggling of the taxation schedules, even if those schedules are juggled in favor of those who pay the taxes—and there is no intention to do this—it will succeed in beclouding the issues and delaying a solution of the real problems.

Another interesting feature of the present discussion of taxation, to which neither the Republicans nor the Democrats seem anxious to revert, in spite of their mad desire to save the plain people from the present tax difficulties, is the cause, or one of the leading causes, of the excessive burdens which the old party politicians are falling over each other in their desire to remove. It is this:

One-fourth of the amount which must be raised by taxation each year—approximately \$1,000,000,000—is for the payment of interest on our war debt, due to those who were able to mortgage the country at the time when the United States entered the World War. At that time, the attention of both the Democrats, who happened to be in control, and the Republicans was called to the fact that their method of financing the war would create the very situation which they now claim they want to relieve.

**Some Past Favoritism**  
In a report which Senator La Follette submitted on behalf of the minority members of the Senate Committee on Finance, he pointed out that a decent regard for the future dictated that the war should not be financed to such a great extent by the issuance of bonds, which, bearing interest, would in the course of years pyramid the debt and load

down generations to come. In this, he was supported by over 300 distinguished professors of economics and finance, members of the faculties of 47 of the leading universities and colleges of the country, who presented a memorial to Congress. "If the people can support the war at all, they can do it on a cash basis," they declared.

Huge profits were then, at the very outset of the war, being made by the corporations. It was evident that the purpose of the administration was to permit the bulk of the profits to escape taxation, and to finance the war in a way that would leave untouched the huge fortunes of the rich, while compelling the masses to not only endure the suffering on the battlefields but also to pay the cost of the war besides.

The scheme to place the tremendous load upon the masses received the support of both the Republicans and Democrats. They share alike the responsibility for at least the \$1,000,000,000 which the people must now pay annually for the way the war was financed. It was executed with full knowledge of just what it would mean to the masses who are footing the bill today.

This procedure helped create 30,000 new millionaires. The Democrats, who were primarily responsible for the method of war financing and who joined with the conservative Republicans in the House to make the condition intolerable, are most vociferous now in their demand that wealth should bear its just share of the tax burdens. Having enabled the profiteers to amass the fortunes out of the bloody struggle into which they hurled the people, they are now the friends of the people. What a remarkable change being out of office works on these politicians!

### Two-Party Duplicity

The duplicity of which the two old parties are guilty was properly revealed by Senator Norris, of Nebraska, one of the few who fought in the Senate for progressive legislation before, during, and since the war, when he concluded the debate on the Republican tax measure in the last Congress. Enumerating the various provisions included in the tax measure for financing the war, Senator Norris showed how consistently and persistently the Democrats, then in the majority, joined with the Republicans in defeating amendments designed to make capitalists give up some of their profits. Each amendment meant hundreds of millions of dollars. It was only when the Republicans attained power, and tax measures came before Congress, that the Democrats became the defenders of the plain people once more!

### There Is No Choice

Between the Democratic and Republican parties Socialists have no choice, no preference. They are one in their opposition to Socialism, that is to say, the emancipation of the working-class from wage-slavery, and every workingman who has intelligence enough to understand the interest of his class and the nature of the struggle in which it is involved, will once and for all time sever his relations with them both; and recognizing the class-struggle which is being waged between the producing workers and the non-producing capitalists, cast his lot with the class-conscious, revolutionary Socialist party, which is pledged to abolish the capitalist system, class-rule and wage-slavery—a party which does not compromise, but preserving inviolate the principles which quickened it into life and now give it vitality and force, moves forward with dauntless determination to the goal of economic freedom.—Eugene V. Debs.

## WHERE LABOR RULES IN GERMANY

M. Phillips Price in the London Daily Herald.

M. Phillips Price is Berlin correspondent of the London Herald, and has just completed a tour through the Ruhr. He is the first Englishman to enter Germany following the close of the war, and is the author of two books on the German revolution, of which he was an eye-witness.

Thuringen and Saxony are now spoken of as the "Red Heart of Germany."

These former States of the old German Empire have between them a population of under 10 millions, which, in comparison with their northern and southern neighbors, Prussia and Bavaria, is small. Nevertheless, situated in the heart of Central Europe and containing important railway junction like Leipzig and Dresden, they are strategically important areas, in the event of internal disturbances arising out of a Fascist move north from Bavaria.

Quite apart from the strategic importance of Thuringen and Saxony, in the event of a Fascist coup is their importance of Thuringen and Saxony is the fact that labor is definitely in the saddle, and where, within the framework of the Weimar Constitution, labor can and does hold important administrative posts by virtue of the democratic franchise.

My visit here has enabled me to gain an idea of what has been done in the short time that labor has been in power, and I may say from the first that within the rather narrow limits which the Constitution imposes, advances have been made.

The police force has been transformed into a kind of militia, in which at least 70 per cent. are organized trade unionists. A very capable Social Democrat and former soldier, Mueller Brandenburg, has been put at the head of this force in Thuringen. A clean sweep has been made of all the secret Monarchist and Fascist organizations, both in Thuringen and Saxony, and such arms as they had during 1920 and 1921 been collected in these two lands have been seized.

In each factory the workers have been allowed to form into "hundreds" for the purpose of watching and preventing any reactionary agents getting into posts in the administration. These "hundreds" are unarmed, but maintain discipline, and in the event of need they could be called to the aid of the militia.

In Saxony the Communists have been allowed to become members

of the same "hundreds" as the Social Democrats, but in Thuringen the two parties form separate "hundreds." In an emergency there is no doubt that the two would cooperate.

Social Democrats with whom I have talked here say that their main differences with the Communists are that the latter are forcing the pace too fast and are laying Thuringen and Saxony open to the danger of the intervention of the Government of the Reich, which is a coalition of capitalist parties and which views the events in Middle Germany with great suspicion.

While leaving Bavaria severely alone, the Central Government has written long epistles to Dresden and Jena, lecturing the Saxon and Thuringen Governments and threatening them with intervention for breaches of the Weimar Constitution.

The Social Democratic Ministers are thus in a very difficult position—between the Scylla of the Berlin Government and the Charybdis of the Communists, but they have managed to maintain themselves so far. The Communists, while recognizing the value of an administration which alone in all Germany is making a wholesale clearance of reactionary Monarchist officials from the local Government departments, are nevertheless concerned with the mass movement, which is going on more particularly in the industrial districts in the Erzgebirge.

There is great poverty among the workers in this part of Saxony, and the collapses of the market have brought large sections of the population to a state of starvation. For Saxony, being essentially industrial, and Thuringen, having a large population working in the small glass and toy factories and in the State forests, are fed largely from outside and their fate is closely bound up with fluctuations of the dollar.

In the Erzgebirge a movement has sprung up to demand payment in gold wages at pre-war rates. Large strikes, led by shop stewards, have broken out, and the militia is siding with the strikers. Berlin is threatening to bring in the Reichwehr to protect blacklegs.

Significant of the position in Thuringen and Saxony is the fact that that they are the only parts of Germany where the standard elementary school has been introduced for all sections of the population, and no privileges are given to the well-to-do by the subsidizing of special schools for their children.

## Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

# EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality.

Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

## SPECIAL SALE

of the best

# WINTER OVERCOATS \$27.75

Which were Sold Always at \$50.00 — NOW ONLY.....

and

## SUITS AND TOP COATS

# \$18.50 TO \$32.50

We Also Specialize in Boys' Clothing. Made of the Best Material, Good Wearing Quality, and Cut according to Latest Styles. Just the Clothes to make the Boys and their Parents Happy.

## THE F. & S. STORE

S. E. Corner 84th Street and Third Avenue

Remember the Address!

Just Off the "L" Station

For the Convenience of the Working Public: Our Store is Open Daily to 9 P. M. and Saturdays to 11 P. M.



## THE NEOTECHNIC ERA

Waldemar Kaempffert in The Forum

Through the courtesy of the editors of The Forum The New Leader is able to present the following excerpts from a remarkable article by Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert in the January number of that magazine. The whole article should be read to be appreciated.

**H**ISTORIANS have pointed out the political trend of mankind from individualism to collectivism. Families governed by an experienced, patriarchal father; tribes dominated by a chieftain; kingdoms swayed by an all-powerful ruler—these phases of individualistic government eventually gave way to Republican and Democratic collectivism. This political tendency has its industrial counterpart in a movement from individual toward mass production.

With the steam-engine came a dramatic transformation. The best mill of Pericles' time ground but two barrels of flour a day; a twentieth century Minneapolis mill produces many thousand barrels a day. In the early part of the nineteenth century a skilled mechanic could make about thirty needles a day; by the end of the century a machine, supervised by an unskilled girl, made 500,000 a day. Slave-machines were devised after the steam-engine was introduced—slave-machines that are nothing but steel fingers, hands, fists, and arms, hundreds of times stronger, faster, and surer than human hands and arms, machines that strike blows more powerful than the hammer wielded by Hercules, dig up tons of ore at a scoop, whisk material from place to place, fashion wood and metal for a million purposes with never-failing, uncanny, thoughtless skill.

The dominance of the machine in modern industry has given coal an economic and political importance unknown before the steam-engine was introduced. Coal is power, mechanical power, economic power, industrial power.

**I**T was but natural that the modern factory was evolved to make the most of the steam-engine, we did not at once throw overboard the traditional individualistic system of producing the goods that we need. Machines made it necessary to collect workers in manufacturing communities. And yet there was no true realization of the steam-engine's engineering and economic function. Factory proprietors proceeded to utilize Watt's brilliant invention individualistically. Each bought an engine; each generated his own power. In a power sense, he was as individualistic as any tribal chieftain of primitive times.

It is a system which is antiquated. To generate energy from individual steam-engines in 238,000 mills and factories is ridiculously anachronistic in this alleged electrical age. Each furnishing factory chimney is a monument unwittingly erected to the wasteful principle of generating energy competitively. We have been utilizing steam stupidly for at least twenty years. One hundred years hence mankind will look back with astonishment and amusement at the present method of applying the steam-engine. The individual steam-engine is now an absurdity. Suppose that we were to make the ridiculous attempt to drive a household fan with steam. Consider what is required: a boiler, a small engine, and a complicated system of pipes and valves. To start the fan we must build a fire in the furnace and boil water to drive the engine. And yet the individualistic process of converting the chemical energy of coal into a form available for thousands of machines, a process carried out in nearly every factory, is less ridiculous only because of the vast scale on which it is conducted.

**T**HE United States produces about 600,000,000 tons of coal annually. This vast amount of fuel is wastefully mined and wastefully utilized in accordance with a competitive system which considers not the common weal but the good of the individual producer and utilizer. The Director of the United States Geological Survey estimates that of every 2,000 pounds of coal, 600 are lost in the mine; thirty-one are consumed by the mine itself for the generation of energy; ninety-five are used for transportation or are lost on the way to the boiler room; 446 are tossed into the air through smokestacks; 102 are wasted by heat radiation and in the ashpit; and 640 are lost in converting heat into mechanical energy. Hence, only seven-eighths of a pound, less than four per cent, are actually utilized. A more pathetic spectacle of industrial incompetence can hardly be imagined.

Electricity is energy which has no weight and which requires only a wire for its instantaneous transportation. The water-power and the coal-burning stations that now supply it mark the transition from the paleotechnic to the neotechnic era. We have in the "super-power system" proposed by Mr. W. S. Murray and sponsored by the Federal Government itself, an indication of what the neotechnic era will eventually mean. The essence of the Murray plan is the generation of energy at its source and its transmission by wire instead of by rail from that source.

**I**MAGINE what this (nation-wide electrification) will mean. At strategic points power-dispatchers will be located, each housed in a structure which is not a generating but a power-distributing sta-

tion with a great switchboard as its main equipment.

From every community within a radius of hundreds of miles come frequent reports by telegraph or telephone. New York needs 200,000 kilowatts at once; a thunderstorm has turned day into night, and every electric lamp will be in use. The dispatcher at Binghamton throws a switch or two and shoots to New York power from Niagara Falls, where the sun happens to be shining brightly and where there is an excess of energy. Philadelphia will want more power about five o'clock for its street-cars, which are beginning at that hour to transport hundreds of thousands to their homes. The factories of the Susquehanna region are beginning to close at that time; the throwing of more switches diverts its power to Philadelphia. If Susquehanna needs energy itself because it is working overtime, there are other regions to fall back upon. It is picked up here from a steam plant in Newark, there from a hydro-electric plant in the Adirondacks and turned into the trolley cars of Philadelphia.

We stand on the brink of the neotechnic period in our economic development. The consequences of segregating the production of power can scarcely be exaggerated. The change that will follow the abandonment of thousands of individual steam-engines will be as marked as that which followed the introduction of the steam-engine itself. The technical structure of our contemporary civilization will be radically transformed. What the flaming hearth has been to the family, electric energy is destined to become to the nation; for as the crackling flames knit the family together, electricity generated in a few huge central stations and distributed to every home and factory will knit city and hamlet together.

## A MESSAGE FROM W. K. BILLINGS

The following paragraphs from a letter addressed to Lena Morrow Lewis, who solicited contributions from various friends to send a couple of books and a money order to Warren K. Billings as a Christmas present, will be of interest to those who had a part in this kindly act as well as our readers in general, all of whom we trust are concerned in the Morris and Billings case.

"I have your letter, also the two books you sent from Boni Liveright, and the notice that I have been credited with the sum of \$24 in money contributed by numerous friends in and about New York City. I wish to sincerely thank them and you for the great kindness that has been extended to me and I am sure that I feel and appreciate the spirit to which this interest in me is due.

"I have already read a small portion of the book, 'Tramping on Life,' and must say that I like it very well. The subject matter—while not so very interesting in itself—is put up in so fine a fashion that it has an attraction that is lacking for me even in writing of Anatole France and some other of our great writers. As for the other book—well, I have not as yet more than glanced through it, and although I do approve of Rodin's sculpture I can't say I care much for his drawings. But then I am not a 'modernist' and perhaps I don't understand it. Somehow or other I can't seem to appreciate William Groper or that other fellow that draws for Pearson's either. Once in a while they hit upon a novel representation of a thing but it always looks so poorly drawn to me that it makes me wonder what a real artist could do with the same idea. (You can see by that statement that I don't consider the 'modernists' as real 'artists,' so you'd better not show any of them this letter). Of course I don't pretend to be any kind of an artist myself but I do wish that in any event a kind providence may prevent me from ever becoming a so-called modernist.

"Your clipping about the convicts giving their blood to prolong a fellow prisoner's life for a few days is not surprising to me. I see many acts among the boys here that never receive official recognition that cause me to think the so-called criminals as a rule are a better lot than others upon whom such a stigma is not placed. They have many redeeming features that cannot be recounted here. I expressed something of this view to George P. West in our recent interview, but he did not dwell upon it as I wish he might have.

"Your clippings from the Socialist World pleased me also. You made a notable address at Philadelphia and Gene's article on the 'First Political Prisoner' was exceptionally good—even for him.

"I have not as yet gotten round to making enough calendars to cover all of those I wish to send them to in your care. I am away behind in my work, but if the weather permits I may get them all out this month.

"Best wishes always.

"Warren K. Billings."

If the socialist seeks the aid of the State today, it is not to put restraint upon human freedom, but to restrain the rapacity which commercialism produces, and which is rapidly destroying even the semblance of freedom for the workers.—Keir Hardie.

Our aim is not as a nation of contented serfs, but a life of freedom.—Keir Hardie.

## WESTERN CIVILIZATION: CAN IT BE SAVED?

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

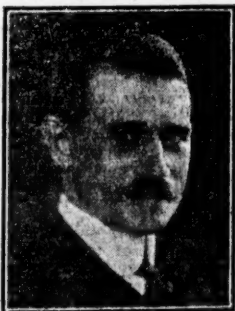
An address delivered in a symposium on this subject before the League for Industrial Democracy, January 18, 1924.

**M**Y diagnosis of the trend of modern social development is that we are witnessing a close race between barbarism and Socialism for the mastery of the world.

The thought that the whole elaborate structure of our civilization may break down and that the human race may relapse into barbarism sounds as ludicrous as it is lurid, and yet it is anything but fanciful. All the mighty civilizations of the past have perished. Is there anything in our modern or Western civilization that offers an absolute guaranty of permanence?

The four pillars of our civilization are its economic order, political structure, cultural achievements and ethical and esthetic conceptions. Of these the most important is the economic.

Modern civilization is distinguished from all civilizations of the past primarily by the methods and volume of wealth creation: the factory system of production with its perfected machinery and the application of artificial power, steam and



MORRIS HILLQUIT

electricity; highly developed facilities of transportation and communication—railroads, steamships, airplanes, telegraphs, telephones and wireless—and the finely organized mechanism of commerce and banking on an international scale. This economic order supplies the community with an unprecedented abundance of products, ample and varied food, wholesome and attractive clothing, substantial and beautiful dwellings and all the necessities, conveniences, comforts and luxuries which constitute the physical basis of civilized existence and afford us leisure and opportunity to cultivate the intellectual and ethical sides of life.

**P**OLITICALLY modern civilization is represented by a well organized society which assumes to guarantee the peace of the community, and the personal security of the individual, a society based on "law and order," to use a trite but expressive phrase. The accepted and prevalent form of such a society is the constitutional or democratic state including the institution of popular representation in government.

The cultural aspect of our civilization finds expression in a high development of the fine arts and the sciences and a general diffusion of knowledge. Its concrete and physical manifestations are an abundance of public schools and institutions of higher learning, museums, theatres, concert halls, books, magazines, newspapers, etc. Its ethical and esthetic characteristics may be summed up in the growing sense of "humanism," i. e. the recognition of the rights of all human beings and the respect of the person of our neighbor, the growing consciousness of personal and social duty and the refinement of habit and manner.

This, I believe, is a fair statement of the essential elements of modern civilization. They are all of comparatively recent date and very precarious and loosely rooted in the human race. In Europe, the cradle of Western civilization, all of its aspects, economic, political, cultural and ethical have within the last ten years been shaken to their very foundations in one country or another.

**T**HE World War was an alarming and conclusive demonstration that our boasted civilization is only skin deep. Morally it signified a general relapse into savagery, economically it threw Europe back at least a generation and politically it produced a revival of despotism, oppression and lawlessness.

