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Socialist and Labor Movement

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HUGH FRAYNE has delivered another of those speeches which make intelligent company union employees' chortle with joy. Mr. Frayne told a radio audience that the higher standard of living in America proved the wisdom of the organized labor movement in avoiding political action through its own party. The argument goes like this: American wage workers, unlike their European brothers, have no political party of their own. But American workers have a higher standard of living. Therefore, they are right and the Europeans wrong in their political methods.

Two can play at that game. "All right," the intelligent open shop employer can reply. "American workers are more prosperous than their European brothers. Not only are they not organized politically, but they are not very well organized industrially—certainly not as compared with England, Germany and other advanced industrial countries. American workers are organized in company unions as are the workers of no other country; hence their prosperity."

The employer would be quite as logical and as near the truth as Mr. Frayne. Indeed, the minute labor leaders admit that American prosperity is due primarily to a method of labor organization, political or economic, they play into the hands of the bosses, for the plain fact is that in no great industrial nation do the employers have the labor problem so well in hand as in the United States.

Of course, American prosperity is not due to the weakness of American unions on the political or industrial field. American prosperity, such as it is, is due to our favored position, our tremendous natural resources, our immense internal free trade area, our comparative freedom from devastating war, our lack of the handicap of old feudal customs and ideas. Under these conditions American prosperity ought to be greater; particularly labor's share ought to be greater. An intelligent and rather conservative member of the recent Australian labor delegation to America commented to me with great surprise on the backward condition of the United States in social legislation. In no other advanced country have workers so little security against old age or unemployment. Hugh Frayne's boasted labor policy has left American workers at the mercy of courts and injunctions. It has been unable to emancipate the children of the country from the curse of child labor. By its failure to seek or obtain social insurance it has played into the hands of any employer who will offer his workers group insurance as the price of keeping out of the union. In view of these facts there is something infinitely pathetic in Mr. Frayne's brave talk of the superiority of American trade union tactics.

There is one case, and one case only, for the failure of American labor to use political action through its own party for its own purposes. That case, alas! arises not from labor's strength but from labor's weakness. Mr. Frayne would have rested his case against a labor party on intelligent if not convincing grounds had he said: "Organized labor in America is weak numerically. It is not politically class conscious. The attempt to form a third party would further divide labor without bringing compensating results. We can get farther by bargaining with the old party politicians for this or that crumb for labor. Anyway, by this policy many of our labor leaders can pick up quite desirable plums for ourselves." Such talk might not sound well over the radio or read well in the columns of the New York Times. It would be a far more realistic statement of the reasons for the A. F. of L.'s political policy than Mr. Frayne's complacent boasting.

We might possess our souls in some patience, so far as labor's political action is concerned, if there were signs of any program of militant, intelligent, economic organization in evidence. There is none. The United Mine Workers, under Mr. Lewis, are hardly able to make the public aware that there is a coal strike. The famous organizing campaign among automobile employees seems to have died a-borning. Nothing has been heard of that assessment which was to finance it. The building trade unions are strong, but there are ugly rumors of a revival of Brinellism in them. Certain recent small organizing campaigns have virtually been forced upon reluctant labor leaders. Too many of these gentlemen—I am by no means making a wholesale indictment—sit around their offices buttered over with self-complacency. Seemingly their one great ambition is

SACCO, VANZETTI DEMONSTRATION IN N. Y.

Thousands of Workers
Quit Work Hour to
Take Part in Rallies

AS THE period approaches for a decision in the Sacco-Vanzetti case it is awaited with keen expectation in labor circles. This is especially true of the Italian workers in the New York needle trades, where the feeling has been tense since the sentence of death was pronounced upon the two Italians. Their eagerness for a termination of the strain under which they have labored in some cases becomes almost frantic.

In general labor circles speculation is rife regarding the recommendations to be made to Governor Fuller by the commission which he has appointed to survey the records of the trial. While the members of this commission are conservative, it is generally believed that their high professional standing gives fair assurance that they will make a report justified by all the facts in the case.

Relying on this view, there is hope that the commission will accept the view of Professor Frankfurter that the trial was an atrocious miscarriage of justice and that Sacco and Vanzetti should be released. A commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment is not thought of. This, it is believed, would be to justify the trial proceedings and to substitute one form of injustice by another.

Demonstrations Held
It is also pointed out that the members of the commission are not politicians or interested in partisan politics. This leaves them without that sense of legal solidarity which has induced practically all conservative lawyers in Boston to stand by the verdict and oppose any investigation of the trial. This lawyer clan has exhibited a marked class consciousness not only in their behalf, but as legal spokesmen of New England capitalism. They are Bourbons in their stolid stupidity and insistence that the sanctity of their profession is at stake if the public gets another peep into the inner history of the notorious trial through the eyes of the Governor's commission.

Meantime, the organized workers of New York are prepared to act in any emergency that may arise, and in this they no doubt represent the attitude of workers all over the country. They expect to rejoice over the final disposition of the case, but are prepared, if necessary, to voice their protest on a still larger scale.

This week large mass meetings were held in New York on Thursday by a dozen or more trade unions in Cooper Union, Webster Hall and Union Square. The speakers announced are Clarence Darrow, Fiorello La Guardia, Father Ryan, Lucien B. Price, Abraham Shipplacoff, Arturo Giovannitti, Upon Sinclair, Judge Panken, Sidney Hillman, Jacob Margolis, Arthur Garfield Hays and Vincenzo Vacrca.

Appeal Is Issued
An appeal addressed by the Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee urged a stoppage of work for one hour. The appeal, in part, reads:

"Friends of Sacco and Vanzetti must not be lulled to sleep by the rumor that is being cautiously circulated that Governor Fuller, in whose hands the final decision on these two militant workers is placed, may commute the death sentence to one of life-long imprisonment."

"This rumor is being spread so that the enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Keymen of America and other labor-baiting organizations, may feel out the

(Continued on page 2)

Abraham Cahan in Moscow; Trip Surprises Socialist World

SOCIALIST and radical circles are all agog with the news that Abraham Cahan, the veteran editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, is now in Russia. Mr. Cahan, one of the outstanding figures in the American Socialist movement, arrived in Moscow on Wednesday, according to advice received here. He went there from Berlin, where he spent a few weeks following his arrival from the United States.

Mr. Cahan's trip to Russia has occasioned much comment and interest. For many years he has been one of the most severe critics of Bolshevik methods as exemplified in the policies of the Soviet government. In this country, he was the spearhead in the journalistic end of the fight to eliminate Communist influence in the needle trades unions. It was only after he successfully ended with the defeat of the Communist factions that he made up his mind to go to Russia.

Friends of Mr. Cahan and some of his associates on the Forward at-

tempted to dissuade the famous editor and writer from going to the Soviet country. They felt that his age—he is now 67—his repeated lapses into poor health and the possibility of unfriendly incidents in Russia made it advisable for him to stay out of that country. However, he was adamant in his determination to observe first hand the workings of Bolshevik Communism and to report his findings to his readers in the Forward. The New Leader has also made arrangements with Mr. Cahan to publish several articles based on his Russian impressions.

On his arrival in Moscow Mr. Cahan sent the following cable to the Forward: "I have just arrived in Moscow. The trip through Soviet Russia to the capital was very pleasant. I have been greatly impressed. As soon as I am rested I will send you a cable describing these impressions for the readers of the Forward and The New Leader. I feel in the best of health and hope to get to work to study the situation in Soviet Russia and to see with my own eyes what is happening here.—Abe Cahan."

Europe War Danger Re-appears; Russo-British Hatred Flames; Mussolini and France Add Fuel

5 MILLION A YEAR PROFIT OF 7

207 in United States Net
Million or More Annually

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The 1925 income tax returns list 207 men and women who receive the huge sum of \$1,000,000 annually as net income out of their investments. This means the class of billionaires is growing, because to earn a million dollars they must levy on an entire industry. But a select few draw even five times as much.

First and foremost are those who draw \$5,000,000 net a year for their share of this world's wealth. Who they are and where they get it from is common knowledge. Greater wealth than any Czar or Mogul ever had is brought to these few:

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.—Oil, coal, railroads, banks.
George F. Baker—Banks.
Andrew F. Mellon—Aluminum, coal, banks.
Henry Ford—Automobiles, railroads.
Edsel Ford—Automobiles, tractors, railroads.

Two more are in this class, but so far they have been unidentified. One lives in Illinois, the other in Oklahoma. There are seven who get \$5,000,000 a year or more out of this life of earnings who receive between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000; fifteen who garner between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000; twenty-nine who net between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000; and 147 who collect between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000.

The great contrast between these few and the mass of earners shown by the tax returns of two years ago is very striking. The average net income for 1925 was \$5,250, an increase of nearly \$2,000 over 1924.

It is evident, too, that the great majority in the low income brackets also gained in 1925. However, nearly 60 per cent. of the total income of individuals was for incomes less than \$10,000. That would include nearly all the highest paid trade union officials and most of the public office holders. More than 80 per cent. of the returns were below \$10,000 and 80 per cent. were less than \$5,000. From \$5,000 down to \$1,000 would include the bulk of the wage earners. Only 2.35 per cent. reported less than \$1,000. Of course, millions of earners did not report, because their gross income is only \$20 a week and they had nothing to report.

The analysis of these returns affords a great study in inequality. That so few should have such tremendous wealth is one of the problems of modern civilization.

Irish Clerks Affiliate
At its last meeting, which was held at Berlin, the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees decided to admit the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks and the newly created Union of Technical and Supervisory Employees of Holland.

Socialist International Executive Meeting to Be Held on Sept. 11

The next session of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International has been fixed to meet at Brussels September 11-13. On the day when the session opens there will take place, in the Salle Blanche of the Maison du Peuple, the solemn ceremony of unveiling the monument to Matteotti erected by the Labor and Socialist International. The monument will be given over to the charge of the Belgian Labor Party in a speech by Arthur Henderson, M. P., president of the Labor and Socialist International, while Filippo Turati will speak on behalf of the Italian workers.

Previous to the meeting of the Executive, a meeting of the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International will be held on September 10.

In the forenoon of September 12 will be held the initial session of the Committee of Inquiry into the Conditions of Political Prisoners, appointed by the Labor and Socialist International.

U. S. BOARD NAILS LIE ON PORTERS

Report Union Is Turned
Down Repudiated by
Federal Body

IN the struggle of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to consolidate a victory which they have won in the organization of a big majority of the porters' mysterious obstructions appear from time to time. With raising of the race issue against Bennie Smith a few weeks ago in Florida, in an effort to prevent him from organizing, a covert power was injected into the struggle.

The latest display of this power was the appearance late last week of a news item in the daily papers all over the country, the source of which is not yet known, but may be easily surmised.

This story declared that the United States Mediation Board, before which the status of the Brotherhood and its demand for better conditions are pending, had refused a demand for better wages. The alleged "news" took the form of an official expression of the views of the board and appeared last Saturday when two holidays followed, making it impossible to immediately challenge the story.

Denial by Board
The appearance of the story in thousands of dailies all over the country shows that it was sent out by some central publicity office. On July 4 A. Philip Randolph, general organizer of the porters, sent a telegram to the Secretary of the board inquiring whether there was any truth in the press story and he received the following answer: "This office is not responsible for unfortunate statement in press referred to in your telegram. The matter submitted by your organization remains under consideration by this board."

(Signed) "JOHN HARRIMAN,"
Secretary U. S. Mediation Board,
Washington, D. C.

Members of the Brotherhood are asking, "Who would gain by the publication of such a news story if not the Pullman Company?"

Whatever may be the source of this poisoning of the news, the officers of the Brotherhood point to the fact that the Pullman Company has sent out a broadside consisting of material which appeared in The Messenger years ago before the magazine became the fighting organ of the Brotherhood. These consist of the radical opinions of Randolph, opinions that he has a right to hold as a citizen and a voter.

It is believed that if the Pullman Company can go to the expense of distributing reprints from The Messenger it is possible that it may send other matter to the newspapers of the type which brought a denial from the Mediation Board.

It is pointed out that not only the Brotherhood, but the board as well, is affected by this poisoning of the news. It is reprehensible that anybody should publicly ascribe to the board a decision which it never reached and send it broadcast throughout the country.

Fort Wayne "Y" Secretaries Fired For Lecture on Peace

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

FORT WAYNE, Ind.—A combination of militarism, business interests and yellow journalism has forced the resignation of the two Y. W. C. A. secretaries at Fort Wayne by the use of the charge that they were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which organization was pictured as being linked with "Moscow" and with plotters against the United States. The general secretary of the Fort Wayne Y. W. C. A., Miss Ida Jones, who thus resigned, had held her position for nine years, and the industrial secretary, Miss Fattie Ellis, had been in her position for two years.

Bishop Paul Jones and Rev. John Nevin Sayre, executive secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, have made a special trip to Fort Wayne to investigate the situation. Briefly their findings are as follows:

Trouble began after a talk on world peace given by the national secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at the Fort Wayne Y. W. C. A. last March. Shortly afterward a man with military interests called on Miss Jones, general secretary of the Y. W. C. A., and remonstrated about certain statements the invited speaker had made. A few days later the News-Sentinel, a local newspaper, published six front page articles and an editorial attacking the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Miss Jones and Miss Ellis for being members of the Fellowship and the Fort Wayne Y. W. C. A. for harboring Miss Jones and Miss Ellis on its staff. The board of directors of the Y. W. C. A. made an investigation of the charges, and as late as the second week of May voted entire confidence in Miss Jones and Miss Ellis, and asked them to renew their contracts with the Y. W. C. A. for another year. At no point does there seem to have been any serious criticism of Miss Jones and Miss Ellis' work.

More Mud From Press
But on May 30 the News-Sentinel

renewed its attack with an editorial on the front page in which it also threatened further attacks. No new evidence against the Fellowship or against Miss Jones or Miss Ellis was cited. Then two days later, June 1, the trustees and directors of the Y. W. C. A. held a meeting. Miss Jones and Miss Ellis, who had been informed at 11 o'clock the night before concerning this meeting, felt, in view of the fresh onslaught of the newspaper, that the board should still have the option of not renewing the contracts which it had offered them two weeks before. They, therefore, sent in their resignations to this meeting, but wrote: "We hope that you will fully appreciate the spirit in which we write this to you and that you have the confidence in us to feel that we are more than ready to stand with you if we could be convinced that it would be of any value at this time rather than to continue to present a very real problem."

The board at this meeting accepted the resignations. It is said in Fort Wayne that business interests among the trustees who did not like the industrial program of the Y. W. C. A. dominated this meeting. No explanation was given to Miss Jones and Miss Ellis as to why their resignations were accepted, and the trustees and directors of the Y. W. C. A. have as yet authorized no explanation to the public.

On June 7 the trustees and board of directors met again and this time requested that Miss Jones and Miss Ellis be released from their work immediately, although their present contracts did not expire until July 31 and August 31, respectively. Financial obligations to the secretaries were met, but no official explanation given as to why they must leave so soon.

Others Quit in Protest
On June 24 Miss Jones, after nine years' service, and Miss Ellis, after two years' service, left the Y. W. C. A. Two other secretaries and one clerk asked that they be released from their contracts with the Y. W. C. A. as soon as possible.

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BRITAIN BACKS DICTATOR

Italy, Confident of Aid,
Assumes Insolent
Tone Toward Paris

An Ambassador's View of "Peace"

"The Continent of Europe, so far as its statesmen are concerned, has learned nothing from the war; the League of Nations, far from becoming a truly international instrument for the organization of peace, is moving toward a revival of the alliance of 1815 . . . ; the powers of the European Continent do not genuinely wish to disarm . . . ; the preliminary arms conference at Geneva will meet . . . to discuss proposals upon which agreement is neither desired nor expected, and which have been deliberately . . . advanced in order to make failure certain."—Report of the American Ambassador, Mr. Houghton, to President Coolidge ("Times" paraphrase), March 15, 1926.

By F. Seymour Cocks

THE above statement was made fifteen months ago. Today the catastrophe is nearer. Everywhere the nations are feverishly preparing for war. In Italy and elsewhere the armament firms are working night and day. In France a measure has been rushed through the Chamber of Deputies to conscript, in the event of war, the whole population of the State, women as well as men.

All down the Russian frontier, and in the Balkans, and in the Alpine valleys and along the Mediterranean shores, militarism is restless and triumphant. A friend of mine, after an extensive tour on the Continent, has come back appalled. Everywhere, he says, there is talk of war. The nations are heading straight for disaster, and unless something is speedily done to establish a real peace in Europe, night will shut down upon our lives.

What can be done to avert the coming tragedy? The first need is to understand the factors of the situation, and in this and subsequent articles I will try and make them clear. The most important are:

1. The active enmity existing between the British Government and the Government of Russia.
2. The rapidly growing antagonism between France and Italy, which must be considered in conjunction with the intimate and peculiar relations that have been formed between the British Government and Mussolini.

Around these two points lesser combinations are shifting and grouping as iron filings shift and group around the poles of a magnet. Another balance of power is in process of formation. And just as the old policy of the balance of power led to war, so will the new.

A Spendthrift's Inheritance

Austen Chamberlain, on taking office in England, came into a valuable inheritance. Despite the many evil after-effects of the war, hope in Europe was high. Reason was taking the place of passion, and confidence that of fear. MacDonald had worked wonders at the Foreign Office. He had aroused throughout the Continent the spirit of international good will. He had inaugurated a regime of open diplomacy and it had proved successful. For the first time since the war France and Germany had been brought together and an agreement of reparations had been negotiated. The Russian Treaty was about to open a more cordial chapter in our relations with the East. And at Geneva our championship of the Protocol, with its triple object of arbitration, security, disarmament, had won for this country the moral leadership of Europe.

All these achievements the new Foreign Secretary flung away. Open diplomacy was to him anathema. He resented questions in Parliament. He withdrew the pledge to submit treaties to the House before ratification. He tore up the treaty with Russia. He treated with contempt the Soviet Union's suggestion that matters in dispute between the two countries

1,000 CAPMAKERS STRIKE

Failure of Bosses to Live
Up to Agreement
Causes Tie-Up in N.Y.

ABOUT 1,000 capmakers, members of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union in New York, have completely tied up the employers who make up the Cap Manufacturers' Association, in answer to a lockout declared by these employers.

Over 1,500 workers remained working for the independent employers, who are carrying out the union agreement. The present strike is caused by the fact that, according to the agreement reached between the union and all employers last year as a result of a six weeks' strike, the 40-hour week was to go into effect beginning with July 1st. The workers had gained a reduction in hours from 44 to 42 for the first year of the agreement, and the 40-hour week (to begin this week).

