

THE NEW JUSTICE

A RADICAL MAGAZINE

DEVOTED TO—

1. SELF-DETERMINATION FOR RUSSIA AND OTHER REVOLUTIONARY LANDS.
2. THE PUBLICATION OF THE TRUTH ABOUT THE VICTORIES OF THE WORKING CLASS.
3. AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS.
4. RESTORATION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.
5. INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL JUSTICE, UNITY OF THE WORLD'S WORKERS.

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THE NEW JUSTICE

A RADICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 1—No. 3

MARCH 15, 1919

*David Bospa on
 A Revolutionary
 System of Education*

⇄
*The Truth About
 Russia*

⇄
*Discharged Soldier's View of
 The Industrial Crisis*

⇄
*A Short Story
 Phantom Nectar
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Sunday, March 16, William George Henry speaks on "The Modern Working Class: France and England"
Sunday, March 23, William George Henry speaks on "The American Working Class"
Sunday, March 30, William George Henry speaks on "The International Working Class"

THE NEW JUSTICE

Vol. 1

Los Angeles, Cal., March 15, 1919

No. 3

EDITORIALS**RAYMOND ROBBINS SPEAKS**

What Raymond Robbins told the Senate committee investigating "lawless propaganda" last week was doubtless but a mild foretaste of what he has promised to tell the people of America as soon as his lips, now closed by his official status as head of the American Red Cross mission to Russia, are unsealed by the signing of the peace treaty which is to bring the world war to a formal end. Still, as a mere "feeler," his testimony, as duly reported by the Associated Press, makes fairly spicy reading. Briefly summed up, his words contain a vigorous arraignment of intervention in Russia as unwise from the standpoint of America and unfair to the Russian people.

Among other things, Mr. Robbins is reported to have stated that he believed the Russians could get rid of Lenine and Trotzky any time they wanted to—the clear implication being that they do not want to. Continued intervention, he declared, would solidify the various Russian factions into a solid phalanx supporting the Bolshevik government. He said he believed the Russians really wanted Bolshevism and declared that since that was so the other nations should not attempt to prevent them from having it. France, he stated, had tried to keep the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia for the purpose of overthrowing the revolution "at any cost." And this in the face of a previous offer to assist in getting them out of the country!

Mr. Robbins' testimony is a valuable contribution to the cause of fair play and tolerance. R. R. B.

TIMID CAPITAL

Capitalist editors are busy again with arguments to show that capital must be coddled and receive its assured revenue, or it will withdraw from industry, work will end, and the whole people starve. These arguments are especially addressed to advocates of social reconstruction and to trade unionists. Such reasoning shows a wilful refusal to understand the nature of the change that is coming over the face of human society. Capital will not withdraw from industry, because it will be commanded and transferred from private to public possession. The private capitalist will, however, withdraw from industry under irresistible propulsion from behind. Private initiative will be replaced by public initiative, as illustrated by the Alaskan railway, the Panama canal, the Los Angeles aqueduct, and the merchant marine. Another argument insisted on in this connection is that unless we work we cannot eat. This is true. It is so profoundly true that in the new social order it will be applied to capitalists themselves. When the private capitalist returns to industry it will not be in the spotless habiliments of leisure but in the blue jean overalls of the worker. It is this prospect that is worrying him now. C. M.

IS THIS AN ATROCITY?

Stories which must wring the heart of everyone who is capable of humanitarian feeling continue to fill the daily press concerning famine conditions in Russia. Notwithstanding the most equitable and efficient system of food distribution in Europe, it is no doubt true that the case of Russia is desperate and her need beyond measure. It is not pleasant to remember, under these circumstances, that this famine has smitten the Russian people chiefly because of the deliberate acts of the Allies. It has been the open boast of the reactionary elements in the Allied nations that their intervention in Siberia had cut the Russians off from their own food. And though the armies of the Republic have now, to some extent, shattered this barrier, there has been no effort whatever, either by the Allies or the United States, to send food to Russia. They have had no difficulty in sending armies and munitions of war to torture that afflicted land. Even now, word comes of a French and Greek advance north of Odessa, visiting war and rapine upon a people that dared establish socialism as a practical, working system. But never have they tried to send food, nor is there any likelihood that a food ship from any source would be allowed to unload at a Russian port. C. M.

THE MORNING COMETH!

The wickedest, most sinful, most soul-destroying thing in this world is poverty. It is at once the source and sum of all the evil that torments mankind. So much of evil as is not traceable to it nor aggravated by it, is of little moment. It gathers under its horrid shade all feebleness, all sadness, all thwarted life, all barrenness, all hunger, all despair. Mr. G. K. Chesterton, in one of his cheerful flippancies, has said that a poor man is simply a man who has not much money. This is but a shred of the truth. A poor man is a man who has no money, who has never had any, who never will have any, whose ancestors were without it, whose children will never acquire it. Poverty is not an accident. It is a status. And the poor man suffers under all the fell limitations of that settled fate. He is begrimed and gross, because he is poor; rude and ignorant, because he is poor; narrow and blind, because he is poor; helpless and betrayed, because he is poor; the prey of vice and disease, because he is poor. Poverty is his habitat, and all its miseries are his familiar friends.

The blasting, intolerable fact in all this is that the poor man is impoverished that some other man may be rich. The cause of poverty is wealth, and the source of wealth is poverty. The mansions of Wilshire Boulevard are built out of the privations of the slums. Poverty is the stigma of a class. By a strange anomaly, it is the workers who are poor, the idlers who are rich. Poverty is, therefore, an artificial condition, the product of a social wrong, a festering sore not of nature's breeding but man-made and capable of human remedy. The productive forces of society are ample to provide comfort and luxury for all. Now that the people of Europe and the United States can spend, in four years, two hundred billions of dollars in the game and wastage of war, they have no need to tolerate poverty.

Nor will they. Nothing is plainer at this moment of history, than that poverty can and must cease. The method of its destruction is also plain. The complete socialization of industry, production for use instead of profit, giving to the worker the full social value of his labor, abolishing the private ownership of capital and its use as an instrument of exploitation,—such is the simple remedy that will banish Poverty, that mother of evil, from among men. But it is the poor themselves who must apply this remedy. Theirs is the power and the need, and, through millenniums of pain, they are gaining the organization and the will, the wisdom and the dream. Truly the hour of deliverance is at hand. So surely as time flows from the wellsprings of the future into the abyss of the past, so surely do we stand at the threshold of the new day!