With an era of peace and reconstruction ahead of us, Europe may repair the terrible damage of the war and start again on the road of progress. But suppose there will be no peace. Suppose that the suppressed hostilities of the suffering and tortured peoples of Europe should break out into another blind and desperate conflict, a war waged with fang and claw, a war of ferocity and duration surpassing the recent mad war. What would be left in Europe except disorganized bands of pauperized savages, what would become of our boasted civilization?

**R**ECENTLY I visited Rome. It was my first opportunity to observe the Eternal City, and to admire the surviving monuments of its ancient splendor; the imposing ruins of the gigantic Colosseum, the inspiring building of the Pantheon, the divine statues and other

exquisite objects of art. I found myself musing; here was the capital of a marvelous civilization. Two thousand years ago it was peopled by a highly cultured and refined race. Its streets were lined with gorgeous palaces and imposing public buildings. It was the center of a mighty empire, with an elaborate civil administration, a formidable military power and a model system of law. It excelled in science, philosophy, literature and art. Roman civilization must have seemed as solid and indestructible to its contemporaries as ours seems to us. Then the whole splendid structure collapsed, and for centuries the erstwhile great city was the dismal abode of semi-savage hordes. How did that incredible break-down come to pass? The main reason is well known. Roman civilization was not the birthright of the Roman people but the possession of a small privileged caste. The bulk of the Romans, the slaves and proletarians, had no part in its physical comforts or intellectual refinement and no interest in maintaining it. When the hordes of barbarians appeared at the gates of the Empire City, the effete patricians had no power and the mass of the people no desire to defend it.

**B**UT what was the physical process of decomposition of this great civilization? I read the answer in the demolished brick walls of the Colosseum, in the despoiled interior of the Pantheon, in the ruins of the ancient public buildings. When the Roman patricians were deprived of the booty of warfare and the tribute of conquered nations the industrial life of the city, such as it was, ceased. The population, bereft of occupation and means of living, forsook the city, went back to till the soil, lost all contact with civilization and gradually relapsed into a state of primitive peasantry. Rome was depopulated. Its public buildings and private dwellings fell into disrepair. Its political life, public gatherings, workshops, learning and arts were neglected. The people deteriorated from generation to generation and rapidly they lost all understanding for the refined and the beautiful things of life. When their hovels no longer protected them from the elements they took bricks from their forsaken public buildings to fill the holes of their huts; they broke up divine statues to make crude vessels and implements from the marble fragments. In the course of centuries dirt accumulated and buried their temples and monuments.

**T**HEN I came to Germany and noticed the condition of the leading hotels in Berlin. They were large and pretentious, but their carpets were worn, their curtains torn, their furniture rickety and their whole appearance one of decay. The railroad cars were shabby and ill kept. The people were often dressed in tatters. Interest in things spiritual and esthetic was crowded out by the daily anxiety for food. And I thought of Petrograd in 1918, with its population, its closed factories and shops, its lack of newspapers, its frightful retrogression in all the material comforts and in its cultural life, all caused by the ravages of war. I saw the shadow of ancient Rome on the two proud capitals of Europe. For modern civilization after all rests on as slim a foundation of popular support as did the civilization of Rome.

Western civilization may also be styled Capitalist civilization, and the two characteristics which distinguish it in addition to those I mentioned before are the monopoly of the fruit of civilization by small privileged classes and the rivalry for power and wealth among the privileged classes of the different nations. It is this class strife within the nations and the commercial rivalry between the nations that contain the germ of destruction of modern civilization. The war that put Western civilization to such a severe test was not an accident, but an inevitable incident of our capitalist civilization; the disordered state of Europe today, the mad policy of mutual strangulation and destruction is another expression of this "civilization."

**C**APITALIST civilization has become incompatible with social progress just as Roman civilization had in its time. It is doomed to perish unless it is extended over the whole people in each country and the deadly germ of rivalry and war is removed from it—unless the capitalist system of competition and strife is replaced by a pacific union of cooperative commonwealths of equals.

Capitalism and war are inseparable. War and civilization are incompatible.

That is why the hope of mankind is not in the chancelleries of Europe's ruling classes, not in the discordant League of capitalist nations, but in the Labor Party of England, the German Social Democracy, the Socialist Party of France and all the emancipatory economic and political movements of the workers of the world.

Freedom and militarism are mutually antagonistic forces, and where the former flourishes the latter cannot thrive.—Keir Hardie.

## WHAT OTHER EDITORS THINK

## Abuse of Discretion?

**F**OR a city council to attempt to protect the community from the scourge of low wages is an abuse of discretion.

So ruled Judge Waite in the Demos mandamus action brought by the Citizens' Alliance to compel the city to issue Demos a restaurant license.

The judge rules in effect that any attempt by the council to prevent an employer from paying the lowest possible wages and working his employees the longest possible hours is an abuse of discretion.

All hail to the king of the bench. His discretion is so much more trustworthy and sacred than the discretion of fourteen aldermen elected by the people.

It is remarkable how these judges usually decide in favor of the employers. They are just as quick to issue an injunction against a union putting a wage scale into effect as against a city council refusing a license to a low wage payer.

Has it ever come to the attention of anyone that a judge restrained an employer from discharging an employee for union membership, or from closing down his factory and putting all the employees out of work?

In Clinton Forge, Virginia, a barber was arrested for contempt of court for putting in his window a sign reading, "No scabs wanted here."

This was not abuse of judicial discretion. There is no such thing. These chosen few of the capitalists who preside in the courts, just as the kings of old, can do no wrong.

There is rising resentment against the courts. It is such actions as Waite's that increase this resentment.—Minneapolis Labor Review.

## Zinoviev's Bad Guess

**W**HAT Zinoviev doesn't know about the American Socialist movement is well exemplified by his letter to the Communists praising them for being "the first to raise and bring forward the question of working among the peasants." The Socialist Party has always known enough not to call the American farmer a "peasant." And the question of organization and work among the farmers has occupied the attention of the Socialist Party at numerous conventions. Practically all of the Western States have at one time or another had extensive Socialist organization work done in them and most of the present leaders of the radical farmer organizations have been members of the Socialist Party.—Oakland World.

## Mr. Bok's Peace Plan

**M**R. BOK, who has powerful newspaper connections, is now submitting his \$100,000 plan to a "referendum vote" of the American people through the newspapers. The opponents of the League of Nations charge that the entire enterprise is nothing but pro-League propaganda, and ask, who contributed to the \$100,000 fund.

Assuming that Mr. Bok is sincerely striving to promote the cause of peace, he apparently believes that the absence of peace is due to the lack of a real peace plan; also, that the genius in whose creative

mind resided the plan which was to bring salvation to a tortured world, would not reveal it to the world unless encouraged by a prize of a fabulous amount of money.

Whatever else this remarkable publicity scheme may result in it has so far yielded the following definite result: Mr. Bok has risen to tremendous popularity; the lucky winner is sure of a heavy purse, and the League of Nations issue is again brought to the front. It has also shown how one man can play with the Nation if he has enough money to set the proper machinery in motion.—Advance.

## Capitalist Sabotage

**T**HE unthinking individual who swallows wholesale the parrot cries of the Capitalist Press usually believes that it is working men—bricklayers and such like—who deliberately restrict production, and indulge in Ca' Canny as a settled policy, but Sir Herbert Hambling a banker, the other day drew attention to a statement recently made by Mr. McCurdy, the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Government to investigate the question of trusts, in the course of which statement Mr. McCurdy said: "When I was Chairman of the Committee on Trusts in 1918, I was impressed by the fact that the trade combinations formed in this country appeared almost exclusively to be formed, not to organize mass production, but for the purpose of restricting production and preventing what the manufacturers consider undesirable competition in what appears to them to be a strictly limited market."—Glasgow Forward.

## Wealth and Want

**I**N a primitive society no one starves as long as there is food in the tribe, but under present society the means of subsistence tend to concentrate in the control of the few while the many eke out a bare existence.

If human beings perish from an absolute scarcity of the things that sustain life the problem is easily understood; but when there is an abundance of every species of wealth, and still there is dire want, it becomes a problem of adjusting the machinery of distributing the necessities of life.

If our industrial and political lords have not the ability and desire to put a more equitable system of wealth distribution into operation, they should at least provide a free opportunity for every member of society to work and earn a living.

When we read of numbers of working people driven to suicide after vainly searching for work and on the brink of starvation, we can feel certain that there is something woefully wrong with our industrial system.

There is one thing that must be provided for soon: The government should either provide employment for the out-of-work or provide unemployment insurance.—Minnesota Union Advocate.

The Labor movement cannot afford to be sordid or mean; its success depends upon its being inspired by a high ideal, a lofty purpose, a noble aim—not the aggrandizement of the selfish, but the enrichment of the race.—Keir Hardie.

## RAND SCHOOL

7 East 15th Street

February 1, 8:40 P. M. . . . . HORACE KALLEN  
"Religious Character of Social Programs"

February 4, 9:00 P. M. . . . . MARIUS MANSOME  
"The World We Live In"

February 5, 8:00 P. M. . . . . ALGERNON LEE  
"Descriptive Economics"

February 5, 7:00 P. M. . . . . MARGARET DANIELS  
"Elements of Psychology"

February 6, 7:30 P. M. . . . . ALGERNON LEE  
"Studies in Socialism"

February 6, 8:40 P. M. . . . . CLEMENT WOOD  
"What's Right With Modern Poetry"

February 8, 7:30 P. M. . . . . DR. MORRIS H. KAHN  
"Elementary Physiology"

February 8, 7:30 and 8:40 P. M. . . . . SCOTT NEARING  
"Methods in Sociology"

February 9, 11:00 A. M. and 3:15 P. M. . . . . SCOTT NEARING  
"Social Values"

February 9, 11:00 A. M. and 3:15 P. M. . . . . SCOTT NEARING  
"Social Revolution"

February 9, 3:00 P. M. . . . . SOLON DE LEON  
"Trade Unionism"

February 2, 1:30 P. M. . . . . PROF. H. M. BARZUN  
"French Socialism and the European Crisis"

February 20 to Mar. 13 . . . . . MORRIS HILLQUIT  
"New Problems for Radicals"

Write for Bulletin

## SATURDAY AFTERNOON CAMERADERIE

## PROF. H. W. L. DANA

Four Lectures on

## CURRENT DRAMA

Feb. 2, 4:00 P. M. Saint Joan and Shaw.

Feb. 9, 4:00 P. M. The Pirandello Plays.

Feb. 16, 4:00 P. M. The Molnar Plays.

Feb. 23, 4:00 P. M. Subject to be voted by audience.

Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, Admission 25 Cents

Jan. 26, 4:00 P. M. Author's Reading.

Zona Gale

## THE NATION

30 Vesey St., N. Y.  
1. Send free sample copy and book list.

2. Send year subscription and Webbs' "Decay of Capitalist Civilization" at \$5.25.

Name . . . . .

Address . . . . .

If you want the facts, read

## THE NATION

Every Week

The Real Story of Secretary Fall's Hundred Thousand By William Hard

This Week

25 Cents a Copy \$5.00 a Year



## EXPLAINING OUR POLITICIANS

By JAMES ONEAL

IN 1821, a North Carolina Congressman obtained the recognition of the Speaker during the debate on the famous Missouri Compromise. He insisted on speaking in spite of the advice of friends. "It is for Buncombe that I want to speak," said the Congressman, meaning a county in his district. From that time to this "buncombe" has been a synonym of the politician using any argument to get votes.

We are sometimes amazed to observe the stupid appeals the politician addresses to his audience. No where else in the world has "buncombe" been so useful an article in politics as in this country. Few of us have tried to find the reason why the professionals of the capitalist parties resort to "buncombe."

The explanation lies in the history of parliamentary and representative institutions. The early parliaments were not based upon district representation. They were frankly based on the representation of distinct classes. For a time each class met separately and deliberated as a class upon matters of special interest to it. The early parliaments were not even divided into a House of Lords and a House of Commons. "Each of the four orders of clergy, barons, knights and burgesses met, deliberated, and made their grants apart from each other," wrote Green, the historian of the British people.

THIS was class or occupational representation. If a modern corporation when electing its president also chose him to represent the corporation in Congress we would have something similar to the early representative system. Each class meeting by itself represented a solidarity of class interests. The French States-General and other early parliaments were also based upon the idea of representation of special classes organized into special groups and representatives of which were elected by each group. It was only at a later period that the class system of representation disappeared and district representation took its place. Even in Mexico in 1846 we find this system of class representation. In a new Congress of 160 members forming a single chamber, the clergy was to have 20 members, the army 20, land owners and farmers 38, commerce 20, mining, manufacturing, and the literary and artistic professions 14 each, and the judges and government employees were defined as a class entitled to 10. Rives in his "The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848," says: "Landed proprietors, merchants, manufacturers, and mine owners were to meet separately and choose representatives of their several classes by an elaborate system of secondary elections."

In all such early systems the man seeking election frankly appealed to the interests of his class. He did not pretend to represent "all the people." He did not have to use this "buncombe." He did not have to try to deceive the members of other classes. He could be honest in his appeals for support. Of course, the workers and peasants were not represented in these early systems. It was a system of aristocratic representation.

BUT these frank systems of class representation did not last long. They gave way to district representation and two houses, one representing the nobility and clergy and the other the privileged classes below them. As the franchise was extended to lower orders of the population the parliamentary system assumed its present form. Into the electoral districts were thrown citizens of all classes and they were required to elect one man to represent all who had a vote in the district. The voters today consist of millionaires and paupers, capitalists and wage workers, landlords and tenants, debtors and creditors, trust magnates and small shop keepers.

### DULL FIGURES BUT IMPORTANT

By NORMAN THOMAS

Instead of reducing the present surtaxes, Congress ought to reimpose excess profit taxes. In the year 1920, excess profit tax yielded \$988,726,351. Income taxes on corporations amounted to another \$636,508,292, making a total of over \$1,600,000,000 in taxes taken from earnings slightly less than \$8,000,000,000. What was left for the corporations was plenty to enable them to do business on the old stand.

These facts were not known in 1921. That was a year of depression and under the influence of very clever propaganda the excess profit tax was repealed. The country acquiesced because it was led to believe there would be no excess profits. In 1923, the probabilities are that corporation earnings will exceed \$8,000,000,000, of which, under the present law imposing surtaxes and a flat income tax on corporations, the government will collect about \$1,000,000,000. The curious part of the story is, according to the New Republic from which we take these statistics, that, although the government loses a tidy \$600,000,000, a great many corporations with moderate profits pay more taxes than they did under the old scheme of taxing excess profits. It is the big corporations making 25% and upward which have been heavy gainers.

Here, then, are the facts. The

It is obvious that all these classes have different interests. It is an absurdity to ask all the voters in a district to choose one man to represent all of them. If he were the greatest genius that ever lived he could not do it. He himself knows that he cannot represent all of them. He cannot vote for a bill favorable to capitalist corporations that will satisfy these corporations and the wage workers at the same time. Of course, in his election campaigns he will pretend to represent "all the people." But this is the "buncombe" that he is forced to use in order to get votes.

By thus throwing antagonistic classes into the same electoral districts the man seeking office at their hands becomes a hypocrite. He is the finished product of the representative system in its present form. He cannot be sincere. He must be vague. He must blow hot and cold, be all things to all men. He must indulge in abstractions, avoid issues, cultivate the art of deception, promise in private what he denies in public, be a "friend of labor" yet "protect the rights of capital."

If he is elected, however, the idea of class representation is expressed in his conduct in the legislative body. He is really the tool of the economic class that owns his party. He represents that class although he has a mandate from the voters in general. In order to deceive the voters he and his party organs drag them with vague appeals to a vague "patriotism" and to respect for the "fathers" and to fear of change. Hereditary allegiance to the party is systematically cultivated. The memory of departed leaders is glorified. Platforms are written that are meaningless. "Buncombe" assumes the classic form which we know in party life today.

The capitalist politician is helpless and cannot do otherwise. The whole system is a clever arrangement of hypocrisy and deceit. It has become hoary with age and it is sanctified by tradition. It is so subtle in its working that many voters cannot see through it. It is so essential to the ruling classes that their spokesmen take fright at the suggestion of a candidate appealing to some economic class or group in an honest and manly way.

It so happens that Socialists are not affected by this camouflaged system because they never pretend to represent labor and the despoilers of labor. They know that this is not possible and that it is not even desirable. They appeal to the useful workers in rural and urban life to support Socialist candidates. They refuse to be a party to the deception practiced by the political brokers of the two-party machine of capitalism.

ALTHOUGH the ruling classes once enjoyed the system of open class representation they now oppose every suggestion of going back to representation of economic groups. The reason for this is obvious. To restore the old system of frank and open representation of economic groups and classes with our present widespread adult suffrage for men and women would be to place the government in the hands of the workers on the farms and in the cities. Meeting by themselves and electing their own representatives these two classes would be a majority of Congress. They could reorganize American industry on a basis of equity and democracy. Government by big finance and capital would come to an end.

Hence the old, cumbersome and deceitful system of district representation will be cherished by our ruling classes to the last ditch. It serves them better than it does the masses whom they exploit.

Knowledge of these facts by the workers of the cities and the countryside would hasten the day of awakening and liberation for which so many now yearn.

### WAITERS FIGHT IN COURT

St. Louis.—The Benish restaurant of St. Louis has had a long and bitter fight against a number of strong organizations of labor but the star performers in the conflict are Mollie Cole and Viola Johnson. These girls legally charged with having so interfered with and restrained the trade of the Benish restaurant as to cause it a loss of \$3,000 in four days. The president of the Waiters' Union, Ethel Ruhr, Kittie Anker, secretary, and the business agent of the Union were also included in the injunction. The Benish Company, knowing it could expect little favor from the city courts, applied for a writ in the Federal Court.

We have each to bear our part in the warfare against wrong—some in the front of the strife, some guarding an obscure outpost, but all doing the duty which we find lying nearest our heart.—Keir Hardie.

years when the excess profit tax was in vogue were boom years. Even in 1920, which was less good, the tax paid the government without killing industry. It certainly would not kill industry today. The repeal of the excess profit tax was for the advantage of big corporations. Why should not they pay out of their abundance rather than the people through heavy tariff duties or through taxes on small incomes?

## SOCIALISM AND MR. WELLS

By DAVID P. BERENBERG

THE MARXIST had wasted the forces of revolution for fifty years; he had had no vision; he had had only a condemnation for established things. He had estranged all scientific and able men by his pompous affectation of the scientific; he had terrified them by his intolerant orthodoxy; his delusion that all ideas are begotten by material circumstances had made him negligent of education and criticism. He had attempted to build social unity on hate and rejected every other driving force for the betterment of a class war.

