

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

THE NEW LEADER

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.00
Three Months75

VOL. IV. No. 6

Published Weekly at
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1927

Entered as Second Class Matter, January
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

SACCO, VANZETTI HAVE 12 DAYS TO LIVE

GOVERNOR L. B. SAWYER has granted the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee a reprieve of 12 days. The committee had asked for a reprieve of 30 days. The governor's decision was based on the fact that the defense committee had not yet presented its case. The committee had asked for a reprieve of 30 days because it needed more time to prepare its case. The governor's decision was based on the fact that the defense committee had not yet presented its case. The committee had asked for a reprieve of 30 days because it needed more time to prepare its case. The governor's decision was based on the fact that the defense committee had not yet presented its case.

The governor admitted that he would pay another visit to the State prison. When he called there last week his time was limited, due to the Lindbergh reception, and when he came away Vanzetti had not concluded his explanation of his failure to take the witness stand at his trial in Plymouth for a hold-up attempt.

The governor would like to hear the rest of that explanation, and he also intends to talk more fully with Celestino Madeiros and with James F. Weeks and Manuel Pacheco, friends and accomplices of Madeiros in some of his escapades, who are now serving long sentences. The defense believes that these two men can supply facts corroborating the Madeiros confession that he took part in the South Braintree murders and that Sacco and Vanzetti were not present.

Representative Lewis B. Sullivan, of Boston, former member of the Governor's Council, and strenuous opponent of capital punishment, has appeared for the defense. He declared that he heard Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti at Dedham in 1920, remark some time after the trial that "short haired women and long haired men" could not get very far in his court. An earlier witness had quoted the judge as making a similar remark during the trial in question.

As a result of the secrecy in which the investigation has been conducted all sorts of rumors are current throughout the city. The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee continues to protest against it, while the conservative forces that opposed any investigation of the trial have turned to a defense of the secret sessions. Witnesses who have been examined are pledged to secrecy and aside from an occasional chance remark little that is authentic is known as to what transpired in the secret examinations.

The Governor faced his witnesses in camera, with only his personal counsel present; the committee examined witnesses in the presence of counsel for the defense and of the prosecuting official, except that Judge Thayer was in seclusion with the committee, as was the former district attorney who prosecuted the case, through the greater part of his interview. The Defense Committee makes the point that this is unfair to their cause, that their counsel do not even know the names of many witnesses who enter the silence of the Executive Chamber. Meantime Vanzetti abandoned his hunger strike on the eighth day but resumed it the next day. Sacco has eaten nothing since July 16 and is in a highly nervous state. The hunger strike will likely reach a crisis some time next week and it remains to be seen whether any attempt will be made at forcible feeding. Attorneys of the prisoners have again visited them and urged them to give up the hunger strike but without success. Friends of the condemned men declare that Vanzetti broke his fast in the hope that he could induce Sacco to eat. The latter is the weaker of the two men and Vanzetti resumed his fast when he found that he could not induce Sacco to eat.

Buenos Ayres Police Seize Sacco Documents

Buenos Aires.—The police have seized documents at the headquarters of the local committee for Sacco and Vanzetti. Among the papers was a telegram from Boston, signed Jose Morro of the Committee for the Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, saying the execution of both would occur August 10 and that the "situation was desperate." It asked the co-operation of Argentine workmen in an international manifestation of protest scheduled for July 31. Orestes Bar, secretary of the committee, was detained by the police.

TIMELY TOPICS



NEW YORKERS and their visitors are certainly to be congratulated that the subway strike was averted. Its cost in money and comfort would have been terrifically heavy. Surely not only Mayor Walker, the peacemaker, but the rest of us owe a collective responsibility to the workers who have postponed their strike to see to it that their union is recognized in any plan for unification of transit under city control. The non-political corporation which should be set up to operate this unified system ought to contain on its representatives of the workers themselves.

It is yet to be seen whether the postponement of the strike means a more or less enduring peace or only a precarious truce. If the restoration by the I. R. T. of employees discharged for their activities in the union means that the company will not hinder the work of organization, then the men have won a substantial victory and can afford to await developments before pressing a strike. If the I. R. T. is going to continue to try to enforce its yellow dog contract with the workers, then the truce will be short lived. New York can hardly afford an interruption of the subway system. It can afford even that evil better than a decent community can afford to tolerate the sort of serfdom implied in yellow dog contracts.