C. M.

THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES

An interesting situation hinges on the continuance of government control of the railways of America. It is pretty generally known that the railroad brotherhoods have for some time been preparing for a nation-wide strike in the event of a decision to return the control of the roads to unrestricted private initiative. The pivotal point of the still possible strike is to be a demand that the railways continue under control of the federal government. All other demands, it is said, are to be subordinate to this. It is significant that the railway workers, having had a taste of the undoubted benefits accruing to them under government control, of the corporations for which they work, have become so keenly alive to these benefits that they are thus willing, for the present at any rate, to subordinate such other items as may appear in their list of demands should the strike be precipitated by a decision to put the roads back under private control. From this it is evident that all attempts to convince them that the question of government control is a matter of indifference to them, or that unregulating private control is better, have been unavailing. Their decision on this long mooted point appears at last to be definite and final.

The theory, long advanced by armchair impossibilists, that exploitation is as fierce under capitalistic government control as it is under private enterprise, is a pretty one; and it possesses the undeniable charm of an apparent devil-may-care aggressiveness. The trouble with it is that it doesn't fit the facts. We haven't yet heard of any group of workers, anywhere in the world, asking for a return to private control of any publicly controlled industry in which they work. In opposing such a return, the American rail-roads are running true to form. They have simply discovered (with the aid of Experience, who is a far better teacher than Theory) that their condition under a governmentally regulated corporation is materially better than it was under the same corporation without the governmental regulation. It is far from perfect, of course. It will never even approach a humanly realizable degree of perfection until, in common with their fellow workers in other industries, they do away with the wages-and-profit system and establish industrial democracy. But that is scarcely a present issue in this concrete case.

It is to be hoped that none of the really beneficial industrial changes that have been forced upon the nation by the economic necessities of war are to be nullified by a return to the *status quo ante*. It is as necessary that the good features of war-time legislation be preserved as it is that the vicious and reactionary features be discarded. While

it is imperative, for instance, that laws like those throttling freedom of speech and press be speedily relegated to the limbo of a dead past, it is equally imperative that measures curtailing private control of industry be not only perpetuated but expanded along lines leading to complete public ownership of all the large industrial units of the nation. The next step beyond public ownership is industrial democracy. Towards this the workers of the world are moving fast.

R. R. B.

The Y. M. C. A. declared, in soliciting funds, that it wanted to follow the boys to the trenches with the home "touch." Well, it did!

The Congressional Record is authority for the statement that, according to the income-tax returns, there are 24,000 millionaires in the United States, 17,000 of whom were made by the war.

The following curious remark occurred in a local paper's report of an arrest: "He was released on \$500 cash bail, the customary bail of \$3,000 being reduced on the statement of his attorneys that he is a man of large property interests."

A MANIFESTO, WITH REVISIONS TO DATE

"A SPECTRE is haunting Europe [the world]—the spectre of Communism [Bolshevism]. All the powers of old Europe [the old world] have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre; Pope and Czar [Pope and Burleson], Metternich and Guizot [Clemenceau and Lloyd George], French Radicals [right-wing Socialists], and German [American] police-spies.

"Where is the party in opposition that has not been decied as communistic [Bolshevist] by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism [Bolshevism], against the more advanced opposition parties as well as against its reactionary adversaries?"

—from the "Communist Manifesto," 1848.

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Everychild vs. Lockstep Schooling

BY DAVID BOBSPA

"There are misfit schools, misfit texts and studies, misfit dogmas and traditions of pedants and pedantry. There are misfit homes, misfit occupations and diversions. In fact, there are all kinds and conditions of misfit clothing for children, but in the nature of things there can be no misfit children."

—President Frederic Burk.

Individual instruction successfully demonstrated in an entire school system, displacing the lockstep mechanism of centuries, is the revolutionary contribution of President Frederic Burk of San Francisco State Normal to the world. Here is the most significant advance in the educational field within the past thousand years, for our educational system still bears the imprint of Alcuin and his successors of a period of world development when serf-instruction was the end of all endeavor. Froebel, Montessori, William Wirt, Ferrer—all these have made notable improvements in the clumsy machinery they found grinding out standardized models of "average" citizens.

Frederic Burk has, however, furnished the key that unlocks the door to democracy in education from kindergarten to sheepskin. Briefly, what he has done has been to practice over a period of years in the eight grades of the San Francisco Normal training school a plan that eliminates class instruction and substitutes an easy, natural development of each individual. The press, with practical unanimity, has kept silent about what is being done; the Bureau of Education at Washington printed in 1917 a 649-page survey of "The Public School System of San Francisco" without as much as a passing allusion to the training school; the State of California, through its officialdom, has forbidden the spending of public money to tell about the new method of teaching; lack of funds has prevented Dr. Burk from continuing his earlier propaganda at his personal expense.

Thus, unheralded, for six years the practical test has been applied, and here are some of the conclusions reached:

"The slowest pupils, in normal health of body and mind, will complete the usual eight grades of the elementary school in not more than seven years; the fastest in not more than five years. A much larger per cent of children will complete their schooling before quitting. The individual system gives a thoroughness and efficiency to every pupil quite beyond the possibilities of lockstep schooling. The cost of individual instruction is less than that of class instruction. The new system does not require additional teachers.

The cost question, of course, is inconsequential in any real consideration, but must still be emphasized in our present civilization. New texts and other matters of readjustment call for extra expense in the installation of the free training, but once started, the same teachers can get better results with less outlay of cash than under the methods now prevailing. Vocational training and the scores of other additional courses are sometimes good in themselves, but give but a minimum benefit at best if ground through the machinery of class instruction.

The actual conditions of inefficiency in the school system are hardly realized even by educators, who are continually surprised at the results of surveys such as was

made in Cleveland in 1914. This illuminating investigation revealed, among other disclosures, that 10,000 of the 70,000 pupils of the elementary schools failed of promotion and were turned back to repeat their grade's work. A year later, the survey showed, 32 per cent of all the pupils of the elementary schools, from the first to the eighth grade, had failed somewhere along the way of promotion.