H. G. Wells says this in his recent book, "Men Like Gods." And he says it in a book devoted to the sketching of yet another Utopia, in which all the dreams of the socialist come true. He says it as a socialist who has himself suffered the doubts, and undergone the strains of the last nine years.

It is a bitter indictment, and the best proof that there is a large element of truth in it is in the inevitable reaction that the statement will call forth. Wells will be called "a reactionary," a "milk and water socialist," a "compromiser," and the more romantic and intemperate will shake their heads doubtfully and ask each other in doleful voices whether Wells has "sold out." The orthodox will bewail his implied advocacy of "class cooperation," and will turn their backs upon him, unconscious of the irony in the very term "unorthodox," which they will pin on him.

It may be doubted that the Marxist has wasted the forces of revolution for fifty years. He has largely wasted them for ten. It is not true that the Marxist had no vision during these fifty years; it is true that he has no vision today. He has lost it—if only for a time. He will never find it unless he realizes that he has lost it. Too intense concentration on any object will obscure the best vision. The Marxist has forgotten what Utopia looks like.

It is true that in the last ten years he has "had only a condemnation for established things." This condemnation is an excellent thing. It is the necessary wrecking that precedes the erection of a modern building on the site of an old structure. And since the ground is not yet cleared, the condemnation must go on. But are the plans being drawn for the new house? Not the specifications—but the ground plan? Or at least the front elevation?

Even Wells's sneer at the Marxist's claim that he is scientific is partially deserved. Marx was scientific. He experimented, and tested, and observed—and reached tentative conclusions. Do the Marxists do as much? Do they not rather quote, and deduce, and out of their inner consciousness do they not rather seek to build a system, ignoring entirely the fact that no reasoned system, no matter how logically sound, can stand, unless its data, its premises, its conclusions are daily tested in the laboratory of experience? And are they testing their data—their premises—their conclusions? Scientists should feel no passion. If their conclusions are wrong they discard them and form new ones. Are Marxists scientific in this sense? If they are, why all the hatred, the contumely, the reproaches vented upon those who diverge from their conclusions? Passions belong in churches—not in movement based on science.

SHALL we not then hate the capitalist system? No. I think we had better not. It is better to understand it—to study it—to find where it is strong and weak. We shall have to carry much of the system over into our new order when the time comes. And much of the new order already exists within the body of the old. There is no room here for hate and for love. You can't study the thing you hate, any more than you can really see the thing you love.

It is true that the Marxist has been intolerantly orthodox. This can be explained, but not excused. The Marxist has not been merely a propagandist of the scientific revelation. He has been also a member of an oppressed and persecuted minority. Persecuted minorities are always fanatical, and fanaticism always breeds fear and hatred of the heretic. But the point that Wells sees, and that the Marxist does not yet see, is that the scientist who tests his data, his premises, and his conclusions in a laboratory is not moved by the tumult and the shouting of those who misunderstand him. And Wells has forgotten one thing. The physicist, the chemist, the geographer, in the centuries during which they, too, were an oppressed and persecuted minority, were not so serene and unmoved as now they are. Galileo, to save his skin, recanted—and it is inconceivable that Giordano Bruno went to the stake without feeling hatred for his persecutors, and love for the ideas for which he was dying. Roger Bacon had to hide his discoveries in cryptic writing. He must have been moved by hate, and fear, and hope. The sacrifice, the devotion, the suffering of these and other men through five centuries built the foundation on which the physicist, the chemist and the astronomer work serenely unmoved by hostile forces. The biologist is not yet on so firm a base. The social scientists—sociologists, economists, historians, psychologists—still live in a world that greatly fears them and their work. And they react to this fear with hatred. They are wrong. But they are human. Even Mr. Wells is hu-

man. His reaction to the Marxist is not altogether scientific; it is quite strongly tinged with dislike.

IT is not true that the Marxist is negligent of education. He has sometimes mistaken propaganda for education. He has sometimes taught error (as who has not?), but he has taught, and taught, and taught, until today the world is permeated with the direct and indirect fruit of his teaching. But he has struck a stone wall. How can you teach honestly if the environment is dishonest? How can you teach children the new world order if they breathe in the dogmas of the old with every breath? How can you reach mis-taught adults with any new idea? The Marxist has at times quailed before this seemingly insurmountable obstacle, and has resorted to easy dogmas. He is doing that now. And Mr. Wells, quite unscientifically and unhistorically, concludes that he has always done it—and will always do it.

Mr. Wells himself says that "vision is returning to socialism." It is—but very slowly. There are few really brave people. Brave men and brave women are those who will unhesitatingly submit all they believe to be true to searching laboratory tests. Even Mr. Wells accepts his God intuitively. No test that Mr. Wells or anyone can devise can prove or disprove His existence. Yet not until we devise a social science as fluid and as severely tested as physics and chemistry and mathematics, will there be any real revolution in men's minds. And until there is a revolution in men's minds, there will be no new social order. At least no new social order that will not contain the worst phases of the present order.

## FRENCH VOTERS HAVE OUTGROWN WAR MENTALITY

Paris.—The recent defeat of Poincaré's election gerrymander in the French parliament shows to what extent the French voters and their representatives have outgrown the war mentality.

The present Chamber of Deputies was elected under the law of July 12, 1919. It is a compromise between proportional representation and the majority principle. Each French department, or province, serves as an election district.

Under the law, proportional representation is set aside in any election district where one party polls the absolute majority of the votes. And even where proportional representation is in force, the law favors the strongest party in the division of fractional votes.

This system had been cut by Cle-

WELLS is right in this—that the real task ahead is the organization of a world that has never been organized. This task must be handled as the engineer handles the building of a railroad or a dam. Into the task hatred and fear, jealousy and ambition, enter only to imperil the outcome. So far as this task is concerned, we must be as cool, as calm, as unmoved as a surgeon, a draftsman, a surveyor. And this we are not. Worse—this we do not even want to be. We speak of enthusiasm, of burning zeal, of passionate devotion to the "cause." Waste! We can't use it on this job. It clogs the machinery. Work we need—effort we need—patience and determination. The only kind of love we can use is love of truth.

menace for the special purpose of strengthening the national bloc and keeping it in power. To it the national bloc owed its victory on November 16, 1919. But the French voters have become disgusted with the national bloc, and every by-election since has shown a decided drift toward radicalism.

The national bloc saw its chances of victory dwindling from month to month. Fearing that the coming general elections in May might bring a victory of the opposition, even under the mixed majority and proportional rules of voting, the Poincaré government set about juggling the election laws still more in its favor.

One means to this end was to eliminate the article providing for the abolition of the privileges of the majority party in any election district. This paragraph, originally invented as a trick to make the national bloc supreme, began working against it in the districts where the increasing opposition became the majority.

The government bill was defeated by a vote of 281 against 280. Poincaré, seeing himself defeated, dodged the issue by not asking for a vote of confidence. Later the radicals introduced a bill to set the government election reform aside, and this resolution was adopted by a vote of 290 against 27. Even some member of the national bloc voted for it, having themselves been elected by an absolute majority.

The Poincaré government escaped a formal vote of no confidence, but the issue between Poincaré and the opposition will soon bring on a new crisis over some other bill. Perhaps a radical bill to return to the election in vogue before the war may bring a showdown between opposing old parties.

President Millerand has already declared that in such an eventuality, if the opposition should get a majority and override his veto, he would resign. Poincaré would have to do the same.

Every Reader of

The New Leader

will attend the

# FORWARD BALL

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN  
Madison Avenue, Cor. 26th Street, N.Y.

SATURDAY EVENING  
FEBRUARY SECOND

MASQUES

DANCING

MUSIC

\$2,000.00 in Prizes

# DORSHA

Will Dance



## American Socialists to Premier MacDonald

The following cables were sent to J. Ramsay MacDonald Tuesday upon the receipt of the news that he had been summoned to head the British Government as Prime Minister:

**J. RAMSAY MACDONALD**  
HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
LONDON.

American Socialists hail with joy the advent of the first workers' government in Great Britain. Only the political rule of Labor in the principal countries of Europe can bring economic order, social justice and universal peace to the distracted world.

**SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.**

**MORRIS HILLQUIT, International Secretary.**

**"RAMSAY MACDONALD,**  
LONDON, ENGLAND.

Congratulations to British people upon assumption of power by Labor Party. Socialist Party of America welcomes report with hope and confidence in your success.

**OTTO BRANSTETTER, Executive Secretary.**"

## Ask for Returns On Nat'l Office Contributions

During the month of November last, lists for the collection of funds on the National office drive were sent out by Lena Morrow Lewis, National office representative of the Socialist Party in New York City in charge of the drive. Many of these lists have not been returned, and while the drive is officially closed at National headquarters, it has not closed so far as the individuals who still hold lists are concerned.

A letter was likewise sent out December 31st to a picked list of one hundred names, and up to date only three have responded.

The National office has had to curtail its work in the Northwest because of lack of funds, while Local New York, that would be a sharer in this fund, is quite as much in need of funds as the National office. Therefore there is a double reason why returns should be made on these lists and sent in to Lena Morrow Lewis, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. City.

## PARTY NOTES

### New York Leads

Local New York leads the column for stamp sales during the months of October, November and December. The stamp sales for the three months are 1300, 1480 and 1481.

The Finance Committee of Local New York announced at the same time that it had reduced the Local's debt, which in January 1921 totalled \$14,000 to about \$2,000. The Local hopes soon to reduce this debt further and is looking forward in the near future to be entirely free from debts and thus be free to undertake more extensive propaganda and educational activities.

### London in Harlem Sunday

The East Harlem branches of Local New York have organized a joint organization committee which functions all the year round. This joint committee consists of the 17th, 18th, 20th A. D. branches. The Jewish Harlem branch and the Cloakmakers' branch. The committee is at present conducting Friday evening lectures in the Socialist Center, 62 East 106th Street and will begin a membership drive on Sunday afternoon, January 27th, with Charles Solomon and Meyer London as the speakers, and a fine musical program arranged by Samuel Joseph, Raymond Seay and Herbert Somer. The branches of East Harlem continue their separate existence, but hold a joint meeting once a month and at this joint meeting they prepare the plans for the month's propaganda and educational activity.

### FINNISH YIPSELS ELECT OFFICERS

Circle Five of the Young People's Socialist League, with headquarters at the Finnish Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue, elected as their officials for the present term of office the following: Organizer, Bruno Ranta-

### BRONX COMRADES and FRIENDS RESERVE

**Friday Evening, Feb. 22**

Washington's Birthday

FOR THE POPULAR

RE-UNION & CIVIC BALL

GIVEN BY

Local Bronx Socialist Party

AT

**The Bronx Lyceum**

170th St. and 3rd Ave.

Best Dance Floor in the Bronx  
Best Music Obtainable

TICKETS

In Advance

Including Wardrobe **55c**

AT DOOR **75c**

Tickets may be bought at headquarters of Local Bronx S. P.  
1167 Boston Road

Office open daily from 8 to 11 P. M.

## 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.

## Fight for Your Life!

By BEN HANFORD

You Wage-Workers.  
You who must be Wage-Workers.  
You who cannot live except as Wage-Workers.  
Have you learned Why you are Wage-Workers? And Why you must continue to be Wage-Workers?  
To live you must have Food, Clothing, Shelter.  
You Wage-Workers differ from the Wage-Payers chiefly in this—you have no property. You Wage-Workers have just enough of the necessities of life to last from hour to hour, from day to day—from pay day to pay day.

You Wage-Workers can only get Food, Clothing and Shelter by paying money for them. And you can only get money by getting Wages. In order to get Wages you must get a job.

So, you see, it stands this way with you:

Job means Wages;  
Wages means Money;  
Money means Food, Clothing, and Shelter;  
Food, Clothing, and Shelter mean Life.  
So, you see, your

### JOB IS YOUR LIFE.

Not always do you have a job. Then you have unfit food, unsanitary shelter, insufficient clothing—or none. Sometimes when you have a job it is at such low wages that you are unable to supply yourself and family with proper Food, Clothing and Shelter. Of course, you know some Wage-Workers who get good wages—sufficient to supply themselves with everything needful. But, if you will look around carefully, you will find that for every Wage-Worker who gets what you call good wages there are many who get poor wages, and some who are getting no wages—the pitiful starving army of the Unemployed.

Be it good or bad, a job of some kind you must have, for Your Job is Your Life.

How do you get that job, my fellow Wage-Worker? You get it from the Capitalists.

You get it from the men who own the means of production.

You get it from the men who own the mines, mills, railways, stores, factories, lands, buildings, tools, machinery and workshops.

YOUR JOB IS YOUR LIFE, my fellow Wage-Worker, and Your Job is Owned by the Capitalist.

That means that Your Life is Owned by the Capitalist. The man who owns your means of life owns you.

You Wage-Workers cannot live without a job. The Capitalist owns your job. Your Job is Your Life, and in owning your job the Capitalist Owns You, fellow Wage-Workers.

Wage-Workers! Would you fight for your Life?

Would you?

Fight the Capitalists to make yourselves Owners of Your Jobs.

Fight the Capitalists to make Yourself Owners of the Means to Life.

Fight the Capitalists to make Yourself Owners of the Means Necessary to Supply Yourself and Families with Food, Clothing and Shelter.

Wage-Workers!

You must fight the Capitalist Class and lick them.

Your life depends on the outcome of the battle.

Fight for Your Life!

New York and Richmond County have decided that even if Bronx County does not come in they are in favor of a merger of the four remaining counties: New York, Kings, Richmond and Queens.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### From Staten Island

Dear Comrade: Comrade Walter Dearing and I have considerable difficulty in our work. Though within Greater New York, we are, so far as organization work is concerned, as little affected by that fact as though removed by many miles. We are not in a position to employ a full time secretary or organizer and it is impossible for us to get speakers from any of the Locals in Greater New York or any other co-operation, because none of the Locals are responsible for the work in Staten Island. The merger, we believe, will help us rebuild our organization. Local Staten Island, by the way, has voted for a merger and very much desires to become part of a Greater New York Socialist Local.

Fraternally yours,  
FREDERIC ROSENTHAL

Other letters emphatically endorsing the amalgamation plan have been received from Louis Sadoff and Joseph A. Weil of Kings County and Joshua Lieberman, executive secretary of Local New York.

## HAVE YOUR NOTICES IN THIS OFFICE BY TUESDAY

The New Leader has as one of its most important functions the building up of the organization of the Socialist Party.

As part of that work, The New Leader from its first issue has opened its columns to the news of the Socialist Party organization. As the party work grows, the editors will devote corresponding space to the activities of the organization.

Certain rules will have to be observed, however, by party secretaries and publicity committees. Cut this out and paste it over your desk:

1. All notices must be in this office by Tuesday noon to insure publication in the issue of The New Leader that appears Friday.

2. If notices are received later than Tuesday noon, a way may be found to crowd them into the paper, but there can be no guarantee that they will appear.

3. Notices should preferably be sent by mail, written (or typewritten) on one side of the paper only. The editor cannot guarantee the accuracy of notices that have come over the telephone, or that are given verbally.

4. Give the full details of the party meeting or lecture; convention or mass meeting, or whatever the event is, not forgetting date, place, time and participants.

5. These rules apply to Socialist and American Labor party branches, locals, state organizations and subdivisions, in New York City, and in other cities and States as far West as activities occur.

And finally, The New Leader has no favorites, except the Socialist and Labor movement. There is no prejudice of any kind in favor of or against any branch or local. If one branch gets three lines more than another, there is no conspiracy to belittle its activities on the part of the editors.

And bearing all this in mind, LET'S GO!

nen; Financial Secretary, Sanfried Wittaker; Recording Secretary, Toivo Hellas; local editor, Victor Rantanen; Delegate to Finnish Socialist Central Committee, Filmer Mustonen; Delegates to Central Committee, Y. P. S. L., Franz Mustonen and Bruno Rantanen; Executive Committee, Franz Mustonen and A. Kahil; Athletic Committee, Arnold Hendrickson, Toivo Hellas and E. Carson.

## THE AMALGAMATION VOTE

The votes that have come in so far show an almost unanimous desire for it. All but the 6th A. D. branch of the Kings County organization are voting in favor of it. The counties that have sent in complete returns are:

Staten Island, unanimously in favor.

Queens County, unanimously in favor.

Local N. Y., unanimously in favor. Brooklyn, voting not yet complete, so far all but the 6th A. D. voting favorably.

Bronx County Executive Committee refused to send out the ballots.

Executive Committees of Local

## OUR COMING-OUT PARTY LAST SUNDAY WAS A BIG SUCCESS

The coming-out party of The New Leader last Sunday was one of the biggest affairs in the Socialist movement in recent years.

Every seat in the Debs auditorium was taken, the balcony was jammed. Comrades who could not get reservations sat on the platform to watch the rest of us eat, and hundreds were turned away.

It was a great, an enthusiastic event. From the first sweet notes of the songs sung by Agnes Armstrong-Laidler to the accompaniment of Herman Epstein at the piano, to the last brilliant and thrilling speech by Adele Schreiber, every one was on a

high plane of enthusiasm and joy that the Socialists had a weekly paper.

George H. Goebel and Algernon Lee divided the honors as joint toastmasters, and speeches were made by Morris Hillquit, Alexander Kahn, Upton Sinclair, U. Solomon, James O'Neal, Judge Jacob Panken, Lena Morrow Lewis, Kate Richards O'Hare, and other folks.

The speeches were all splendid, the food was good, the singing beautiful, but the real heroes of the occasion were the masses of people who joyously turned out to welcome their child, their voice, their Leader.

## Yipsel Convention Here Next Sunday

Saturday, January 26th, will be a red letter day in Yipsel Circles in Greater New York. At 3:30 P. M. in Room 508 of the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, Morris Novik, Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League, will call the city convention to order.

Five years ago the young folks decided they had a very important and necessary place in Socialist Party work, and taking themselves seriously, they proceeded to organize the league, with the result that today they meet in convention a membership of 500, made up of 12 senior circles and 9 junior.

Fifty delegates will take part in the deliberations of the convention. James O'Neal, Algernon Lee and Joshua Lieberman will address the meeting on behalf of local New York.

The second day's session of the convention, Sunday, will be held at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway, and the meeting will open at 10 A. M.

## New Yipsel Organ

"Hats off to FREE YOUTH!" The official organ of the Young People's Socialist League will make its appearance February 1st under this name. With the growth of the organization has come the increasing need of an organ to voice the ideals, and activities of the young people in the movement.