It is genuinely heartening to see the energy and activity of a regular A. F. of L. union brought into such an organizing campaign as the Amalgamated Street Railway Workers are waging in New York. It is good that they have active A. F. of L. backing of A. F. of L. leaders. Praise is also due to the A. F. of L. and its leaders for their definite stand at the Pan-American Labor Conference for the withdrawal of American troops from Nicaragua. President Green's defense of the Monroe doctrine at the conference seems to overlook the way in which that famous and once useful document has been distorted by recent American administrations. The A. F. of L. has pushed a policy of friendly co-operation with the labor movement in other countries in the Western hemisphere. Would not similar co-operation in political matters of common concern be better than the overlordship of the United States which has grown up in this country under the shadow of the Monroe Doctrine (Continued on page 3)

American Imperialism Flayed At Labor Parley

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—An insight into the popular revolt in Latin America against American imperialism was strikingly afforded in the congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has come to an end here.

Despite the efforts of President William Green and Vice-President Mathew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, to keep criticism of the United States "dollar diplomacy" within diplomatic bounds, Central and South America's resentment boiled over.

At one stage it reached a point where President Green only rebuked Delegate Ricardo Martinez of Venezuela for the latter's scathing attack on President Coolidge and his Latin-American policy. The delegates of the American Federation of Labor did succeed earlier in the sessions in toning down somewhat a resolution criticizing the United States imperialistic efforts. The resolution which was finally passed suggested that the Monroe Doctrine was not always confined to the generous spirit which surrounds it in tradition. It was also asserted that it may have been abused. No specific incidents were given. In the resolution which was tabled the Monroe Doctrine was referred to as "an instrument of imperialism." American marines in China and Latin America, it was declared, are indica-

SOCIALIST YOUTH PLEDGE WAR ON WAR

Young People of 15
Nations Gather at
Meetings in Danish
Castle

FROM June 14 to 18 there were held in Hidsgravi Castle on the Danish Island of Funen two important events of the Socialist Youth International. On June 14 the executive met for this year's session. It was well attended, representatives of 15 organizations, in addition to the members of the bureau being present at the deliberations. The countries represented were Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Germany, Holland, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Comrade Crispian (Berlin) was present on behalf of the Labor and Socialist International; Comrade Bohmann (Vienna) for the International Federation of Socialist Students' Associations, and Comrade Kanitz for the International Federation of Socialist Educational Organizations.

The meeting, which had as chairman Comrade Heins, first heard the secretary's report. Comrade Ollenhauer reported on the work accomplished since the Congress at Amsterdam. In the foreground was the work concerned with the protection of youth, regarding which a very full discussion ensued. The collection on behalf of the Italian comrades was provisionally closed, good results having been secured from it. In the January meeting of its bureau, and in its May-Day appeal, the Socialist Youth International defined its position toward the principal political developments. In this connection the reporter pointed especially to the satisfactory co-operation with the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U.

Towards the furtherance of the propaganda on behalf of the international idea, it was resolved to publish two series of photographs, one of which is already completed. During the period reported the preparatory work for the creation of archives for the Socialist Youth International was also taken in hand. Relations with the affiliated bodies were almost without exception very actively maintained. The greatest difficulty lay in the financial situation of the secretariat in consequence of the extensive events organized last year. The discussion on the report of the secretariat revolved in the main around the question of how to overcome these difficulties. Ultimately unanimous agreement was given to the proposal of setting up a sub-committee to work out the financial basis for an elaboration of the international side of the work.

Resolution in Reply
The main feature of the meeting was a very instructive speech by Crispian concerning the possibilities of an international Socialist Labor policy. Crispian dealt in detail with the present position of the international labor movement, proceeding then to a survey of the previous labors of the Socialist International, which demonstrated the satisfactory results of international co-operation already, not (Continued on page 7)

Chance to Organize Traction In New York City Is Won As Truce Halts a Strike

TEXTILE ISSUES DISCUSSED AT BROOKWOOD

Union Leaders Gather
to Parley Over Problems of Industry

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

KATONAH, N. Y.—The largest summer institute ever held at Brookwood Labor College since 1925, when the first institute was experimentally launched, was opened on July 18 when 52 members of the United Textile Workers of America assembled for a week of recreation and intensive study of the general labor and technical problems affecting their industry.

Transported by truck, sliver and sedan, squeezed into shack, shanty and new faculty house, on cot beds salvaged from dusty attic, and fed in successive squads, the institutes are already voicing their satisfaction with the arrangements and the discussions and lectures already held.

These 52 members of the institute come from 19 industrial centers in seven States as widely separated as Maine and Wisconsin, and they represent more than seven branches of the textile industry—hosiery, sheeting, woollens, cottons, silk, thread and loom fixing. The national officers, Thomas F. MacMahon, president; James Starr, vice-president, and Mrs. Sara Conboy, secretary-treasurer, are among the members of the institute, as are also the entire Executive Board of nine members, the eight organizers, and 35 rank and file members.