During the last few months the organized employers attempted at various conferences to have the union surrender the 40-hour week. The union, through its officers, firmly insisted that the employers live up to the agreement. The membership, at a mass meeting recently, backed up the officers by authorizing them unanimously to call a strike in defense of the union's gains.

In a statement issued by Max Zaritsky, president of the international union, he points out that this move on the part of these employers is backed by the National Association of Cap Manufacturers, who "realize that the full establishment of the 40-hour week in New York will mean that it will have to be introduced in the various other cap markets of the country."

Zaritsky declared that the union will conduct the strike with the greatest determination until the employers will realize that they will have to grant the 40-hour week.

"In last year's strike we tied them up sufficiently to have them yield this condition," he said. "We will now continue striking until they understand that they will also have to live up to this agreement."

WORKER KILLED EACH 1/2 HOUR

Every 15 Seconds One
Is Injured, Labor
Safety Parley Hears

CLEVELAND.—Twenty-five international unions had representatives at the first National Labor Health Conference in America, which ended here recently. 92 delegates attending from eleven different States.

A program for protection of the 55 shop trades in the American Federation of Labor against industrial poisons was presented by Grace M. Burnham, executive secretary of the Workers' Health Bureau, while Charlotte Todes outlined plans for ending the 2,000 deaths and 100,000 accidents that take place every year in the building industry.

A safety program for miners, who lead in the number sacrificed each year to industry, was outlined by Harriet Silverman.

Victims Could Be Saved
Delegates were outspoken in declaring that if the measures urged by the Workers' Health Bureau, which organized the convention, could be enforced, it would save most of the victims of American industry.

The railroad workers' delegation supported a plan of research into the causes of sickness and death of railroad workers and the methods of indemnification for illness and accidents of the railroad companies. A Federal system of compensation rather than private aid was favored.

James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, in his opening address to the convention pointed out that America has more industrial accidents than any other nation in the world and that accidents are on the increase.

Deaths at Frequent Intervals
One worker is killed on the job every 25 minutes and another is injured every 15 seconds. The remedy must not be left to employers alone, but must be applied by workers themselves. One of the great factors in saving life is educational means and the most important of these is the labor press, it was brought out.

should be referred to arbitration. He refused to accept the jurisdiction of The Hague Court for all classes of justiciable disputes. He even declined to sign an "all-in" arbitration treaty with Switzerland. Occasions might arise in which it would be necessary to declare war on the Alps! So he held himself free to drop bombs on Geneva. And of this freedom he has since taken full advantage.

Finally, the Foreign Secretary rejected the Protocol. It has been whispered that the rejection speech was composed by Lord Balfour. Literary authorities assert that in it they can detect the hand of the author of "Philosophic Doubt." The speech was full of doubt. It doubted the efficacy of arbitration. It doubted the efficacy of the League. It doubted whether the covenant would ever be kept. It nullified the result of five years' patient work on the problem of disarmament. It inflicted upon the League a lamentable blow. And on returning to London the Foreign Secretary, asked to give some account of his proceedings, characteristically replied: "I do not propose to go at length into the objections to the Protocol. I have too much other work to do."

Lacarno—

And After

He had. Some of that work was done at Lacarno and elsewhere. Mischievous work it was. All the fears which some of us expressed at the time as to the consequences of Lacarno have been confirmed by events. By the adoption of the principle of "separate pacts" and "regional understandings" an evil model was set up which other nations have hastened to copy. Since Lacarno an extraordinary number of separate treaties of various types have been concluded by the different States. The effect of Governments making these arrangements between themselves instead of relying upon the machinery of Geneva and the principles of the covenant has been to weaken dangerously the authority of the League. The atmosphere of suspicion has returned. The air is noisy with rumors of secret clauses in these treaties and of verbal arrangements made by statesmen at private meetings. As a direct result of the policy inaugurated by the British Government the old diplomatic game, with its secret intrigues, its shifting combinations, and its treacherous double dealing has begun anew.

The Pact of Locarno, initiated on October 16, 1925, was regarded in the East—and by many people, including Mr. Ormsby Gore, in the West—as a move to isolate Russia. It was immediately countered by a treaty between the Soviet Union and Turkey. By this treaty (December 17) each party bound itself not to take part in any alliance or agreement directed against the other. But the "Times" correspondent in Constantinople strongly suggested that "the published terms of this agreement" did not tell the whole story, and that there were "secret clauses of a less amiable character."

The Meeting

At Rapallo

On December 23, 1925, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mussolini met at Rapallo. An official communiqué told the world that the conversation between the two statesmen "was marked by the greatest cordiality" and had shown "the opportunity of continuing that efficacious collaboration now established between the two countries." Britain was anxious to secure Italy's support in the event of trouble with Turkey over Mosul, and it is understood that at this meeting the promise of such support was secured—at a price. A fortnight later the question of the Italian debt to Britain was settled on terms exceedingly favorable to Italy, and Sir Austen, in a telegram to the Italian Finance Minister, stated that this settlement would "facilitate an intimate co-operation in the field of politics between the two countries." The Rapallo conversations caused much uneasiness in Paris, and in the following month France and Turkey concluded a treaty of "mutual neutrality in case of war," just as the Russo-Turkish treaty was a reply to Lacarno, so the Franco-Turkish treaty was a reply to Rapallo. The outlines of the new balance of power were beginning to appear.

Italy's

Reward

Turkey, finding that in the event of a conflict over Mosul she would be faced by a combination of Britain, Italy and probably Greece, submitted to the inevitable and, on June 6, 1926, signed the Mosul convention. British policy had triumphed. Italy had expected some reward for her support. A few days later the terms were announced of an agreement, made in the previous December, between Italy and Britain, which virtually amounted to a plan for the economic partition of Abyssinia. The latter country, naturally, had not been consulted in a matter so intimately affecting her internal welfare, and, being a member of the League of Nations, promptly protested. As for France, she, on asking for some explanation of this extraordinary scheme, was roundly abused for her curiosity by the government-controlled Fascist press. Having secured the "intimate co-operation" of Britain, Italy felt herself free to be insolent to France. Three months later France and Italy were on the very edge of war.

This is the first of a series in which Mr. Cocks will discuss the current international situation.

Sacco Rallies Held in New York

(Continued from page 1)
reaction to this plan among the defenders of the two tortured workers. They want to know if the splendid show of working class solidarity which has struck such heavy blows at the Massachusetts legal hierarchy will succumb to the sop of a commutation. "We will not rest until these heroic workers are set free and restored to their families and loved ones. Until that time the fight must be waged relentlessly."

The Aristocracy of Labor and Prosperity

By Louis Stanley

IT is the aristocracy of labor—the skilled workers—which receives the greatest labor share of prosperity. The unskilled and semi-skilled, who constitute the hoi polloi, make the barest of a living. The averages for the earnings of workers as a whole, low as they are, as pointed out in last week's article, are pulled up by the higher wages of the favored group. This is no argument for cutting the remuneration of the skilled; it is an argument for raising that of the others.

When Judge Gary was testifying before the Senate Committee investigating the steel strike of 1919 he was asked to present wage figures. He started off by reading \$32.56 per day for rollers. He soon had to admit that the rollers who received that enormous wage were exactly one in number. Other statistics announced by Gary and his apologists tended to be just as perverted. Nevertheless the impression was made upon the committee members and the newspapers took up the cry that workers in the iron and steel mills were well off. The work might be strenuous and the hours long, but the pay was enough to make for the inconvenience.

Such utilization of numerous data is, of course, an old story. Every strike, every wage negotiation supplies its own examples. It is not so long ago that the New York Times featured on the first page an account of a miner who flew to work in an airplane, so prosperous was he. The writer, who happened to be in the coal region at about that time, learned that the hero of the story was a worker who, because he was performing some unusually dangerous work, was receiving a very high wage. As to the airplane, it turned out to be an automobile.

Definition of Terms

The range of wages from highest to lowest and the distribution between are the significant things to consider, not the mere average obtained by dividing the total payroll by the number of workers on the list. Then, as we shall see, wages fall into three general groups, high, moderate and low, received by the skilled, the semi-skilled and the unskilled, respectively. Unfortunately, the data at our disposal are limited. We have hourly earnings

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS, 1910

(According to Alva M. Edwards)

Class	Number	Pct.
Skilled workers.....	4,021,598	19.2
Semi-skilled	5,691,102	27.2
Laborers	11,227,214	29.4
Totals	20,939,914	100.0

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS, 1910

(According to Scott Nearing)

Class	Yearly wages	Pct.
Skilled	Over \$1,000	10.6
Semi-skilled	\$600-\$1,000	40.0
Laborers	Under \$600	50.0

COMPOSITION OF LABOR FORCE OF A LARGE STEEL PLANT

(Percentage)

	Total number	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Production force.....	699	7.4	41.5	51.1
Blast furnaces.....	1,161	36.3	32.0	31.8
Open-hearth furnaces.....	477	38.4	22.0	39.6
Structural mills.....	283	42.0	18.0	39.9
Plate mills.....	668	42.5	17.5	40.0
Merchant mills.....	53	52.8	29.8	26.4
Totals and averages.....	3,341	32.5	28.3	39.2
Mechanical force.....	276	2.5	65.5	32.0
Electric light and power.....	203	36.0	57.6	6.4
Transportation.....	396	53.1	32.8	8.2
Shops.....	1,085	41.8	44.5	13.7
Foundry.....	83	45.8	31.3	22.9
Shipping and milling yards.....	376	10.9	29.0	60.1
General yard labor.....	613	0.7	2.8	96.1
Totals	3,031	28.1	35.0	37.0
Grand totals.....	6,372	30.4	31.5	38.1

PERCENTAGE OF PAYROLL TO CLASSES OF WORKERS IN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

(Percentage)

	Of work-ers	Of payroll received
Skilled	30.4	41.6
Semi-skilled	31.5	30.6
Unskilled	38.1	27.8

BLAST FURNACES—1926

(Average)

	Full time hours	Earnings weekly	Per hour
Occupation.....	44.0	\$9.902	\$22.72
Blowing engines.....	59.5	458	39.15
Stove tenders.....	67.4	577	33.12
Blowing engine's assistants.....	56.6	379	32.77
Lorry men.....	57.9	351	31.90
Ship operators.....	58.4	545	31.83
Stokers.....	57.5	548	31.81
Fire machine.....	59.4	501	29.76
Cinder men.....	59.2	484	28.65
Lorry men's helpers.....	56.9	493	28.05
Keapers' helpers.....	60.1	465	27.95
Top filers.....	59.1	471	27.84
Top rollers.....	53.5	500	26.90
Laborers.....	62.4	390	24.34
Iron handlers and loaders.....	69.2	349	24.15
Bottom rollers.....	55.5	426	22.79

UNION SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS, MAY 15, 1926

(Average)

	Rate per hour	Full time hours per week
Bakers.....	\$0.925	47.8
Building trades.....	1.378	43.8
Chauffeurs, teamsters and drivers.....	.653	55.5
Granite and stone cutters.....	1.330	44.0
Laundry workers.....	.441	47.8
Linenmen.....	.393	45.0
Longshoremen.....	.853	45.3
Printing and pub.....	.997	44.3
Book and job.....	1.155	45.3
Newspaper.....	1.148	45.4
All trades herein.....	\$1.148	45.4

ANALYSIS OF MAINTENANCE OF WAYS AND STRUCTURE DIVISION, CLASS I RAILROADS, 1926

(Average)

	Number	Pct.	Total compensation	Pct.
Above \$3,000.....	539	0.1	\$1,639,963	0.4
\$2,500 to \$3,000.....	4,368	1.1	12,580,449	2.7
\$2,000 to \$2,500.....	11,212	2.7	23,500,863	5.1
\$1,500 to \$2,000.....	59,623	14.3	97,273,335	20.9
\$1,000 to \$1,500.....	52,570	12.5	69,719,500	15.0
\$500 to \$1,000.....	26,697	6.3	72,064,834	15.3
\$500 to \$900.....	213,289	51.0	185,677,094	40.6
Totals	418,168	100.0	\$465,547,035	100.0

Raising of Unskilled the Problem; Will Organized Labor Solve It?

or the wage received for a theoretical full-time working week or annual earnings based on a fifty-two week year, when, as a matter of fact, practically no industry operates at capacity all year round. There are periods of shut-down, slack and speeding up. The worker's annual wage is difficult to estimate. It is impossible to calculate from hourly or even weekly earnings. We can only estimate. Thus far government and private investigations have skirted this question. A labor research body would dare tackle the problem.

The terms "skilled," "semi-skilled" and "unskilled" are, of course, difficult to define. In any case, the second group frequently blends into the first and usually into the third. We shall employ these expressions to characterize degrees of difficulty in learning to perform operations, measured, in general, by wages paid. That is the view taken by most statistical authorities who have dealt in this field.

For industry as a whole we can mention two analyses which, though not strictly up to date, are substantially correct. The writer is preparing figures for the last census, that of 1920. Alva M. Edwards analyzed the occupational statistics in the Census of 1910. He used the term "workers" to mean wage-earners in agriculture, manufacturing and mechanical industries, transportation, trade, professional service, domestic and professional service and public service. He found that the workers divided as shown in Table 1. Twenty percent made up the skilled group, eighty percent the remainder.

The Iron and Steel Industry

We can now turn our attention to particular industries. Our first consid-

eration will be iron and steel. Upon the request of the Senate of the Sixty-second Congress, first session, Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill had a classic report in four volumes prepared on conditions of employment in the iron and steel industry in the United States in 1910. This investigation among other things gave the composition of the labor force of a large steel plant by departments. This analysis appears in Table 3. It shows what observers agree is true to this very day, that skilled labor constitutes about one-third of all the wage earners of the iron and steel industry. In some departments more and in others less.

Using other statistics in this same report the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement, which investigated the steel strike in 1919, calculated that skilled labor, the only 30.4 percent of the total working force received 41.6 percent of the payroll. The full figures may be found in Table 4. The investigators for the Interchurch World Movement claim that the proportions hold good in general today. Calculations of the present writer confirm this conclusion.

Blast Furnace Department

To show how wide differentiation occurs a detailed list for one department, where the range is not very wide, is presented for blast furnaces of last year in Table 5. Note that hours of work and amount of pay vary inversely. In 1923, according to the biennial census of manufacturers there were 26,712 workers employed at blast furnaces who received \$58,355,384 or an average of \$1,605. At fifty working weeks that would make \$32.10 per week. The probability is that forty-five weeks is a more accurate figure according to the report on iron steel (Sen. Doc. No. 110, 62d Cong., 1 sess., vol. 3, p. 22). That would mean \$35.67 a week. Similar figures for 1925 would be \$31.44 for a fifty-week year and \$34.27 for one of forty-five. Now, note in Table 5 how the different types of workers vary considerably from this statistical average, how, indeed, it is

the upper crust of skilled workers, the blowers, blowing engineers and keepers, constituting about six or seven percent of the total force, who pull up the average of the whole department.

We can look upon this matter from different angles. In Table 6 are presented the average earnings per hour of all employees, including common labor in ten departments of the iron and steel industry, the average earnings per hour of common labor alone, the average full-time hours per week for common labor, the average earnings for full-time week of common laborers and lastly the full-time hours per week and full-time weekly earnings of the highest paid worker in each department. The wide discrepancy between the lowest and the highest strata becomes clear. One should remember also that in the iron and steel industry wages of all but the most skilled are based directly upon those of common labor. This is especially so because many operations require little or no skill, although not designated as that of common laborers. The latter are simply directed into definite routine channels of work. For those who are interested we may state that the averages for all departments shown in Table 6 are as follows:

Full-time hours per week.....	54.4
Earnings per hour.....	\$ 0.637
Full-time weekly earnings.....	\$ 34.41

A Contrast in Wages

We shall next contrast the wage rates for adult common labor in thirteen sets of industries throughout the country with the wage rates of union workers. Tables 7 and 8 present the evidence. Except for the union laundry workers, who are not only comparatively unskilled but also operate in an unorganized industry, the gap between unskilled and skilled labor is emphasized.

The needle trades despite announced efforts at equalization of wages by raising those of the lower-paid, still presents a varied front, as shown in

Will Farmers Be Bribe Again? For How Much?

THE reported plan for the McNary-Haugen bill, current in Washington, is that the Administration proposes to have it amended to take out the provision requiring the President to appoint the board in charge of the export corporation from nominations submitted by three conservative farm organizations and to eliminate also the equalization fee. The report further is that the losses which farmers sustain on the part of their crop exported is to be paid out of the public treasury. When the equalization fee was first proposed, those who are not fooled by names, pointed out that it would be little help to the farmers if they had to pay more losses on their exports out of what they received for the domestic product, that price being set by the tariff, and suggested that it be paid out of the public treasury for a year or so, until farmers could pay off more of their mortgage debts.

The Administration spokesman in the Senate countered that the farmers' losses would break the public treasury, though the farmers could easily afford to pay it! However—tell it not in Gath—1928 is election year—the farmers' votes will come in handy. The Treasury can afford to pay fifty or seventy-five million dollars out of the surplus of at least four hundred million. The Administration will see

this bill through and it will be signed just before the election and Coolidge will appeal to the farmers to keep cool with him.

P. S.—The Supreme Court adjourns about the time Congress does, so it won't have a chance to pass on the constitutionality of this bounty to farmers until after the election. As Calvin Coolidge is worth at least \$5,000,000 during a four-year period to the predatory financial interests and as he has arranged to have the common people pay most of this \$50,000,000 or \$75,000,000 bounty to farmers anyhow by reducing surtaxes and the Federal estate tax, the common people ought to be appreciative of this statesmanship for the great financiers, beautifully labeled "farm relief." It will be christened at its first birth "The McNary-Haugen Bill." A farm relief rose by any other name has just as many thorns.

WILSON'S CHAIRMAN OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COM. ADMITS WAR WAS FUTILE

The Detroit News, a most conservative paper, recently published an editorial on the Mississippi flood situation in which it stated:

"In the World War we tossed uncounted billions into the hopper, and what did it get us? Who will say we accomplished anything more tangible than to safeguard the loans our private citizens had made to that side of the war which our armies later supported?"

This was reprinted in the Omaha World Herald in the issue of May 20 this year. The honorable former Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, chairman of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations during the Wilson administration and our former unpleasantness, is owner and determines the policy of the World Herald. Truth crushed to the earth will rise again in a different administration, and it is never too late to tell the truth, but—will the American people ever realize that the same thing is true of the next war into which the same interests who got us into the last one are trying to get us again?