The magazine will be under the general direction of Morris Novik, Executive Secretary of Greater New York, and the editor-in-chief will be Gertrude Weil Klein, favorably known for her services in the Socialist Sunday Schools for many years. She will be assisted by a board of associate editors consisting of Ben Belsky, Emanuel Switkes and W. M. Feigenbaum. A committee composed of Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy; Algernon Lee of the Rand School; James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader; A. I. Shipiloff of the educational committee of the Workmen's Circle; Alexander Kahn, Chairman of the People's Relief; and Samuel P. Kramer, Socialist News, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, will give advice and counsel in running the magazine.

The first issue will contain articles from a number of prominent figures in the socialist and labor movements, while Willy Pogany, the well-known artist, has promised to furnish the drawing for the cover of the first issue.

The enterprise is receiving the hearty support of the National Director, Albert Weisbord, and all circles throughout the country are being asked to subscribe.

Many unions and Workmen's Circles have already voted a monthly sustaining fund, and everything augurs well for the magazine to prove a successful venture. Subscriptions or donations can be sent to FREE YOUTH, Room 505, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

## RAND SCHOOL

The spring term of the Rand School of Social Science is opening the first of February with an annual series of courses and lectures. Dr. Horace Kallen of the New School for Social Research and Editor of "Advance" is beginning a four-lecture course on "The Religious Character of Social Programs" on February 1. On February 4 Marius Hansome is beginning a sixteen-lecture course in Human Geography entitled "The World We Live In." On February 4, three courses are beginning: Algernon Lee is giving a thirty-two session course (Tuesdays and Thursdays) on "Descriptive Economics," Margaret Daniels is to give a twelve-lecture course on the "Elements of Psychology" and Solon De Leon is scheduled for a thirty-two session course on "Trade Unionism."

On February 6, Algernon Lee will begin an eight-lecture course on "Studies in Socialism" and Clement Wood has planned a six-lecture course on "What's Right With Modern Poetry."

In addition to these new courses during the coming week the Current Events lectures will be held as usual on Saturdays, at 1:30 P. M. in the Debs Auditorium. Scott Nearing will speak on "The Situation in Germany" on January 26, while on February 2, Prof. H. M. Barsan of Lehigh University, a member of the Socialist Party of France, who is sailing next month to stand as candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in the April elections, will speak on "Socialism and the European Crisis."

The Saturday Afternoon Camaraderie, which meets every Saturday afternoon at 3:15 for tea and talk, followed by a lecture at four, will hear Zona Gale give an Authors' Reading. Miss Gale's new play, "Mr. Pitt" is one of the present attractions on Broadway.

Beginning on February 2, Dr. Harry Dana will give a series of four lectures on the Camaraderie on "Current Drama." Saint Joan and Shaw will be discussed at the first session.

## ORGANIZER WANTED

WANTED—General Organizer for New England District, organizer of the Socialist Party; adequate salary to properly qualified person. Replies should state fully qualifications, references, etc. Address, Socialist Party, New England District, 64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

## Lectures and Forums

### LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and 3d Ave.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 27

5 p. m.—Music and Literature

**DR. WILL DURANT**

"THOMAS HARDY: THE DYNASTS"

OFFERING 25 CENTS

7:15 p. m.—

American International Church

**EDMUND B. CHAFFEE**

"RELIGION AND LABOR"

8:15 p. m.—Public Forum

**DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER**

"THE ETHICS OF THE BOYCOTT"

### The PEOPLES INSTITUTE

COOPER UNION

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25

**EVERETT DEAN MARTIN**

(What Psychology Can Tell Us About Human Nature and Society)

"THE VALUE OF THE FICTIONS WHICH WE INVENT ABOUT OURSELVES."

SUNDAY, JANUARY 27

CONCERT BY—AMERICAN ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY, CHALMERS CLIFTON, Conductor.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29

**PROF. EDWARD A. ROSS**

"THE ROOTS OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION."

Admission Free Lectures Start at 8 o'clock

### Brooklyn Ethical Society

Academy of Music

(Atlantic Ave. Station)

Sunday Mornings at 11

**MRS. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER**

"The New Responsibilities of Women Today"

### Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

INCORPORATED

New York and Vicinity and 49 Branches in the United States.

Established 1872. Membership 40,000

Main office for New York and vicinity at 241 East 84th St. Phone Lenox 3559.

Office Hours, 9 a. m.-6 p. m. Sat., 9 a. m.-1 p. m. Closed on Sundays and Holidays.

Brooklyn Office open only Mondays and Thursdays, from 6:30 to 8:30 p. m.

Labor Lyceum, 949-957 Willoughby Ave.

For addresses of Branch Secretaries, write to our main office.

### THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

The Largest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence

**83,000 MEMBERS**

250 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100. to \$1,000

Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit, \$200, or nine months in our own Sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information apply to

**THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**

175 East Broadway, N. Y. City

Telephone Orchard 6616-6617

### Workingmen, When Buying Your HATS

Look for THIS LABEL

THE UNITED HATERS OF NORTH AMERICA

REGISTERED

YOU WILL FIND IT UNDER THE SWEATBAND

United Hatters of N. A.

Rm. 418 Bible House, N. Y.

MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary

### AMEGIN

PYORRHEA LIQUID

For the Gums and Teeth

Superior to Tooth Paste or Powder

Destroys Pus in the Gums

Protects the Enamel and Keeps Teeth White

on Sale at all Drug Stores

25c and 75c Size Bottles

**The Karlin Laboratories**

NEW YORK

### Dr. Simon Berlin

Surgeon Dentist

1800 SEVENTH AVENUE

(Corner 110th Street)

Tel. Cathedral 9462 New York



## ONE OF THE FATHERS

SAMUEL ADAMS, PROMOTER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Ralph Volney Harlow. New York: Holt, Price, \$3.

Reviewed by James O Neal.

So much good work is being done in the field of American history in recent years that there is hope that many of the myths that have come down from the past will become recognized for what they are. This volume contributes something to disillusionment despite what appears to be certain unfortunate defects. It is something more than a biography of Samuel Adams. In fact, there is little of biographical detail to be found in the book. The events of the revolutionary period are used as a background for portraying the character of Adams in the light of modern psychology.

The author stresses the fact that Adams was a failure in business and this is emphasized over and over again as though the absence of the faculty of gathering dollars indicated a low type of ability. By this token Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Eugene V. Debs and others of their type were third-rate mortals. We are assured that Adams was "a curious compound, half idealist, half fanatic. . . . He breathed the air of superlatives. Yet there is the admission that Adams was a superb propagandist and organizer of agitation. This was his field and he was a master of the same just as many a successful Boston merchant would have been a miserable failure in Adams's chosen field. By choosing the profit motive as a criterion of character and ability the author has given us a peep into his own psychology while trying to portray that of Adams.

He also comes dangerously near to supporting the theory that a few sinister agitators are capable of toppling over a social regime by sheer force of their influences. "Revolutionists create the disturbance," we read on page 62. "The events of 1774 and 1775 were simply the logical consequences of a philosophy definitely developed, and a determination reached during the few preceding years, by such radicals as Samuel Adams," page 173. At the beginning of 1775 "Adams had not reached a point where he was ready to force the issue with Great Britain," page 198. Suppose Adams had died before he reached the decision to "force the issue"? The implication is that the whole course of history would have been changed and probably there would have been no American revolution.

If we overlook these faults the rest of the book may be commended to the reader. The author has presented plenty of evidence sustained by original sources quoted in the footnotes to every page to show that the revolution had its origin in sharp economic grievances. The class an-

tagonism states at us from many pages, a struggle between a colonial aristocracy of merchants and officeholders and the disfranchised masses of the period. Considering the evidence he presents of this character we are at a loss to understand why Professor Harlow should try to leave the impression that if Adams had been removed from the field of action there might have been no revolution.

What stands out in this volume is the fact that Samuel Adams was a sincere and earnest Puritan bourgeois seeking to emancipate the merchant class and colonial aristocracy in general from their dependence upon British tutelage. He was one of the first to see that the two ruling classes would eventually separate. He was convinced that they could not live under the same government roof. As a master organizer he mobilized the radical mechanics and organized them and others into secret societies whose tactics remind us of the methods ascribed to the modern "wobblies." They were no pink tea revolutionists as James M. Beck and Ralph Easley would have us believe. They confiscated property, suppressed the civil rights of opponents, tarred and feathered some and deported others.

However, when the revolution was a success and the disfranchised masses whom Adams had organized for revolution endeavored to share in the fruits of it that worthy turned against these rebellious workers. He "played a part that would delight the most hidebound conservative." He "criticized the very machinery which he had taught the people how to use." It made no difference to Adams that the masses he had helped to drill for revolution were still in poverty. When the masses gathered in armed rebellion under Daniel Shays and the rebels suppressed Adams "was relentless in his demands for drastic punishment." Later, when "the disabilities which had been imposed upon rebel leaders" had been removed, "Adams protested, and urged instead the imposition of still more severe legal penalties."

There is no necessity of resorting to psychology to explain Samuel Adams. He had done what many others have done in various countries; he had called a lower class to war to wage a struggle for the liberation of a class above. When he had achieved his aim he was indignant that the lower class insisted on tasting some of the fruits of success. Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George can understand Samuel Adams very well. Despite what we consider some of its defects the book is a valuable addition to the new literature of historical interpretation that is stripping American history of its legends and fables, and as such it is to be heartily recommended.

## THE LURE OF ALASKA

The Story of Sitka. The Historic Outpost of the Northwest Coast and Chief Factory of the Russian American Co. By C. L. Andrews; 108pp. Seattle: Press of Lowman & Hanford Co.

Reviewed by Marius Hansome

The story of Sitka will be of interest to several types of readers, those travellers and sightseers who have been to Alaska or intend to make the journey; to readers with a penchant for correct historical narrative; to writers seeking plot germs. A vivid picture of the Thlingit Indians, "a strange, warlike, shrewd people, physically strong and enduring, possessed of many excellent qualities" will be among the rewards of the careful reader.

From fifteen exquisite halftones and one hundred and eight pages of solid matter one gains acquaintance with the Discovery, Settlement, Progress of Colony, Natives, Churches and Schools, Social Life, Trade and Industry, Sitka Under the United States Rule, and What to See, of the first port on the Pacific Coast, and the first capital of Alaska. I said acquaintance with rather than information about, because the author's thorough knowledge of Alaska from Ketchikan to Point Barrow and his life-long experience there, carry over to the reader.

The reviewer has learned that Mr. Andrews owns the second largest collection of published material and pictures on Alaska, being exceeded in this particular by a former Delegate to Congress from the territory. The author has contributed several articles to the Washington Historical Review on "The Russian Influence in Alaska." He translates Russian freely and has had access to the invaluable material found in the Russian archives. A complete history of Alaska in the light of new evidence on the early Russian occupation and later development is forthcoming from the same pen.

No writer or lover of the Northland can escape breaking into description of the natural grandeur. "The panorama of sea, island, and mountain, which holds Sitka, Alaska, as a jewel in its setting, is one of the most beautiful of those which surround the cities of the world. Toward the sea from the peninsula on which Sitka is situated stretches an expanse of waters, studded with forest-clad islands which break the swell of the Pacific that foams and tumbles on the outer barriers. To the westward Mount Edgecumbe lifts its perfect cone, its summit truncated by the old crater whose fires have been dead for centuries; to the northward Harbor peak lifts its signal to mariners; the Sisters,

with a gleam of snow and ice among their pinnacles, lie in the distance of Indian River; to the east is the arrowhead of Mount Versteova; the glaciers glisten beyond; and the sweep of mist-clad mountains, in their softness beyond the bay to the southeast completes the circle."

"From prehistoric time this has been the home of the Sitka Kwan of the Thlingit people. For sixty-three years it was the scene of the chief activities of the Russian-American Company, who represented the rule of the Muscovites, who, when Chicago was but a blockhouse in a sedge swamp on the banks of a sluggish, reedy river, and when San Francisco was but a mission and a Presidio of sunburned bricks, maintained in Sitka a community of busy people who were casting cannon and bells, and building ships for commerce."

Alaska was then a scene of many conflicts, individual and community. The author has detailed the life of one little village with absorbing interest. Here, for example, we find the historical setting which gave Bret Harte an inspiration for some of his romantic verse. "While on a visit to San Francisco, Resanof, courtly Chamberlain of the Czar, met the Spanish beauty, Dona Concepcion de Arguello, of whom one of the visitors said, 'She was lively and animated, had sparkling, love-inspiring eyes, beautiful teeth, pleasing and expressive features, a fine form and a thousand other charms,' and he lost his heart to her. Resanof, hurrying home to Russia to gain the imperial permission for his marriage, died at Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, and Dona Concepcion waited for years for the coming of her lover, not knowing that he lay dead under the Siberian snows. When the news of his sad fate came to her she devoted herself to charitable works."

The late President Harding's visit to Alaska occasioned a great deal of general interest in the last of our frontiers to whose history Mr. Andrews has made an authoritative contribution.

## AMONG THE MAGAZINES

## The Forum

By all odds the most important and the most informative article in the current number of The Forum is the contribution of Waldemar Kaempffert on "The Era of Super-Power." His theme is that the old period of industry out of which we are passing is a stage of industrial barbarism compared with the possibilities which technical science makes available. The old period he calls the "paleotechnic era" and the new period the "neotechnic era." To the former belongs the steam-engine and to the latter the electric motor. Mr. Kaempffert forecasts the great economic changes that will occur upon the utilization of the full possibilities of technical science and electric power. By courtesy of the editors of The Forum The New Leader is able to present excerpts from this article for its readers on another page.

A debate on "Can War be Outlawed?" by Salmon Oliver Levinson and Jesse Siddall Reeves is based on the acceptance of the capitalist order of society. John Taylor Adams and Cordell Hull also debate the issue of a tariff and leave us wondering why men can waste so many words on this matter. Among the other articles are "The English Political Scene," by C. F. G. Masterman; "Remaking Greece," by Fridtjof Nansen; "Culture for Unwilling Students," by Arthur Cornwell White; "The Unforgotten Journeys," by Jean Kenyon Mackenzie, and the "Political Drama of 1924," by George Henry Payne. A digest of many letters received from readers regarding the Monroe Doctrine offers an interesting study of general American opinions of American capitalist expansion in Latin-America.

## THE CENTURY

Charles Edward Russell, in the January "Century," develops at length and with persuasive power of gathering logic, a thesis that ought to be brought home to every worker. Prohibition here, and spreading throughout the world, is not the result of any moral impulse, not even of any great desire on the part of the people; it is the result of the command of big business. "What this power was," says Russell, speaking of the force behind the obvious agencies, "might have been surmised by anybody that noted the part taken in the movement for national prohibition by the largest and most astute employing interests in America. The fact was well known then and came afterward to be widely published that this interest had financed and inspired the campaign for the amendment that other agencies had managed." Why did big business (Russell's phrase) engineer this deal, put prohibition over on the American people? Because the health of the worker would be improved? Because the courts would be less crowded? Not at all! Because production would be speeded up. Because the big business bank accounts would be bigger. What do constitutional liberties matter, when big business has other desires?

Another valuable contribution in the same issue is the page quoted from Bertrand and Dora Russell's "Prospects of Industrial Civilization." One of the day's keenest minds issues a warning that goes deep to the heart of capitalist society. "It is of course obvious that the next power to make a bid for world empire will be America. America may not, as yet, consciously desire such a position, but no nation with sufficient resources can long resist the attempt. This statement, backed with sound reason and clear example, means that war must last as long as capitalism—unless one country becomes powerful enough to win world empire. Later, Russell speaks of the Americans' "skillful use of a hypocrisy by which even they themselves are deceived." This self-deception, this unwillingness to look at facts when they run counter to selfish desire, combines with the lust for power, to make America, in the eyes of equally imperious capitalists of other lands, the next great menace. What must the worker think of the whole tribe?

## McNAUGHT'S MONTHLY

"McNaught's" is a new monthly published and edited by V. V. McNitt. The opening editorial, by Samuel G. Blythe, compares our country to an elephant, its critics to fleas. He does not stop to consider that without the colonial fleas his pet elephant would not exist, for he suggests that the country should wipe out the vermin, should "crack them on the national thumb nail as they occur, and proceed on our maybe clumsy, our maybe crude, our maybe circuitous, but on our certainly triumphant way to our manifest destiny." This

blather is obligingly illustrated by Rube Goldberg. Dr. Joseph Collins, who occasionally takes a squint at literature, feels called upon to plead for respect for his profession, telling us that really, after all, most doctors are good, honest fellows, who do their best to discover and cure their patients' ailments. Richard Le Gallienne speaks of the New Cynicism, the wide spread of which he attributes to "too much democracy." Please, Mr. Le Gallienne, tell us where there is even enough! A namby-pamby consideration of The Younger Generation's View precedes a Toonerville Trolley cartoon advertising the new magazine, which is followed by Will Rogers. Will is let loose because he pretends not to mean what he says, but he hits the truth in his title "All politics is apple-sauce." The list of announced contributors promises a continuance of this gentle counteragent to the equally mild Mercury. Pardon us for giving the magazine so much space; it amused us; its literary section (being harmless) really has more merit; its quotations are sometimes worth pondering: "The average American newspaper is written by illiterate boys and girls who have never read anything except newspapers." How, Mr. McNitt, about the average magazine?

## THE WORLD'S WORK

"The World's Work" for January continues the series of articles on "The Immigration Peril," by Gino Speranza, the present installment dealing with the effects of "mass-alienage" upon our law. Louisiana law being chosen as the theme. Mr. Speranza is fearful of the fate of our Anglo-Saxon legal code and traditions and his literary output places his "Americanism" in about the class a 150 per cent. The present installment appears to be much ado about nothing. Alfred G. Smith contributes a suggestive article on the overpopulation of southern farms; Frank R. Kent continues his article on "The Great Game of Politics," discussing the "city boss" and revealing nothing unknown to the "muck-raking" age of twenty years ago, and William McAdoo contributes an informing article on the international drug traffic. Other articles consider the occupation of the Ruhr, federal taxes and problems before Congress.