Was one out of every three children of Cleveland a misfit? Are the children of this proud Buckeye city an inferior brand? No; the condition is similar in every city in America. Commissions on end have found out the facts. The wise investigators of Cleveland referred to found it necessary to print a twenty-five volume report of its findings. Were these "educators" grieved? Not they, for they rejoiced that elsewhere the muddle was even blacker. Read their conclusions

"In the study of conditions in twenty-nine other cities, only nine made a better record than this. The evidence indicates that Cleveland is making considerably above the average record in carrying her children through the grades on schedule time. This is distinctly to the credit of the city school system."

Naturally, in those twenty-five volumes would be something about the way out of the blackness. Listen to the wisdom of the men who "educate" our children: "It would be easy for this report to recommend specific measures for relief, but it is a grave question whether it is in place for a survey to interfere with administration."

Frederic Burk doesn't wear a red button; he would be the most surprised man in the world if called a radical. He wrote to me in one of the illuminating letters he finds time to write that he is a conservative in many matters because he has not studied them sufficiently to be a "radical" but in his chosen line. He has pointed the way to making the world "radically" efficient. He did not believe that the work of the educator is completed when he finds that mud spoils the water; nor could he congratulate himself that there were even dirtier puddles than his own. He dared to think that there could be clear pools of water in the world—this side of heaven.

To clear the educational waters President Burk concluded, first of all, that there must be some defect in the foundation principle of all schooling; and the cause is deeper than subjects, methods or even administration. He sought a common foundation principle in all schools, lying beneath differences in administration and the wide variations in methods of teaching current in different cities. There is but one condition so fundamental and common to all forms and conditions of school instruction—the class system of teaching itself. Dr. Burk best states the indictment:

"Instruction of forty pupils, as a class, implies that the forty are to be instructed just as though they were one pupil; that the forty can learn each lesson in the same time, for the class program must be the same for all; and that each pupil in this time shall learn with the same degree of thoroughness, and that each shall give the same degree of attention every moment of the time, for otherwise the foundations of each would so vary that progress

of the whole would be impossible; that each should take the same length of lesson each day; that no one could be absent or suffer temporary disability. Finally, the success of the plan of teaching pupils in groups implies that all the forty are born with equal mental abilities, think by the same processes at the same rate and that the teacher teaches them at this identical rate. If all these conditions are impossible, should we wonder that our schooling results are what they are?"

And, whisper this gently, Dr. Burk wrote it several years ago, when those who are now crying for vengeance against the defeated Germans were just as busily extolling the wonders of "German organization" and the "superb German educational system."

"The class system of schooling," wrote President Burk, "was modeled several centuries ago upon the military conception. The most efficient examples of class instruction today are to be found in the military schools, notably in Germany. Under this military conception, pupils' minds are expected to move through the grades in perfect platoons, just as their physical bodies are moved in military procession. . . . There must be education of the educators."

Unfortunately, the educator, as a rule, is a follower, rather than a leader, and Dr. Burk told me what my own experience had already revealed, that any advance in the educational world must be made over the heads of the teachers. In which they are not unlike the institutionalized cogs of society in general. Procrustian mentality still grips the human race. A whole nation has been carried away for generations by the fallacious idea of "the melting pot." Isn't it about time we began to think of fitting society to the individuals of the race? President Burk has pointed out a pathway that leads to conservation in an era crying for conservation; that makes for efficiency in an age almost mad over the subject of efficiency; that leads to emancipation in a world in the process of being made safe for democracy; that gives an opportunity for unfoldment of children in an age that trembles at the dawn of humanism.

All progress has been in spite of the schooling, "through a hole in the fence, in spite of the system, never by its assistance or permission."

Can you wonder at the opposition to Dr. Burk's plan when you understand his scholastic creed? I quote again:

"The business of schools is to shape themselves to the pupils. Every child is a special creation, and, strictly speaking, education cannot be the same for any two pupils. That it is the business of the schools to saw, to plane and to compress pupils into fixed school molds is the smug impertinence of an ancient, persistent, and preposterous pedantry. Until this pedantry is uprooted, trunk and branch, schools must fail to fulfill their purposes."

In an essay on the relation of education to democracy, Dr. Burk shows how our school system has grown along the lines laid down for the training of slaves and serfs, developing not for democracy, but for the making of good vassals. The San Francisco training school shows that democracy in education is no utopian scheme. I want to take quite a bit of my space to give the words of Dr. Burk. After a discussion of the contending principles of monarchial democratic government, he writes:

"The test of the efficiency of a democracy lies in its ability to prevent social, political, commercial, racial, or religious classes or individuals, by

force of might or of majority, to gain advantages of power which override justice to other classes or individuals. Even a majority, by virtue of its might, may not under democratic theory do as it pleases, disregarding the just rights of a minority.

"Until majorities can be implicitly trusted to preserve the just rights, whether their own or those of minorities and of individuals, democracy has not reached its goal. Until employer and employee, producer and consumer, Jew and Gentile, the colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady, can be trusted to cast their ballots to maintain the rights of others equally with the rights of themselves, we can have democracy only in name, concealing the fangs of unjust monarchy within.

"This is no doctrine of philanthropic altruism. It is a practical measure of self-preservation. The standard may be high, but it is none the less necessary. With our human frailties, our lusts of power, our doubts of one another, they are principles difficult to learn and harder to put into practice. . . . Yet, obviously, if these goals are impracticable, then democracy is impracticable. . . . How, then, may we establish democracy? Certainly not by force or violence, for this force obviously leads us backward into monarchy. Certainly not by trusting the raw instincts of humanity, for the native instincts have been bred by the self-interests, by the fears and the greed, in savage struggle for survival in the past. . . .

"Only through comprehension of the principles of democracy by each and every citizen, only by training in defense of equal justice may we hope that democracy may flourish. The key to democracy, therefore, is education—education of all the people by all the people and for all the people. In recognition of the tremendous importance of universal education, all nations which have attempted democracy have been necessarily concerned to establish an effective educational system."

President Burk next makes a plea for a system of training in the schools that shall make the future citizens self-directing, self-responsible, and self-controlled.