RADICAL SENATORS FIND AMERICAN SENTIMENT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

United States Senators Lynn J. Frazier and Smith W. Brookhart with Mr. Walter W. Liggett, writer and novelist, and Benjamin C. Marsh, executive secretary of the People's Reconstruction League, have concluded a six weeks' speaking trip from Washington to the Pacific Coast, discussing the international situation. The cities in which meetings were held included Indianapolis, St. Louis, Topeka, Kansas City, Denver, Cheyenne, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Bismarck, Minneapolis, Sioux Falls, S. D., and Lincoln, Neb., one of the Senators speaking at most of the meetings.

The speakers report very sincere interest in the international situation and large meetings in practically every city. The halls secured in many places being more than crowded, and the audiences made up largely of wage-earners, but with many teachers, preachers, lawyers and business men. The newspaper publicity given in the press was quite gratifying. The sentiment against our continued forced occupation in Nicaragua, against forcible intervention in Mexico and in favor of our keeping hands off of China and other foreign countries where Americans have interests more or less honestly secured.

KOUMINTANG OUT TO ELIMINATE COMMUNISTS

Chinese Paraphrase Bolsheviks' Slogans in Fight to Oust Them

THE arrival in New York of issues of the Canton Gazette throws considerable light on the internal affairs of the Koumintang Party, which represents the forces making for national union in China. The party was founded about 1912 by Sun Yat Sen, who returned from Europe and the United States after an extensive study of the labor and Socialist movement. The party has won the support of at least four-fifths of the educated Chinese, while the youth of the nation and what there has been of a labor movement have found in the Koumintang the ideals for which they strive.

South China with the capital at Canton has been the stronghold of the Koumintang and in recent military offensives it has brought much of the territory in the north under its control. While engaged in these military movements the left wing, or Communist Party, formulated plans that would enable it to fall heir to the Koumintang. As part of the program were ordered by Communist agents. Orders were issued by men in uniforms of the Cantonese army, which implicated General Chiang. The Koumintang had accepted aid from the Russians in the form of materials and munitions, but active interference in internal and party affairs compelled Chiang and the party to act.

It was this situation which brought about the bitter antagonism between the Koumintang and the Communists and which has developed into uncompromising war between the two.

22 Slogans Adopted

The Kwangtung Special Koumintang formulated a program defining the position of the party and then printed a digest of it in the form of 22 "slogans" so that it might be easily interpreted for the masses. All newspapers of the province are required to keep this program of "slogans" standing in each issue.

An interesting, if not humorous, feature of the program is that it takes over Communist terminology and uses it against the Communists themselves. It bears evidence of much familiarity with the literary propaganda, which the Koumintang has had to contend with and by presenting its own position in terms of Communist phraseology the party apparently has indulged in a delicious bit of humor. The "slogans" as they appear in the Canton Gazette follow:

1. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is treacherous; to our late director, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
2. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is against the San Min Chu I (Three People's Principles).
3. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is destroying the People's Revolution.
4. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is undoing the work of the Northern Expedition.
5. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is utilizing bandits and labor uprisings to oppress the Peasants and Laborers.
6. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is insulting and disgracing our late director, Dr. Sun.
7. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is plotting the downfall and destruction of the Kuomintang.
8. To be against the Three People's Principles is to be a Counter-Revolutionary.
9. To be against the Kuomintang is to be a Counter-Revolutionary.
10. All power and authority belongs to the Kuomintang.
11. All true and loyal comrades of the Kuomintang must unite and rise.
12. Down with all Counter-Revolutionaries.
13. Down with all Opportunists.
14. Concentrate the powers of the Kuomintang.
15. Down with all forms of Imperialism.
16. Down with the Fengtien clique of Militarists.
17. Eradicate all corrupt officials, greedy gentry and unscrupulous merchants.
18. Be on guard against those who lean toward the Right Wing.
19. To call a strike against the Kuomintang is Counter-Revolutionary.
20. Those who refuse to come under the direction and guidance of the Kuomintang are not Revolutionaries.
21. The masses of the people must rise and clean up the Counter-Revolutionary Chinese Communist Party.
22. The masses of the people must rise and support the Chinese Kuomintang.

Help the Plumbers' Helpers Build a Union

Grand Picnic

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Music By PLUMBERS' HELPERS JAZZ BAND

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'SHIP A FLOATING PRISON,' IS CHARGE

Seamen's International Begins International Organization Campaign

IN no occupation does the old forms of enforced servitude survive as in the employment of seamen. Because of her supremacy on the seas Great Britain for 200 years, and into the nineteenth century, employed "press gangs" to recruit her navy and merchant marine. Workers were kidnapped in English cities, forced into service, driven to their tasks, and special forms of torture were devised for the slightest infractions of labor discipline.

This slavery of workers duplicated all the horrors of the slave trade, and accompanied the rise of capitalist enterprise. The British commercial class in control of the government carried out the policy of impressment against workers of other countries. This policy was one of the grievances that led to the war between England and the United States in 1812.

While trade unions have accomplished something in eliminating some of the brutal phases of sea servitude the seamen are by no means the happy rovers some novelists would have us believe.

Unions in Session

In May the Advisory Committee of the International Transportworkers' Federation met in Antwerp to discuss measures for improving the conditions of seamen. Twelve delegates representing nine seamen's organizations in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Holland, Norway and Sweden, in addition to Edo Fimmen, general secretary of the I. T. F., and two fraternal delegates from the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, were present at the meeting, which was presided over by J. Henson, of Great Britain.

The conference decided that an international manifesto should be issued in nine languages, 150,000 copies to be printed to start with.

In addition it was decided to have propaganda cards printed, also in nine languages, for sale among the seamen. The purpose thus served will be a double one. The seamen will have an opportunity of expressing their sympathy with and of contributing toward the costs of the working hours campaign of the I. T. F.

The French Seamen's Federation, which is not affiliated to the I. T. F., has expressed its willingness to support the campaign of the I. T. F. by all possible means. The representatives of the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association also gave expression to their approval of the plans of the I. T. F.

The text of the manifesto, which is being sent to seamen all over the world, follows:

'APPEAL TO THE SEAMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES'

"Comrades, 'A ship is a kind of floating prison.' These are not the words of a 'discontented' seaman or an 'agitator.' They were uttered by the representative of the French shipowners at a meeting held in Geneva at the beginning of this year.

"It is difficult to find a more fitting description. From the moment he is signed on until the moment he signs off the seaman is the prisoner of the shipowner, and the ship is his prison.

"In that prison he must, often under difficult and cramped conditions, work 10, 12 and 14 hours a day, and sometimes even longer. The eight-hour day acts which give a shorter working day to important sections of the shore workers do not apply to the seamen, nor do the many other laws which provide at least some measure of protection to labor. In more than one respect the seaman is still the stepchild of our society.

"This has been so in the past, it is so at the present, and it will continue to be so in the future, until the seamen by uniting closely in national and international trade unions, guided by capable leaders, fully conscious of their aims, create the power which will enable them to further unite and defend their own interests.

"The Seamen's Section of the International Transport Workers' Federation embraces 24 seamen's unions in 20 different countries, with a total of over 120,000 members. They uphold the interests of the seamen and are endeavoring to secure higher wages, improved legal status, more freedom, and, above all, a shorter working day.

"A working day not longer than eight hours, a working week not longer than 48 hours, for all seamen.

"An International Labor Conference is to be held in Geneva, where the question of the working hours of seafarers is to be discussed, and where an attempt will be made to obtain an international limitation of working hours. What will be the outcome of this conference is still uncertain. One thing is certain, however: the outcome will be nothing unless the seamen themselves raise their voices and press for a shorter working day; unless the seamen bring into being so powerful an organization that the unwilling shipowners and the unwilling governments will have to bend before it. Only by having one organization for all seamen in each country, internationally united in the I. T. F., can we be assured of the power necessary to secure the eight-hour day internationally.

International Transport Workers' Federation.

"EDO FIMMEN, Secretary.

Fascism Cracking, Is Secret Report Of Hearst's Agent

System Is as Poor as Mussolini's Health, Data from Italy Shows

PARIS—The news from Italy, and the official figures themselves, confirm the belief that the Italian Economic Crisis is growing more serious day by day.

At the end of March unemployment was standing at a level unknown throughout the whole post-war period (allowing for a slight improvement relatively to February in consequence of the beginning of work on the land). There were 227,947 unemployed and 61,699 workers occupied only two or three days a week. It is needless to say that the arrest in production shown by the unemployment is at the same time producing a fall in the aggregate of national savings. In the first quarter of this year, this decrease has already reached the figure of 3,000,000 lire, reckoning the fall, carefully concealed, of the deposits in the great banks.

Bankruptcies, which in March were 894, numbered in April 842. And it is the banks that are crashing. The Fascist press has been forbidden to refer, among other things, to the failure of the Goldschmidt Bank in Milan, whose liabilities appear to exceed 400,000,000 lire.

The outlook cannot be viewed with optimism. The fall in export trade, by comparison with last year, has gone on both in February and in March. And as regards import trade, decline may be specially noticed in the flow of commodities most vital to industry, such as cotton, iron and machinery.

Fascism is impotent. Agricultural exports are less affected. But meanwhile the result of the "great" wheat campaign is that in the first quarter of this year there have been imported nearly 800,000 tons of wheat, as compared with, in round numbers, 500,000 tons for the same quarter of last year. This year's wheat harvest promises to be very unfavorable, in consequence of the drought and of a new parasitic disease of wheat, which is forcing the farmers to reap it before it is ripe.

To sum up everything in a single figure, it is enough to note that the bonds of the last "Littoria," issued at 87.50, are only, in fact, negotiated between a maximum of 70 and a minimum of 60.

Such a situation can only grow worse so long as Fascism remains master, for the regime is fundamentally incapable of applying remedies to it. Economic phenomena cannot be righted by main force, whether by the cudgel, by castor oil or even by the threat of "administrative" confinement.

The campaign to lower prices is not giving substantial results; 1 or 12

percent (in April and by comparison with the maximum of last year), but without taking account of the recovery of the lire. For if this fact be considered, the cost of living (in gold) has actually increased by nearly 5 percent in April and relatively to the maximum of 1926.

Millmen in Revolt

And now, to the Fascist threats, dealers and producers are retorting by closing their businesses or ceasing brusquely their activities. The millers above all are revolting most openly, especially in northern Italy. As for the "economic" revolt of the possessing classes, it is very probable that it springs much rather from a crude impulse to defend their immediate interests than from a desire to make an end of the regime of terrorism. But, none the less, it is a symptom of disintegration and of shock which will certainly have reactions, if it has not had them already.

It is announced that the government wants no more foreign loans. Would it not be nearer to the truth that it can find no more? A representative of the American Hearst trust, returning from Italy, summed up as follows, a few weeks ago, his impressions: "Behind its outer facade, the Fascist regime is deeply cracked. Its health is no better than that of its Duce. Its collapse might be less distant than is supposed."

Of course, the Hearst press, whose sympathy for Fascism is notorious, did not give publicity to such a verdict; but it was, nevertheless, uttered and passed on, and cannot be substantially disputed. All the more because Italian Fascism is really beginning to be uncertain what it wants. Mussolini's last speech seems intended to deny any importance to the recovery of the lire, after having boomed it. At Rome, Grandi, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, denounces the I. L. O., whilst at Geneva Rossini exalts it and insinuates that a choice must be made between Grandi and himself. At Geneva, also, the representatives of Italian Fascism have nothing but enthusiasm for the League of Nations; but in Albania it is Italian diplomacy which drafts the notes of Achmed Zogou; and in Italy armaments are being pushed forward, full steam ahead!

It may be that this latter is but an expedient to keep alive industries against which foreign markets are closing more and more, and which in the impoverished home market cannot find sufficient outlets. It would be, all the same, a fatal expedient, for the economic crisis calls for a decrease and not an increase in the burdens imposed by the State on the economic structure of Italy. But, on the other hand, it might mean a criminal preparation for an international stroke designed to seek in war the possibility of salvation which Italian Fascism is incapable of finding in the application of its anti-labor, anti-Socialist, anti-economic program of terrorism.

Belgian Socialists Hit Communist Camouflage

Members of the Belgian Labor Party belonging to or supporting the camouflaged Communist organization known as the International Workers' Relief must cease such activities or face expulsion from the party. This was the decision arrived at by the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party at a meeting held in Brussels on February 23.

Following an exposure by J. Van Roosbroeck, General Secretary of the party, of the tricks employed by the Communists and the way in which they used the International Workers' Relief organization for the purpose of trying to lure Socialists away from their own organizations, the General Council voted unanimously that support of the camouflaged Communist body was inconsistent with membership in the Labor Party.

The only defender of the I. W. R. was Attorney Gerard, a member of the Labor Party and chairman of the Belgian section of the I. W. R. He declared for co-operation with Communists wherever possible, and asserted that the Russian documents cited by Van Roosbroeck in his expose were false. But his arguments were refuted by Senator Louis de Brouckere, who gave data showing up the shady dealings of several leaders of the I. W. R.

As has been pointed out by the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International, the I. W. R. is pretty generally discredited among working people the world over, which was founded as a declared Communist Red Cross, into an alleged non-partisan relief body, mainly calculated to rop in unsuspecting Liberals and Socialists. In demonstrating the Communist character of the I. W. R. Secretary Van Roosbroeck laid stress upon the failure of that body to demand the release of Socialists imprisoned by the Soviet Government in Russia, or to ask for self-determination in Georgia, despite its leaders' claim that it had been created to defend all oppressed peoples and individuals.

Norwegian Congress Nov. 4

The next congress of the Norwegian trade unions will be held on November 4, next. One of the items on the agenda is the question of international relations. The Norwegian trade unions will be represented at the International Trade Union Congress of Paris by fraternal delegates.

State Enterprises O. K. In New South Wales

Recent stories in the American bourgeois press telling of the alleged failure of Government industries in Australia do not accord with a report from U. S. Trade Commissioner E. G. Babbitt, from Sydney, New South Wales.

In that labor-ruled State, the most populous of the Commonwealth, practically all Government industries showed good profits in the business year of 1925-26. The State brickworks made a net profit of 27,970 pounds (worth \$4.86 each), against 30,150 the year before, but the decline was due mainly to the opening of a new manufacturing unit at a cost of 50,000 pounds, which was included in the total capitalization upon which interest had to be met before profits began. And this unit was not completed until near the end of the year.

The State metal mines brought in 18,244 pounds, a little less than in 1924-25, but here, too, there had been additions and expensive alterations. The building and construction branch cleared 17,680 pounds for the State, a gain of 2,482 over the previous year, bringing the accumulated profits up to 92,504 pounds. The concrete and pipe plant broke all records and is now running on its own capital, having paid off all its invested capital out of its profits.

The State tourist bureau, with an established capital of 224,281 pounds, made a gross profit of 21,394 pounds in the year, and after providing for depreciation and contingent liabilities, had 16,776 pounds to carry forward as accumulated profit.

The State dockyard at Newcastle, however, which was operated on a 44-hour a week basis while paying wages for 48 hours, lost 12,481 pounds during the year. The State saw mills at Craven and Gloucester have been sold to private operators.

Spanish Trade Union Congress

The question of convening an ordinary congress of the trade union centre of Spain was recently submitted to their affiliated unions for their views. A considerable majority of the unions having voted in favor, the executive committee has been instructed to make the necessary preparations. One of the subjects which will probably be discussed at the congress is that of trade union organization according to industry. The last trade union congress was held in 1922.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

to be comfortable and respectable in the eyes of the capitalist world and their only passion a hate of Communism. Meanwhile Communism among American workers would have died of starvation and the follies of its own leaders were it not continually nourished by the mistakes of its enemies.

This statement is by no means a superficial attack upon labor leaders. They have their own troubles. By and large I suspect that the labor movement has the kind of leaders it deserves. The tragedy of the situation is that now, when America is becoming the world's great empire, the organized labor movement is so largely overcome by apathy. Yet this very condition offers a particular challenge to Socialism. It is not the job of the Socialist Party to try to capture the unions by hook or crook as the Communists have so disastrously tried to do. It is the job of Socialists to leave the unions, to try to inspire them with a militant zeal for the great cause of labor. This we cannot do unless we find a way to emulate the Communists in activity while we surpass them in wisdom and good faith, in the activities of organized unions, in organizing the unorganized, and in shaping up an immediate program for political action.

It is useless to think that we can avoid forever the disaster of large scale wars into which imperialism leads great nations if we ignore the small imperialist adventures against weak countries like Haiti and Nicaragua. Haiti furnishes a particularly interesting test for the American anti-imperialists. We are in Haiti without any shadow of legal right. Unquestionably our original intervention was in large part inspired by the desire of our State Department to back up the most unscrupulous claims of American investors and our early administration by a combination of incompetence and favoritism added to the burden upon the people. We boast that we brought law and order to the island, but the Haitians charge that "the American war with the Cacos (rebels) killed more people than ten or twenty revolutions put together." Our present control is, at the top at least, benevolent, but our benevolence is the benevolence of a military despotism which denies civil liberty and gives the people no training in self government. We have done something for roads and for health, less for education. We have introduced race hatred. Our marines are responsible for an increasing number of illegitimate children and much social vice.

All these facts are brought out in "Occupied Haiti," a book written by members of a delegation sent by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and admirably edited by Emily G. Balch. The book is admirable for its realism. It gives credit where credit is due. It is not sentimental. Indeed the New York Herald Tribune editorially finds in it by some queer process of partisan Republican ratiocination a justification for continued American occupation! This is emphatically not. The book recognizes the fact that once in Haiti we have incurred obligations which require proper handling. It proposes plans for continued helpfulness to an independent native government. It believes that the failure of American economic enterprises to prosper as their promoters had hoped will make it easier to withdraw our marines and to begin a constructive experiment in friendship in place of a despotism which has incurred the hatred of the people irrespective of such incidental benefits as it may have brought. "Occupied Haiti" (the Writers' Publishing Co., New York) ought to be a text book in workers' education classes on the subject of imperialism.

World news continues to be disquieting these mild and pleasant summer days. It looks as if Britain's Tory government was trying to make the Geneva Conference a conference on increasing the size of naval armaments! Walter Duranty has sent the New York Times sober dispatches on the feverish preparations in Russia for war which the Communist leaders believe that Britain will ultimately force. He also reports a dangerous three-cornered struggle between Russia, Britain and Japan for economic control in Manchuria. Against this must be set the lessened danger of large scale American and British intervention in China, where the Southern armies continue to make progress. The danger from Communist extremists has been minimized for the time being in China. The danger that the Nationalist movement will degenerate into a militarist struggle for power without much constructive program still remains.