MacMahon in Attendance
President MacMahon returned from a ten weeks' trip in Europe just in time to attend the institute. He has been investigating textile conditions there, especially in the woolen, cotton and silk branches, and has, therefore, "spot news" on the subject to present to the institute.

The Executive Council is holding its annual session at the same time, and at almost any hour of the day a circle of chairs under the big maple trees indicates that if you have any business to transact with the board, now is the time to appear.

The opening session augured well for the discussions. Taking up the problem of labor's relation to the business end of the textile industry, the members registered their opinion that it was high time for employees to adopt scientific methods in their negotiations with employers, and for their own interests, to concern themselves with the economic conditions of their industry if they wished efficient operation. The complexity, the size, the over-development and the fluctuating conditions in the industry made it especially important to adopt business methods, they said.

Over-development was fully discussed in the second session. Other problems to be taken up are over-capitalization of the industry, unsound dividend policies, the mismanagement of operations, marketing, the tariff question, textile development in the South, and general labor conditions in the industry.

Machinists to Meet
As a change from constant discussions, lectures by prominent economists and experts are given from time to time, the first one being by George Soule, a director of the Labor Bureau, on the subject, "Prosperity," and the second by Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League, on the problems of organizing working women. Paul Fuller, educational director in Passaic, N. J., also lectured on "Workers' Education."

To give a still greater change from two much shop, the "Textilers" are sandwiching in a minstrel show, daily swimming parties and stunts of all kinds. The hills around Brookwood offer plenty of opportunity for walks, and a baseball game may be going on out in front of the main building, while a tennis match is being played out behind.

Best of all, so Brookwood thinks, is the new six-tube Fada radio set which the members of the institute spontaneously decided to give to the school in recognition of its hospitality for the week. No sooner agreed than done, and now the radio has a constant circle of listeners-in.

Frenzied Transit

Officials Line Pockets While Workers Starve—The Company Union Fraud and the Danger to the Passengers—The City's Responsibility Toward the People

WITHIN one year after a strike on the Interborough another one has been narrowly averted by an uncertain truce which may be succeeded by a strike at any moment. The workers have faced intolerable conditions for years. These include wages and hours that will not stand comparison with wages and hours in union industries. The only organization of the men that President Hedley recognizes is his "company union," an agency that serves him and that is an insult to the workers. To preserve this fraud enough money was spent last year to defeat the strike to meet the demands of the workers.

Meantime an investigation of the Interborough has revealed some interesting history of the corporation under the benevolent direction of Hedley and Quackenbush, the attorney for the corporation. In 1921 the wages of the employees were reduced 10 per cent, and before restoring the old wage Quackenbush was voted an increase of \$1,000 per month, making his rake-off \$72,000 per year. To this was added a "bonus" of \$3,000 for "work" in the strike of last year, while Hedley pocketed \$3,125 extra for the same "work." Then Ivy Lee receives \$1,000 a month for telling us what a nice thing Hedley's "company union" is and writing "a half dozen lines for placards placed in the cars. Moreover, an item of \$1,400,000 of income tax has been charged to the city, thus increasing the deficit against the city.

It is necessary to remember these facts to appreciate the slave-driving attitude of this precious pair toward the 15,000 workers on the lines. Last year a motley crew of private guards and strike-breakers flocked into the city. This week another horde was imported. Last year Hedley talked of suits against the strikers for damages, threatening to attach their "property" for this purpose. As though one man in a hundred could accumulate a reserve fund out of the slave wages paid them.

The Sanctimonious Hedley
Then Hedley again indulges in sanctimonious talk about the Amalgamated as an "outsider" and of the necessity of him standing by his "loyal" employees. He would not be guilty of "betraying" these workers to their "enemies," the officials of the "outsider," the Amalgamated. He will deal only with the "Brotherhood," the fraud (Continued on page 3)

ENGINEERS' MINE LONGSHOREMEN IS BANKRUPT PICK RYAN

Source of Great Friction Between Unions in Hands of Receiver

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. VA.—As a result of a suit brought by the Brotherhood Investment Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, the Coal River Collieries Company, one of the largest coal producing companies in Southern West Virginia, has been placed in the hands of receivers by Judge McClintic of the Federal Court. The company has more than 4,400 stockholders from all parts of the country, who are in the main members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and was organized in the latter part of 1921 by the late Warren S. Stone, then chief of the Brotherhood organization, and his associates.