"Do our American schools now offer such training in preparation for citizenship?" he asks; and continues:

"As an answer, the anomalous fact stares at us from practically every school that our system of school government, instead of being special training in distinctively democratic citizenship, is the system that has been handed down by tradition unchanged from ancient monarchial schools originally used to train serfs in the habit of unthinking obedience. From the first grade, through the high school, and even in colleges, the form of government is that of autocratic direction. Pupils are drilled to pursue their studies without the knowledge of their purpose other than that of obeying blindly; to think in lockstep; to memorize in platoons; to execute mental maneuvers at the sharp word of command. They are marched and counter-marched through tasks, the purpose of which they do not understand, which their

leaders do not understand, and which no one can understand further than that they have been handed down by tradition. Blind obedience without thought is extolled in both school and home as the chief, worthiest, if not the only moral virtue.

* * * * *

"The essential principles of our school discipline, exercising as it does blind dependency rather than self-reliance, are cut from the same pedagogic doctrine as our prison training. Both assume to obtain self-reliance by training in its opposite. Both are vitiated by the common illusion that by forcing the outward form of right conduct through external compulsion and without exercise of personal motives, the internal attitudes of right conduct will be established. . . . Following the principles of the ancient self-training schools of monarchies, our schools have made blind obedience the chief, if not the only tool of instruction."

I have pointed out the defects of the present system. What has Frederic Burk to show after six years in his San Francisco crusade?

First, the rate of progress I mentioned above means that pupils who enter school at six years of age will complete the eight grades between the ages of ten and thirteen years. Practically all pupils will finish the elementary schooling. The appalling fact that sixty per cent or more of the youth of the country enter their life work without equipment of at least an elementary schooling will be dissipated by the simple solution that practically all pupils will complete the course before the ages at which at present they seek to leave the schools.

In the next place, greater thoroughness is obtained. It has been demonstrated that the individual system must upon principle, and does in fact, give a thoroughness and efficiency beyond any possibility of the lockstep schooling.

Individual instruction, further, costs less than class instruction. The current hasty conclusion to the contrary is due to the fact that the largest item in the cost of schooling by the class system—unnecessary waste amounting to considerably over fifty per cent—is entirely overlooked. Among the huge wastes inherent in the lockstep schooling of the class system are those due to repetition of grades (thirty-two per cent in a model city); to inability to use the gains of accelerated rates of progress; to the regulations that all pupils must learn that which only a few have need of, or the ability to learn; and to certain frictional losses in the teaching of large classes. Individual instruction eliminates these wastes by taking away their cause.

It has also been a hasty conclusion that to operate an individual system would require many more teachers than the lockstep method. This idea overlooks the fact that many pupils make faster progress through the grades, the number of pupils in any one class being reduced in proportion to the increasing rapidity of progress. The data of the San Francisco school goes to show the size of classes of forty or fifty pupils reduced to twenty-five or thirty under individual instruction, which eliminates the repeaters, introduces acceleration, and economizes time in many other ways.

The selection and adaptation of texts was one of the first mechanical problems of administration. The faculty of the San Francisco State Normal has met this need by a

series of texts giving elastic lessons. I have before me as I write, for example, the Pupil's Self-Instruction Series Number 21, in addition and subtraction of integers, prepared by Frederic Burk. This is designed to supplement the state texts. Instructions to the pupils are as follows:

"Work examples; place the figures of your answer in the little squares; place only one figure in each square.

"When you finish the page, give it to your teacher for correction. Work upon the next page until your teacher returns your examples showing those wrong. Work these wrong columns over again, placing the correct answers below the others. If you have made more than two mistakes in any row, turn over the page and work the columns in the row of the same number. If you have made no more than two mistakes in a row, then you may skip the row on the other side., etc."

The same principle holds throughout the texts I have examined. A tremendous premium is placed on accuracy. Automatically each pupil progresses according to his ability.

Subsequent reviews, embodied in the regular lessons, insure the retention of what is once learned, and the same system of elasticity is made to apply in a definite, automatic way to the reviews. Instead of rigid examinations at intervals of six months or a year, these automatic tests are inserted at short intervals, and if a pupil needs more drill, it is given immediately before greater difficulties are met. It is far more of a conservation of time to see that each brick is properly laid than to wait until the whole foundation is laid before discovering the faulty construction.

Another humane advantage of the Burk system is that promotion is by subjects, not by grades. Under the cruel lockstep a pupil failing in one subject had to retrace his steps in half a dozen subjects in which he had succeeded. The adjustment of daily time allotment for each pupil is according to his needs, and a rearrangement of the promotion scheme easily effects a basis of advancement based on the welfare of the pupils rather than the convenience of the supervisors.

Discipline is no longer a problem in the Burk system. The superb vision is such as to make boys and girls fit for the ideal democracy as outlined by the founder of the new method of education. Dr. Burk is not a faddist. He has worked out a useable plan of making the school a tool to develop the individuals for the highest social service. His system, with relatively minor adjustments of administration, is applicable to either city or rural communities. It has been impossible in the space at hand to go far into the technical problems of method. The great point I want to make is that for one thousand years since Charlamagne and Aleuin the educational system of the western world had followed the serf-making methods; while California, the cradle of a new race of being, the American emergent, has given the world a new educator, Frederic Burk, who is big enough to substitute democracy for autocracy in the schools, individual instruction for the lockstep. Civilization is smouldering in ruins, from whose blackened wastes shall spring the flower of humanism. Education will be even more of an important factor than during the capitalist regime; and it will be the Burk system that will form the cornerstone of the schools of humanism.

The Truth About Russia

DEPARTMENT CONDUCTED BY
... J. H. RYCKMAN

SOCIALIST FACTIONS UNITE

The "Freiheit," the organ of the Independent Socialists of Germany, states that a unification of the various Russian Socialist groups has been effected, and that a supreme committee on National Defense has been created to fight foreign intervention. All the Socialist parties are on that committee, which is presided over by Premier Lenin.

The central committee of the Socialist Democratic party (Mensheviks) has published a manifesto calling upon its followers to unite with the Soviet Government, and their leader, Dr. Abramovitch, who also represents the Jewish Socialist movement (Bund), has entered as a member of the central committee of the Soviet Government.

A NOTE FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO PRESIDENT WILSON

On December 24, 1918, while President Wilson was in London, the following note was transmitted to him by wireless from Stockholm:

President of the United States, American Embassy, London:

Mr President: In addition to general peace offer recently addressed by the Soviet Government to the Allies. I formally informed today the Stockholm ministers of the United States and of allied countries that I am authorized to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia.