This tendency of revolutions to fall victim to the armies which originally they create is sadly illustrated in recent news from Mexico. In the last New Republic, Carleton Beals tells a shocking story of the crimes committed in the name of religion on the one hand and the revolution on the other by various armed groups in the state of Jalisco. At present the al-

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'Y' SECRETARIES ARE FIRED FOR PEACE TALK

Militarists, Business Men Conspire to Force Veteran Employe and Another Out

(Continued from page 1)

as possible. This was their protest at the treatment accorded Miss Jones and Miss Ellis.

On June 24 the News-Sentinel published an editorial congratulating the trustees and directors of the Fort Wayne Y. W. C. A. for "setting the Y house in order." This editorial presumed to explain why the trustees and directors acted as they did. It said that the Y. W. C. A. could not have secretaries bound "in a super-loyalty to the Fellowship of Reconciliation" and that "service to humanity does not necessitate the sponsoring of radical speakers' appearance under the Y. W. C. A. auspices."

Meanwhile the trustees and directors are keeping silent, thus allowing the very newspaper which started and carried through a baseless propaganda attack on two faithful Y. W. C. A. employes to give the final and only publication. The ministers' association of Fort Wayne investigated the case, but it also is strangely silent.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL DECIDES NOT TO CALL CONFERENCE ON RUSSIA

ZURICH.—The Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Party has put forward a proposal to call a meeting of the Executive of the Socialist-Labor International, or, in case this should at the moment be impossible, a meeting of the Bureau.

In connection with this proposal Secretary Adler has written to the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Party the following:

"Just as I was about to write to you that I did not consider the moment opportune for a meeting in view of the extreme difficulty of realizing an effective one, i. e., one in which the countries directly concerned should really be represented, the news came of the assassination in Warsaw. This seemed at once to involve the danger of the situation becoming further strained, and consequently the possible necessity of an immediate meeting. The course of the reactions of the event in Warsaw enables me now to arrive at the conclusion that we may after all, for the time being, refrain from calling a meeting.

"The view that the International keeps silence on all the dangers that arise because it does not hold a meeting is, in my opinion, quite mistaken. The International speaks daily through the daily press of all countries, and perhaps there has rarely been a moment when the judgment of the International was so unanimous as with regard to the rupture of Anglo-Russian relations and to the policy pursued by reaction against Soviet Russia. It is when a line of policy or tactics has still to be traced that a meeting is most necessary; but in questions relating to Soviet Russia the policy has already been fully laid down by the decisions of our congresses and executive meetings, and I think we may feel satisfied that the British Labor Party, the party most immediately affected, has stood by this policy with so much energy. I think, further, that the resolution published by your party has been issued altogether in the spirit and to the advantage of the policy pursued by the I. S. I.

"I believe, therefore, for the reasons above stated, that for the moment we may abstain from calling a meeting."

The Bureau of the I. S. I. has intimated its agreement with the point of view of the secretariat.

Brushworkers Join International

The British National Society of Brushworkers, with a membership of about 3,000, has affiliated with the International Union of Woodworkers.

leged supporters of the revolution would seem from his account to be the worse. Meanwhile newspaper dispatches report that the pre-election campaign for the Presidency in Mexico is being waged by three generals with open threats of military force to back them.

This is poor use to make of the respite from American demands which Mexico has won. We hope that Calles and his labor supporters may yet be strong enough to control the military and obtain a peaceful election. One of the first steps Calles ought to take on the basis of Carleton Beals' report is to try to bring about some understanding with Catholic leaders so that brutal militarists may not use the cloak of loyalty to the government on one hand or "Christ the King" on the other to mask their arbitrary exploitation of the people.

Young Socialists of New York City To Hold Anti-War Demonstration

A monster anti-war demonstration will be staged by the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York this Wednesday, July 13. Due to the warm weather, it was thought advisable to hold the meeting out of doors instead of in one of the large halls of the city. The speakers will include Norman Thomas, representing the Socialist party, and Algernon Lee, representing the Rand School of Social Science. The meeting is scheduled as a youth demonstration, and as such will be addressed by a great many young people representing both the League and various other youth organizations. Ben Goodman, executive secretary of New York Yipsels, will speak on behalf of the League. Elaborate arrangements have been made to insure the success of this meeting, at which thousands are expected. In order to insure visibility and hearing two very large platforms will be joined as one. This will make a stand accommodating over twenty people at one time. Thousands of leaflets have been printed calling upon youth to take part in this meeting. Various youth organizations have been circulated to the same effect.

The meeting will start promptly at 3 p. m. on the square of Tenth street and Second avenue. In case of rain the meeting will be held the next evening at the same place and time. Every one should be interested in this vital question. Come to this meeting to show your feelings on this subject. Make it a point to be present.

An International Socialist Club Formed in Geneva

Geneva.—An International Socialist Club has been started in Geneva by a group of Socialists who reside here permanently, in part as members of the staff of the International Labor Office and of the Institutions of the League of Nations, and who belong to various parties affiliated to the L. S. I. The object of this club is thus defined: Mutual closer relations between the comrades resident in Geneva; arrangements for the exchange of information; the preparation of arrangements for receiving comrades of the parties or trade unions passing through Geneva. The committee, unanimously elected, consists of the following: President, Andre Oltmanns, Switzerland; secretary, R. Boissier, Switzerland.

Persecutions of Socialists In Yugo-Slavia Protested

In consequence of the continued police persecution of the Socialist Labor Movement in Yugo-Slavia, the Plenary Committee of the Socialist Party has addressed a memorandum to the Minister of the Interior, demanding, in view of an assault by drunken gendarmes on a Socialist conference, that the laws and constitution be observed by the authorities. It is stated that "measures of violence are being pursued against the Socialist Party, as though it stood altogether outside the law."

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A Trade Union Program for the "Prosperity" Era

By Abraham Epstein

IN discussing a trade union program for these piping times we must first, even at the risk of encroaching upon the topics of some other speakers, at least briefly inquire into the exact nature of our prosperity. During the past several years our blessedness and material prosperity have been proclaimed from the house-tops of every banking house by every public official, from President Coolidge and A. W. Mellon down, and from every editorial sanctum. Certain Pollyanna enthusiasts have even prophesied that we are all on the way of becoming capitalists, and if only we remain a bit more patient, all of us will soon become the employers and Messrs. Morgan, Gerry, Schwab and Rockefeller will be working for us. As proof of our wealth we have been referred to the millions of automobiles, which but few of us own; the swollen bank deposits, which belong to only some of us; and to the spread of industrial stock, which, from the viewpoint of actual and potential control, is practically worthless.

In the glowing accounts of our great wealth and increased national income we are, of course, not told that four out of every five automobiles sold are not fully paid for; that more than two-thirds of the household furniture, pianos, phonographs, radio sets, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, gas stoves, mechanical refrigerators and a great deal of even our clothing is sold on the installment plan and that the volume of credit extended on installment accounts is estimated to exceed five billion dollars, or about one-tenth of the estimated national income.

INCREASE IN INCOME

That, measured in dollars and cents, however, there has been a considerable increase in national wealth seems indisputable. The National Bureau of Economic Research estimates that the total current income of the United States has risen steadily in round numbers from \$40,000,000,000 in 1921 to \$50,000,000,000 in 1926. In current dollars the national income had nearly trebled since 1914. While practically every other nation is continually devising means for the levying of newer taxes, our national government has been busy upon the formulation of bigger and better tax reductions. At this very time the United States Treasury announces that it will have an unprecedented surplus of nearly \$600,000,000 and all large income taxpayers are already bemoaning the expectation of another tax reduction when Congress convenes. Our per capita wealth is supposed to have considerably more than doubled since 1914; while even the income per gainfully employed person has presumably risen in current dollars from \$536 in 1914 to \$2,010 in 1926.

But what do all these statements mean in terms of actual prosperity to the American wage-earner with whom we are primarily concerned in this discussion? Like myself, every one of you wage-earning brethren here I am certain is asking himself, "Where do I come in?" As head of a family you say, "In accordance with the above figures I should be entitled to almost an entire second-hand Ford, to about \$500 in savings and at least to a half share of some good industrial security. But I have none of these." And you are probably puzzled and anxious as to how you missed getting this share which every economist tells you you are entitled to and should have. You are perhaps even ready to blame yourself as a wastrel and spendthrift. To disabuse your mind from further anxiety and worry I am ready to inform you that all Pollyanna economists notwithstanding, as a wage-earner you have really never earned your share of this per capita income and have been saved the trouble of recklessly spending it.

MILLIONS LIVING ON LESS THAN MINIMUM BUDGETS

In connection with a book I now have in preparation, I have recently completed quite an exhaustive study of estimates of family budgets considered necessary for a minimum standard of health and decency for an American family and the actual wages earned by American workers from 1890 to 1927. These studies reveal that not only was the purchasing power of the weekly wages at the close of the World War about one-third lower than in the period of 1890-99, or prior to the war, but that even since 1920, including the past few years of our greatest

The Paternalism of Big Business Must Be Opposed By a Program of Social Insurance

national prosperity, weekly or annual earnings have never yet come up anywhere near the estimated minimum budget of health and decency for a man, wife and three children. The most conservative estimate of such a minimum budget since 1920 is set at least at \$1,500 a year, or approximately \$30 a week. But there is hardly a single extensive group of American industrial wage-earners which have managed to earn that sum since then. Even the National Industrial Conference Board—an employers' association—reports that for March, 1927, the average weekly earnings in all industries in the United States amounted to but \$27.53. Indeed, from my own studies, it would seem that, in spite of the unprecedented national prosperity, the problem of making both ends meet has, for the wage-earner at least, remained relentless and unmitigated.

Indeed, considering the enormous increase in productive goods and comparative wealth, the worker's lot during the past few years has been steadily on the decline. For in proportion to the increasing amount of goods produced, he can buy back a constantly smaller and more pitiful share of his product. Recent studies conducted by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in the one decade—1914-1924—the per capita output per man has more than trebled in the automobile industry; has risen by over 77 percent in petroleum refining; by 27 percent in cane sugar production; by 24 percent in the leather industry; by 17 percent in the paper and pulp industry; by 17 percent in the boot and shoe industry; by 39 percent in flour milling; by 87 percent in the

cement industry, and by 50 percent in the iron and steel industry.

The higher wages generally paid the American workman as against workers abroad also becomes meaningless when the per capita production of the American worker is contrasted with that of his brethren abroad. A recent international study of the production of coal in various countries revealed that while the per capita output of coal per shift in 1925 ranged from a little over one-half ton to 1.16 in various districts in Germany, one ton in Great Britain and Poland, 62 tons in France; 52 in Belgium, and 34 in Czechoslovakia, the output per shift in the United States in 1924 was for the anthracite industry 2 tons and for bituminous in the same year over 4 and one-half tons, or more than four times as much as the highest production of a miner in Europe.

LABOR APATHY NOT DUE TO PROSPERITY

The above review is important in order to clarify the atmosphere that the American wage earner's apathy toward labor unionism is a result of his wallowing in wealth. The explanation for the generally admitted present plight of the American labor movement must be sought elsewhere. Even if it be admitted that during the last five years there has been a small gain in real earnings as compared with the purchasing power in 1914, there is still no evidence that the working man today is really better off or the happier for it. The relative rise in standards of living has been considerably above the gain in real wages; innumerable new wants have been created during the last decade; what was considered

luxuries which could easily be dispensed with in 1913 have by now become necessities. The mere fact that a working man can perhaps with his wages today buy a quarter of a loaf of bread more than he could purchase in 1913, or secure a quarter of a peck of potatoes more than ten or twelve years ago, or even pay one-fourth more of rent than he could pay in 1913 is no evidence whatsoever that he really eats more of bread and potatoes or lives in a fourth better house in 1927 than he did in 1913. As a result of the tremendously expanded wants during the last decade and the development of high pressure installment selling campaigns, it is not at all rare even today to find the family which runs a car but cannot afford to install a bathroom or pay the monthly rent.

An examination of the true status of living standards and wages earned reveals that the worker is faced with as many and as serious hardships today as ever before. Especially in regard to provisions against the basic insecurities of modern industry, i. e., that of sickness, unemployment, orphanage and widowhood, invalidity and old age, his position has not only not altered, but in view of the rising standards has actually deteriorated materially. How then is the decline of the labor movement, both in prestige and numbers, to be explained? While I am fully cognizant of the limitations of the interpretation I am about to offer, and of the numerous other factors involved, it is my desire in the space of this paper to point to one explanation of the present deplorable state of affairs in the American labor movement—the sad neglect by the trade union movement in America to pro-

vide the workers with adequate protection against the above enumerated industrial hazards. And it is in respect to the elimination of the set of terrors from the working man's mind that my suggestion for a constructive trade union program lies.

FEAR OF INSECURITY

In other words, my basic contention is merely that the lamentable status of the present American labor movement is intimately and closely related to the American workman's fear of the insecurities of his life. By the attempt of employers to protect him against these emergencies, the American worker has been weaned away from the trade union movement. For in an industrialized nation such as ours these dreaded spectres stalk uppermost before the workman and his family. The earlier characteristic carelessness and disregard of these emergencies by American workingmen have been greatly modified not only by the increasing hazards and changes of life but also by the tremendous propaganda during the last two decades carried on by insurance companies and the numerous fraternal societies for the need of such protection. Through his own and his friends' experiences as well as through this education, he has learned of the importance of such protection for himself and his family. Unconsciously, perhaps, he became ready and anxious for anything offered him against these industrial hazards. But the trade unions failed to provide him with adequate protection at a reasonable cost. When the employers and company unions promised him such relief, he was only too ready to turn to them and away from the trade union movement.

In my humble opinion, the spread and development of industrial welfare activities in the last decade, although ineffective and insufficient in themselves, have really undermined the very basis of the existing trade union movement. For "pure and simple" trade unionism has been concerned primarily with the securing of a shorter workday, higher wages and improved working conditions. Since the eight or nine-hour workday has become practically general, and since, as a body, the trade unions have taken no serious steps in demanding a still shorter day, this issue has practically eliminated itself. Labor officials still contend that trade union rates are generally higher than non-union wages. This is generally true, but considering the elimination of labor troubles, non-union wage rates throughout the year frequently balance up to union rates. Furthermore, non-union workers have always benefited by the struggles of the organized workers whose higher wage standards gradually trickle down to the unorganized workers.

The only remaining issue of the American labor movement—the improvement of working conditions—has been taken out of its hands by the employers going labor on better and adopting conditions such as the trade unionists never dared to ask. By this process the main reasons for the existence of the American labor movement have been gradually subverted, leaving it practically lifeless. The ideology and aspirations characterizing the European labor movements have never been part of the main labor body in the United States. And the newer activities of labor in banking, investment companies and insurance

are at best only copying what the employers are doing.

FAILURE TO SAFEGUARD WORKERS

Throughout the history of the American Federation of Labor its outstanding leaders and tone-givers have helped to sow among the working masses the seeds of distrust of the state—which are accepted in theory, but not in practice by their capitalist adversaries—as against the doctrine of social and state action generally accepted by the workers abroad and by students of labor and progressives in the United States. As a result, the insecurities arising from our present economic conditions such as the risks of sickness, old age, widowhood, orphanage and unemployment have remained constant terrors to the wage-earner.

Our higher standard of living has not in the least alleviated these fears. On the contrary, the American worker may feel them even more keenly because of the greater disintegration of the family unit in this country, and because of the higher standard of living to which he has become habituated. While there is hardly an industrial country today in which these hazards have not been ameliorated by constructive social action and the fear considerably removed from the wage-earner's daily life, little or nothing has been done in the United States to remove those dreaded apparitions. At least the labor movement would keep its skirts clean from such "socialistic" menaces. The American worker was to be kept away from his brethren abroad, and like his employer, he was urged to provide for his own meager means against all these emergencies. If in the end he was forced to become a recipient of charity, or go to the poor house, at least he could be proud that he remained an "Independent American."

STATE "PATERNALISM" VS. BIG BUSINESS "PATERNALISM"

It is significant that, with the exception of workmen's compensation, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor until a few years ago, have been steadily opposed to state or federal action aiming to remove these industrial hazards. They urged instead individual savings, individual insurance, and, at best, provided but meager protection through the trade unions, financed directly from the union dues, of which not one penny is shared by the employers. American labor leaders, as did the employers of labor, raged and stormed against the dangers of state paternalism, while they failed to realize that even worse than state paternalism, where at least under democratic control the workers have a vote, might be the paternalism and the benevolent feudalism of management in which they are given no voice at all.

What has been the result of this policy? A few figures are enlightening: In the year 1925 the American Federation of Labor and all its over one hundred affiliated international and national unions gave out a total of \$1,842,292.48 in sickness benefits to their nearly 3,000,000 members. On the other hand, one company alone employing but approximately 15,000 workers spent nearly that sum in sick and medical benefits. While the A. F. of L. and all its affiliated unions spent a total of \$2,233,145.48 in old age bene-

(Continued on page 6)

::: Eugene Debs as Sam Moore Saw Him :::

By Sam Moore
(Sam Moore Was a Jail Mate of Debs in Atlanta Penitentiary)

I SHALL attempt to portray the man as I knew him. I say attempt, because I know of my inability to do him justice.

There has been so much written by those who are far better equipped from an educational standpoint to put before the public a true diagnosis of the wonderful characteristics of this great man; but while they had the power of description or describing, they had not the close intimate association and knowledge of the "inner man" as your writer had.

Debs was not in the habit of carrying his soul around upon his sleeve naked and exposed to the incomprehensible gaze of the cruel and misunderstanding world. He preferred to suffer uncomplainingly and in silence, and I am proud of the great distinction of being one of the very few, if there ever was another, who enjoyed his friendship, love and confidence to such an extent as to sit in silent communion, for hours without a word being exchanged, as he and I have time and time again.

I first came to know Debs when I was taken from the isolation and placed in the hospital by Dr. Weaver because of a nervous breakdown. I had been in isolation for ten months, during which time Mr. Debs had arrived at the prison and, owing to his weak health, was assigned to the hospital. Upon my admission to the hospital I was assigned to Ward "B," where I was put to bed.

The First Meeting

Ten minutes later I was surprised to see a tall, and seemingly, the most homely, but later the most beautiful, gentleman approach my bed and grasp my hand, saying: "Brother, how are you? I have heard so much talk about you, but this is the first time I ever saw you."