## THE SURVEY GRAPHIC

The mountain folk of Kentucky and of the southern Appalachians appear to be a popular theme of late. Professor Ross recently contributed an article to the "New Republic" on this interesting people and Percy MacKaye writes of the Kentuckians in the "Survey Graphic." Frank Tannenbaum writes an excellent article on "The Stakes in Mexico" which is one of the best that has appeared on the present disturbance south of the Rio Grande. John Collier introduces his readers to the "Navajos of the Painted Desert," Otto S. Beyer, Jr., writes of

## German Socialists

The Literary Review of the New York Evening Post carries the announcement of the publication of three notable biographies of German Socialists in Berlin, Ferdinand Lassalle, August Bebel, and Rosa Luxemburg. The life of Lassalle and of Bebel is not unknown. The former's life and career were the theme of W. H. Dawson's "German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle" published in 1888. On the other hand, Bebel has left his rich reminiscences to posterity in his autobiography. Rosa Luxemburg is less known. Of her writings Emil Lengyel writes, in part, the following appreciation:

"When reading the volume containing the recent letters of Rosa Luxemburg, the most 'radical' member of the trio, one is inclined to forget that she was an extremist. One can hardly believe that the same person which was preaching merciless war against every non-Communist could rise to such ethereal regions as she sometimes approaches in her letters. However ungenerous one may be with such adjectives as 'masterly' and 'one should naturally be so—fairness compels the reviewer to say that some letters of Rosa Luxemburg contained in this collection rank among the masterpieces of their kind in German literature."

## George Cram Cook

The death of George Cram Cook abroad recalls his novel, "The Chasm," published by Stokes in 1911. It is one of the few novels by an American writer that had the Socialist movement for its theme. Some of the scenes were laid in Russia in the old days of czarism and the author showed an intimate acquaintance with the methods and propaganda of the Russian revolutionists. On the whole the many passages in the book which deal with the Socialist philosophy remind the reader of some of the best work of Jack London's. Cook was born in Davenport, Iowa, in 1873 and after graduation went abroad to Heidelberg and the University of Geneva. Upon his return to this country he settled in Davenport. He married three times, his last wife being Susan Gaspell, the novelist. Among his other writings were "Roderick Taliaferro," "Evolution of the Superman," "Battle Hymn of the Workers," and "Suppressed Desires," a play. In recent years his home had been in Provincetown, Mass.

## JUDGING THE PRESENT

A History of Rome, by Tenney Frank (American Historical Series). Holt, New York.

Reviewed by Joseph T. Shipley

To one on whom the affairs of life are pressing grievously, no means of upholding the burden, or regaining a clear vision of the world today, is more pleasant and more sure than to look back upon the affairs of life gone by. A consideration of the past serves chiefly, in this mood, to reveal, by its long tale of earnest lives unprofitable, of empires curbed and republics grown imperial, of endless shifting and striving and suffering men and women—to reveal, by this presentation of the futility of the past, the probable fruitlessness of the present. Rome more than other countries of old offers analogies with our hopeful United States; the growth and decay of the republican theory are spread across its ages as a noble vessel, storm shattered, widens its cargo across the seas; its pulsing men and vehement women have mellowed into legendary demi-gods or ogres, pleasantly pointing a moral; its laws and disputes and conquests are no longer clothed with the vigor of reality, but are material to be interpreted along the lines of the historian's bias. It gives life a soothing vagueness, a welcome remoteness from specific needs of today, to speculate whether two towns joined to form the city of Rome in 600 or in 576 B. C.: it fills one with a sense almost of pride to reflect that sturdy Cincinnatus once left his plough to take supreme command; that Regulus, sent by Carthage to dictate terms to Rome, sought death in exhorting the Romans never to yield; that Brutus was both gentleman and patriot, slaying the tyrant Tarquin; and it affords one a shiver of envy or a sigh of relief to know that he is no longer living in the degenerate days of the Caesars, Hellogabalus or Nero, when wicked women lusted for frenzied power.

Indignation at the palpable injustice and greed of the twentieth century softens to an ironic smile at contemplation of equal injustice and greed twenty-five centuries ago. If anything, better "checks and balances," more effective remedies were provided then. The Romans experimented with corn laws, with private leases or grants of public lands; they experienced panics and the woes of inflated currency; they were forced to enact laws forbidding senators to engage in commerce (a man who works his own farm has fewer temptations); with a more germane and effective division of the government than our own, they recognized that the voice of the people at the time is the essence of democracy, and developed the referendum, the plebiscite, the recall, and the new interpretation by the court of existing laws—though not the yielding to mob sentiment American courts have at times displayed. It is very significant, as an object lesson to the world today, that hand in hand with this machinery of democracy strode through the ages a conservative impulse, developing inevitably a device or a spirit that quietly guided the reformers into quieter, less democratic ways. The early elections were on the basis of the groups that supplied centuries (100 soldiers) for the army; five sections divided according to wealth and age elected 193 assemblymen, of whom 98 were chosen by the wealthiest and smallest group, and 5 by the great body of the proletariat. Power being completely in the hand of the patricians, the plebeians marched out of Rome on strike one day. Two tribunes, corresponding to the public defender now advocated in the United States, were accorded them; these men grew in number to ten and in power until they controlled the assembly (fortunately, says Professor Frank, who seems to distrust the popular voice, "one of the ten could always be found to listen to the arguments of conservative men and employ his right of veto").

Any one of these tribunes, indeed, might check by veto any measure; later Gracchus nullified this conservative force by instituting the recall of tribunes who objected to his measures—the voice of the people coming obediently at his call. The Gracchi succeeded also in a number of plebiscites, but though the Roman republic seems to be functioning more readily, the progress of democracy has not been marked; for popular favor was won by plundering colonies, and the spread of slavery was rendering Romans intolerant; Rome the republic was reaching out for empire. So the march continued, as triumph brought excess and lust gnawed at the heart of the Empire, until the evil flamed forth in corruption and disorder and decay. The path Rome trod was a winding way of youth and growth to glory and sad decline; is there a symbol for the world today in the adage "All roads lead to Rome," and in the manifest similarity between our own development and that of the ancient Romans?

A visitor from Mars would be amazed that an adroit lawyer who has amassed a fortune helping corporations to enrich themselves at the expense of the public should ever have the effrontery to seek political favors at the hands of his fellow citizens. Stranger yet, the voters sometimes make such a man governor or senator.—Prof. Edward A. Ross in "The Social Trend."

Man is the only animal that blushes—or needs to.—Mark Twain.

## Butler's Blah-Blah

BUILDING THE AMERICAN NATION. BY Nicholas Murray Butler, A. B., A. M., Ph. D., LL. D., Litt., D., L. H. D., D. C. L., Oxon, Cantab, etc., Officer of the Legion D'Honneur, Chevalier of something else, decorated with Red Eagle (second class), by the late Kaiser, beribboned, be-medalled, be-awarded with all the decorations running around loose in the world. President of Columbia University. Charles Scribner's Sons, \$2.50. Reviewed by W. M. Feigenbaum.

Reviewed by W. M. Feigenbaum

This monumental piece of Blah is a series of lectures Nicholas delivered in England last summer in order to interpret America to Great Britain. It is not on record that America clamored to be interpreted by Nicholas—but let that pass. If you have ever heard Nicholas Murray Butler hand a diploma to a moneyed nobody at a Columbia commencement with his sonorous voice booming across the gymnasium, you know what this book reads like; "Henry Obadiah Jinks, patron of art, prince of industry, master of men, mighty teacher of the young in the Sunday schools of your state, friend of liberal education, never swept off your feet by the gusty passions of the mob, always remembering that the real guys are hard boiled, I gladly admit you to the degree of Doctor of Sanitary Plumbing in Collumlumumba University. In token whereof I hand you this diploma." Then someone slips a hood over the head of the man who has just smashed a strike or made a big donation to a Columbia fund for something or other, and the fledgling A. B.'s who have just been hatched out yell, "Ray, Ray, Ray, C-O-L-U-M-B-I-A; Obadiah, Obadiah, Obadiah." And Dr. Jinks smiles and feels real devilish.

Well, that's the kind of a book that is, if you get the idea.

Butler is not a fool, although he often acts and writes like one, and he knows something of American history. But you wouldn't tell it from these lectures.

The Sir George Watson Foundation for American History, Literature and Institutions have had three ambassadors to interpret America to England thus far, Viscount Bryce (who didn't know as much about America as he thought he did), Arthur Twining Hadley and Butler. When they invite Charles A. Beard or David Saville Muzzey or James Harvey Robinson over there, it'll be shouting. But they might invite Davie Hirschfeld as well as Butler while they are at it, if they want to know what isn't so.

That's what this book is like. If you like Butler, get the book at once. It's a splendid example of the Butlerian style and pomposity. And excellently bound. But if you want to know what America is, how it came to be, the real character of the Revolution and the men who made it, get a book by James O'Neal or Ellis Paxton Oberholzer or Charles A. Beard. And keep away from this.

## Mutual Aid

THE root principle of human welfare and progress is not individual initiative, but MUTUAL AID.

In that you have the explanation of all social activities. Left to individual initiative, society would never have come into existence at all even in its most primitive forms. Men would have warred upon each other in crude jungle fashion, unable to rise above the level of an animalistic anarchy.

From that fate they were saved by the social instinct—by mutual aid, the origin of all cooperative enterprise.

In spite of the anti-social promptings of greed, the superior spirit of mutual aid has given us civilization, and by all manner of cooperative measures men have striven to restrain the excesses of individual initiative—by police vigilance, by religious prohibitions, by trade unionism, by the organization of public opinion.

Capitalism is doomed because it has systematically fostered the initiative of the individual at the expense of the general good, and by so doing has vitiated the whole social atmosphere.—Australian Worker.

Man competing with man for his own gain, careless of the requirements of others, is exercising selfishness in its crudest form. His quest for happiness, presumably the object of his struggle, must be in vain, since nature has so ordained that the unit can only be happy when the mass of which he forms a part is happy also.—Keir Hardie.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;  
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;  
To defy Power which seems omnipotent;  
To love and bear, to hope till Hope creates  
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;  
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;  
This, like thy glory, Titan! is to be  
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free—  
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory!  
—From Prometheus Bound, by Shelley.

Better a dozen men who understand what they are about and trust each other and are not self-seekers, than 50,000 men prepared to swim with the tide and attend Number One.—Keir Hardie.

## BRYANT BOOKSHOP

Jack G. Karpf Proprietor  
A shop where all books published can be had at the lowest prices.  
A special discount of 10% to all members of the Socialist Party presenting a paid-up membership card.

66 W 47th St. New York

OPEN TO 8:30 P. M. DAILY



# This Is the Story of J. Ramsay MacDonald, Socialist Premier of Britain

## Sketch of the Leader of the British Labor Party—From 617 Votes to Over Four Million.

The following sketch of the British Premier was written by a well-known American journalist last month. At that time it was expected that he would soon be called to govern the nation, but no one expected it would be so soon.

A few years ago J. Ramsay MacDonald was one of the most persecuted men in Great Britain. The mere mention of his name was enough to give "patriots" violent hysteria. He was driven out of city after city; his meetings mobbed, he was threatened with violence. Many of his oldest friends deserted him. The attacks upon him, the foulness, the viciousness, the cruelty that were poured upon him cannot be described.

"We have not changed" he said triumphantly one night when he addressed a meeting of unprecedented size and enthusiasm in a hall from which he had been driven by hooligans only four years before, "we have not changed; the times have caught up with us."

Through it all; through obscurity, through persecution and through high success, he has remained the same devoted Socialist, loyal to his cause.

The story of MacDonald reads like a romance. If he were merely a politician, a self-seeker like Lloyd George, he could long ago have been the head of the Government. But he early took his stand for Labor and for Socialism, regardless of the consequences. And there he stood for 30 years.

MacDonald's rise is the rise of the Socialist and Labor movement in Great Britain from insignificant, hated, persecuted obscurity to its present high estate.

The movement that is today the Labor Party, began in 1888 when J. Keir Hardie, ran for Parliament as the first Labor candidate distinct from and hostile to the Liberal Party. Hardie was not yet a Socialist, but he felt that working men should be elected to speak for labor, independent of the Liberal Party. Previously, the Liberal Party had permitted some of its local sections to elect labor men, but in Parliament they sat and voted with the Liberals.

Hardie's campaign in Mid-Lanarkshire was the beginning of a distinct Labor Party. The Liberals tried to buy him off. Sir George Otto Trevelyan offered him £300 a year (a princely sum for a workingman in those days) and a "safe" seat for life if he would step down. Hardie indignantly refused.

It is interesting that Charles P. Trevelyan, son of a man who tried to buy off Hardie, is today a Socialist member of Parliament, and one of the most uncompromising in the ranks of the Labor Party.

During the campaign Hardie received a letter "wishing you good speed in your election contest. Had I been able to have gone to Mid-Lanark to help you it would have given me very great pleasure indeed." The letter was signed by J. Ramsay MacDonald, then a young man of 22 living in London.

The election was held April 27, 1888, and Hardie received 617 votes. That was the acorn that has grown into the mighty Labor Party with its millions of votes, hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic workers and 193 members of Parliament, led by the man who supported it 36 years before.

James Ramsay MacDonald was born in 1886 in the fishing village of Lossiemouth, within hearing of the pounding surf of the North Sea. To this day, he loves his birthplace and his fisherfolk and the moors, and whenever he can tear himself from his duties, he goes back to breathe in the strength that comes with the sprays of the sea and the silences of the marshes. He is a world statesman and a great internationalist, but like Keir Hardie, he is all Scotsman, and he speaks with a distinct Scotch burr, a rolling of the R's, that distinguishes lovers of Bobbie Burns and of the shrill piping of the bags anywhere in the world.

MacDonald early showed a love of learning. Most of all, he loved the study of biological science. After finishing board school, the village dominie took an interest in him and secured for him a scholarship in science in London.

Up to the time he left for London, he had been a pupil teacher. Soon after arriving in London, his health broke down, and when he recovered he had to end his academic career.

The young man took a job as a clerk in a London warehouse to support himself in a room in a bleak tenement known as the Duncan building, in a miserable slum. At night, he would repair to the Birkbeck Institute, reading, reading, reading. There he laid the foundation for his marvellous store of information, his keen reasoning and his beautiful English style.

Later, he took up journalism, and for a while he was private secretary of a Liberal member of Parliament. His learning made him a Socialist, and he joined the Fabian Society,

serving on its executive for a number of years. But he left that organization in 1899 out of protest against its failure to oppose the Boer war.

He was not one of the founders of the Independent Labor Party in 1893, when Hardie created that Socialist propaganda machine, but in 1894, he wrote a letter to Hardie saying, "I am making personal application for membership in the I. L. P. I have stuck to the Liberals up to now, but I feel that it is quite impossible for me to maintain as a Liberal any longer. In the event of elections, I shall place part of my spare time at the disposal of the party to do what work may seem good to me." Hardie hailed his joining the party as "its greatest intellectual asset." For 29 years he has been one of the greatest assets of the party.

In 1896, at the age of 30, MacDonald married Margaret Ethel Gladstone, and with her he established one of the most attractive homes in London. Mrs. MacDonald was a woman of supremely beautiful character, and she shared all his ideals. Their home at Lincoln's Inn Fields was headquarters for the labor movement. Socialist visitors always finding a welcome, the high-minded and idealistic Scotsman and his beautiful wife creating a center for comradeship that old time Socialists still recall with pleasure.

Mrs. MacDonald was one of the pioneers of Socialist and trade union propaganda among women. She was closely associated with Margaret G. Bondfield and Susan Lawrence, both of whom are now in Parliament, and with Mary MacArthur, now dead. Six children came, and the future Premier was wonderfully happy. The pair traveled everywhere, to Australia and India, to South Africa and to America. Mrs. MacDonald brought with her a small fortune that made it possible for her husband to carry on his work untroubled by the need to earn his bread and butter.

In 1910 David, the youngest boy, died, and MacDonald's mother. In 1911, Margaret MacDonald died. The day before her death, she asked him to write her biography; the memoir he wrote is considered one of the most beautiful tributes in English literature.

The two sons today are following in the footsteps of their father. Malcolm and Alister G. MacDonald are both active Socialists, both talented speakers, and both were candidates for Parliament in the last election. The three young daughters are also devoted to Socialism.

The Labor Party was born in 1900. It grew out of the fighting of Keir Hardie for Labor's independence of the Liberals. Hardie devoted his energies in building up the I. L. P., in which he was ably assisted by MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Fred Jowett, Bob Smillie, Margaret Bondfield, and many others, now leaders of the party and all Socialist members of Parliament. At the same time, he fought in the Trade Union Congress year after year for a political policy divorcing the workers from the Liberals. Year after year he was defeated, until his resolution carried in 1899 at Plymouth. It is interesting to remember that at that same Congress the first woman delegate sat for a trade union. It was Margaret Bondfield and her first speech there, was in favor of that resolution.

The committee to carry out terms of the resolution consisted of four members of the Trade Union Congress, including Will Thorne, Social Democratic and Labor M. P. for nearly 20 years since then, and two members each of the three Socialist bodies, MacDonald and Hardie representing the I. L. P. George Bernard Shaw was on the committee representing the Fabian Society.

February 27 and 28, 1900 delegates met in London at the call of this joint committee, and founded the Labor Representation Committee which later became known as the Labor Party. The instant success of this body, blazing a new trail as it did for British labor and politics, was due to the form of organization there devised, permitting each affiliated body the fullest autonomy and uniting them all upon a minimum acceptable to all. The drafting of that plan was a triumph. It made the Labor Party possible. The plan was the work of MacDonald, who was elected Secretary, a place he held until 1911.

He had time, moreover, to do his work in the I. L. P., serving as chairman for three years. He wrote many books on Socialism, and edited the Labor Leader and the Socialist Review; he is still editor of that monthly magazine.

In 1906 he was elected as one of the 29 Labor members of Parliament, carrying the Leicester constituency. In Parliament he found his real work. He is a born parliamentarian and he rapidly became a leader.

In 1911 he was elected chairman and leader of the party in Parliament, conducting his work with consummate skill. He was re-elected in 1912, 1913 and 1914.

In 1914, the war broke out. MacDonald met his comrades in a secret

caucus that lasted all night and outlined the sort of speech he would make attacking the Government. The House met, and the leader of the party made his speech. It was a defiant, glorious speech, based on high Socialist idealism. But it was received in an atmosphere of hostility, in cold, brutal silence.

The party as a whole, then 40 members strong, voted not to oppose the war and to turn over its platform to the recruiting service of the army. MacDonald then did a magnificent thing; he resigned the highest office in the gift of his party and took his place with Hardie, Snowden, W. C. Anderson, Jowett and two or three other Socialist members in opposition to the war, while Arthur Henderson was elected chairman and leader of the party.