The principles proclaimed by you as a possible basis for settling European questions and your avowed efforts and intentions of making settlement conform to demands of justice and humanity induce and justify me to send you this statement, inasmuch as most points of your peace program are included in the more extensive aspirations of the Russian workers and peasants now rulers of their country. It was they who first proclaimed and actually granted to nations right of self-determination, who suffered most sacrifices in fighting imperialism and militarism, both at home and abroad; who deal severest blow to secret diplomacy and inaugurated open diplomacy. And it was partly for these innovations in politics that they have been fiercely attacked by the former ruling classes of Russia and their counterparts in other countries.

To justify this attack a network of lies and calumnies has been woven around the activities of the Soviets and forged documents put into circulation. Unfortunately Allied statesmen accept all monstrous accusations against Soviets at face value without taking trouble to check them. While agents of anti-Soviet parties are allowed and encouraged to move freely in allied countries and disseminate untruth, representatives of the accused side have never been allowed to put fully their case and to answer charges made against them.

In fact, the chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty, without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment, which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to

terroristic acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defense of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause, but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamt of interfering with Russian affairs when czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that regime, feel justified in intervening in Russia now when the working people itself after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices succeeded in taking power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but their own happiness and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations.

The Russian workers and peasants are determined to defend their dearly won power and liberties against invaders with all the means their vast country puts at their command. But mindful of the inevitable wanton loss of life and treasure on both sides, and wishing to avert further ruining of Russia, which must result from the continuation of internal and external fighting, they are prepared to go to any length of concessions as far as real interests of other countries are concerned, if they secure thereby conditions enabling them to work out peacefully their social schemes.

I understand that the question of relations with Russia is now engaging the attention of allied statesmen. I venture, then, to submit to you, Mr. President, that there are now only two courses open to them. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country, and in case of the interventionists' after a long struggle obtaining their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guardists, inevitable introduction of military dictatorship and restoration of monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals and paralyzing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The other alternative, which I trust may commend itself to you, is impartially to weigh and investigate into the one-sided accusations against Soviet Russia; to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government; to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade, soothing thereby the excited passions of the masses; to help Russia regain her own sources of supply and to give her technical advice how

to exploit her natural richness in most effective way for the benefit of all countries badly in need of foodstuffs and raw materials.

The dictatorship of toilers and producers is not an aim in itself, but the means of building up a new social system under which useful work and equal rights would be provided for all citizens irrespective of classes to which they had formerly belonged. One may believe in this ideal or not, but it surely gives no justification for sending foreign troops to fight against it or for arming and sup-

porting classes interested in the restoration of the old system of exploitation of man by man.

I venture to appeal to your sense of justice and impartiality. I hope and trust above all that before deciding on any course of action you will give justice to the demand of "audiatur et altera pars." (Let the other side also be heard.)

MAXIM LITVINOFF,

Late representative for Great Britain of the Russian Federative Republic.
Stockholm, December 24, 1918.

Russian Soviet Legislation

By J. S.

When we read our daily papers and periodicals, which dominate our psychology and mould our daily view of life we can but exclaim with Andreyev, "Oh! The light has died out from the world. The world has no eyes; the crows have pecked them out." Truth, love and mercy have disappeared from the earth! How far does this exclamation apply to the injustice which Russia is receiving from the so-called brains of our press, pulpit political demagogues, and the deteriorated commercial system which have lost all human sympathy?

The unfortunate bleeding Russian peasant has appealed to the world with his lacerated body and soul for centuries for help in his struggle to emancipate himself. And now when he has emancipated himself, condemnation falls upon him the world over. Poor, unfortunate peasant; they don't understand you. I know you will forgive them!

Speaking on December 5, 1917, before the central executive committee of the Soviets on the subject of the right of constituents to recall their representatives, Lenin made the following remark, "The state is an institution for coercion. Formerly it was handful of money bags that outraged the whole nation. We, on the contrary, wish to transform the state into an institution of coercion which must do the will of the people." Therefore, it seems to me here is no better way of gaining an understanding of the present rulers of Russia than to study the abundant output of their legislative machinery.

The Soviet Government has worked out an elaborate scheme of state control over the national production and distribution as a step towards the complete socialization of the country's industry and commerce. The semi-legislative, semi-executive organs created for that purpose form an intricate system of affiliated elective bodies. In the first place, there have been instituted so-called Soviets of Workmen's Control (decree of November 2, 1917). They are made up of representatives of trade unions, factory committees and productive co-operatives and aim at regulating the economic life of industrial plants using hired labor. The control in each enterprise is being effected through the elective bodies of workmen, together with the representatives of salaried employees. The executive bodies of the Soviets

of Workmen's Control have the right to fix the minimum output of a given firm; they determine the cost of the articles produced, and in general, supervise the production and the various business transactions. Commercial secrecy, like diplomatic secrecy, is abolished. The owners and controlling agencies are responsible to the state for the safety of the property and for the strictest order and discipline within the precincts of the establishments. The local Soviets are subordinated to the provincial Soviets of Workmen's Control which issue local regulations, take up the complaints of the owners against the controlling agencies, and settle the conflicts between the latter. The Central All-Russian Soviet of Workmen's Control issues general instructions and coordinates the activities of this controlling system with the efforts of other administrative organs regulating the economic life of the country. The members of this central institution of control, together with representatives from each Commissariat (Ministry of State) and also expert advisers for the supreme Soviet (Council of National Economy) were instituted by the decree of December 18, 1917. This body directs and unifies the work of regulating the national economy and the state finances. It is empowered to confiscate, requisition, sequester and syndicate various establishments in the field of production, distribution, and state finance.