And when I started to explain, he said: "I understand. Poor fellow. Is there anything I can do for you? What do you need? Would you like some fruit?"

I answered "Yes." He patted me on the head, went to his room and brought me some fruit. From that day on he was at my bedside morning and night until I was dismissed by the doctor and returned to the isolation.

He then bent all of his energy to have me released, which took about a month. I was then detailed to the hospital as a cleaner, so as to be under Debs' guidance and influence, and you can rest assured that I was a happy

A Former Jail-Mate Writes Of the Socialist Leader

soul. Upon completing my allotted task each day, I would go and look for Debs, and we would sit and talk for hours until meal time. Then right back again.

He was a puzzle, a new kind of man to me, and I marvel at his wonderful nature. I wondered if this man wasn't another Christ—he could not be human, he loved everybody, even me, a poor insignificant nothing. In this man I found the expression of "Love to all, and malice toward none" magnified a hundred fold. I worshipped him—he became my guiding star and my creed.

"A Changed Man"

He so impressed me that I was a changed man, for in all my life I had not had so much kindness shown me by all the people I ever knew. And I then began to realize the poor chance I would have for a square deal from the Department of Justice when they could keep such a man in prison, not for committing a crime, but for exhorting them to refrain from slaughtering one another. And for this, they branded him a convict, and took away his citizenship. And still he hated no man; but loved all; and when I asked him how he could do it, he said: "It is not the man or the men, but the 'system' I hate."

During his incarceration in the Atlanta prison he was continually being the deputy begging the deputy to give some poor fellow another chance. Many are the boys he saved from the "hole" by his intercession.

Debs used to say time and time again in his talks with me, "Sam, I would rather be in a hole with the poor, with only a crust to eat, than live in a mansion with the rich." The only reason I could give for his words were that when the poor gave they usually did it at a sacrifice and with keen pleasure. That made one feel the joy that goes with a truly hearty welcome, and created a feeling of indescribable awe and reverence. But the rich give with an arrogance that had the "great I am" condescensions air about it that causes one to feel insulted.

Aid Always Sought

Debs never went out to the yard

without being approached by at least a hundred men, asking him to write to the judges or some official, to get vouchers, write letters for the illiterate. He never had a chance to enjoy a ball game or any of the sports indulged in by the hangers-on. They kept the old man so busy that he became a nervous wreck and had to be forbidden by the doctor to go out when the men were in the yard.

In all my life I never saw nor heard of a man who had so many friends as Debs. I mean when I say "friends," FRIENDS, true, pure, genuine, and, if I may use the word to convey my meaning, "unanticipating" friends. By that I mean true, honest, unassuming and not looking forward to anything but pure friendship.

You know, these days it has become a habit for one to profess friendship for selfish gain. But the sweetness and peace that comes to one whose heart is in his new found friend is above the average man to appreciate and understand. While Debs was in prison he received letters from every state in the union. On Christmas eve, 1922, Debs received 560 letters and 403 Christmas cards.

I had not been acquainted with Debs one week before I wanted to be like him. I found myself soliloquizing on what I might have been had I had a father or a friend like him when I was young and in the molding, before I came to prison. I know I would have been somebody. But, like the words written by some famous person, there was no use of dreaming on "It might have been."

Loved the Poets

But the one thing that so puzzles and astonishes me is the claim of superior intelligence by the "higher-ups" and their inexcusable display of ignorance in not realizing and appreciating the visible evidence that in this man Debs they had a character that embodies all the tenderness, love and sweetness that go to make the perfect man, a saint whose heart was torn by the troubles of others, and a heart that gladdened at the joy of others. I don't know of any better

way to have hurt Debs' feelings than by imposing on some one in his presence, whether the man imposed upon was a stranger or not. It would spoil the day for him, and when he had previously been pleased and in the best of humor, he would not be seen to smile again for the rest of the day. Every now and then he would be seen talking to himself and shaking his head.

Another thing that the world at large did not seem to know was that Debs was a poet of no mean ability. In his room in the hospital he would sometimes, though very rarely, be inspired with a musings spirit; as he was reminiscent, and as an outlet to his great soul, he would write a few words, or recite a poem by Riley, Field, Masters, Markham, De Witt, and a host of others whom he claimed as his friends, and poets of the first water.

In speaking of Gene Debs, we do not want to lose sight of the fact that there was a rather hard-working silent partner in all of Gene's great endeavors, to whom is due all the more credit because of his reticence in claiming recognition in his brother's work. I speak of Theodore Debs.

Don't forget that in all of Gene's suffering and reverse he did not suffer half as much as Theodore. Gene was a philosopher, and did not worry where he himself was concerned, but Theodore was very solicitous of Gene's welfare. This man should be given credit for the part he took in Gene's great work. No history would be complete without mention of this right hand of Gene's, Theodore Debs.

The Washington Trip

It is a fact that the Administration looked upon Debs as being an exceptional character, and a man in every sense of the word. For who else, in the history of our penal institutions, was ever allowed to dress in civilian clothes and go to Washington on his honor, with no officer attending, for a personal interview with the Attorney General and the President, who were anxious and desirous of saving their conscience for what they knew was unjust? While there they begged

Debs to recant his speech that was the cause of his incarceration. He was told that they were anxious to release him as matters stood, but were afraid of public criticism that would be greatly aggravated by the agitation of their political opponents.

Even then Debs refused, but later told them that he would consent to make a written application for executive clemency, provided they promise to release all political prisoners. But they would not agree to this. Then Debs told them that any further interviews, or prolonging the one in question, would be futile, simply a waste of valuable time.

Upon Debs telling me the reason of his visit to Washington I told him it was history repeating itself, only instead of being Jesus Christ this time it was Debs, and the Attorney General was Pontius Pilate. Debs was so far the best man I have ever known, and I have known some mighty good ones.

There is, in my mind, not an iota of doubt that Gene was born to suffer as did Christ through his love and longing to help mankind, and I feel that he has not suffered in vain. For some day, some time, there is going to be visible evidence that the seed which he sought to plant in the hearts of all mankind will bear fruit, and his name will be glorified as the greatest martyr of the twentieth century. I hope and fervently pray that there is a place in the Great Beyond where I shall meet the best, truest, self-sacrificing man that ever lived, the truly grand old man, Eugene Victor Debs.

SAMUEL MOORE, No. 22
(A life prisoner confined in the Atlanta Federal Prison who has served over thirty-five years.)

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And my life begins to ebb,
It will be my last desire
To be with you, Eugene Debs.

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::: The Psychology of Socialism :::

By Philippe Mairret

TO SAY that Socialism is a condition of sanity may seem like saying "a mouthful." Even the best Socialist might suspect it of being an overstatement. But the student of modern psychology has good reasons for it.

The findings of the new science of psychoanalysis, so much talked against and so little understood, have revealed a world far madder than we supposed. There is, it is true, such a thing as sanity, but it is a question whether there are any entirely sane people. We now know that those slight irrationalities, which do not entirely disqualify one for practical life, pass imperceptibly into neurosis, and that every form of neurosis is a mild form of insanity.

To the Socialist, interested in psychology, there is no more urgent question than this: Has neurosis, or the unreasonable state of mind it springs from, any connection with the social order we live in? Does the present

"Socialism Is Sanity," Research of Modern Analysts Indicate

capitalist society, in fact, do harm to our wits?

Neurosis and Society

Alfred Adler, one of the three greatest of living psychologists, says that it does. To appreciate the full weight of this important opinion one must remember two things.

First, that the work of Freud is both a revolution and a revelation in psychology, and that it has produced two other psychologists of equal importance if less startling originality: Jung is one of them and Adler is the other.

Second, that Adler, trained in the Freudian school, was able to reject its most sensational feature—the exclusively sexual motivation of the mind. By a deeper interpretation, revealing the strength of the struggle for power and importance, Adler produced a doc-

trine of human motives so simple, human and socially practical that it is high time for all Socialists who have a prejudice against psychoanalysis to read and understand Adler's work. For this age will not produce another psychology for Socialists.

The objection many people still have to psychoanalysis is due, of course, to Freud's exposure of the depth of sexual preoccupation in the modern mind. We did not know—we were even determined not to know—how much of crude sexual imagery pervades the minds of the enormous majority of people of all classes, in both their waking and sleeping states.

Practically all the symptoms of modern mental aberration had been related to sexual conflicts. It was Adler who showed that these sexual conflicts themselves were symptoms of a still deeper reality. He showed how organic defects were involved, which is a matter for doctors; but he also discovered the psychic defect which is always present, called the "inferiority complex." That phrase is known to

(Continued on page 7)

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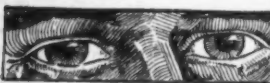
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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Birthday Stuff

LAST Sunday was our birthday. A deeply depressing thought it is, too. Here we are hanging by an eyelash to just this side of forty, and there was a time, not so far back, either, when we figured that anyone forty years old was a fit subject for a wheel-chair, carpet slippers and hot water bags.

As it was, we tottered out onto the front porch, leering toothlessly at passerby, all set to receive bright young men from the metropolitan papers to tell them about our views on immortality, the future of internal combustion engines, our changing sex standards, or whatever they might want to know all about. When we were a reporter on the old New York Sun it was one of our first jobs to do this birthday stuff. We had to go and see Andy Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller and Thomas Edison whenever any of these birds had a birthday and ask them a lot of dumb questions. We were young and enthusiastic then and did what we were told. We later discovered that veteran reporters on the morning papers went around to Lipton's when they got a Big Bowser Birthday assignment, looked in the evening papers for some such headline as "Depew at Ninety-eight Attributes Secret of Longevity to After-Dinner Speaking," or "Rockefeller, Hale and Hearty at Eighty, Says Thrift Made Him Young," or "Edison Advises Youth to Get Deaf Early," and then wrote their pieces with the assistance of a couple of Mr. Lipton's shots of Scotch.

But we were chump enough to go and see these "Builders of American Empires" and solemnly put down all the pious platitudes that fell from their eminent mouths.

We always figured that some day we would be in the position of interviewee and way back then we had a grand little spiel fixed up. Last Sunday was the day we set to spring it.

"Gentlemen," we would say, while the movie-men asked us to smile a bit broader, "the older I grow the more worth while I find life under these glorious stars and stripes. America is still the land of opportunity, just as truly today as when I was a lad and helped father with the haying. I have so faithfully in those far off happy days that soon the attention of dear old Col. Jack Straw, founder of the first hay trust in this country, was attracted to me. From then on my rise was steady. While the sun shone and shone I just hayed and hayed and after the first million the rest was easy. In fact I feel that Providence had me under its special care during all the years in which I was running my competitors ragged. I have written a little poem in commemoration of my birthday which you young men may copy down and print if you like. Get your multiplex copies from Ivy Lee's office and accept these shiny, bright Confederate nickels as a token of my appreciation."

Then we would get the poem from Ivy. It would go like this:

"On my sunshiny natal day,
I make hay.
Hip, hip, hooray
Is what I say
For me and my hay."

At that it would be a damned sight better poem than the usual stuff that John D. hands out.

But what do you suppose? No reporters came around to get our views on anything, and as the shades of evening fell, we crept back, broken hearted, into the house, and, flinging ourselves on Aunt Emma's horse-hair sofa, we just cried our antique eyes out.

However, there was some compensation in reading about the glorious birthday that our beloved Calvin Coolidge had the next day out in Black Bottom, South Dakota, or wherever he is. Said the "Times" of Cal's celebration:

"He appeared first dressed in a blue suit and wearing a straw hat, and he said good-bye to his guests at the end of the day wearing a cowboy outfit—chaps, a red shirt, blue bandanna around his neck, ten-gallon hat, spurs, and boots. Thus attired, he mingled with the crowd, patted his gift horse, but did not mount, although urged by the Boy Scouts to do so."

Whoopee! as the cowboys holler, our Cal is a great big, hairy-chested, two-fisted, ridin' fool, and make no mistake about that. If he had felt like it and swung a leg over that rarin' hawss, pardner, you'd seen some riding that would have made Buffalo Bill look like a tenderfoot. Why, man, that little ol' range riding chief of ours, top-kick of these here United States, can do his stuff with the best of them. There ain't a bull in all South Dakota that Cal can't throw, and we don't mean maybe. Already he has rode that Norbeck herd into camp and flung and branded them with the good ol' G. O. P. mark. Just watch him and "Broncho" Butler and "Six Shooter" Stearns go galloping off like a pack of woolly wolves some night, and I tell you, bud, fur's going to fly, sure as shooting.

If Cal goes on doing this Lon Chaney stuff, a Vermont farmer in a stiff collar in the morning, a South Dakota cowman from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, a sailor ("you know he is a sailor for he wears a sailor hat") from 4 to 7, and The Great Statesman the rest of the day, we may soon expect another hair-raising interview from the pen of faithful Bruce Barton like the one he did up in the Adirondacks last summer. To this effect:

"As the camp cook hollered, 'Chow, come and get it, Cowboy Cal joined in the rush to the mess wagon playfully digging his spurs into the ankles of the other cowmen who got in his way. I took a place at his side just as he was wiping up his red meat gravy with a hunk of bread."

"Cal," said I, "the people of this Great West are taking you to their manly bosoms en masse. Tell us the secret of your popularity."

"Cal smiled—that winsomely appealing smile of his, and then sat there thinking, in his deep, brown eyes a faraway look of the sort that comes to the dreamer and idealist."

"I suppose," he said finally, "it's because I can mix and mingle with these rough diamonds, understand their hopes and fears and aspirations and talk their language. Why, I was just talking to a puncher friend of mine who used the expression, 'Gosh darn it.' 'Jake,' I said to him, 'don't be afraid to speak right out in front of me, even if I am President. Cussin' won't hurt anybody. Be yourself. Say, 'Gosh darn it.' If you want, and you know the dear fellow was so touched by my democracy that he broke right down and sobbed like a little baby and said that the great regret of his life was that at one time before he got to know me he had belonged to that seditious gang called the Non-Partisan League, but from now on he would vote straight Republican. I'm fixing it up now to see to it that he gets the job as Postmaster of Bloody Creek Gulch. Tell the public that they may continue to have faith in Cal, the friend of the masses. I'm just a common man, common as anything, and I'll be common 'til I die.' With this he strode off toward the sunset, occasionally shooting off the new pearl-handled six-shooter presented to him by the Sioux Indians' Ladies' Auxiliary Number 8. As his figure loomed big against the crimson horizon, I turned away saying to myself, 'What a man, what a man!'"

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning the New Books

The Presumptuous Profession

By Henry Miller

EACH year three thousand social workers meet in one of the large cities of the land, read papers, discuss, confer, co-operate and return to their homes with a new sense of elation over their achievements in uplifting their fellow citizens. During the year the same process continues on a small scale, groups meet, confer, absorb the latest psychology and strengthen their mutual convictions that they hold the key to the progress of the human race. The doing out of aims is now a profession which offers the best young ladies from the best colleges the opportunity to be kind without the unpleasantness attaching to an attempt to be just. Social work is also a science, for the accumulating millions in its "conscience fund" must be distributed with scientific impartiality and exactitude in order to reach the "deserving." And now social work has become a social philosophy, and the word "charity," which suggests a little too vividly the poor and the miserable, has been replaced by the conceit of "social service," which suggests idealism and progress.

A Product of Poverty
We are reading what purports to

be a practical manual of information for the community worker and we expectantly read on looking for the specific proposals by which there can be effected that "larger release of energy in the community," the need of which has been so forcibly shown by the author. Finally, toward the end of the book, we have them. "Deliberative Councils" are to be organized by our omnipotent social worker—societs, fully grown, sprung out of the brain of the social worker, like Minerva out of the brow of Jove. The banker, the teacher, the laborer, the doctor shall meet together, discuss, confer, co-operate, and our social problems will be solved, society will be reorganized and all will be well with the world.

For Mr. Hart ranks with that group of social mediators who sincerely believe that if we all only sat around the same table together our differences would disappear. He is not perturbed by the fact that there can be no real co-operation between groups representing vast inequalities of power like the banker and the laborer. The banker gives the laborer a crumb, or even a loaf or two. The latter case would undoubtedly be called very successful co-operation by the community worker. Not that the author is uncharitable toward groups which are opposed to existing assumptions like trade unions, which he puts in their proper place. However, he has a moral dread of conflict, for conflict is not far from violence, and then where would Education and Co-operation be? How a person of Mr. Hart's intelligence can allow himself to be bamboozled is a mystery, unless it be by repeating over and over again nonsense incantations like "nothing but the community is big enough to determine the fate of the community."

In any other country but the United States the presumptions of social workers would be laughed out of print. It is certainly a sign of the poverty of social thinking in the United States today that the giving of alms can be rationalized into a social philosophy and pass itself off as a bona fide program of social reconstruction.



Drawn for Abel Bonnard's "In China" (N. Y., Dutton)

Stereotype America

WHAT makes Europe so alluring to the tourist is its charming and picturesque variety. The variety of language, dress, customs, villages, buildings, festivals, and life in general appeals to the esthetic impulse of all normal human beings. Even the drab poverty of many regions is relieved by this variety of coloring. Rooted in centuries of continuous evolution, something of the folkways of thousands of generations have survived in Europe to give it its picturesque charm.

A civilized European who comes to the United States usually gets a shock when he comes into contact with our civilization. Here instead of variety he finds uniformity and standardization. Mother Nature seems to have made Europe, while here everything is stamped by the machine idea. Thousands of mining towns are rows of dirty shacks built alike and housing human beings who look alike. Our mining and other towns are dull in their monotonous uniformity. They look as though they were stamped out by a monstrous machine and distributed over the country. See one and you have seen all.

The same is true of our large cities. There is not the picturesque variety to be found in visiting Chicago, New York, St. Louis and San Francisco that is to be found in visiting London, Berlin, Vienna and Amsterdam. Except-

ing a few cities like New Orleans and St. Augustine, which come down from the days of French and Spanish rule, American cities are huge piles of stone with nasty slums and bearing the stamp of dreary uniformity. Even the few old cities mentioned are becoming more and more machine-made as the speculator and realtor invade the picturesque sections with flats and tenements.

Our Uniformity

Our drab uniformity also conquers the immigrants after they have been here a few years. Andre Siegfried, a French professor, has visited all parts of the United States, and his book of impressions has been recently translated into English. (America Comes of Age, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.) Of the immigrants he says: "Assimilation, like a steam-roller, ruthlessly crushes the finest flowers of the older civilizations, and as a rule only allows to survive an aestheticism that is sadly childish and implacably standardized." In other words, the variety that makes Europe so charming is suffocated here. It becomes "Americanized"—that is, machine-made.