Then began the trial by fire. MacDonald and Hardie and their comrades went up and down the country as did "Gene Debs" in this country—proclaiming their Socialist faith. Hardie went into his own district in South Wales and was driven out by hooligans. He came back to London and MacDonald found him one day sitting in the sunshine on the terrace of the House of Commons, a broken man. He died soon after, and his body was followed by a few faithful comrades to Scotland. Hardie's last words were to MacDonald, "Stick to it, Lad; we'll win through yet."

Of the war, MacDonald wrote, "The most worthless elements in the country would ride the whirlwind, that the people would be worked up into a state of mind that would not only defy every appeal to reason but would prolong the agony and settle it as all wars have hitherto been settled crushing debts, ruined ideals and a peace which would only be a truce to give time for the sowing of new seeds of war."

Unhesitatingly, he carried on. It meant hatred and misrepresentation. It meant persecution and often physical violence. It seemed the end of a brilliant career. But he was a Socialist and he had a vision of a nobler world, and he carried on.

Beginning in December, 1917, the tide turned. The work of the Socialist heroes began to take root. At a series of conferences in London the Labor Party began to see the error of its position, and following a number of speeches by MacDonald, it took a definite stand for Socialism and against the further prosecution of the war.

The elections were held in December, 1918. MacDonald, Snowden, Jowett and the other Socialists were defeated. They carried on outside of Parliament. With matchless courage, with the noblest eloquence and with undimmed Socialist faith, they continued to work. They built up the Labor Party. They made it see that they, the three or four who followed Hardie, were right the party majority had been wrong.

Meanwhile, MacDonald was fighting against Communism and its disruptive work. He was the leader in the fight to reorganize the world Socialist movement, with the followers of Zinoviev on the outside. He is hated by that element even more than by the reactionaries because he made it impossible for them to break up the labor movement as they did in France and Italy.

In 1922 came the great victory. Instead of 74 members, 142 members were elected; MacDonald was triumphantly victorious in Aberavon in South Wales. He was elected Leader of the Opposition, and he took his place with high and noble courage, conducting the fight for Socialism in the House as he had outside.

In the spring of 1923, Lord Curzon began his crazy adventure that almost led to war with Russia. The Bolsheviks, who had fought MacDonald and had tried to destroy his party, now knew where the friends of Russia were. The foreign office of Moscow cabled, not to the foreign office in London, but to MacDonald, to save Russia, and the Labor Party stopped the war that the Tories wanted to start against the Soviets.

The statesmanship of MacDonald is now in process of development. It is uncompromising Socialist statesmanship. His party loves him and trusts him because they know he has been tried in the fire.

He had his chance to compromise; he scorned it. He stood fast for his ideals, and he is loved and honored for it. His campaign for reelection last month was a triumph. Miners and fisherfolk of the South Wales district, so like his own Scottish home, met him miles from the towns, and carried him to meetings of cheering thousands on their shoulders.

Now the leader of the greatest labor movement in the world, the captain of 193 comrades in the House of Commons, and Prime Minister of the British Empire, he is one of the world's most significant figures.

When he stands in the House or on a platform, he attracts attention instantly. A man of handsome presence, tall, white haired, human, he speaks in a fine musical voice that is tipped with fire of idealism and with the common sense of his position. He lashes his foes, he flays the system under which we live, he paints a picture of a better world of comradeship that sweeps his audi-

## SOCIALISTS WILL CELEBRATE BRITISH VICTORY NEXT WEEK

The assumption of power by the British Labor Party will be celebrated by a mass meeting Sunday afternoon, February 3, that will be held under the auspices of the Socialist Party, the American Labor Party and the Jewish Socialist Verband, at New Star Casino, 107th street and Park avenue.

Algernon Lee will preside, and the speakers will be Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party; Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy; Jerome T. de Hunt of the American Labor Party; former Congressman Meyer London, B. C. Vlodek and Professor H. M. Barsan, French Socialist and candidate for Chamber of Deputies at the next election.

The meeting will begin at 3 p. m., and admission will be free.

## LENIN MEMORIAL MONDAY NIGHT

A memorial meeting in honor of Nicolai Lenin will be held Monday night in the auditorium of the People's House, 7 East 15th street.

The speakers will be Meyer London, Lena Morrow Lewis, and others. The meeting will be under the direction of the 6th and 8th A. D. Socialist Party, and the Young People's Socialist League.

## IN MEMORY OF NICOLAI LENIN

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

With the death of Lenin one of the last titanic figures passes from the world arena of the class war.

We may reject the social philosophy and political methods of the school which he founded; we may deprecate the violence of his controversial style, but we must render homage to the greatness of the leader and the qualities of the man.

No one who followed the career and achievements of Nicolai Lenin could help but admire him. No one who had the good fortune of his personal acquaintance could help but love him.

Endowed with a keen intellect and indomitable energy, equipped with encyclopedic knowledge and inspired by a living spring of faith, he gave the rich treasures of his mind and heart wholly to the cause of the oppressed of all lands, without thought of himself, simply, naturally and unreservedly.

His acts and thoughts, his life and being were a sacrificial offering on the altar of his one god—humanity.

What Lenin has done for Russia and the world must be left to the appreciation of the clearer-visioned historians of the future.

Our party differences are stilled by his untimely death.

Let us honor the memory of the Socialist and the man.

## MEMORIAL TO ARTHUR GLEASON

A memorial service in honor of the late Arthur Gleason will be held Saturday, February 2, it has been announced by a group of his friends. The services will be held in the Parish House of the Church of the Ascension, 12 West 11th street, and will begin at 2:15. All friends and admirers of the late poet and journalist are invited to attend.

## PIE FOR COLUMN CONDUCTORS

The papers say the Latin countries have defied the Virgin Mary for many years—meaning, of course, that they have defied the Virgin Mary. The kind of battleships to be scrapped under the Washington treaty is well illustrated by the Louisiana which can scarcely keep afloat long enough to reach the morgue. The president of the thrift society is called upon to pay \$150,000 duty on jewels which he forgot about when his baggage was going through the custom house. Hell and Maria Dawes tries to solve the reparations question. Charles Hughes gives his whiskers a tug and tells Russia where to get off. Woodrow offers to help redeem the nation, but makes no admission that he helped a lot to get it into the predicament where it needs redemption. And etc., as Ring Lardner would say: Doggone it, there are times when a mere editorial writer turns green with envy of the conductors of the funny columns. But the latter do not always take advantage of their grand opportunities. —Milwaukee Leader.

ences before him. His logic is deadly — his enthusiasm contagious. Every time has its man. The time is ripe for the forward march of Socialism. The man is Ramsay MacDonald.

"There are but two parties" said MacDonald in a famous debate in Parliament in July. "The capitalist party and the Socialist Party."

The times have caught up with the hated, despised outcast of 1914; he is the man of the future. He will lead and inspire the workers of the world in the fight for a better day. The world is richer for the lives of such men as Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, Fred Jowett and J. Ramsay MacDonald.

## UNITY AND LEADERSHIP

By AUGUST CLAESSENS

Blessed is the trade union that has at its head a patient, intelligent and idealistic leadership. Such a union is fortunate. Its progress is steady and inspiring. Yes, leadership is important. It will take a long, long time before men can do without it. Every organization must appreciate the fact that it should have the very ablest men and women at the head of its ranks. That's agreed. There is no argument on this motion. Its carried unanimously!

But the ablest leadership cannot succeed if the rank and file does not follow; or does not know where it is going; or does not hold its ranks solid and united.

The head is the top-notch. Without the body, however, it does not and cannot function. The best leadership in the world cannot serve efficiently unless it had a good membership behind it. We repeat—good leadership is absolutely necessary. But much more necessary is a compact, well-organized and clear-sighted rank and file. A thousand times sooner let's have a well-organized membership and a poor leadership than excellent leaders and a rotten membership!

There is no great shortage of good heads in the labor movement of this country. We may differ about this matter. But we all agree that there is certainly lots of room for improvement in the rank and file.

They must learn and realize the lesson that each and every member is a unit in an organization. No union can have strength if its units are weak and not on the job. A strong combination of units, each in its place and doing its duty creates Unity. A solid mass of determined, interested and wide-awake men and women creates Solidarity. Without this backing no leadership can succeed. Let's nail down this truth with a story.

In a very charming spot, amid mountains, woods and fields, was located a popular vacation resort. Among its numerous attractions was a very pretty lake. Thousands of people came from the big cities to the hotels, boarding houses and camps around this lake, and for a number of years the resort grew and prospered.

Then misfortune came. Several serious accidents occurred one summer. Careless people were drowned and the lake began to be spoken of as a treacherous one. As this gossip got around, the resort suffered the loss of hundreds of its annual guests.

The owners of the hotels, boarding houses and camps gathered in a meeting to discuss ways and means of preventing further drownings and retrieving their losses. They decided then and there to engage an expert life-saver, the very best obtainable. Presently they secured

one and placed him on the job. Strange to relate, shortly after his installation a drowning occurred. And still more strange was the news that the expert life-saver was right next to the victim when the accident happened. Consternation and cussing ruled the village in its excitement. A hasty board meeting was called and the life-saver was summoned to appear. "Can you explain this inexcusable failure on your part?" asked the irate chairman of the board. The other members glanced daggers at their unfortunate employee.

"Yes, gentlemen," eagerly responded the life-saver, "I can explain to your satisfaction just what happened. But let me remind you again—I have a clean record. I have saved the lives of hundreds of people in my many years' of experience. Here is the proof." And once more he laid his medals, credentials, testimonials and letters upon the table before the committee. "Gentlemen," pleaded the life-saver, "I can positively assure you results. And if I have the slightest chance I can save any man or woman from drowning. But in this case I had no chance. Listen, gentlemen."

Just after noon yesterday I heard a cry for help. Several hundred feet from where I was I saw this fellow struggling in the water and a capsized boat near him. I jumped into my canoe and in a few strokes I got to him just as he was going under. I grabbed him by his hair and pulled, but darn the luck he had on a wig and there it was left in my hand. Soon he came up again, and sez I to myself, 'I'll grab the sucker this time so he won't escape.' I took hold of his collar and pulled, but hell, his collar was a paper one; it came off and he slipped away the second time. I was gettin' madder than a hornet, and sez I to myself, 'I'll land this eel yet.' And he came up for the third time I caught him by one of his legs. 'Now I got you for keeps,' thought I, and yanked him along. All of a sudden I noticed that I had only his leg. It was an artificial leg, and the darn thing came off and there I was hanging on to it. Well, by the time I found him again it was too late.

"Gentlemen," emphasized the life-saver, again pointing to his medals, etc., "I can save any man—provided he will stick together."

## GREETINGS FROM THE VERBAND

To The New Leader:

Comrades: Accept our heartiest congratulations upon the appearance of the new Socialist weekly, The New Leader. We hope The New Leader will be the beacon to the English speaking Socialists, as Der Wecker is to the Jewish Comrades.

National Executive Committee,  
Jewish Socialist Verband.

## COMIC SUPPLEMENT American "Statesmanship"

From Washington despatch: The real purpose of the Shenandoah's proposed flight to the North Pole is exploration of the Arctic regions with a view to annexing land to the United States, Secretary Denby told the House Naval Committee. "The fact that there is a vast unexplored area contiguous to Alaska," he said, "constitutes a constant challenge to the United States. . . If we do not go this year it won't be any use to go at all. This area is certain to be of a high strategic value if we look forward to warfare and commerce in the future. Whether there is land or not it should be the property of the United States." Denby said that if the United States did not start and annex this land, some other power would, and there would be a constant menace to the safety and integrity of the nation.

## The One Way

We hear it frequently urged that the Democratic party is the "poor man's party," "the friend of labor." There is but one way to relieve poverty and to free labor, and that is by making common property of the tools of labor.—Eugene V. Debs.

## Like The New Leader

TIME was when newspapers were expensive special sheets, with few readers and little or no profit.

Today everybody reads the papers because they cost but a penny or two.

Books should be the same, and they sometimes are.

## For example:

Nearing's "American Empire"  
Oncal's "Workers in American History"  
Hillquit's "Present Day Socialism"

Three Vols. \$1.35

New American Labor Year Book, 1923-4, on press, \$2

Phone  
Stuyv.  
3094

THE RAND BOOK STORE  
7 East 15th Street

Mail  
Orders  
Taken







# --- D R A M A ---

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"THE WAY THINGS HAPPEN," a new play by CLEMENCE DANE, author of "A Bill of Divorcement" and "Will Shakespeare," will be presented at the LYCEUM on MONDAY night, by GUTHRIE McLINTIC. The cast is headed by Katherine Cornell, and by Tom Nesbitt, Zeffie Tilbury, Ivan Simpson, Helen Robbins, Reginald Sheffield, Augusta Haviland, Lillian Brennard, T. Wynney Percival and Orlando Smith.

### TUESDAY

"THE GOOSE HANGS HIGH," by LEWIS BEACH, the first production of THE DRAMATISTS' THEATRE, INC., will be presented Tuesday evening, at the Bijou. The cast will include Norman Trevor, Mrs. Thomas Whiffen, Katherine Grey, John Marston, Miriam Doyle, Pamel Pratt, Shirley Ward, Eric Dressler, William Seymour, Lorna Elliott, Florence Pendleton, Harry Cowley and Geoffrey Wardwell.

### WEDNESDAY

L. LAWRENCE WEBER'S new musical comedy "MOONLIGHT" opens at the LONGACRE, Wednesday evening, will serve to introduce Hungary's celebrated musical artist, ELSA ERSI. Miss Ersi is a protegee of Franz Lehár.

"Moonlight" is by William Le Baron, with lyrics by William B. Friedlander, music by Con Conrad, and staged under the personal direction of Mr. Friedlander.

The cast includes some well known performers in addition to Miss Ersi; chief among them is Ernest Glendinning, the eminent dramatic actor, who makes his first appearance in musical comedy; Robinson Newbold; Allyn King, Helen O'Shea, Louis Simon; Maxine Brown, Glen Dale, and the Loraine Sisters.



ELSA ERSI

## PIRANDELLO SPEAKS

The author of "The Living Mask" and "Six Characters in Search of an Author" is interviewed.

When I approached Pirandello he sat solemnly by while his interpreter informed me that the dramatist's trip was purely literary, that nothing social or political would gain his comment. I bided my time, for I knew that no artist can speak at any length without revealing himself.

Pirandello was no exception. He had pointed out that, while art and propaganda are distinct, every work of art will tend to urge certain ideas of activities, simply because it must rise from and exhibit the spirit of the artist. Then Pirandello turned to a brief survey of his own philosophy, and at once placed himself where all thinkers on social questions will be—among the radicals.

Life, says Pirandello, can exist for us only when it assumes a form. This form may be a law, a convention, a battle, a personality. The form in which we imagine ourselves is our reality—except that another person, thinking of us, gives us a form that is his opinion of us, our reality for him. As no two persons see another in the same way, an individual has as many different forms as there are persons who know him. None of these, not even his opinion of himself, coincides with the actuality; yet these forms are as near as we can come to the real man, to life.

But life itself is fluid, constantly moving on, shifting, progressing. Therefore life is constantly at war with form. As soon as a form is created it becomes opposed to life. (This is most obviously true of laws and social conventions, which often crystallize after the time for them has passed.) In spite of the fact, however, that every form is at once old, lifeless, most people live by accepting the forms that have existed (so that a social system can become perpetuated through the very fact of its initial establishment). The extent to which every form fights to preserve itself is shown by all history. Yet—and here Pirandello places himself—the happiest moments of life are those in which life breaks through the old form to the creation of new; when the dead form cracks for life to emerge. It is while creating (artistically, socially, individually) that man is happiest and at his best. Form once established is "perfect," which means that nothing is left for it but decay, or the breaking through of newer and better forms. Surely, if he can see all this (even though he refused to make the application), Pirandello must believe that the capitalistic system is as "perfect" a form and therefore as ready to rot as ever held man bound. Signs of a new form are already clear.

J. T. S.

## The Neighborhood Playhouse Establishes a Permanent Company

It is the desire of every experimental theatre to found a permanent company, but up to this year no New York organization had as yet realized this ambition. At the beginning of the season, however, The Neighborhood Playhouse succeeded in placing itself in an altogether enviable state of independence. A production on Grand Street is now almost entirely a Neighborhood affair. With a company, a work-shop and a theatre of its own, the Playhouse is now able to work out its own problems in its own way.

The new company is composed of fourteen actors, namely: Albert Carroll, John F. Roche, Aline MacMahon, Esther Mitchell, Lily Lubell, Benche Talmud, Paula Truman, Polina Weissman, Pamela Gaythorne, Joanna Ross, Dan Walker, Rita Garden, Perry Irvin and Grace Hooper. Each one is paid a straight salary for one year, which, of course, includes both rehearsals and lay-off. Since they have all been working together for some time they are not only accustomed to the same type of direction, but they are also imbued with very much the same ideals. It is this question of congeniality which concerned the executive staff fully as much as ability when they selected these actors from amongst an eligible group.

From year to year they intend adding to the present company. However, no actor will be chosen for his merit alone. The company is a solid organization working with a definite aim for certain well-defined specific aims. With the imprint of the same direction it ought to accomplish more and more as years go on. But unless every individual has, fundamentally, the same point-of-view as every other, all the loyalty and cooperation in the world will never make them hang together.

The two-fold purpose in organizing this company is to give the actors a comprehensive training and to offer them the opportunity of playing different roles. Not only members but potential members as well are put into classes for diction, dactyl, pantomime and improvisation. In this way they are not only trained to take part in dramatic performances but they are also able to fit into ballet productions. The studying is by no means confined to the week when the theatre is dark. Classes take place mornings and the players attend them even when they are giving regular performances six evenings and one afternoon a week.

## JUST LIKE HOME!

"NEIGHBORS," THE EQUITY PLAYERS, AT THE 48TH STREET

Woodman Thompson has set two houses so snugly together that they seem just made for their places, and to hold two families of congenial neighbors. And the Hicks and the Stones are such friendly families that their cordiality is about to be cemented by the marriage of Phoebe Hicks and Crawford Stone. Professor Hicks is perhaps the bigger social bird, as old man Stone owns a dry goods store; but to balance that is the Hicks' gas contrasted with the Stone's electricity.