The supreme council is divided into several sections, each of which deals with a separate economic phase. Among other tasks devolving upon these sections is the drafting of the law projects for respective Commissariats. Bills affecting national economy in its entirety are brought before the council of people's commissaries through the supreme council of national economy. On January 5, 1918 the Institute of Local Soviets of National Economy was created for the purpose of organizing and regulating the economic life of each industrial section in accordance with the national and local interest. Affiliated with the local Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, they are subject to the authority of the Supreme Council of National Economy; they are made up of representatives from trade unions, factory committees, workmen's cooperatives land committees and the technical personnel of industrial

and commercial establishments. The inner organization of these bodies is elaborate. There are sections, divisions (of organizations, supply and distribution, labor and statistics) and business offices. Here are some functions of these Soviets:

1. Manage the private enterprises confiscated by the state and given over to the workmen, such, as for instance a number of factories in the mining districts.
2. Determine the amount of fuel, raw materials, machinery, means of transportation and labor needed by the given industrial section, and the amount available in it.
3. Distribute the orders for goods among the individual enterprises and work out the basis for distribution of labor, raw material, machinery, etc.
4. Provide for the economic needs of the section.
5. See to it that all of the productive forces should be fully utilized, both in industry and agriculture.

The decree relating to the agrarian socialization, voted November 8, 1917, recommends the use of a certain Nakaz (mandate) based on 242 resolutions passed by village communities as a guide in putting the land reform into practice. Article 8 of the Nakaz reads thus: "All the land, upon confiscation, forms a national agrarian fund." The distribution of the land among the toilers is taken care of by local and central self-governing bodies. The land is periodically redistributed, with the growth of population and the rise of productivity of agricultural labor. For the purpose of putting this program into operation and regulating the economic life of the village generally, there have been instituted land committees (decree of November 16), one for each Voloste a rural district including several villages). These committees are elected by the population of the district and exist as separate institutions, or function as organs of the Voloste Zemstvo wherever this is found. The duties of a land committee are many and complex. It takes inventory of all the land in the district and allots to each village its share of plow land, meadow and pastures, seeing to it that the land is equitably distributed among the individual toilers and correctly tilled. It grants leases of land and waters, not subject to distribution, receives the rent and turns it over to the national fund. It regulates the supply and demand of agricultural labor, takes charge of the forests, fixes prices of timber, receives and fills orders for fuel from the state and takes the necessary measures to preserve the large, scientifically conducted agricultural establishments.

The Soviets have been very careful to extend the abolition of private land ownership to city real estate. By a special decree they abrogated the property rights in city land and in those city buildings whose value, together with that of the land they occupy, exceeds a certain minimum fixed in each municipality by the local authorities, or which are regularly let for rent, although their value does not exceed the minimum. The land and the buildings are declared to be public property. The dispossessed own-

ers retain the right to use the apartment they occupy in their former property, provided the apartment is worth no more than 800 rubles of rent per annum.

In case the value of the apartment exceed this maximum, the former owner pays the difference to the local Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. All the rent which formerly went to the landlord is now paid to the institution or to the Municipal Council. Not more than one-third of the sum thus collected is to be used to meet the various needs of the community, ten percent of it goes to the National housing fund; the rest forms the local housing fund for erecting new buildings, laying out streets, and other improvements.

Other measures enacted by the Soviets are restricted to the proletariat, and properly belong to the field of specific labor legislation. Thus a law has been passed limiting the working day in both industrial and commercial establishments to eight hours, and regulating the work of women and children. A minimum wage of hired workers has been fixed in each section. But the most radical pieces of legislation are those relating to the compulsory insurance of workmen. On December 29 there was created the Institute of Insurance Soviets, with an executive organ in the form of a Chamber of Insurance. The intention is to introduce compulsory insurance for laborers against unemployment, invalidism, and sickness. The regulations published so far relate only to the first two forms of insurance. The decrees rule that throughout the territory of the Russian Republic all hired workers, without distinction of sex, age, religion, nationality, race, and allegiance, are to be insured against sickness and unemployment, irrespective of character and duration of their work. (Salaried employees and members of liberal professions are not subject to these regulations.)

At the moment the workman is hired by the employer, he automatically becomes a member of two fraternal organizations. In the event of his illness, one furnishes him free medical aid and a weekly allowance equal to his wages. The other assures him the equivalent of his wages if he loses his employment and becomes an "unemployed workman." The latter term, the law defines as any able-bodied person depending chiefly upon the wages of his (or her) labor, who is unable to find work at the normal rate of remuneration fixed by the proper trade unions, and who is registered in a local labor exchange or trade union.

The workmen contribute no dues to the fraternities. The income of the latter consists mainly of the payments made by the employers. The owner of an establishment using hired labor must contribute each week to the health insurance fraternity 10 percent of the sum he pays out as wages, and at least three percent of the same sum is contributed to the unemployment fund. Thus, we can see in spite of the fire of revolution, new Russia is forging a state that will go far to provide the workers with guarantees against the evils of modern industrial society and the present government of Russia is not unmindful of the possibilities of reform under the existing capitalist system.

The Hero and The Job

By A Discharged Soldier

There was no job hunting last year,—my employer for that period merely indicated my duties, specified my pay as thirty dollars per, and no employment bureau fee was necessary. After leaving my situation at the beginning of this year, however, the condition of affairs was quite different.

My case is not typical—I don't believe there are any "typical" cases. In the first place, I labor under the curse of an education, and the branch of the service which I entered required the special knowledge which I possessed, and exempted me to a large extent from the ornamental and pedestrian occupations of the infantry "Doughboy." So, presumably, when I was discharged I was qualified for a position a little higher than "common labor"—if I had not been in the army six months ago, I could have easily had a position paying \$200 a month without having to work overtime. Also I have parents who can feed and shelter me after a fashion, in case I am unable to support myself, so there is no probability of my starving to death if I am out of work for a couple of weeks. And then, I have no dependants. Nevertheless, not desiring to become indebted for several months' sustenance, and also, foolishly perhaps, wishing to acquire dependants as soon as possible, I took but a three day formal vacation, and then started out to look for a job.

My own profession was barred. The Pacific coast never was a promising field for my line of work, and is at present more than usually unpromising. In the east, where conditions are "better," a friend of mine investigated and found only a few jobs open, these paying about \$80 a month,—the employers explaining that they are in no rush to employ men, as they expect to have a supply greatly exceeding the demand. This, in the East, where living conditions and wages in general are much better than here. And when I received the latest issue of the national journal of my profession the long list of "situations wanted" by discharged privates, sergeants, and officers, as well as others, showed that the employers are far sighted and sagacious,—as society is constituted just at present.