Early in the history of the company a dispute arose between the company and the United Mine Workers of America, which finally resulted in the operation of the mines upon the "open" shop plan, regardless of the combined influence of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations and over the protest of a great number of the stockholders who were members of the B. of L. E.

The venture eventually proved disastrous and at no stage of the game was it successful in operating the mines, as evidenced by the fact that notwithstanding that the company sold stock to the amount of \$2,300,000 and that one of the four mines alone produced 800,000 tons of coal during the past year, the Brotherhood Investment Co. established the fact to the court's satisfaction that the collieries company owed them the sum of \$1,775,000. J. T. Dunnigan, president of the company, and Seigel Workman, United States marshal, of this district, were named as receivers and were authorized to continue the operation of mine 4 located on Laurel Creek in the Big Coal River section.

The company has been operating four mines, one in Kentucky and three on Big Coal River, in Boone County, this State. In connection with this it is reported that about 70 per cent of the mines operating in this section of the States on the "open" shop plan are now flirting with the bankruptcy court.

Walkout Is Pushed Into the Future, Is General View of Situation

By Louis Stanley

JUST as was anticipated by the few who knew the realities of the New York subway situation, the threatened strike on the city's transit lines never came off. Local politics and lack of preparation by union officials produced this result. A verbal understanding with a third party, the Mayor of New York, and not with the company officials directly, brought strike preparations to an abrupt end.

Whether the workers are gainers or losers cannot be affirmed at this time. The rank and file have accepted their officials' interpretation that theirs is a victory. This in the absence of disturbing influences augurs well for organization work. The company on the other hand insists that it has never given way one iota. The real test will arise if one or both sides should proceed to act upon its views of the "settlement." But in any case, it can be stated with some assurance that a subway strike has been pushed far into the future.

More than other labor disturbance in many years the threatened subway strike was a creature of the newspapers. For one thing it is an axiom of every newspaper office that transit news, particularly the interruption of service, boosts circulation. Then the dramatic investigation conducted by Samuel Untermyer for the Transit Commission had revealed the reading public the iniquities of the I. R. T. and B. M. T. companies. What especially excited disgust was the discovery that the I. R. T. officials had received extra compensation every time they had broken a strike or induced their employees to accept a reduction in wages. The company unions during last year's strike and this year's inquiry had been disclosed for the vile things they were, puppets of the transit corporations. The "yellow dog" contract aroused the disdain of every red-blooded member of the community. Certainly the subway workers had the sympathy of the strap-hangers and for once the daily press by and large fell in line. Finally, there were no trans-Atlantic flights to distract attention.

The Newspaper Duel

The organizers for the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees made the most of this favorable situation. They hired a good publicity agent and opened fire upon the "yellow dog" contract of the I. R. T. Unfortunately, this was a little too late for the company had already secured the signatures of the vast majority of the men. Still for days a duel of words progressed in the newspapers between the Amalgamated officials on the one hand and Hedley and Quackenbush on the other. Eventually William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, was drawn into the controversy. There is no doubt that the representatives of labor acquitted themselves nobly. They not only denounced the "yellow dog" contract but they defied injunctions that the I. R. T. threatened to obtain against them. In the end, the press statements of the Amalgamated organizers began to mention the ominous word "strike." A majority of the men, both on the B. M. T. and the I. R. T., they claimed, were members of the union. These workers would be pulled out without further notice to the companies.

It was anticipated that the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity would at its regular monthly meeting on Thursday, July 21, 1927, take some action on the subway question. The reporters were all on the job crowding around the press table. Coleman and Shea addressed the delegates. They lashed the "yellow dog" contract. Representatives of the other unions joined in the whipping. Finally, the miserable compact was denounced in a resolution of unstinted condemnation. The Central Trades had gone on record.

All this was to be expected, however. The surprise came when Coleman, towards the close of his remarks, casually remarked that there would be a mass meeting of transit workers at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum to which the delegates were also cordially invited. For a while the full significance of this announcement was not realized. It had all happened so suddenly, so simply. Then the truth began to penetrate. This was a mass meeting to call a general strike on the

subway, "L" and street car lines of New York. Then, this was all more than newspaper talk. The transit workers were going to walk out the following evening at midnight. There was no time to be lost. Quickly and quietly the union had done its work.