This uniformity runs through not only the physical aspects of American civilization, but also through our intellectual pursuits. "In the study of science," writes Siegfried, "the American values laboratory equipment rather than research, and in religious matters he is more interested in the bricks with which he builds his church than in prayers and meditation within it." We remember Babbitt, who estimated the educational system of his town by the number of rooms in the schools and the plumbing and heating arrangements, while a few years ago the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce decided that we are an educated people because of the enormous amount of wood pulp that is annually converted into paper. Machine-made bulk is the vulgar standard of American intellectual life. And a few weeks ago there was a proposal to organize a religious trust to market the American version of Christianity as a big business proposition.

When we look at our political life we get the same impression. There are two big standardized political parties which, with our newspapers, patriotic societies and professional politicians, are shaping standardized ideas and discouraging any variety in thinking. Voting has become a mechanical routine based on habit and lacking any intellectual interest. Hordes of voters are rounded up by the two political machines, their votes are received, and they go back to their pursuits until the machine tenders send out another call. Of the two leading parties Siegfried compares them to two rival companies of buses where sharpers reserve seats in both in order to be sure of reaching their destination.

The result is a dreary passing of offices from one party to the other with almost mechanical precision in cities and states, with such exceptions as in the South, where Democrats always rule, and in some Northern cities, where they are rarely ousted. The variety of parties and issues to be found in Europe and which stimulates thinking is thus far unknown to the United States. Dull uniformity and barren intellectual life are characteristics of the ruling politics of the United States.

Let us hope that there will be an awakening before the devotees of our mechanical barbarism completely triumph and utterly extinguish the love of art, variety and intellectual pioneering.

James Oneal.

MANY NATIONS JOIN IN MATTEOTTI TRIBUTE

PARIS.—The third anniversary of the murder of Matteotti was solemnly celebrated in a number of countries. In Paris an imposing celebration organized by the Anti-Fascist League was held. The speakers were Filippo Turati; the French Socialists, Emile Kahn and Zyromski; the "Socialist-Communist," Paul Louis, and Count Michael Karolyi, ex-Premier of the Hungarian Republic, who now also lives in exile in Paris.

In Vienna there was held a mass demonstration, at which the Deputy, Wilhelm Ellenbogen, spoke. The Italian Socialists residing in exile in Paris addressed a letter of greeting to the gathering. In Zurich the Matteotti celebration was arranged jointly by the Socialist Leagues of Youth and the Socialist Students' Union. At the meeting, which attracted a very large attendance, the speakers were Councilor Ernst Reinhard, president of the Swiss Socialist party, and a delegate of the Anti-Fascist League of Paris.

The Belgian Labor party, on the occasion of May Day, published for the benefit of the Matteotti fund an illustrated postcard with French and Flemish inscriptions in an edition of 50,000 copies. Following a speech by Stauning the Congress of the Danish Party resolved to remit 2,000 crowns to the Matteotti fund of the International.

It Just Doesn't Sound Reasonable

FOR seven years Sacco and Vanzetti have lived in the shadow of the gallows. Few there be who can remember the crime for which they were convicted. And yet interest in their case does not abate.

What is it that causes men in all walks of life in all countries to take such deep interest in the fate of these two humble Italians? Why are they better known in Europe than any two Americans I can think of? Why this flood of protest against their execution—from all parts of the world and from all sorts of men and women?

The answer to these questions, I believe, is the character of the two men. All their utterances, from the day of their arrest until now, are so contrary to the thoughts of ordinary murderers as to make it seem impossible that they could have committed the crime for which they were sentenced to death.

Neither of the two men seems to be in the slightest fear of death. On the contrary, both are possessed of the idea that, somehow, their execution might serve some beneficial purpose and that the loss of their lives would be but a small price to pay for the good that may follow.

There is none of the customary truckling and dicker-ing for pardons or a lighter sentence so frequently observed in the conduct of ordinary criminals. No repenting of the past, no renunciation of their radical faith in the face of death. Anarchists, yes. Philosophical anarchists believing, perhaps wrongly, that under the proper environment men would be so good as to obviate the necessity of such blessed institutions of Christian civilization as courts, police, jails, gallows and electric chairs. Anarchists of the Christ and Tolstoy order, non-resistant and pacifist and—pay-roll robbers.

Well, the combination is too obviously conflicting to make it sound reasonable.

Here, for instance, is a characteristic letter written by Vanzetti to Alice Stone Blackwell of Dorchester, Massachusetts:

"Two things stand out to me in regard to this case: first, that the whole prosecution has been so evidently dishonest as to compel the most enlightened and normal part of the conservative to demand a revision, for the very sake of conservatism; second, that what has been done for us by the people of the world, the workers, and the greatest minds and hearts, proves beyond any possible doubt that a new conception of justice is ploughing its way into the soul of mankind, a justice that has centered on man as man. For they are doing for us what once could only have been done for saints and kings. This is real progress."

In other words, says Vanzetti, they may use us as electric shock absorbers, but the fact that so many people the world over sympathize with us in our plight shows that "every day in every way the world is getting better and better."

Thanks.

Bruce Bliven, who recently visited the condemned men in Dedham jail, in an article in the New Republic, points to the same self-forgetfulness in the two prisoners when he writes:

"They are willing to spend but a moment on their own case, however. Vanzetti's mind is full of something else, and now, impatiently, he pours it out. He is troubled about Tom Mooney, who is dying of a broken heart in a bleak gray California prison by the Golden Gate. He looks at us appealingly, his words tumble out.

"God in Heaven! This man, who is to die in four weeks, is thinking only of another man, 3,000 miles away, victim of an injustice like his own. Could we do something, Vanzetti asks, for poor Tom Mooney? He himself has been doing all he can—writing letters to many people, especially to some Australian friends, urging them to keep up the fight. 'I may not be able to help much longer,' says Vanzetti, with a twisted little smile. 'And he needs help, Tom Mooney. He's a sick man. If they don't look after him, he'll die.'"

And so he may, for to release Mooney would be damning California justice for all eternity—just as it would damn Massachusetts justice eternally if Sacco and Vanzetti were released after the committee appointed by Governor Fuller has presented its findings and recommendations.

Well, as I said, it simply doesn't seem reasonable that these two men, who have devoted their whole lives to preaching the doctrine of non-resistance, who have opposed Bolshevism in Russia and Mussolinism in Italy because they don't believe in force, should suddenly turn pay-roll robbers for money they didn't get, for a cause that didn't need it.

And that, in my opinion, is at the bottom of the world-wide sympathy extended to Sacco and Vanzetti.

Will Rogers for President

E. B. Howard, congressman from Oklahoma, while in Chicago as a delegate to the Flood Control convention, brought news of a Will Rogers-for-president movement in that state.

"There is," said Howard, "a well-organized movement in Oklahoma to instruct for 'Will Rogers next year. Personally, I think the delegation will be so instructed which will mean that for at least four or five ballots we will cast our twenty votes for our best-known citizen. After that we may switch to the candidates whose chances of election we consider best."

Don't talk about switching to anybody, Howard. Stick to your Will. He's your best bet. Hoist the slogan 'We'll win with Will!' and go to it. What that boy will do to pickle-face Cal is a caution.

Imagine a radio debate between the two. Visualize Will on his front porch making wise cracks about his opponent while circling the lariat above his sombrero. Think of the whooping campaign fund that boy can raise by charging only a dollar admission to his campaign meetings.

Will Rogers is the only Democrat who can beat Coolidge. The American people love changes. They vote on contrasts, and what greater contrast can there be than between Calvin and Will? After the strong, silent undertaker in the White House, a rollicking, fun-making philosopher like Will Rogers will be just the thing for them.

Besides, Coolidge is not nearly as strong as the newspapers of Mazzumaland are trying to make him out to be. He is as imposing as a balloon and just as vulnerable. Will can defeat him with the pin pricks of his humor and get paid for the pricks, to boot. He has the dangerous gift of making people laugh.

Coming from Oklahoma, he represents the cow, corn, cotton, wheat and pig belt in one person. All these belts are belted for the agrarian revolution. If Will puts the blame for their combined woes on Cal, by making him responsible for floods, late spring, June blizzards, corn borers, hog cholera and the other calamities which have hit the ruralist, the wise among them will vote for him in appreciation of his humor and the otherwise than wise will do the same—because they always confound the acts of Providence with the acts of presidents.

Adam Coldridge.

The Problem of Milk

Municipal Distribution as an Aid to Consumer and Producer

By Pierre DeNio

LAST year 649,000 farmers were lost to agriculture in the United States. These people moved to the cities, there to enter an already overcrowded labor market, in competition with the industrial workers. The cause of the farmers' exodus must be very acute. It must be a very real cause, and it is. The reason, in ninety-nine cases in every hundred, is that they can no longer make a decent living on the farm.

While the farmers are being forced from the land because the products of the farms no longer bring them enough money to live decently, the great mass of consumers are being ever more sorely pressed to meet the increasing cost of farm products. Between them is a class that waxes fat and arrogant by intercepting necessities as they pass from the farm to the family.

The problem of society is to dispense with these parasites and perform this useful and necessary service itself. No article of food has ever been produced that was so nearly complete a diet as milk, and no other article of food has been more subject to the machinations of the profit taker, to the detriment of both the dairyman and the consumer.

Since the days when nearly every family had its own cow to the present time, producing and distributing milk have grown to be a vast and well-organized business.

The production of milk is carried on very largely nowadays on well-equipped, well-managed dairy farms, where everything operates with clock-like precision. All the work done is subject to the strictest sanitary rules; these rules are to safeguard the health of those who consume the milk. This has been a very heavy item of expense to the farmers.

The distribution of this commodity is conducted quite the same as that of any other article of commerce; that is, from a business standpoint. It is distributed for profit and not for service. It is bought up by any Tom, Dick or Harry who thinks it profitable to go into the business of selling milk, and, naturally, he will charge as much as he can get for his wares.

As a result of this system of conducting a great and necessary enterprise, we have arrived at certain very unsatisfactory results, namely: That the farmers are not getting anything like a reasonable or adequate price for their product, and for that same product the city worker pays an exorbitant price. Other unsatisfactory results are the scandals that have grown out of the scramble for profits. About these scandals we are not here concerned.

We have, then, some understanding of the general situation. We can examine it a little more closely for an understanding of the particulars. That the farmers have been and are

now ill-paid for their milk is a fact borne out much more clearly by their economic condition than by anything they may say in their own behalf.

Twenty years ago there was no organization of the dairy farmers. They dealt with the milk companies as they saw fit, accepting any price the dealer gave them, and as a result they grew steadily poorer as the years went by. All the time they were improving their lands and methods of production. As time passed and the lot of the dairyman became harder, he was forced to abandon his traditional individualism and seek the help of other dairymen through organization. The result of some years of experience and study by farmers and others, an organization was founded that now handles the product of some 80,000 dairymen. This is the Dairyman's League Co-operative Association, Inc. Like every other business enterprise, it seeks to get as high a price as it can.

The situation now is that a great number of farmers are receiving too little for their milk. The people in the city are paying too much for milk, especially when compared with the price the farmer receives. Between the producer of our city milk supply and the consumer there are two very large and powerful corporations and some smaller ones that, within the memory of many people, have grown very rich handling milk.

Considering all that has taken place in the milk business within the last ten years, it does not seem possible that conditions can be changed as long as the middlemen are on the job. If the farmers force an increase in price for themselves, it is immediately passed on to the consumer. The only way the cities can have cheaper milk without lowering the price to the farmer—and that seems unlikely—is for the city to engage in the distribution of its milk. That this is a very feasible and economic procedure I shall try to point out.

The figures that I am putting down here may be slightly inaccurate in some cases. Where I have any doubts, I am giving the benefit of the doubt to the dealer. To the extent that the inaccuracies show what can be done, the inaccuracies are unimportant.

Let us first examine the amount paid the farmer for his milk at the creamery. (We need not here consider the cost of production, as it is taken for granted to be less than the price he gets.) The Dairyman's League paid the farmers \$2.67 per hundredweight for February, 1927, milk. This is the highest price for the year, generally speaking, as the cost of production is greatest at that time. This price was for milk testing 3.5 percent butter fat. There is a premium above that, making the better milk bring more. Therefore, if we establish a price of \$3, it will be near the average, or somewhat above.

The farmer who sells his milk by the hundredweight at \$3 receives 6 1/2 cents per quart, and this is a very big price, much more than he has generally received. Since the League was organized, it has been as low as 4 cents per quart.

To bring milk to the City of New York, and this is the city we are talking about at present, it costs in the 210 milk zone 38 cents per can in car lots, and 15 1/2 cents per can in car lots. Most of the milk comes in a can, however; and at these rates, a rate of 1 cent per quart might not be out of the way. The charges for handling milk at the shipping points is less than 1 cent, but, for good measure, say 1 cent per quart. That makes the cost at the city terminal 8 1/2 cents.

A Legislative Commission on Dairy Products, in 1917, gave a careful analysis of costs of production and distribution. They found that city distribution costs are about 3.5 cents per quart. I shall add the 4/10ths of 1 cent and we then have 4 cents, which is a very high figure.

We find that by presenting this rate as generous they are delivering our milk for 12 1/2 cents per quart. Again I have given them 1/4th of a cent, as my typewriter will only print that fraction.

The price in the city at the dairy stores is: 11 cents for loose milk; 15 cents for grade B, and 18 cents for grade A. It would be rather dangerous to try to average the sales, but it is evident that the margin of profit is considerable.

The loss on loose milk is 1 1/4 cents per quart. That is, it figures that way by such estimates as are here given, but this is assuming that the loose milk is of the same grade as the other, as purchased by the company. But, in fact, this is not so. There is a vast difference in the grades there, and it is paid for accordingly.

The profit on grade B is 3 1/4 cents per quart, and on grade A, 6 1/4 cents. On the certified milk it is still greater.

Now the farmer sees the milk companies getting richer and he is getting poorer each year. As a result, he is very much dissatisfied. The consumer pays a high price, and he is also dissatisfied and cannot afford the amount of milk his family needs. Those who use the cheap milk get a product that has very little food value, although it makes a fairly decent drink when ice-cold.

The milk business is a matter of importance to the city. It is well worth the consideration of those in authority. That the city can handle the milk business profitably, and to the great advantage of both producer and consumer, is very clear. With economic and efficient methods, the present cost to the consumer can be reduced at least one-fourth and pay as much or more as is at present being paid the farmer.

Notes of
The Drama

Betty Montgomery has been made a principal in "A Night in Spain" at the 44th Street Theatre.

An open air performance of "The Circus Princess" will be given at the Woodmere Orphan Asylum, Woodmere, Long Island, on Sunday, July 31, through the courtesy of the Messrs. Shubert.

Geraldine Farrar, operatic diva has become a most ardent "Hit the Deck" fan. The former Metropolitan Opera House star has visited the Belasco Theatre five times.

Sir Guy Standing, the English actor, has arrived to fulfill a contract with Gilbert Miller to appear in support of Ethel Barrymore in Somerset Maugham's comedy, "The Constant Wife," now in its eighth month at Maxine Elliott's theatre.

Valerie Wynne, co-adaptor of "Her Cardboard Lover," in which Jeanne Eagels is starring at the Empire, has withdrawn from the cast, in which she was playing the role of "Albine." The part is now being played by Virginia Chauvenet.

Socialist Weekly Films

The National Board for Socialist Education of the German Socialist Party is planning to issue a "Workers' Weekly Gazette." This exhibition is intended in the main to show pictures of working class life, the life of the Party, and of the Trade Unions. The programme for these short lengths of film, which will be about 200-250 metres long, will include portraits of the day, commemoration days, happenings in the Party and Unions, scenes from various plagues (beginning work, the unemployed problem, the housing question) welfare institutions, co-operative movement, workers' sport, schools, youth movement, etc. In addition, events organized by the German Black-Red-Gold Banner, and incidents of the day in other countries will be displayed.

The lending fee for this "Weekly Gazette," whose first issue is now in course of preparation, will be kept so low as to enable any organization to make use of it for its cinema shows. For the extension of this important undertaking, the co-operation of workers' organizations in other countries is urgently required. A request is therefore addressed to all workers' organizations, to see to it as far as possible that all prominent events and personalities are filmed, and the material forwarded to the National Committee forthwith. Film operators connected with the labor movement are requested to put themselves in touch with the committee. It is desired also to obtain the addresses of cinemas which would be prepared to perform the "Workers' Weekly Gazette." Finally the committee begs for photographs dealing with the whole workers' movement.

The address of the committee is: Reichsausschuss für sozialistische Bildungsarbeit, Berlin S. W. 65, Lindenstrasse 2.

A Trade Union Program for the
Prosperity Era

(Continued from page 4)

fits, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company alone spent a total of over \$4,000,000 in old age pensions to its approximately 24,000 workers. American employers have now actually covered their workers with group insurance amounting to about six billion dollars.

Indeed, the solid record of the A. F. of L. leadership against ameliorating the basic insecurities of the worker through some state or national action is astonishing. Instead of working side by side with the proved friends of labor, some of the most outstanding labor leaders joined—and some still belong to—organizations where hand-in-hand with some of the bitterest enemies of labor they fought against beneficial labor legislation. This was done in the name of an individualism which since Jefferson has really never been accepted or practiced even by our political parties which supposedly subscribe to it, and which the employers themselves have long abandoned as evidenced by their concerted group action in behalf of tariff laws, railroad subsidies, etc. American labor leaders alone have fully accepted the distrust of the state and the doctrine of each to himself and the devil take the hindmost.

SMALL PARTICIPATION OF LABOR
IN LEGISLATION

It is significant that most of the labor legislation already on the statute books is largely the result of individual efforts of organizations made up of but few union card men and with little or no financial support from the labor movement. Only isolated state federations, especially those headed by men who were frequently persons not great to the official labor leadership, took a real and effective interest in the union industry through the state.

But while the A. F. of L. leadership was busy exhorting the workmen as to the doctrines of their colleagues of the National Civic Federation and of the editors of Iron Age, the inexorable laws of economics continued to harass the American wage earner with the inevitable fears of the insecurity of his life. And the employers knew better. They were aware that as long as the wage worker is confronted by immediate necessities and unable to make full provision against the emergencies of life, regardless of all individualist dogmas, he will be only too glad to accept whatever protection they offer him. Therefore, what the trade unions failed to give the worker the intelligent employer was only too ready to offer.