I have had experience in clerical and semi-clerical work, and preferred something of that nature. I decided that a job with some large railroad or manufacturing company would be very good, as they would furnish steady employment with good chance for advancement to men with ambition, a fair line of bunk, and not too much conscience. I still think they would, though I should hardly expect to attain a position like that, say, of Charlie Schwab,—but the difficulty lies in getting the position from which to start.

The railroads, the Standard Oil Company, and some others, are making every effort to give the returned soldier his former job,—provided he had a former job. This is very encouraging to the favored ones, but it leaves a big bunch of us out in the cold. However, the favored ones are attaining the delightful haven of the same position they held a year or two ago, by the discharge of those employees who have taken their places "during the emergency,"—a solution which has doubtful value as a solution of the problem of unemployment as a whole. We—the soldiers who have no jobs to return to, but who must look for work, are thereby spared the trouble of competing with our fellow veterans, by competing instead with an equal number of

civilians—in many cases women, or men unfitted for the arduous work of chasing cooties and Germans on account of flat feet, defective eyes, etc., and in some cases heads of families or men exempted because of their value in their earlier civilian employment. But the favored few need detain me no longer, so I return to my search.

I discovered at the "Soldiers and Sailors Replacement Bureau" a bulletin board filled with positions of all kinds—except the kinds I could fill: A Ranch Hand with Wife; A Mining Superintendent; Tinnerns; Mechanics Helpers; Salesmen. Salesmen, solicitors, agents, all on commission,—what a field there is for those who can sell the busy housewife something she doesn't want for twice its value! If I were able to make a living that way I would turn my abilities to better profit by selling poems and uplift junk to Hearst's magazine. The board was perused by a crowd of discharged men, and occasionally one would go out on a job.

I returned there several times, after filing a card. The attendant was courteous and anxious to help, but I didn't get a job,—not even a suspicion of one. If I had been a sailor in uniform I might have sold novelties at 100% commission, and I imagine a sailor just back from dodging submarines would enjoy accepting such a thinly camouflaged hand out.

I applied for work picking citrus fruit, at \$3 for nine hours,—averaging about ten a week, I think, as they don't work when it rains, or after a heavy dew has wet the fruit, and, though neither a Mexican nor a Russian, I could have had such a job two weeks after I made application, but by that time, after about six weeks of strenuous loafing, I had a position,—removing soil from the earth to permit the laying of pipe lines,—a very remunerative job, and, for a fighter, very appropriate, in that it bears a close resemblance to digging trenches. It required the mental flexibility conferred by a college education, as the worker must determine on which side of the ditch the removed detritus shall be placed.

Fortunately, I only held this position a few weeks. It lacked the requirements of my ideal job. It was not steady, and the laws of nature forbid that aspiring youth shall "begin at the bottom and work up." I left it for a position appropriate to a cultured and refined man,—a position which permits the wearing of starched collars, and pays almost two-thirds as much as the Standard Oil Co. of California pays its lowest class of "unskilled labor." It will only last six months,—but by that time,—why worry.

But I wonder what would have happened if I didn't have a home in which to stay while looking for work?

There is talk of bonuses. I may get sixty dollars if I send my discharge papers to Washington and wait till some time next year (truly I have had experience with government red-tape—and know whereof I speak) to get them back with a check. I will probably be able to use that sixty in paying my income tax for 1921.

I really consider myself lucky in a way. During my army career there were times when my duties consisted merely of eating the meals which the government provided for at 40 cents per man per day, and keeping the U. S. blankets issued to me from blowing away—times when, if I had not been born a Presbyterian and raised a Repub-

THE END OF THE TRAIL

By Jim Seymour

When hope with her rainbows has faded from view
And doubts our ideals assail;
When all our illusions are proven untrue,
We've come to the end of the trail.

lican my conscience would have twinged as I accepted the remnants left after deducting all of the deductions from my thirty dollars per month. But I would rather spend my time reading the bulletin board on South Broadway and speculating as to whether I could make enough to live on by peddling carpet tacks in the suburbs, or swinging a pick

on the indurated agricultural necessity, than to return to my former state. And all I would humbly plead is that I be spared some of the "bull" about honoring our returned heroes—it gets monotonous as a steady diet, though I found it rather amusing till the novelty wore off.

TO A FAIR LIBERTARIAN

By Jim Seymour

The moonbeams romp with softest shadows there,
I write no tuneful sonnets to your hair;
Nor pencil lyrics simply that your eyes
Recall the peaceful stars of tropic skies;
Nor shall your cheeks be subject of an ode
Because therein the roses make abode;
No verse anent the goblet of your lip
Whence I, a god, the honeyed nectar sip.
To greater beauty far I write instead—
A paean to a gem of priceless worth;
To that which wakes the sleeper from his bed
Of matted thorns upon a blood-soaked earth:
I write but to the brilliance of your mind
That to the heights of freedom leads the blind.



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Phantom Nectar

By Clarence Melly

In the days before the moving picture had driven the living actor from the stage, there stood on a principal cross street in one of the mushroom cities of the Pacific Coast a dingy little theater made out of a converted storeroom. The performance, which was given twice on week days and three times on Sunday, was described in the playbills as tabloid comedy. The performers included four principals, two men and two women, and eight chorus girls. A four piece orchestra added materially, though not always wisely, to the general ensemble. Strict propriety was observed in the choice and rendition of productions, and altogether it was a canny little theater, with a prestige all its own, and a balance safely on the profit side of the ledger.

The usual patrons, street idlers, laboring men possessed of a rare holiday, sailors or miners or ranch hands in the city for a day, now and then a spectacled office man skirting the fringes of adventure, had assembled for a Saturday afternoon performance. On the front row of seats half a dozen prospectors celebrating a discovery of ore had possessed themselves of as many seats. They were uncouth, powerful men, with leathery faces that had been set against many a desert tempest, whose eyes had the far focus of great distances, and in whose breasts was the ever unquenching spirit of romance. One of them, an aged desert rat whose potations had obviously been prompted more by enthusiasm than prudence, carried an immense sheaf of red carnations purchased from some street vender for a few pennies. He was the source of much amusement to his companions, who twitted him about his blossomy freightage and its amorous implications.