Lack of Preparation

One must hasten to add immediately that, alas, this was not entirely a correct assumption. The scurrying between the union and company officials in the newspapers had left most of the workers in a state of bewilderment. There had been no meetings to acquaint them with what had been happening. Neither were they informed by word of mouth. The unionization work among them despite the chartering of a local, Division No. 977, of the Amalgamated in September, 1926, had not been sufficiently intensive. On the B.-M. T. particularly there were two obstacles, the existence of influential employee-shareholders and the organization of motormen into then independent Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which probably would not sanction a strike. Consequently, when the men read in the newspapers the following morning that they were expected to report at a mass meeting somewhere in Brooklyn they were thrown into further confusion. Only some matter-of-fact leaflets, scarce in number, were distributed along the lines the following day, confirming the press reports. The I. R. T. men particularly missed on the announcements the name of their hero, "Ed" Lavin, and those of the other leaders of last year's strike.

In addition to this absence of adequate preparation there was another factor that militated against the success of the mass meeting on Friday night. The B.-M. T. and the I. R. T. had sent out their supervisors, foremen and "beakies" (under-cover men) to surround the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum for the purpose of spotting any of the men who dared to come near the meeting-place and having them discharged afterwards. These company henchmen gave a genuine display of mass picketing with one difference. They were not compelled by the police to keep in motion, as strikers would have had to have done. They planted themselves before the building and peered at the face of every person who entered. What a contrast this was in the minds of those of us who last summer had witnessed the unprovoked attack of the Industrial Squad upon the striking subway workers as they were peacefully leaving their meeting hall for home! But then, Hedley had visited the Police Commissioner personally and asked for protection.

The mass meeting was admittedly a disappointment to the union leaders. The intimidation of the "beakies" was blamed as well as the fact that the older men were on the early shift. Some one hundred and fifty persons were present. A goodly number were reporters. Many of the others were former I. R. T. men who had been discharged for one reason or another after last year's subway strike. "Ed" Lavin, Walsh, of marked fame, "Red" Phelan, of beard, the Englishman, were all there. In many respects this was quite a reunion. Handshaking went the rounds. A complete social success, this!

Political Intervention

The meeting had been preceded by the pulling of the political strings. Tammany Hall and the local labor movement are particularly close at the present moment, what with the "AI" Smith boom for Governor and the Walker soundings of local trade union officials. A strike averted by the Mayor would make him the hero of the day and if it could be made to appear that he had in fact stood by the men he and Tammany would endear themselves everlastingly to every Irish transit worker—and that means the majority of the employees—and probably even a wider circle of admirers. The strike last summer had given some Democratic-voting men a rude awakening.

Through the medium of newspapermen Coleman and Shea had gotten into telephonic communication with Mayor Walker. It was arranged to postpone the strike vote and hold a conference the following afternoon between the union and I. R. T. officials. The labor leaders agreed to the postponement provided the Mayor exacted a promise from Hedley and Quackenbush that the latter would not take any steps in the interim which would hurt the union cause.

This was the news that was broken to the men who assembled Friday evening. The speakers were Shea, Coleman, Hugh Frayne, New York organizer of the A. F. of L.; Arthur Appleton, business agent in New Jersey for the Amalgamated, and Edward Leahy, president of the Staten Island local. The Central Trades body was not represented at all. Lavin was asked to speak by popular acclamation.

There was, of course, no other alternative than to postpone the strike vote and await the conference on the morrow. The next meeting was fixed for Tuesday evening, July 26, 1927, and if no settlement had been reached by that time it was understood that the walk-out would go into effect at midnight. The men without objection accepted the counsel of their leaders.

Demands of the Union

The mass meeting produced one other result. For the first time the demands of the union became known. There were no requests for improvements in hours, wages and working conditions. Those were considered minor items at the present juncture. The crucial things were:

1. Recognition of the union.
2. Right to organize.
3. Arbitration of differences when conferences failed. It was explained that it was a law of the Amalgamated that no strike may take place before arbitration had been offered and rejected. It was this policy that was followed during the recent crisis.

As all the world knows, Hedley refused to appear at the Saturday con-

SOCIALIST PARTY READY TO AID DRIVE AMONG THE N. Y. TRACTION WORKERS

Offering to aid through the party's full resources behind the efforts to organize the New York traction workers, August Claessens, Socialist party secretary, sent a letter to Patrick J. Shea and James H. Coleman of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, Hotel Continental.

"The Socialist Party of New York city offers you all that we have," Claessens wrote. "Our entire organization is with you to the limit of our forces and resources. We offer you wholehearted support without hope of any return or political advantage the following services: 1st, Speakers for your meetings; 2d, All of our halls and meeting rooms throughout the city are at your disposal; 3d, We will hold numerous public meetings in many sections of the city to arouse public sympathy and support; 4th, Our press, the New Leader and the Jewish Daily Forward, will render every service in counteracting the propaganda the traction lords and their 'public relations' experts; 5th, Our whole organization is at your command for any and all services in addition to the above mentioned."