It is evident that this could not have been accomplished had American labor leaders foreseen the advantages of state or social action. Not only students of labor, but even employers, admit that industrial welfare work abroad can never replace trade unionism there; nor can it take the same forms as in the United States, the workers being already protected by

comprehensive state insurance systems to the cost of which both they and the employer contribute. Group insurance, which has spread so rapidly in the United States during the last ten years, is hardly known abroad. Industrial old age pensions, wherever they do exist, act only as supplementary benefits to the state pension systems, while against the risks of sickness and unemployment most European countries definitely protect their workers by comprehensive state insurance systems.

It is important to bear in mind that the basic insecurities of modern industry have been removed abroad through state programs of social legislation—sponsored mainly by the various trade union movements—in which the worker is given a direct control, thus precluding any danger of employers attempting to alienate the worker from his trade union by promises of provisions against these hazards. That the replacement of the inadequate benefits provided by labor unions by a state system of legislation does not affect the growth and power of the

N. Y. NECKWEAR MAKERS
TO FRAME NEW DEMANDS
AT MEETING TUESDAY

All members of the Neckwear Makers' Union will quit work on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 12, to attend a general membership meeting in Cooper Union. The meeting has been called to hear the report of the officers and the executive board on a proposed new collective agreement to be submitted to the employers in the industry.

The union's present contract with the National Association of Men's Neckwear Manufacturers expires on September 1, when it will have been in effect for two years. At the Cooper Union meeting the executive board will make recommendations for important changes in the new contract which is to be presented to the employers immediately upon its approval by the workers.

STRIKES IN MEXICO
ARE ON THE DECREASE

Strikes in Mexico are decreasing, according to information recently published by the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor in Mexico, at the head of which is Luis N. Morones. The year 1925 registers 51 industrial strikes as against a background for previous years of 197 strikes in 1922; 146 in 1923 and 138 in 1924.

This decrease in the number of industrial conflicts and the augmented state of well-being and industrial justice generally which it implies is credited to the fact that Luis N. Morones, the most outstanding figure in Mexico's proletarian movement, is in charge of this important department of the Mexican Government, and therefore with his intimate knowledge of labor's problems and conditions throughout the country is able to foresee and urge changes in many situations which if neglected would result in conflict.

labor movement is clearly evidenced from the fact that the size and power of the European labor unions and the development of social insurance have gone hand in hand. Indeed, the conclusion seems forced that the present pathetic state of the American trade union movement is but the natural result of over four decades of "pure and simple" trade unionism.

The frequent contentions of American trade union leaders that the higher status of life among American wage earners is proof of the superiority of the policy of the A. F. of L. is as tenuous as the contention of the open-shopper that the same economic superiority is a result of the small percentage of trade union organization among American workers as compared with workers in Western Europe.

SOCIAL INSURANCE THE
ONE WAY OUT

The recent attempts on the part of some American labor unions to provide their members with some forms of protection cannot, to my mind, solve the main problem. Provisions against unemployment, sickness, old age and invalidity are expensive propositions, and as long as it is done by isolated groups and out of their own wages the workers will never be able to provide themselves with adequate protection. For the same reason the individual schemes of employers become too expensive and too burdensome and at best can never achieve the desired end. The latter, for various reasons which I have not the space here to point out, are even less permanent and effective.

To any student of social insurance and the labor movement it is plain that neither the welfare plans of American industrial corporations nor the haphazard benefits provided by trade unions coming out exclusively of the workers' dues can ever cope with the problem of making the worker's life secure against the emergencies of modern life. Sound security can be provided only through comprehensive state-de or a national system of social insurance to which both the employer and the employee may be made to contribute. In view of the established standard of living, such additional expenditures would ultimately be absorbed by an increase in wages and would not be felt by either party directly, as the entire expense would become a levy upon industry as a whole, upon which it properly belongs. At the same time the wage earner's mind, once liberated from the struggles and hardships of life and the pressing necessities for provisions in emergencies, would thus be able to concern itself with higher and greater social values. For, beset as he is today by fears so numerous and constant, the worker can hardly be expected to put forth his best efforts in the labor movement. Remove from him this unrest and he would become a more active participant in the labor movement in order to constantly advance his social and economic status.

The program as outlined is not likely to be sponsored by American employers. It can successfully be promoted by the American labor movement, which has a virgin field to work upon. Will the American labor movement awaken, seize this opportunity and map its course along these lines in all that such a program involves? Let us hope it will!

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Organization Leaflet

The big leaflet on organization should be ordered in large quantities by local branches and individuals and distributed among those who claim to be Socialists and are not party members. Unorganized Socialists whose names are in the hands of State, local and branch secretaries should receive one either by personal visitation or through the mail. This is one of the best organization leaflets the party has ever distributed, and our comrades should use it in large quantities. Address: National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

American Appeal

A letter was addressed to Socialist State secretaries a short time ago, asking them to send lists of delinquent Appeal readers to active Socialists with the request that renewals be obtained. A number of State secretaries answered that they were carrying out this suggestion. We hope that everyone will do a good job of this and assist in holding the Appeal readers as well as gathering new ones.

Walls and Bars

The new book, "Walls and Bars," will soon be off the press. The printers are putting the finishing touches on it. Socialists who wish to see other groups will want to circulate this book most extensively and should send their orders at once. There will be a regular edition using the very best material and at the same time making it a most beautiful piece of work. This de luxe edition is being printed to supply those who wish such an edition, especially for their home library. It will be a \$10 book. Of course, the regular edition will be \$1.50. Many orders have already been received and a number of comrades have taken advantage of the offer. We give the book as a prize for \$5 worth of subs to the American Appeal.

KENTUCKY

John Wrather of Mayfield has just received a large supply of Socialist books and subscription cards. He promises to canvass the entire western end of the State. John Wrather is 72 years young, and believes the freedom he is fighting for will come in his time.

IOWA

Readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader in Iowa should get in touch with I. S. McDermis, State secretary of the Socialist Party. His address is Union and Park avenues, Des Moines, Ia. We urge each and every one that believes in Socialism to write Comrade McDermis and assist in every way in building the party organization and preparing for a Socialist ticket in the coming election. Work of organization must not be neglected. The time is short.

PENNSYLVANIA

Reading
Socialists of Reading have selected the place and date of their big picnic and are completing final arrangements. The picnic will be held at Keller's Park, Sunday, July 24. The committee looks forward to a record-breaking attendance and no expense will be spared to make it a big affair. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, will be the principal business attraction. Prizes will be given for various events and there will be plenty of games.

NEW YORK STATE

Nominations
State Secretary Merrill, in a letter to secretaries of local and chairmen of county committees, declares that the "matter of putting candidates in the field for public office and party position is not a debatable question." If organized Socialists do not attend to this matter, non-party members and Tom, Dick and Harry will do it for us at the primary. Moreover, it is the duty of every party member to stand for nomination for public office. Prizes will be given for various events and there will be plenty of games.

Free Literature
Update Socialists are reminded that the State Office has a large stock of copies of the Kirkpatrick pamphlet, "Out of Work," still on hand, and that anybody who will agree to distribute it can have from 100 to 1,000 copies for nothing.

Albany Convention
The State Secretary will call an unofficial convention of Albany County at an early date, which convention will endorse candidates for public office in the county and in the cities of Albany and Cohoes.

NEW YORK CITY

New Leader Outing
An outing and picnic for the benefit of The New Leader has been arranged through the initiative of the Brownsville Branch, 23d A. D., Kings County, for Sunday, July 24. The destination is Valhalla, Westchester County. All comrades having cars and who are willing to donate the space therein for this outing are urged to get in touch with Secretary Claessens at 7 East 15th street. Further details will be announced later.

MANHATTAN
34-5th-10th A. D.
The next branch meeting will be held Monday evening, July 11, in Room 402, People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 o'clock.

6th-8th-12th A. D.
The next branch meeting will be

held Monday evening, July 11, at the headquarters, 96 Avenue C.

BRONX

Branch 7
During July and August this branch will hold but one meeting each month on the second Tuesday of the month. This means that the next meeting will be held Tuesday evening, July 12, at the headquarters, 4215 Third avenue. Along with a short business meeting a social gathering will be held and refreshments will be served. All members are urged to be present and help make the affair a success.

There is considerable activity in this branch, thanks to the women members, who are untiring in their efforts to keep things going. The financial secretary will report the financial standing of the members, and a special request is made to those who have changed their addresses to notify Patrick J. Murphy, financial secretary. An effort is being made to get every member on the job to obtain subscriptions for The New Leader and to increase its circulation, so that The New Leader will soon be a stepping stone to a daily.

BROOKLYN

2d A. D.
The branch will meet Friday evening, July 8. The special order of business will include the report of the campaign and building drive committees. Also arrangements in behalf of the 10th anniversary celebration of this branch. It is urged that every member attend this next meeting. The Campaign Committee is composed of the following: Louis Kulkofsky, manager; Charles Starr, secretary; B. Cantor, financial secretary; Benjamin Aka, treasurer. The other members are: Frank Rosenfeld, Louis Zeibitz, M. Shapiro, A. Sanikowitz, T. Rothman, A. Ostrowsky, M. Hoffberg and S. Peskin.

The committee is busily engaged in planning an intensive campaign throughout the district this fall. Arrangements are being made for a large ratification meeting in one of the public schools.

A social and Vecherinka has been arranged in celebration of the ten years' existence of this branch, to be held Saturday evening, July 16, at the headquarters, 420 Hindsdale street. All Socialist sympathizers and Y. P. S. L. members in the Brownsville and East New York section will be invited. The breaking attendance is expected. The committee for its preliminary work. Continued success is reported by the Building Committee, and within the next few weeks it is expected that the new Labor Lyceum on the construction of the new Labor Lyceum to take the place of the present headquarters.

4th-14th A. D.
This branch meets every Monday evening at the headquarters, 345 South Third street.

5th-6th A. D.
This branch meets every Tuesday evening at the headquarters, 187 Tompkins avenue. Two street meetings are held each week and the attendance and interest shown is gratifying.

Boro Park
A joint meeting of the branches in this territory is called for Friday evening, July 8, at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 43d street. Letters have been sent to the members of the Boro Park Jewish, Boro Park English Speaking, Bensonhurst and Coney Island branches. The principal order of business is the nomination of candidates in the 9th-16th Assembly Districts, and the organization of a Campaign Committee. Secretary August Claessens will be present in behalf of the City Office.

23d A. D.
This branch meets every Monday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

YIPSELDOM

Athletic Meet
The City Athletic Meet will be held Sunday, July 17, at the Rice Stadium, Pelham Bay Park. Those comrades who have not entered events may do so now. Please make every effort to be present. The medals have been made and can be seen at the City Office at any time. Circles are urged to boost their men to the fullest extent.

The Valhalla Outing
Twenty-three Yipsels crowded in five tents spent the Fourth of July week-end vacationing at Valhalla. From reports received at the City Office, all had a very pleasant time. A visit was made to the home of Comrade Claessens, for which the Claessens family is reciprocated by visiting the camp. Jack Wolkofsky, the brother of Helen Glantz, a member of Circle Eight, was tendered a little party at the camp in honor of his graduation from public school. All in all, everybody was happy and tired when they left for home.

Circle Two
Last Friday's educational meeting of Circle Two, Brooklyn, was exceptionally good, due to the fine talk given by Helen Glantz on "Psychology." Louis Shomer was to have spoken on "The Menace of Capitalism" and Pablo Weiss on "The New Socialism." Due to the length of Miss Glantz's talk and the interest manifested in it, Comrades Shomer and Weiss did not find time to offer their share. However, both will continue the fine program at the next meeting, on Friday, July 8.

Financial Secretaries
Again the City Office must call to the attention of the financial secretaries that their reports are due. Please take this matter seriously and mail the reports immediately.

STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN

Friday, July 8, 8:30 p. m.—Tenth street and Second avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswaith.

Friday, July 8, 8:30 p. m.—Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers, I. Corn, M. Goldowsky and S. Heller.

Saturday, July 9, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.

Monday, July 11, 8:30 p. m.—112th street and Fifth avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswaith.

Tuesday, July 12, 8:30 p. m.—Seventy-ninth street and First avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

Wednesday, July 13, 8:30 p. m.—Ninety-fifth street and Broadway. Speaker to be announced.

Thursday, July 14, 8:30 p. m.—Sheridan square (Grove street and Washington place). Speaker to be announced.

Friday, July 15, 8:30 p. m.—Tenth street and Second avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswaith.

Friday, July 15, 8:30 p. m.—Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and I. Corn.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—Intervale avenue and Wilkins street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—Pittkin avenue and Bristol street. Speakers, Joseph Tuvin and Ethelred Brown.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—Havemeyer and South Third street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues. Speakers, Samuel Kantor and August Claessens.

Monday, July 11, 8:30 p. m.—Summer avenue and Floyd street. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvin.

Thursday, July 14, 8:30 p. m.—Pulaski street and Tompkins avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvin.

Friday, July 15—Pittkin avenue and Bristol street. Speaker, August Claessens.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—Havemeyer and South Third street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues. Speakers, Samuel Kantor and August Claessens.

a life haunted and thwarted by the secret and suppressed sense of having no value—frequently varied by spasmodic efforts to "shine."

Facing Life
Another kind of inferiority is induced by the opposite circumstances, in which a child is spoiled. A spoiled child, upon leaving home, meets the world badly prepared for the efforts it demands. He incurs dislike, which he returns with a distrust of the whole of the life that surrounds him. He generally acquires the feeling of an ambition so lofty that it is impossible to realize it as a member of society.

It is a mental poison, this sense that the life in which we live is hard and hostile. And in a working-class home the child can hardly avoid it. He sees the struggle of his parents to keep house and home together, and if, in addition, he meets with some special harshness or disappointment, he may never bring himself to face life in a fully reasonable spirit. It may be impossible for him to shirk life, as in the more leisured classes, by becoming neurotic. But the poison will work in his mind all the same, and it is more likely to work out in crime.

It is here that we are brought face to face with the need for Socialism for any general solution of the inferiority problem. That sense of the enmity of the world is not only imaginary. It has a very real basis in the economic and social injustice of capitalist society.

When a youth has lost touch with the world of reality and is taking refuge in ideals, fantasies or vague ambitions, it shows itself in his life. He seems to adopt a policy of "can't" slips out of the real demands of life as much as possible. If the psychic severance from life widens still further, there may be nervous breakdown or crime; on the other hand, he may become aware of what is happening in him, realize the imaginary origin of his sense of inferiority, and make a great effort to adapt himself to real life.

Conscientious Objection
In that case the injustice of modern social conditions spreads another snare for his soul. He is forced to ask: can it be my salvation, or anyone else's, to take part humbly in a society whose best spirits are loud in condemnation of it? His neurotic attitude of passive resistance against the world may take on a new form—a kind of conscientious objection to life itself as he finds it.

The only hope for such a man is to become a worker in the cause of Socialism. Only conscious work for the creation of the society of the future can give meaning and value to the present. It can reconcile him to the real demands of his occupation, family and friendships.

In Adler's view, the deepest of human needs is one's feeling of equality with society. It is to feel one's value in a world where others also have their value. That is Socialism in a liqueur glass.

In capitalist society the individual is especially exposed to the bitter experience of feeling valueless. He takes his revenge by trying to get "on top of" his fellows. He may do this by inner elaboration—dreams, conceit, eccentricity, or by selfish ambition leading through unscrupulousness and acquisitiveness to power over others.

The bosses in capitalist society, especially the martinet, whose eagerness to suppress the working class movement is a neurotic desire to keep others down, are afflicted with the worst kind of "inferiority complex," however much they may have compensated it by success in life.

These afflicted souls often adopt and advocate extreme views. Indeed, when we meet people who habitually utter cocksure judgments upon whole classes of their fellows, that they ought to be hanged, shot, or boiled in oil, we have good reason to suspect that the speaker is compensating an inner sense of weakness with an outward display of frightfulness and decision.

Socialism is Sanity
He knows what should be done—he, without personal inquiry or any reference to the open book of living, human wisdom! These common cases are far more serious than people think. By being increasingly identified with distorted views a man loses his hold upon sanity. Sanity, like science itself, is the communal production of the human race, and the sanest people are those whose minds are most united with all others in the highest form of Socialistic co-operation—which is the understanding of life.

"Intelligence," as Dr. Adler observes, "is not a private matter."

In rare cases the child may develop its ideal world to the point of becoming a genius, and thus more than vindicate its equality with life. But nearly always this is the beginning of

UNION DIRECTORY

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5TH STREET
Phone: Orchard 860-12
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Treasurer.
S. HERSHKOVITZ, M. GELLES, Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Bathoven Hall) 210 East 5th Street.

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY

Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board meets every Monday.

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M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman.
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer.

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION
Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. Broadway.

Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
AL. GRABEL, President.
I. KORN, Manager.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.

1 East 15th Street. Tel. Stuyvesant 3687.

Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union.

Z. L. FRIEDMAN, President.
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Managers. Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th Street. Stuyvesant 7678.

Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 212 East 21st Street.

Fred Fasslband, N. Ulman, President.
A. Weisner, J. Rosenwald, Vice-Pres.
Wm. H. Chilling, Business Agent.

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.

Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager.

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

Office: 175 East Broadway.
Phone: Orchard 6639

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Local 584, I. U. of T.

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Executive Board meets every Thursday and 4th Thursdays at BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth Street.

JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.

Office and Headquarters at Astor Hall, 22 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1072. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

ABE LEMONICK, PETE KOPP, Pres.
GARREY BRIDGE, J. GREEN, Vice-Pres.
JACOB RAPAPORT, AARON RAPAPORT, Sec. & Treas.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 492, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 245 East 44th St.

PETER HOTHMAN, President.
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary.
ANDREAS HAAS, Fin.-Sec'y.

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EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
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Executive Board meets every Thursday at 1:30 P. M.

SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Brooklyn—1710 St. & 8 Boulevard 1st & 3rd Tuesday P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—165 Montrose Ave. Every City Clubhouse

SALVATORE NINYO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 9, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 15th St.
Maitrose 1630

CARY GRABHER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 85, I. L. G. W. U.

Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the Office 26 W. 25th St. Phone: Lackawanna 4814.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 161, A. C. W. U.

Office: 9 Delancey St. Drydock 3400
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.

NEW SCHNEIDER, Chairman.