The orchestra blared forth its premonitory signal and the curtain rose upon the line of gyrating coryphees. Presently these filed from the stage to give place to the two male comedians who did their pointless bit of low comedy. Then entered one of the feminine principals, a lean, jaded little woman, never pretty and no longer young, who began a nervous dance. In every turn of her wirey neck and genuflection of her corded limbs hopelessness was eloquent. For a week she had been on trial. For a week she had labored, how desperately was evident, to capture from indifferent audiences a morsel of favor and to convince a purely business management that she would prove a desirable addition to the company of players. And the doom of failure, fore-ordained and implacable, filled the morrow with its impenetrable darkness. What djinns of want, of misery and despair lurked behind that blackness only those know who themselves have failed.

The little woman leaped and danced with the false, jerky energy with which an exhausted horse answers the spur of its rider. Her movements had the feverish unexpectedness of one who dances to Saint Vitus, yet strives to escape the spell of that merciless bondage. Her wan face grew paler as the scant blood hurried to reinforce her flexing, ill nourished muscles, leaving the stamp of hopelessness still more deeply impressed upon it. The audience turned wearily in its chairs and whispered indifferently of other matters. There was not even perfunctory hand clapping when she had finished. The claque of ushers knew it was useless.

The old man swayed soddenly in his seat clutching his flowers. His companions twitted and joked him. There was more comedy and then the chorus reappeared for a ragtime ballad.

"Throw your bouquet," the others urged the old man. "Pick out one of 'em and throw it at her. There's that big one with the yellow hair. See, she's smiling at you. Throw it at her. Or try that black eyed one next her with the snub nose. She's a peach. Throw it at her. Hurry, or they'll be gone off the stage."

The old man peered with bleary gaze at the weaving line of bright color behind the footlights, trying to distinguish some particular unit in the mass, nerving himself to a senile coquetry. The song ended leaving him still agape, still palsied with the wealth of opportunity. The lean little woman ran from the wings to her place in front of the line of the chorus, as a sort of premier danseuse. The orchestra renewed its efforts and the little woman began again her erratic, mechanical gyrations, the chorus following her with graceful bend and leap. The other miners ceased to importune the old man. They believed he had waited too long. Suddenly, as the dance ended and the performers turned to leave the stage, the old man, with no other purpose than a kind of brazen self-vindication and with no notion of the direction his largess might take, half rose in his seat, balanced unsteadily, and with a wide sweeping gesture flung his flowers toward the stage. It was sheer accident that brought them to the feet of the lean little premier danseuse.

She stopped as if chilled by magic and stared incredulously at the robust heap of bloom at her feet. An ineffable smile, a smile of awe at an impossible joy, curved her impoverished lips.

"For me?" she breathed, reluctant upon verge of happiness.

Not till the orchestra leader reached across the footlights and lifted the flowers to her hands did she take them and hasten from the stage. In another moment she was back, her arms loaded with blossoms, and as the orchestra struck into the measured swing of the music, again she danced. But not now with laggard limbs galvanized by fear into a mimicry of suppleness and strength. Rather as she might have danced in some far off childhood, beneath the clotted sunlight of the south, through deep tides of poppy bloom, to the whispered cadence of the wind. Or like a lustrous dancer of the East, before the black brows of Herod, beauty and mystery woven in her hair. Or like white mists of falling waters thrown up against the moon.

Not one in all the place but recognized with tolerant smiles the part accident had played in her poor self-deception. There was no jealousy, not even scorn, only amusement. But to her it was her hour of triumph. The golden hour that crowns the apex of a life, the hour of destiny when labor is rewarded with achievement and ambition is fulfilled of fame, the hour from which hope and memory take their divergent reckonings. She touched fingers with Pavlova and Duncan and Genee and all the lovely priestesses of embodied song who have held the world as their thrall. She flushed as if a score of years had fallen from her thin shoulders and brought her girlhood back to her. She smiled and laughed at the sodden old miner as if he, too, had been restored to glorious youth and had worn the doublet and hose, the sword and sweeping plumes, of the prince of dreams. Even that hoary old miscreant felt the wonder of the transformation he had wrought and turned to his fellows for undeserved praise of his penetrating judgment.

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“Say,” he insisted huskily, “she’s all right. She’s all right, ain’t she. Say, she’s all right.”

He continued to mouth the phrase as if the surprise of it had quite overwhelmed him. The dance was over and the music ceased. The dancer bowed and laughed and blushed and ran away with her flowers. The sorry comedians adjusted their wigs and slapslicks for a resumption of their parts. The sordid little performance went forward along its predestined way.

No, the old miner’s tribute did not convince the management that the lean little woman was a desirable member of the company. The next week the stage of the dingy little theater knew a younger and more comely face. And the lean little woman, never pretty and no longer young, had passed into the murk of that failure that had lowered upon the morrow. But in her bare back room in a cheap tenement, face to face with the horrid djinns of misery and destitution and despair, nothing could take from her the remembrance of that golden hour, that hour for which youth had been the preparation and of which old age would be the echo, when the chalice of the gods had been pressed to human lips and she had stood for an equal instant among the company of the immortals.

LABOR UNION NOTES

Compiled by Walter J. Mitchell

The striking orange pickers have succeeded in organizing despite the opposition of the growers. Six hundred fruit workers are organized in the American Federation of Labor.

The shipbuilding companies at San Francisco are reported to have broken their agreement regarding back pay from August 1, as awarded by the Macy decision, and the men are out on strike to enforce the carrying out of the award. The men are backed up by their Internationals and will make a firm stand.

A mass meeting was held in the Labor Temple at Los Angeles Sunday, March 2, to organize a Soldiers’ Sailors’ and Workers’ Council. A resolution was passed calling for a committee of five from the A. F. of L., the I. W. W., the W. I. U., and unorganized labor, respectively.

No agreement can be made between any one organization and the employer. Any agreement made must cover the entire Pacific coast. No union or locality shall be allowed to enter into any agreement covering hours, wages or working conditions unless authorized by a referendum vote of the Metal Trades of the entire Pacific coast. It is the avowed policy of the workers on the Pacific coast to bring about unity of action in the Metal Trades industry throughout the United States and Canada. The above is the stand taken by the Metal Trades convention which men in Portland on February 17. Twelve councils were represented and 100 delegates took part in the proceedings.

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By UPTON SINCLAIR

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