"We beg your consideration of our willingness to aid you in this struggle. We trust you will understand our spirit and devotion to the cause of labor and our vehement opposition to the vicious principle of company 'unionism.' Success to your brave efforts! Onward to the freedom of our traction workers!"

"Socialist Party of New York City," August Claessens, Executive Secretary.

reference. Only Shea, Coleman and Hugh Frayne, who is, to be sure, an important factor locally, showed up. Hedley had risked a "breach of courtesy," as the Mayor had put it on Friday, and had even had the effrontery to anticipate the Mayor's request by asking that no invitation be sent him. He had, furthermore, stated that the Friday night meeting gave him no cause for fear.

Events then led inevitably to a strike. On Monday Samuel Untermyer had tried in vain to induce the union officials not to order a walk-out and disturb the city's transit program. The I. R. T. began to import strikebreakers. The newspapers called hysterically for the protection of the public. Hedley in many instances was blamed for the trouble. One tabloid printed the face of the I. R. T. president on the front page to represent a hard-boiled egg with nickels and dimes dropping out of his ears, nostrils and mouth. On Tuesday thirteen old-timers were discharged, some for attending the Friday evening meeting; the others for refusing to instruct strikebreakers. Other men were reprimanded.

The Strike Seems Inevitable

Under the circumstances the meeting that evening would have to sanction a strike. There was no way out. People returned from business visibly worried as to how they would get down to work in the morning. It was the talk of the town.

Then came the last minute political maneuvering. Again Mayor Walker conferred with Frayne, Shea and Coleman. This was Tuesday afternoon. Around four o'clock Quackenbush put in a sudden appearance. A half-hour later he had gone, refusing to see reporters until later.

The mayor and the labor leaders emerged. The former was in his shirt sleeves. Briefly, he told the story of what had happened. He had asked the strike chieftains not to call a walk-out as much as to save the public the inconvenience as to avoid interference with the city's transit plans in constructing new subways and arranging the reapture of the old. Neither he nor anybody else since has explained in what specific ways the municipal transit program would be hindered, but it is supposed to sound convincing. The union leaders stated that under these circumstances they would not mind postponing the strike. Men had, however, been discharged for union activity and that was a direct challenge. It was then that Quackenbush was called in. He agreed—and Hedley later backed him up—to reinstate all the discharged men. But let the mayor speak for his verbal explanations as reported by the press are the only basis of the settlement we have.

The Settlement

"The companies agreed that any man discharged would be restored to his place and that no discrimination would be practiced against any employee because of sympathy or membership in the Amalgamated Association. 'In turn the labor leaders agreed not to discriminate against any member of the Brotherhood.' Coleman explained: 'I consider this an important victory. It means that we can go right ahead organizing, secure in the knowledge that there will be no discrimination against our members on the Interborough and that any employees who are not members will be able to join our ranks without fear of discharge. What we sought was recognition and we have gotten it.'"

Contrasted with these assurances came this sharp rejoinder from Quackenbush himself an hour or two later: "If the Amalgamated tries to continue to break contracts between the I. R. T. Brotherhood and the company there will be a renewal of this situation. This does not mean the Amalgamation of the road." When the mayor was approached

about these conflicting interpretations of the settlement he minimized the difficulty by saying:

"There is every reason for making allowances for the claims and counter claims that may be advanced at this time. The fact is that the strike is off. I believe it will stay off."

The labor leaders had intimated that they had been promised union recognition when the city's transit program would go into operation. The mayor pointed to his record of friendship for organized labor but said that there was no definite commitment.

The "Agreement" Is Accepted

It was these conflicting reports that kept the Tuesday night meeting on edge. There was a much larger gathering than on Friday for among other things a B.-M. T. shop in Brooklyn, in the absence of information as to the latest development, had walked out on strike and marched in a body to the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. There were, of course, less "beakies" than formerly, but still a formidable contingent. Some representatives of the Central Trades and the Amalgamated were present. All joined with Shea, Coleman and Frayne in recommending adoption of the "agreement" as it was called. Several speeches were delivered and the audience began to show signs of restlessness. Shea as chairman asked for a motion on the report of the leaders. Someone moved adoption and this was seconded. "Jim" Walsh rose hastily to move that the "agreement" be put in writing and signed by union and company representatives. The chairman reminded him there was a motion on the floor. Walsh moved an amendment. It was rejected as contrary to the spirit of the original motion. Nevertheless, Shea explained that he had more faith in the mayor's word than in Hedley's signature, and he cited the violation of a written agreement by Hedley in 1916. Someone in the rear of the hall demanded in a loud voice that Lavin speak and began to disparage the officials on the platform. This gave the chairman his opportunity. He pointed to the intruder and exclaimed: "It is people like you who break up good organizations." The attack upon the "hot-head" ended the discussion. The motion was put and the men enthusiastically voted to accept the settlement. Two lone votes were reported in the negative.