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1927

A GLORIOUS FOURTH

ON THE eve of celebrating the independence of God's chosen people, a people who never will endure the yoke of servitude, important news came from Pittsburgh. It seems that some of the freemen within the zone of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation are miners who enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in shacks owned by the company. These miners are pursuing happiness, but have not been able to catch up with it. They are on strike.

Just to impress them with the solemnity of the Fourth of July the company ordered the roofs to be taken from the shacks because these miners stubbornly insisted on occupying them. Cynics may think that this was done in order to crush the strike, forcing the miners and their families to vacate the temples of freedom or endure the hazards of inclement weather. But this could not be in the fatherland of Coolidge.

What the company desired was to give the miners and their families an unobstructed view of rockets bursting in air and showing that our flag is still there. While the orators orated, the rockets rocketed, the crackers cracked and the hills echoed the scream of the "burd o' freedom," as Whittier would say, the miners and their families had no roofs to obstruct their view of the glorious celebration.

Nearly was the Rev. William Gilbert Nowell. For some reason he does not see the strike as the patriotic owners of the company see it. He probably does not subscribe to the religion of Saint Baer that God gave the mines to the owners. At any rate, he moved out of his shack three weeks ago—by special request—and had a fine view of the celebration from one of the temples hills.

Well, it was a glorious Fourth in the domain of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation.

THE DRIFT TO WAR

SPECIAL attention of our readers is called to the first of a series of articles in this issue by F. Seymour Cocks on the intrigues, secret alliances, and evolution of a new balance of power in Europe. Mr. Cocks brought out one of the first editions of the secret treaties negotiated by the Allied Powers during the World War and is an authority on the issues of which he writes. It is important that the people of the United States should understand the diplomatic dynamite that is accumulating abroad and which may lead to a general war.

In spite of the enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure the world is again drifting towards war. The duel being fought by the Powers at Geneva over cruisers is merely one item in this general situation. The United States holds the money bags of the world and has become an important rival with Great Britain for world supremacy. The diplomacy of the powers is in the hands of faithful agents of their respective bankers and corporations and the silent masses are mere pawns in the game of international poker.

It is important to understand that the capitalist form of civilization is more menacing to world peace than before the "war to end war." The solemn promises and honeyed words of the diplomats count for even less than they did in 1914. It is time to educate before the bloody storm breaks. After it is let loose the nations become madhouses in which the inmates are putty in the hands of the bankrupt statesmen. If we do not think now it will be made a crime to think when destruction begins. The ruling classes will see to that.

For these reasons this series of articles is important and our readers should call the attention of their friends to this survey.

MANIFEST DESTINY

ADDRESSING the American Historical Association in 1901, the late Charles Francis Adams declared that the doctrine of Manifest Destiny is "identical with what others, more piously minded, refer to as the Will, or Call, of God. The Mohammedan and the modern Christian gospel-monger say, 'God clearly calls us' to this or that work; and with a conscience perfectly clear, proceed to rob, oppress and slay. In like manner, the political buccaneer and land-pirate proclaims that the possession of his neighbor's territory is rightfully his by Manifest Destiny."

Adams did not believe that the United States would become a buccaneer and he cited the cases of Mexico and Haiti to show that although these nations were frequently disturbed by upheavals we had refrained from interference. What he would now think of American Manifest Destiny we do not know, but President Coolidge has announced the appointment of Brig. Gen. Frank R. McCoy to supervise the elections in Nicaragua next

year. This is not the first time that American military officers have had a hand in such business.

Mexico also bulks large in the shadow of Manifest Destiny. The Mexican Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor has denied the request of the Transcontinental Oil Company for a permit to drill a well in that country. The oil company has referred the denial to the American State Department, which serves as a Supreme Court for Mexico in oil matters. It is announced that the refusal may be considered an "overt act" by the State Department.

Adams never dreamed of the United States administering elections in other countries through military officers or anticipated that refusal of a permit to drill for oil in Mexico might be considered an "overt act." He lived in the innocent age. We live in the age of Coolidge, where bossing others and gathering in their valuables is considered a holy enterprise sanctified by prayers to the God of Manifest Destiny. Those who have boys of military age should prepare them for service for oil and the fatherland.

CLAIMS VS. FACTS

WE WISH we could share Mr. Hugh Frayne's satisfaction with the political policy of the A. F. of L. In his radio address Tuesday evening he asserted that (1) the unions would never surrender their independence to politicians; (2) that the nonpartisan policy had accomplished more than independent labor parties abroad; (3) that application of political remedies to cure economic evils is an unsound principle.

The third assertion is without any warrant in our history. Every economic group and class in this country, from the framing of the Constitution to the present hour, that has become conspicuous in prestige and power has organized and used political power for its purposes. This includes rising manufacturers, land speculators in the age of our free domain, the railroad kings, masters of the social order resting on slavery, our present oil magnates and others. One cannot repeal history with a speech over the radio.

The first assertion is also embarrassing when contrasted with certain facts. It is impossible to reconcile the claim of union independence of the politicians when here in New York the A. F. of L. repudiated the decision of the National A. F. of L. in 1924 by repudiating LaFollette and supporting Davis. That cynical incident in "nonpartisan" political history proved a powerful X-ray, revealing an allegiance to politicians outside the trade unions that requires no comment.

The second assertion may also be questioned by an appeal to facts. To claim that the nonpartisan policy has accomplished more here than the independent policy has abroad is a perilous claim. If we are candid we are compelled to admit that in no other country are the trade unions so restricted and menaced by judge-made law as in the United States. Moreover, we are compelled to the shameful admission that corporation "unionism" is an American product and that it is growing.

Rash assertions are no substitute for thinking and in some quarters it seems that thinking has become a lost art.

STARS AND MOVIES

THE rapidity of the accumulation and concentration of capital in some industries is the marvel of modern capitalism in the United States. The film industry is a case in point. A little over twenty years old, it is said that twelve men, representing eight great corporations, have a deciding voice in the industry. It is the fourth largest industry and represents an investment of over a billion and a half dollars. It has passed through the familiar phases of small enterprise to great combines and has now entered the phase that leads to a treaty of understanding and co-operation.

One of the first acts of corporate co-operation is a decision to reduce the salaries of stars and executives. Of course this decision does not affect stars like Chaplin, Fairbanks, Lloyd and others who produce their own pictures, but one may easily forecast a time when these independents will be either absorbed by a great combination or be forced out by control of theatres. There is talk of the stars resisting the salary cut. For the present they are protected by their contracts, but when these expire co-operative action by the "Big Twelve" can enforce acquiescence.

Combination in the theatrical field long ago forced the actors to organize into the Actors' Equity Association, whose representatives are on the ground in Hollywood to help in any struggles which may occur among movie stars to resist reduction of salaries. This evolution is like the evolution of the production of steel, shoes and textiles. There is concentration of capital, rise of powerful corporations, drift toward a merger, and marked differentiation between owners and workers in the industry. Organization of artists may follow as incomes are menaced and even strikes may emerge from the movies.

The class struggle may prove a close-up feature of the movies, and there will be no fade-out till the industry is socialized.

These Things Shall Be

These things shall be! A loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their soul
And light of science in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave, and strong
To spill no drop of blood; but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom of loftier mould
And mightier music fill the skies;
And every life shall be a song
When all the earth is paradise.

—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

Walls and Bars

Experiences and impressions in three prisons

by Eugene V. Debs

I.

WHILE still an inmate of the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, the suggestion was made to me by interested publishers that upon my release I write a series of articles describing my prison experience. The suggestion coming from various sources appealed to me for the reason that I saw in it an opportunity to give the general public certain information in regard to the prison, based upon my personal observation and experience, that I hoped might result in some beneficial changes in the management of prisons and in the treatment of their inmates.

While serving my term at Atlanta I saw so much that offended me as being needlessly cruel and abusive; I came in direct contact with so many of the victims of prison mismanagement and its harsh and inhuman regulations that I resolved upon my release to expose the cause of these unfortunate and do what was in my power to put an end to the wrongs and abuses of which they were the victims under the present system.

If there are men and women anywhere among us who need to have their condition looked into in an enlightened, sympathetic and helpful way; if there are any whose very helplessness should excite our interest, to say nothing of our compassion as human beings, they are the inmates of our jails, prisons and penitentiaries, hidden from our view by grim walls, who suffer in silence, and whose cries are not permitted to reach our ears.

The inmates of prisons are not the irretrievably vicious and depraved element they are commonly believed to be, but upon the average they are like ourselves, and it is more often their misfortune than their crime that is responsible for their plight. If these prisoners were treated as they should be, with due regard to all the circumstances surrounding their cases, a very great majority of them, instead of being diseased, crazed and wrecked morally and physically under a cruel and degrading prison system, would be reclaimed and restored to society the better, not the worse, for their experience.

In this, society as well as the individual would be the gainer, and to that extent crime in the community would cease.

THE CHATTER BOX

THE misfortunes of mankind make a plentiful field for doctors, lawyers and undertakers. By epidemics, crime and death this ancient triumvirate find their prosperity. To elaborate any further than definition would be weakly repetitive. We only mention these worthies in order to add to their select order that modern purveyor of fear, the life insurance agent.

As we go on step by step away from the jungle and our monkeyhood, discoveries are made that tend toward lightening our burdens, and dissolving the mists of dread that befoe us on our way toward godhood. Someone found out, for instance, that a certain black rock burned, gave heat and made power. It wasn't long, however, before the ilk of Berwind got a mandate from Jehovah, made the grand old man a sort of silent partner, and incorporated the coal mining business. Other inventions and startling finds were chanced upon, such as oil, subways, and Prohibition. These improvements went the way of all flesh hogs and politicians. Then suddenly some deep-thinking lad fell upon the idea that everybody died at least once in this world, and most everybody left behind him nothing but debts, and impoverished families. So life insurance was ushered in. Need we say how gleefully this innovation was hailed by doctors, lawyers and undertakers. At last, the pulse-feeler could collect his fee for sitting in at the send-off of his patient. At last, the last will and testament scribbles could peddle their quills to the hot-polio with a certain sense of security. And those sombre clothed offspring of the original grave diggers could advertise with a hope of result and pay, the sort of excellent funeral they offer an otherwise happy world.

Security to your loved ones. That was and still is the successful slogan. Surely only the genuine philanthropists of society entered into the project of securing your widow and orphans against your sudden demise. Ask any of the twenty-five billionaire Life Insurance companies how they came to their present swollen surpluses of wealth, and they will all solemnly assure you that Jehovah has blessed them for having so self-sacrificingly taken upon themselves the golden task of securing twenty-five million fathers and husbands a fine funeral and bread and butter to their kith and kin. Ask any of them if their rates are not just a little too exorbitant; if they might not be a bit less dollar hungry; and lower the premiums so that we all might get a little more of that all-necessary insurance, and they will shed more tears of self-pity and assume more posture of outraged benevolence than any director of the Subway System, particularly when he is pleaded with to preserve the five-cent fare.

For instance any president of a Life Insurance company will inform you that over two hundred and fifty thousand men and women are earning a livelihood in that godly task of selling insurance. The commissions and dividends of this army alone mounts up into untold millions. Really, besides insuring us all in such self-negating manner, they are feeding, and clothing and housing this vast army, who but for Life Insurance, would be ordinary laborers or suicides. . . . We mean that is the impression the Insurance officials convey to us investigators when we become a trifle too direct in our protest at the nation-wide hold-up game.

Of course it would be next to lunacy to suggest that life insurance should be a government function. We have fire departments to protect property at least from being lost up to the 80 percent clause in fire insurance policies, these too still issued by private companies at quite a handsome profit. . . . We have likewise police, and health departments kept up by public moneys out of the pockets of the same boob who buy private life insurance policies at ruinous rates.

These publicly owned affairs see to it that we live long enough at least so that we either carelessly drop our paid-up installments, or that we get back in twenty years something less than what we struggled so manfully through slack and busy season to deposit with

these private companies. In fact it looks like we citizens keep paying taxes, and supporting public institutions that are set up for the express purpose of protecting every private scheme to keep us properly gypped. Well, all this is Bolshevik bunk anyway. Public life insurance is a Socialist dream. Its aim human nature. It would make government paternal. Widows and orphans make a private business. You wouldn't want Uncle Sam to step in and tell you how much to leave your family, would you? And then, besides, think of the insurance agents and their families. What would become of them. . . . This last question touches us deeply. . . . Therein lies the whole strength of this stupid life insurance business as we suffer it today. Every time we think of a life insurance agent we commence to weep quite sentimentally as the fierce Pirates of Penzance used to ooze when the word "orphan" was mentioned in their hearing.

We recognize in them the saddest battalion that ever goose-stepped in the battle for bread. Mostly all of them totter into that pallid profession out of beaten lives. Failures in this bitter life are usually dreamers of some sort or another. Even when they have realized defeat, they still keep intact the ideals that perhaps help to drag them down. Somehow, most of them gravitate into Life Insurance offices. And there, through the alchemy of the go-getter, these discouraged souls are transmuted into live-wires. Forty percent of the first premium collected, and certain percentages for nine years later on paid-up premiums is the newly found ideal that is kept glowing before their renewed hope, and laddie-buck, how they do scamper about and bring in the applications.

At first, of course, our insurance agent approaches his friends. It takes a certain amount of schooling to first enthrone the tyrant with the glorious ideal of life insurance. He is firmly convinced after a session or two that no friend of his should leave behind him any penniless orphans or widows. Oh, this widow and orphan business, how it fetches us all around to the dotted line. His friends are all bought up no doubt, but what will a few thousand more or less matter anyway, as long as they can help the poor honest lad along?

It goes on that way for months until our initiated salesman wears off some of his inferiority complexes, and goes about the world with the theory that every man alive is a prospect, and that the agent neglects his duty to mankind if he does not sell every one he approaches a life insurance policy. Many, far too many, fail and go irretrievably down and out. Those that remain and succeed become calloused Nerve Nats who never take "no" for an answer, and usually get the first premium anyway. Then the game gets down to a fine art of modern business with all its subtle dishonesties and graft. Doctors are bribed to pass incurably sick prospects, prospects are lent the money with which to keep premiums paid up, agents become money lenders to their customers in order to get increased insurance from them, and a merry-go-round of highbidding, usually called success is established. We know of one insurance luminary who bought himself a vice-presidency of a large bank so that he could sit in on the loan committee of the bank and actually insist that every customer for a loan take out insurance on life as added security for the money he borrowed.

In the meantime, Life Insurance companies charge at least sixty percent more for their service than a decent profit margin entitles them to extract. And we poor people never can carry enough life insurance to properly provide for our loved ones when we go gally west. . . . And really someday we ought to make a break and insist that Uncle Sam take over the insurance business and operate it at cost at least for all of the people. But ah, when we commence again to think of the poor insurance agent, what is there left for us to do but weep impotent tears of sadness and vote the Republicrat ticket?

S. A. de Witt.

dress before the Nineteenth Century Club at Delmonico's, New York City, on "Prison Labor, Its Effects on Industry and Trade," March 21, 1899; an article contributed to the Century Magazine for July, 1922, and another to The World Tomorrow, for August, 1922, and reproduced here by the courtesy of those periodicals.

Abolish Prisons!

In the three latter chapters I have undertaken to show that the prison in our modern life is essentially a capitalist institution, an inherent and inseparable part of the social and economic system under which the mass of mankind are ruthlessly exploited and kept in an impoverished state, as a result of which the struggle for existence, cruel and relentless at best, drives thousands of its victims into the commission of offenses which they are forced to expiate in the dungeons provided for them by their masters.

The prison, as a rule to which there are few exceptions, is for the poor.

The owning and ruling class hold the keys of the prison the same as they do of the mill and mine. They are the keepers of both, and their exploited slaves are the inmates and victims of both.

As long as the people are satisfied with capitalism they will have to bear its consequences in the prison sentences imposed upon increasing numbers of them, as well as the poverty and misery which fall to the lot of those who toil and produce the wealth of the nation.

The prison at present is at best a monumental evil and a burning shame to society. It ought not merely to be reformed but abolished as an institution for the punishment and degradation of unfortunate human beings.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Terre Haute, Ind., July 1, 1926.

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TEA OR CASTOR OIL? IS ISSUE AT GENEVA

Great was the astonishment and indignation when the workers' delegates to the Tenth International Labor Conference received from Signore de Micheli, Mussolini's representative and the vice-president of the conference (government group) an invitation to take tea with him, the invitation card bearing also in the left-hand corner the word "dancing."

True, men dance to many tunes in Geneva, and the growth of the "League mind" allows a great many things to be done, but this was felt to be a little too strong. The "free" trade unionists know all about the compulsory dosing of their Italian comrades with castor oil, but they have never heard of their being invited to partake of tea and cakes in a sumptuous hotel.

So the invitation was declined, and Micheli received, signed by 55 workers' delegates, the following courteous letter of refusal:

"The undersigned delegates beg to decline the invitation received from Signore de Micheli. As unyielding defenders of the right of association, the workers' delegates prefer to abstain from any action which might prejudice their action on behalf of justice and freedom." The Christian (Roman Catholic) workers' delegates did not sign this declaration.

Amalgamation of Unions Of British Railmen Is Now Up for Action

LONDON.—A proposed amalgamation of the three great British railway trades unions, with a total membership of 370,000, is now before the annual conference of the National Union of Railwaymen at Carlisle. The proposed amalgamation would embrace a membership of 250,000 in the National Union of Railwaymen, in the association of 70,000 locomotive engineers and firemen and 50,000 members of the Railway Mail Clerks' Association.

The three organizations frequently have followed different policies, and supporters of amalgamation declare that a unified policy would obviate difficulties of the past.

J. H. Thomas, Colonial Secretary in the late Labor Government, who is general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, speaking on the eve of the conference at Carlisle, said a general strike was the wrong way to achieve the right thing. He declared the general strike of May, 1926, had cost the National Union of Railwaymen £1,800,000, which had been taken out of its reserve fund. However, the union was economically sound again, he added.

FARMERS UNION RADIO RADIUS IS RESTRICTED

The Farmers Union in the Corn Belt put up a radio, KNTN, located at Muscatine, Iowa. Along comes the Radio Commission, largely controlled by the gentlemen who have considerable financial interest in radios, and cuts the radius of this progressive farm organization station, which had been broadcasting unhappy thoughts to those who should believe that everybody is rolling in wealth, from 10,000 to 1,100 watts.

The Administration faces a hard fight in the 1928 election. The President's next speech to radio operators may suggest that any speech over the radio criticizing the President's domestic policy is inclining to sedition and entitles the speaker to life imprisonment or at least being bored to death by listening to all of the President's speeches.