Be they ever so friendly, neighbors will fight, Hicks' hobby is onions; not just onions, but odorless onions; he has them growing in his garden. Mrs. Stone, who believes in the superiority of the animal over the vegetable, cannot be persuaded that when her prize rooster eats the onion sets, her prize rooster should be slaughtered. So she turns off the Hicks' gas, which runs through her cellar. But her water pipes run through the Hicks' cellar—a fact Mrs. Stone had overlooked. So the wedding is off, especially as the Stone males need a bath, and Johnny Hicks and Lillian Stone (sweet angels!) begin to pull one another's hair.

Dear deaf Aunt Carrie, who has all along been prophesying: "Something terrible's going to happen!" is the unwitting good spirit that enables everything at the end to roll merrily along. Her device is obvious, but we don't much mind.

For every one in the audience can see himself and his friends clearly drawn in the characters. Josephine Hull, Jessie Crommette, Helen Strickland play their several parts so well, and Sidney Macy is so natural a married man, that it is just as though the curtain had been drawn away from the family next door. And so we are good-humored enough not to mind the strains; for we are made to feel that life, in spite of its messiness, is kept interesting through the institution of—Neighbors.

J. T. S.

## "Little Jessie James" Moves to the Little, Monday.

After spending almost six months at the Longacre, "Little Jessie James" will move from the Longacre to the Little Theatre on Monday, and expects to make her home there for many months to come.

## Vaudeville

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY GERTRUDE ATHERTON'S "BLACK OXEN" will be the principal screen attraction at Moss' Broadway and ERNIE GOLDEN AND BAND, the Diamond and Brennan Revue, Charles Olcott and Polly Ann and Ed Lowry as the headline B. F. Keith acts.

## LOEW'S PALACE

One of the most interesting, entertaining and unusual headliners is scheduled for Loew's Palace the week beginning Monday. It is Berli's Diving Girls, for many seasons one of the features with the New York Hippodrome when they had spectacles such as "Cheer Up," "Good Times" and "Better Times."

The usual vaudeville program of four acts, changed Monday and Thursday, will be offered.

Metro's new production "Half a Dollar Bill" with Anna Q. Nilsson will grace the screen the first half of the week.

"Little Old New York," with Marion Davies will be seen the last half of the week, beginning Thursday.

"The Cat and the Canary" Will Thrill the Folks at the Bronx Opera House Next Week.

High spirits, thrills, general excitement and entertainment will be the rule at the BRONX OPERA HOUSE, beginning MONDAY NIGHT, when that playhouse will present the sensational thriller, "THE CAT AND CANARY," which is guaranteed to scare the most case-hardened theatregoers with its thrills and chills and stir them, too, with heartiest laughter.

BARNEY BERNARD and ALEXANDER CARR in "PARTNERS AGAIN" will be the next attraction.

NOTES

MAURICE SCHWARTZ, director of the YIDDISH ART THEATRE, is reviving ABRAHAM GOLDFADEN'S comedy "TWO KUNNELEMMELS" this FRIDAY evening. Saturday and Sunday, both matinee and evening, the play will be repeated.

MME. IRENE TRIESCH will give four performances in German, of STRINDBERG'S "THE DANCE OF DEATH" at the LENOX HILL THEATRE next week. The first performance is on TUESDAY EVENING.

The comedy at HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE is now known as "MERRY WIVES OF GOTHAM" instead of "Famasthetics."

Boris Thomascheky is bringing over from London the original Vilna Troupe, a company of eighteen players, for a brief engagement, to present them in his Broadway Yiddish Theatre.

The Vilna Troupe include in their repertoire some of our best Yiddish authors, amongst them Peretz Hirshbein and David Pinsky, who are already known to the American public.

The troupe opens Monday evening, with An-sky's "The Dibbuk."

"THE SIGN ON THE DOOR," CHANNING POLLOCK'S drama which proved a Broadway success some seasons back, is now being played in Yiddish at the IRVING PLACE THEATRE. Samuel Goldenberg, May Simon, Belle Finkel, Muni Weisenfreund, Sigmund Weintraub are part of the capable cast.

## "Siegfried" Restored to the Metropolitan Repertoire

"SIEGFRIED" unheard at the Metropolitan since war time will be General Manager Gatti-Casazza's next "revival" this season on SATURDAY AFTERNOON of next week. Mme. Easton will have the role of Brunhilde; Mme. Matzenauer that of Erda while Mme. Sabanieva will sing the bird music. Mr. Taucher who rejoins the company will appear in the title role with Mr. Whitehill as the Wanderer; Mr. Meader as Mime; Mr. Schutzendorf as Alberich and Mr. Gustafson as the voice of the Dragon. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

Other operas next week will be: "DER ROSENKAVALIER" on Monday evening, will open the thirteenth week of the season with Mmes. Jeritza, Easton, Mario, Howard, Wakefield, Anthony, Hunter and Guilford and Messrs. Diaz, Schutzendorf, Bender, Schlegel, Gustafson, Palmieri, Meader and Audisio. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

"TOSCA" as a matinee on WEDNESDAY with Mmes. Jeritza and Arden and Messrs. Gigli, Scotti, Malatesta, D'Angelo, Ananias, Reschilian and Bada Mr. Moranzoni conducting.

"ROMEO ET JULIETTE" on WEDNESDAY evening with Mmes. Mario De-launais and Wakefield and Messrs. Edward Johnson (first time this season) Schutzendorf, Gustafson, Diaz, Rother, D'Angelo, Ananias, Reschilian and Palmieri. Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

"L'AFRICANA" on THURSDAY evening with Mmes. Ponselle, Mario and Tella and Messrs. Gigli, Danise, Didur, Rother, Ananias, Bada, Reschilian and Audisio. Mr. Bodanzky conducting.

"PAGLIACCO" and "COQ D'OR" on FRIDAY night, the former with Mmes. Bori and Messrs. Johnson, DeLuca, Tibbett and Palmieri. Mr. Papi conducting; the latter with Mmes. Galli-Curci, Alcock and Robertson and Messrs. Diaz, Didur, D'Angelo, Reschilian and Audisio. Miss Rosina Galli, Mmes. Rudolph and Messrs. Kosloff, Bartik and Bonfiglio will dance. Mr. Hamboschek will conduct.

"ERNANI" will be the "popular" SATURDAY night opera with Mmes. Ponselle and Egner and Messrs. Martinelli, Danise, Mardones, Bada and Reschilian. Miss Galli and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance and Mr. Papi will conduct.

At this SUNDAY night's "OPERA CONCERT" Miss Renee Chemet, violinist, will play and Mmes. Ponselle, Matzenauer and Tiffany and Mr. Chamie will sing. The orchestra will be under the direction of Mr. Hamboschek.

"RIGOLETTO" will be given next TUESDAY evening at the Brooklyn Academy of Music with Mmes. Galli-Curci, Perini, Guilford, Wakefield and Grassi and Messrs. Chamie, DeLuca, Mardones, Bada, Tibbett, Pichi and Reschilian. Mr. Papi will conduct.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

THE NEW YORK SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA will be heard in the eighth Sunday afternoon subscription concert in AEOLIAN HALL THIS SUNDAY with PABLO CASALS, the cellist, as the soloist. The program selected by Walter Damrosch will include the first performance in New York of Blair Fairchild's Shah Feridoun-Tableau Musical, the Glazounow Symphony No. 5 in B flat and the Concerto in B minor for Violoncello with Orchestra by Dvorak.

WALTER DAMROSCH will bring to conclusion the Beethoven Cycle with the pair of concerts in CARNEGIE HALL, THURSDAY afternoon and FRIDAY evening, JAN. 31, and FEB. 1, when the New York Symphony Orchestra will have the assistance of the chorus of the ORATORIO SOCIETY of New York in producing the Ninth Symphony and other works belonging to Beethoven's last period.

The soloists who will participate in the program are HAROLD BAUER, pianist; RUTH RODGERS, soprano; MABEL RITCH, contralto; RICHARD CROOKS, tenor, and FRED PATTON, bass.

The program will begin with the unaccompanied Canon for Six Voices, upon the words: "Helpful Be, O Man, Noble and good," arranged by Mr. Damrosch for solo voices and chorus and conducted by ALBERT TOSSEL, and will be followed by Beethoven's last sonata, Op. 111 played by Mr. Bauer and which Mr. Damrosch said is written in the same transcendental mood as the Ninth Symphony.

During the first two numbers the orchestra will remain silent, the first note will be heard with the opening of the Ninth Symphony. There will be no postlude.

After explaining that Beethoven's musical version of Schiller's Ode to Joy, proclaims that true happiness can only be found in the universal brotherhood of man, Walter Damrosch declared in his recent lecture on the Ninth Symphony that had Beethoven lived to-day and sent in his score to Mr. Bok as a peace plan the committee would probably award him the prize for the only perfect solution.

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

BROCK PEMBERTON

Luigi Pirandello's

THE LIVING MASK

(HENRY IV)

with Arnold Korff

44TH ST. Thes. W. of Bway. Eva. 8:30

Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

PRESENTS

ZONA GALE'S

MISTER PITT

with Walter Huston

39TH ST. Thes. E. of Bway. Eva. 8:30

Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

THE SELWYN THEATRE PRESENTS THE TWO SOLID HITS OF THE YEAR

ANDRE CHARLOT'S REVUE of 1924

LAUSUS GALORE

JINGLY TUNES

PRETTY GIRLS

and lots of the latest creations

BEATRICE LILLIE

GERTRUDE LAWRENCE

G. JACK BUCHANAN

"It's Really the Smart Thing to See"

TIMES SQ.

THEATRE-WEST 42nd ST.

MATS WED & SAT

THE BEST PLAY EVER PRODUCED

SPRING CLEANING

with VIOLET HEMING

ESTELLE WINWOOD

ARTHUR BYRON

A. E. MATTHEWS

ELTINGE THEATRE

WEST 42nd STREET

SELWYN Theatre, Now EVENINGS, 8:30

W. 42 St. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Geo. Chous' Screaming Musical Comedy

Mr. Battling Buttler

with CHAS. RUGGLES & WM. KENT

The Funniest, Danciest Show in N. Y.

4th Month

"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.'"

—Bernie Mantle, Nove.

at the RITZ THEATRE

W. 48th St. Evngs. 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."

—Brows, World.

GARRICK 65 W. 35th St. Eva. 8:15

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:15

BELMONT

48th St. E. of Broadway.

Eva. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30.

4th MONTH

"Most interesting entertainment the theatre has offered this season."

—Heywood Brown, World.

JOHN GOLDEN PRESENTS

7th HEAVEN

60th WEEK, 58th TO 59th TIMES

BOOTH

W. 42th St. Evngs. at 8:30

Reg. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

COMEDY THEATRE

41st St., East of B'way. Evenings, 8:30

Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30

"A Dramatic Masterpiece"

"The Shame Woman"

By LULA VOLLMER, Author of "Sun-Up."

NATIONAL WALTER HAMPDEN

41st, West of Broadway. Evenings 8. Matinees Thursday and Saturday at 2.

MAIL ORDERS 4 WEEKS AHEAD.

"GREATEST LIVING AMERICAN ACTOR."

—J. Ranken-Touche, in Eve. Post.

in CYRANO DE BERGERAC

HEYWOOD BROWN Says in The World FOUR INDISPENSABLE PLAYS that there are only in New York at the present time.

THE POTTERS

AND 3 OTHERS

See this Funniest of American Comedies

PLYMOUTH THEATRE, 45th, West of 17'way. Evngs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. at 2:30.

LLAWRENCE WEBER'S MUSICAL HITS

LITTLE JESSIE JAMES

The LITTLE GIANT OF MUSICAL COMEDY

Moving to the LITTLE THEATRE West 44th St.

TOMORROW NIGHT THE JAMES BOYS (JAPANESE WHITE MAN BAND)

THE JAMES BOYS

ADAMANT DANCING CHORUS

"L O U"

THE SONG THAT MADE LOVE FAMOUS

LONGACRE WEST 48th ST. WED. EVE. JAN 30

THE MUSICAL COMEDY GEM

MOONLIGHT

with a SPARKLING CAST

ELSA ERSI

ALYR KING

HELEN O'SHEA

MAXINE BROWN

GLEN DALE

LORAINE SISTERS

and TIFFANY CHORUS

MUSICAL HITS BY LAWRENCE WEBER



## D R A M A

## MUSIC

## THEATRES

## The New Pictures

CAMEO—A new feature picture.  
CAPITOL—Mae Murray in "Fashion Row."  
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.  
LYRIC—Lillian Gish in "The White Sister."

GAITY—"The Dramatic Life of Abraham Lincoln."  
CRITERION—"The Covered Wagon." Now in its 46th week.  
RIALTO—"Flaming Barriers." Directed by George Melford. Reisenfeld's Classical Jazz.  
RIVOLI—"Pied Piper Malone." By Booth Tarkington, with Thomas Meighan.  
STRAND—"Painted People." from Richard Connell's story, with Colleen Moore.

## NOTES

It was only after a long search that TILLA DURIEX, leading German actress playing in "FEDORA" at the FRAZEE, was able to discover an actor capable of playing the role of Boris Ipanoff. CHARLES ROGERS was finally selected and he turned out to be a real find. Mr. Rogers was born in Peru and was sent to Germany for his education when quite young. After going through the Gymnasium School, he chose the stage as a career and studied under Max Reinhardt. He afterwards played in a number of Henry Bernstein's dramas, in most cases as the lover, but in "The Thief" as the son.

HARRY McNAUGHTON, of the English comedian family, which included his brothers Tom and Charles McNaughton, has been assigned to prominent comedy roles in "Her Wedding Day" and "The Cave of Innocence" numbers in "TOPICS OF 1923" at the WINTER GARDEN. In this country Mr. McNaughton has played principal comedy

parts in "The Better Ole," "Old Bill," "French Leave," "Happy Go Lucky," "The Rotters," and other places in light vein.  
Crosby Gaige, General Manager of the SELWYN, who in association with FORTUNE GALLO, will present ELEONORA DUSE and her company from Rome in twenty performances in the South, Cuba, and the Pacific coast, has just concluded negotiations by cable with Lloyds in London by which the big investment made in the tour is safeguarded against loss due to any indisposition, accident or more serious experience that may befall the Queen of Tragedy in the course of the strenuous tour.

## Movie Notes

E. Mason Hopper has been engaged to direct Marion Davies, the Cosmopolitan star, in her next big super feature for the Cosmopolitan Corporation, "Janice Meredith," a pietisation of Paul Leicester Ford's great romance woven around the American Revolution.

## With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA  
WILLEM VAN HOOGSTRAATEN concludes his first season as conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra SUNDAY afternoon at Carnegie Hall, when he will present a Brahms-Beethoven program, with ELLY NEY (Mme. Van Hoogstraten) making her first orchestral appearance of the season, as soloist. VAN HOOGSTRAATEN will direct the Orchestra in Brahms' Second Symphony and the "Tragic" Overture, Mme. Ney will play the Beethoven "Emperor" Concerto. In his first season with the Philharmonic, Mr. Van Hoogstraten has conducted the Orchestra at forty-five concerts. Of these thirty-three were in New York, two in Brooklyn, and ten on tour. Mr. Van Hoogstraten also led the Philharmonic Orchestra in forty-two concerts at the Lewisohn Stadium last summer, making a total of eighty-seven appearances as director of the Orchestra since July.

WILLEM MENDELBERG recently returned on S. S. "Byndam" to conduct the second half of the Philharmonic season, finds a busy opening week before him. He will appear for the first time this year as conductor of the Philharmonic on TUESDAY EVENING at the METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE, when his program will include the Fifth Symphony of Beethoven, Strauss' "Don Juan," Schubert's "Anacreon" Overture, and the Overture to "Tannhauser." On the following evening, Mr. Mendelberg will make his first appearance of the season as conductor of the PHILHARMONIC'S STUDENTS' CONCERTS at CARNEGIE HALL, which will take place hereafter on WEDNESDAY evenings. Albert Spalding will be soloist, playing John Powell's E flat Violin Concerto. Mr. Powell has re-scored this work recently, owing to the loss of the original manuscript, and this will be the first performance in its new form. Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and the "Tannhauser" Overture complete the program, which is the sixth in the series of Students' Concerts.

A concert of unique form will be given by BORIS BORISSOFF, with a company of assisting artists, at the COMEDY THEATRE on SUNDAY NIGHT. Borissoff was brought to America recently by S. Hurok, Inc., at the suggestion of Feodor Chaliapin, the famous singing actor of the Metropolitan Opera, who has known this comedian for many years in Russia, where he is known as "The Laugh King." He was the star of his own theatre, Korobochka (The Little Box), in Moscow, and recently has been appearing in comic song recitals in several European countries. Borissoff is a bass-baritone, and includes character delineation in his presentations.

## Music Notes

The second recital of Piano Music by GITA GRADOVA will be held MONDAY AFTERNOON at TOWN HALL.  
BACHAUS will give his piano recital WEDNESDAY evening at AEOLIAN.  
ALEXANDER SILOTI, Russian pianist, will be heard as assisting artist with BOSTON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA in BROOKLYN, and in CARNEGIE HALL respectively, FEBRUARY 1 AND 2. He will play the Dance of Death by Liszt.  
SAMUEL DUSHKIN, violinist, will include in his second recital program in AEOLIAN HALL, THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 7, the first public performance of Blair Fairchild's Sonata, which is dedicated to Mr. Dushkin and which he performed for the first time in Paris during the war for the Societe Musicale Independente.

Gustav Mahler's "Das Lied von der Erde" (The Song of the Earth) will be presented SUNDAY AFTERNOON in TOWN HALL by the SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF MUSIC, ARTUR BODANSKY, who directed the American premiere of this work, will conduct and the orchestra of the Metropolitan Opera Company will participate. The soloists will be MME. CHARLES CAHER who sang the contralto part at the first performance both in Germany and in New York, and KURT TAUCHER, tenor of the Metropolitan Opera Company.

"Das Lied von der Erde" is a symphonic work for solo voices and orchestra. The text is taken from a book of Chinese poems called "The Chinese Flute" collected by Hans Bethge. The poets represented are Li-Tai-Po, Meng Hao-Jan, Chang-Tsi and Wang-wel. The work is in six parts: "The Drinking Song of the Woe-fulness of Earth," "The Lonely One in Autumn," "Of Youth," "Of Beauty," and "Farewell."