A moment later a person in the rear asked in a quiet voice: "Must we still belong to the Brotherhood?" and Shea answered just as quietly: "I believe you must." There were more speeches until the meeting drew to a happy close. One thing stands out among the many developments of the last two weeks. The I. R. T. and the B.-M. T. men have acquired a real affection for the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. They will make good unionists if they are kept in hand. Whether the I. R. T. interferes with organization work or the Amalgamated lets down in deference to contractual relations between the companies and their employees remain to be seen. One test will be whether the I. R. T. drops its injunction proceedings. The next few months will show which way the wind blows. Certain it is that the Amalgamated Association at its convention this fall will want to know what has happened.

Frenzied Transit

(Continued from page 1) which he created, which he controls, which serves his interests and not the welfare of the "loyal" workers.

Is the Amalgamated an "outsider" in the transportation industry? On the contrary, it is the union of the workers in the industry in many cities throughout the United States. It is an "outsider" only in New York City and it is kept outside only because Hedley and Quackenbush fight every attempt of the workers to get inside. It is only in this sense that the Amalgamated is an "outsider."

This week Hedley discharged a dozen men for getting inside the Amalgamated. To get into a union that represents them induces Hedley to get them out of the industry. How long shall this pig-headed, brutal and hypocritical policy be permitted to continue? It is a policy that has been satisfactory in a financial way to that blessed trio, Hedley, Quackenbush and Lee, but it leads to revolt after revolt, demoralizing the transportation service, filling the city with shady characters, endangering the lives of passengers and keeping the workers on a basis of hours and wages that is a disgrace to the largest city in the world.

The City's Responsibility

The city is a partner in the subways. It built them. The transportation service intimately affects the welfare of every human being in Greater New York and nearby New Jersey cities and towns. The present settlement is a truce, the terms of which neither the Mayor, Hedley nor the representatives of the workers interpret alike. The union representatives declare that the agreement leaves the workers free to organize. Quackenbush declares that it does not. Mayor Walker declares that there is no "definite commitment" either way. In other words, the old condition of chaos survives. Hedley will continue to market his fraud, the "company union." The workers will rightly continue to organize in the hope of smashing the fraud. The Mayor is content to merely postpone another struggle.

Corporate capitalism in transportation is a miserable failure. Not until the lines are socialized through public ownership and the right of the workers to organize into their own union will there be an end to the wretched domination and policy of Hedley, Quackenbush and Lee.

REPORTS IMPROVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA CIVIL LIBERTIES SITUATION

"A distinctly improved situation regarding intolerance" in the State of California for the last year is announced by the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union in a report of its activities issued July 18 by Guido H. Marx, chairman of the organization.

Achievements which are cited in the report include the activities leading to the pardoning of Charlotte Anita Whitney, who faced imprisonment under the criminal syndicalism law, the repeal of which is being sought by the Union.

Other activities of the California Committee were:

Opposition to the proposal to introduce the Bible into the public schools. This measure was decisively beaten at the polls.

Opposition to the proposed anti-evolution law. The Union co-operated actively in the campaign to defeat the proposed legislation. The measure died in the legislative committee.

Successful defense of a number of members of the Workers' Party and other minority organizations in prosecutions involving civil liberty issues.

Successful opposition of the plan to remove Chinese children from the public schools to segregated institutions.

Police interference with open-air meetings in Sacramento brought to an end.

Vigorous agitation in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, including the circulation of petitions, and the holding of meetings.

In addition, many meetings were held throughout the state which were addressed by a large list of prominent speakers on topics concerned with civil liberties.

KARP, N. Y. SOCIALIST, DIES AT AGE OF 51

The Socialist party suffered a great loss in the death of Comrade Harris K. Karp, who died last Friday morning. Our late comrade was fifty-nine years of age and was a Socialist ever since his youth. He was a member of the Social-Democratic party in Russia and in coming to America, joined the old Socialist Labor party. He was a member of the Socialist party since its organization, in 1900, serving on various committees and as a candidate for numerous public offices. His life was one of devotion to the ideals that he espoused. During the last few years he was an invalid. He suffered from cancer.

The funeral services were held last Sunday morning at our late comrade's home, 324 West 103rd street. About twenty-five or more relatives and comrades were present. During the services Comrades Algeon Leo, Joseph D. Cannon, and Dr. Ingemann delivered brief addresses in memory and honor of our departed comrade.