ERNESTO BERUMEN will give his annual recital at AEOLIAN HALL on FRIDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 1.  
SABINE MEYER, a German soprano, who is known in Europe for her singing in the operas of Mozart and Johann Strauss, will make her American debut in song recital at AEOLIAN HALL, THURSDAY EVENING, January 31.

MONDAY EVENING, EVELIONE TAGLIONE, pianist, with 60 players from the State Symphony Orchestra, JOSEF STRANSKY, conductor, will give a program of Beethoven, Strauss and Mendelssohn at Aeolian Hall.

## RIVOLI BROADWAY

AT 49th ST.  
BEGINNING SUNDAY  
Adolph Zukor and Jesse L. Lasky Present  
**THOMAS MEIGHAN**  
IN  
"PIED PIPER MALONE"  
By BOOTH TARKINGTON  
Production of Famous Players-Lasky Corporation—A Paramount Picture  
**BUSTER KEATON** in  
"THE LOVE NEST"  
RIVOLI CONCERT ORCHESTRA

RIALTO BROADWAY  
AT 42d ST.  
BEGINNING SUNDAY  
Adolph Zukor and Jesse L. Lasky present  
A GEORGE MELLFORD PRODUCTION  
**"FLAMING BARRIERS"**  
With Jacqueline Logan, Antonio Moreno and Walter Hiers  
Production of Famous Players-Lasky Corporation—A Paramount Picture  
**WILL ROGERS** in  
"Two Wagon—Both Covered"  
"GALLERY OF LIVING PORTRAITS," with Ernest Torrence  
Famous Players-Lasky Corporation

## CRITERION BROADWAY

AT 44th ST.  
JESSE L. LASKY presents  
**"THE COVERED WAGON"**  
A Paramount Production  
Directed by James Cruze  
"Novel by Emerson Hough"  
Twice Daily, 2:30-8:30, Sun. Mats. at 2.  
Mats. Except Sat., Sun. and holidays,  
5:50 to 11:10. Evenings, 8:10 to 11:05.  
Seats 8 Weeks in Advance.  
Famous Players-Lasky Corporation

## B. S. BROADWAY

AT 41st  
"WHERE THE CROWDS ALL GO"  
ALL THIS WEEK  
Gertrude Atherton's daring sensational story  
**"BLACK OXEN"**  
With CORINNE GRIFFITH and CONWAY TEARLE  
**ERNIE GOLDEN & BAND**  
DIAMOND & BRENNAN REVUE  
CHAS. OLCOTT & POLLY ANN  
ED. LOWRY  
And other B. F. KEITH ACTS  
Seats on Sale 4 Weeks in Advance

## IT'S THE LIFE

**THE GREAT WHITE WAY**  
Cosmopolitan's Surprise Picture!  
COSMOPOLITAN THEATRE,  
Columbus Circle.  
Daily 2:00 and 8:30. Sunday Mat. at 2.  
Victor Herbert and his Orchestra

## Bronx Amusements

**BRONX OPERA HOUSE**  
130th ST., E. of 5d Ave.  
POP. PRICES | MATS. WED. & SAT.  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

**Bronx Amusements**  
Beginning Mon. Eve., Jan. 28th,  
KILBOURN GORDON, INC.  
Presents  
**"THE CAT and CANARY"**  
The Greatest of all Mystery Plays  
By John Willard  
Singed by Ira Hards  
WEEK OF FEBRUARY 4TH  
Borner, Bennett and Alexander Carr  
in "PARTNERS AGAIN"

## New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

**EMPIRE THEATRE**  
BWAY 6-40th ST  
MATS. WED & SAT  
A. H. WOODS presents  
**MARY NASH** in  
**The LADY**  
By MARTIN BROWN  
"ENJOYED IT MORE THAN ANY SHOW SINCE 'RAIN'"  
"EIGHTY-SEVEN TIMES AS GOOD AS THE LULLABY"  
ALL WOODCOTT—HERALD

**NEIGHBORS**  
Hilarious Comedy—Burns Mantle, News. "It is a long time since anything like this has rolled merrily into our midst."—Alan Dale, American.  
**EQUITY 48th ST.** THEATRE, Eves. 8:30  
Mats. Tues. and Sat., 2:30.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

## New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

**EMPIRE THEATRE**  
BWAY 6-40th ST  
MATS. WED & SAT  
A. H. WOODS presents  
**MARY NASH** in  
**The LADY**  
By MARTIN BROWN  
"ENJOYED IT MORE THAN ANY SHOW SINCE 'RAIN'"  
"EIGHTY-SEVEN TIMES AS GOOD AS THE LULLABY"  
ALL WOODCOTT—HERALD

**NEIGHBORS**  
Hilarious Comedy—Burns Mantle, News. "It is a long time since anything like this has rolled merrily into our midst."—Alan Dale, American.  
**EQUITY 48th ST.** THEATRE, Eves. 8:30  
Mats. Tues. and Sat., 2:30.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

THE BIGGEST OF ALL COHAN MUSICAL HITS  
GEORGE M. COHAN'S COMEDIANS in  
**"THE RISE OF ROSIE O'REILLY"**  
THE GREAT AMERICAN SONG AND DANCE SHOW.  
LIBERTY THEATRE, West 42d Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

**THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF A DECADE**  
**THE SWAN**  
at the CORT, W. 48th St.  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

**FRAZEE**  
THEATRE - W. 47th ST.  
MATS. WED & SAT.  
GET GILBERT AND AL WOODS  
PRESENT  
**TILLA DURIEX**  
The World's Foremost Actress  
In Sardou's "FEDORA"  
IN GERMAN  
"MME. DURIEX Performance was artistically beautiful throughout."—N. Y. Times.

**GEORGE M. COHAN**  
in the success of his career, The Song and Dance Man  
THE HIT OF THE TOWN!  
HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street  
EVENINGS, 8:30; MATS. WED. AND SAT., 2:30

## WHAT'S PLAYING!

ABLE'S FRISH BOSS REPUBLIC Mag. 28, '22	ONE KISS FULTON Nov. 27
---	-------------------------------



## 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

Editor . . . . . JAMES ONEAL  
Assistant Editor . . . . . WM. M. FEIGENBAUM  
Manager . . . . . U. SOLOMON  
Assistant Manager . . . . . GEORGE H. GOEBEL

### Contributing Editors

EUGENE V. DEBS  
MORRIS HILLQUIT  
VICTOR L. BERGER  
ANITA BLOCK  
ALGERNON LEE  
ABRAHAM CAHAN  
NORMAN THOMAS  
LENA MORROW LEWIS

DR. ISAAC A. HOURWICH  
JOSEPH E. COHEN  
CLEMENT WOOD  
JOHN M. WORK  
G. A. HOEHN  
CAMERON H. KING  
HARRIOT STANTON  
BLATCH

Saturday, January 26, 1924

## THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT

WHAT is probably the most important event in recent history—taking it in all its implications—is the inauguration of a Labor Government in Great Britain, with J. Ramsay MacDonald as Premier and Foreign Minister.

The New Leader, in common with Socialists everywhere, rejoices at the great victory. Without baseless hopes that the Socialist government can do much in the line of realizing the full Socialist program of the Labor Party, nevertheless we are confident that the assumption of power by the MacDonald Cabinet will be of lasting benefit to the people of the British Empire, to the peace of the world, and to the Socialist and Labor movement everywhere.

The Labor Party is a minority party, with 193 members out of 615. When the election returns showed the humiliating defeat of the Tory government, two ideas strove for the mastery within the Labor Party: one was to assume office, present the full Socialist program, and to court immediate defeat at the hands of the two old parties voting together; the other was to assume office and present an immediate program, such as plans looking toward the peace of the world and legislation in the matter of unemployment and housing. The Liberal Party is committed, in its platform at least, to approximately the same immediate program as the Labor Party, and the Liberals would not dare vote against such proposals when brought in by a Socialist government. To do so would be to destroy their party forever. And so such a program would prevail.

The latter counsel prevailed in the party's executive, and that will be MacDonald's program. The Liberals, like the capitalist parties everywhere, had not the slightest intention, if returned to power, of doing anything about unemployment relief, housing relief, and a program that will lead to world peace. They are capitalist parties! Their platforms, as the conductor said to the man who refused to enter the railway car, are to get in on, not to stand on.

Further, no party other than a Labor and a Socialist Party, can do anything along those lines, even if it so desired. Capitalist parties have always bungled the unemployment question, the housing question, and questions dealing with world peace; they have neither the will nor the mandate nor the personnel to cope with these questions.

With the capitalist parties, any proposed legislation looking toward improvement in the condition of workers is at best merely a political measure to catch votes; at worst (and most often) it is plain hypocrisy. When the Labor Party enacts such legislation, there is not only the solid gain of such measures, but there is the even greater victory of Labor in power, the workers legislating for themselves.

That is why American Socialists look with pride and joy and hope across the sea to the accomplishments of their British comrades.

### OUR FIRST NUMBER

THE appearance of the first number of The New Leader was followed by congratulations received from many friends. This encouragement came by personal word, in the form of letters, and also through telegrams.

This is all the more gratifying considering

the difficulties under which the editorial staff labored. By Wednesday before the date of publication it became evident that the eight-page paper we had planned would have to be enlarged to ten pages. By Thursday noon when the pages were being made up we knew that we would have to go to twelve pages. In this state of uncertainty the first issue of The New Leader was made up under unusual and very difficult circumstances. Considering these difficulties the editorial and management staffs feel profoundly gratified that the general impression is that the first number was a creditable effort.

On the other hand we are not satisfied. We hope to make succeeding issues much better than the first one. The New Leader invites suggestions and criticisms from its readers that will help in making it the most influential publication ever issued by the Socialist Party. Any suggestions regarding typography, length and character of news stories and articles, display of material, etc., will be welcomed. It is your paper. We want to make it popular, informative and attractive, a paper which our subscribers will feel that they cannot afford to miss, a paper that will represent the views of the advance guard of the working class and the Socialist movement of the United States.

When the Wall Street Journal heads an editorial with the mysterious caption "A Sucker List" and then fails to be more explicit it leaves us guessing which branch of the two-party herds it has in mind.

### NICOLAI LENIN

THE passing of Nicolai Lenin removes from the world one of the greatest figures in the history of the struggle for human emancipation. Born in a family of the upper classes of Russia, he early threw in his lot with the working class. Hunted by the secret police, living a furtive existence and suffering as other revolutionaries suffered, he was still able to do an enormous amount of work. Tireless and persistent, like many other Russian revolutionaries, the hardships he endured undoubtedly shortened his life.

In controversy Lenin revealed an intellect of exceptional brilliance. His rapier thrusts were keen, as members of his party learned when he first told them that the logic of the situation in Russia required a compromise of Communist principles. If Lenin had been the same realist in dealing with the Socialist and labor movement in other countries that he was in dealing with the economic problems of Russia his career would be more notable in the annals of the working class. Like others of his party he believed that the movement in all other countries could be coerced into submission to a dictatorship exercised by a small committee sitting in Moscow. Events have shown that this committee could no more dictate abroad than it could dictate a program in defiance of the low economic development of Russia.

No figure in modern times has so filled the ruling classes of the world with terror as Lenin. No man has been more lied about by the mercenary press. In their minds he assumed giant proportions. They thought of him as a monstrous ogre reaching across the world and pulling down the pillars of their civilization. They sent armed expeditions of conscripts and volunteer czars against Russia in the hope that something like the regime of the late Nicholas might be restored. In this they failed, thanks to the resistance of the Russian workers themselves and to the sympathetic protest of the enlightened workers in other countries.

Russia has lost one of her most valuable men and probably her most resourceful statesman in the death of Lenin. However much one may differ with the Communist view of the world, and Socialists certainly differ with it, we may concede that in devotion to the cause of economic liberation of the working class as he saw it, no man ever rendered more loyal service than Nicolai Lenin. He has earned the right to rest. May he sleep well!

### SELECTIVE IMMIGRATION

IF the present selective immigration law had been deliberately devised to torture workers who seek to enter the United States it could not have been better framed for that purpose. Two young mothers ordered deported have died in recent weeks leaving their infants to the care of others. No system has been devised on the other side of the Atlantic to inform prospective immigrants when the quotas of their respective countries have been filled. Everything

is left to chance and the race of ships to American ports is generally followed by tragic scenes.

Families and relatives are parted. Men, women and children are deported to their old homes, homes that have been broken up. They return with exhausted funds, no assurance of employment, and a bleak future before them. Ta..talized by the lure of the new world, they are exiled and are forced to begin life anew.

The statesmanship that can spawn this inhuman procedure is of a piece with the capitalist age of history. The working class of the old world provides the victims of this policy. We recall the tenderness with which a band of old Russian czarist adventurers were taken care of by the Federal Government a few months ago when a transport was placed at their disposal.

After all, the responsibility for this brutal treatment rests with the working class of this country who send capitalist brokers to Washington to legislate in the interest of the class that owns the powers of production, distribution and exchange.

### SOCIALISM

SOCIALISM as a philosophy of history, as an economic analysis of modern society, and as an ideal based upon the claims of the working class, is more vital today than when the World War began. It has an influence outside the organized Socialist Party that cannot be estimated. From it has radiated various influences that have made their impress in various fields of thought, economic, political and social.

It is in its analysis of capitalist society and its claims based upon that analysis that it has its greatest strength. Within fifty years modern industry has gone through a revolution. Giant forms of concentrated capital have risen upon the ruins of the petty industry of the seventies. A bloated capitalist class possesses the wealth-productive powers of America.

With the passing of our great industries into the hands of a masterful class of owners the class lines have become more marked. In the mining and railroad industries they have become so glaring that these industries are convulsed with a struggle between owners and workers. The owners have the strategic advantage of being able to command the police powers of State and nation to enforce their claims. Thanks for this is due to the workers themselves who place these powers in the hands of the owners' political agents.

It requires no profound reasoning to anticipate that this concentration of ownership and power at one pole of society and reduction to servitude at the other pole cannot continue indefinitely. There is no such thing as capitalism without end, but there is such a thing as the end of capitalism. It is certain that the great masses will not permit the natural resources and great plants of production to be possessed forever by despotic organizations and for the enrichment of a small class.

Eventually the issue will be clearly drawn. It will be ownership by a few enforced by governing tools in power, or social ownership by all enforced by the representatives of industrial democracy. Capitalism succeeded by Socialism. Call the next great change what you will. This will be the result, and all economic and social forces are working to this end.

### A LESSON IN THRIFT

IT was in 1906 that Harry K. Thaw killed Stanford White. At that time, the young gentleman, who had spent an industrious and useful youth raising hell, was believed to be worth a quarter of a million or so.

In the last 18 years Mr. Thaw has devoted most of his energies in various courts in two or three states proving that he was insane (in order to escape the electric chair), and then proving that he was sane (to get out of the asylum). Then escaping from various asylums, and indulging in sadistic excesses; then proving that he was insane, to get out of deportation to New York, and later trying to prove that he was sane, to get out of another asylum.

In all this time, he spent some hundreds of thousands of dollars hiring the highest priced lawyers in the country, paying them fabulous sums to aid him in proving that he was sane and insane and sane again. He dissipated some half-million or so, it is estimated.

Now, we learn that Mr. Thaw, who is trying to prove again that he is either crazy or not crazy (his exact legal status at this

moment escapes us) is reported to be worth a million.

The New Leader herewith offers a prize of one (1) neatly hand-painted wall motto with the words "What is Home Without a Mother?" to the editorial writer, university president, statesman or diplomat writing the best, the most cogent and most persuasive argument that will prove to the pesky socialists that everybody has what is coming to him, that the rich people get theirs by superior merit, and that anybody who doesn't like it is a dirty dog, an ingrate and should be sent back to where he comes from.

### BRYAN, THE "PEERLESS LEADER"

WHEN RUDOLPH VIRCHOW, in September, 1877, startled the scientific world by the statement that Darwinism leads to socialism and covertly appealed to the Prussian police to arrest the progress of evolutionary theories in German universities, Ernst Haeckel took up the cudgels against his old friend. The debate waxed hot for a few years and was then forgotten. After Alfred Russel Wallace, the co-discoverer with Darwin of the great laws of universal change, espoused Socialism little has been heard of the old controversy outside of reactionary clerical circles.

It remained for William Jennings Bryan to revive the village parson attacks in the twentieth century. It is Bryan who has the distinction of having fought the great battle against industrial evolution when, as a presidential candidate in 1896, he was the exponent of the infantile doctrine of "trust-busting." Of course, evolution swept over Bryan in that instance as it will in the modern one.

It is no accident that the "peerless leader" is a reactionary in both fields. He has set his face against the whole modern trend of scientific thought. He would close the schools to science and set the police to watching teachers. It is the old remedy of the bigot. He would fell with a club all those who cannot accept his old standard of ignorance.

Bryan is a typical product of the parched mind that never knew how to think. He belongs to Babbitt America. Should there ever be need of exporting a sample of the low intelligence which tests have revealed in recent years, the "peerless leader" can serve his beloved country no better than by going abroad as an average exhibit of our intellectual handicaps.

Well, New York has won a great victory and the Democratic convention will be held in Madison Square Garden. According to the New York World, which paper takes credit for pulling off the stunt, New York promised \$150,000 cash to the national campaign fund; the use of Madison Square Garden free, said to be worth \$50,000; \$55,000 for the moving picture and radio rights and a further promise of \$250,000 for the entertainment of the guests who will come to see the big show.

It is rumored that the peanut privileges will be auctioned off among the Tammany district leaders, but the main shell game will not be let out of the hands of the national leaders of the party. That's one thing they won't rent out.

Mr. George Henry Payne writes in the Forum regarding candidates for the Presidency. One item about President Coolidge is interesting. He asserts that Coolidge was "such a failure as a Vice-President that President Harding's friends were holding conferences for the purpose of discussing methods of getting rid of him as the vice-presidential candidate." Now we understand what Woodrow Wilson meant when he wrote, many years ago, that the office of Vice-President is "one of anomalous insignificance and curious uncertainty." Page Calvin!

Organizers of the One Big Union report negotiations in progress for establishing one of the biggest amalgamations of unions ever accomplished in this country. The Morgan group of organizers have the project in charge and five oil companies are to enter the union. Attorney General Daugherty is reported in a state of coma and unable to give an opinion regarding the merger.

Baldwin Falls by Labor Vote.—Headline. Our impression is that he did not fall by the labor vote but that this vote fell on him.

Our peace plan is to reduce the armies of the world until only the generals are left and then let them fight it out. It has the advantage of costing little and reducing the loss of life to a minimum.