SAMUEL GOMPERS SCHOOL DEDICATED IN CHICAGO

Chicago.—The new and recently constructed Samuel Gompers Public School, One Hundred and Twenty-third and South State streets, Chicago, was appropriately dedicated July 16 by representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Calumet Joint Labor Council, the South Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, the Board of Education, the South End Chamber of Commerce and the City Council.

Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and George W. Perkins, for thirty-five years president of the Cigar Makers' International Union, were the principal speakers.

Socialist Party and A. F. of L. to Be Discussed At Ganedan Conference

A discussion that promises to provoke many interesting ideas will be held at Camp Ganedan, the Jewish Socialists' beautiful camp at Cold Spring, New York, on Saturday and Sunday, August 6 and 7.

The two-day conference will be devoted to addresses by men prominent in the Socialist and labor movement, including B. C. Viadeck, Harry Rogoff, Tavin, Litwak, Kantrowitz, Abraham I. Shipiloff, Morris Sigman and Max Zaritsky. Discussion and questions from the floor will follow.

Charges Philadelphia Police With Illegal Suppression of Meetings

Allegedly illegal interference by Philadelphia police with the street meetings of the Proletarian Party are being investigated by the American Civil Liberties Union.

According to I. Shelves, organizer of the party, the police authorities, after denying its members the right to speak on certain street corners under various pretexts, have now issued an order forbidding them to speak on any of the main streets of the city.

"This means practically no meetings," Shelves states, "since it leaves the police the power to determine what is a 'side street' and what is a 'main street.' All that is left is the privilege of notifying the police bureau that we intend to speak at a certain place, without, however, ever receiving permission to do so."

MINN. LABORITES IN PROPAGANDA DRIVE

Farmer-Labor Forces Plan New Statewide Educational Magazine

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ST. PAUL.—The Farmer-Labor Progressive forces of Minnesota will begin the publication of a monthly educational magazine early this fall. This project is the result of a careful survey of the experiences and needs of the movement by the officers of the Farmer-Labor association.

The steady growth of the Farmer-Labor movement in spite of the most adverse conditions and the most powerful opposition has demonstrated its permanent character. It has been satisfactorily shown that systematic and intelligent methods will bring assured success at an early date. The proposed educational magazine is aimed to meet this need.

The leaders of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor movement are realists and have not indulged in any fanciful dreams about the easy possibilities of achieving political success; it has been carefully calculated that enduring progress will come only by the development of a large body of voters who have an intelligent understanding of the economic and political conditions and who are determined to stick to a program of education and organization which must eventually bring control of government to the wealth producers.

Shifting Element Weakens The sudden growth of the Farmer-Labor movement has attracted to its support many voters who have had no very deep conviction about the aims, and have consequently been an element of weakness, by diverting its course in case of temporary success or deserting it in the event of reverses. Such manifestations make the purpose and progress of the movement difficult to assay.

There are now about 36 weekly papers in the state which support the Farmer-Labor movement, but there is no state-wide publication to supply general information and give authoritative expositions of the principles of the movement. Up to the present time the movement has been in a more or less formative process; but it has now reached a stage when its aims and methods are quite clearly defined and need dissemination. This function can be best performed by a monthly educational organ.

The magazine will be under the supervision of a publicity board composed of Farmer-Labor editors who will endeavor to represent the essential principles of the movement and reflect the views of its supporters.

Plan of Circulation It is planned to get out a large sample edition of the publication showing its form and the character of its contents in time for the state convention of the Farmer-Labor association, which will be held in St. Paul Sept. 2 and 3. This will be on Thursday and Friday preceding the State Fair and Labor Day. It is thought that a great number of delegates will come to the convention to attend also the state fair. An effort will be made to organize a campaign to promote the circulation of the magazine, and it is hoped to place it in the home of every progressive family in the state.

The first issue will contain articles from many of the foremost progressives of the nation. Every phase of the progressive movement will be discussed and a clearly defined program of action will be promoted as a matter of practical policy.

Miners' Officials Resent Operators' Letter

Indiana association coal operators are accused of attempting to undermine the confidence of the rank and file of United Mine Workers in their district officials, following a circular letter mailed to hundreds of miners by Phil H. Penna, secretary of the Indiana Bituminous Coal Operators' Association, asking that the miners accept a reduction in wages.

"Officials of District 11 keenly resent the tactics employed by Phil H. Penna, secretary of the operators' association," said William Mitch, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of District 11, "as do scores of miners who received these letters. By these unscrupulous tactics Mr. Penna is trying to undermine the confidence of the miners in their officers."

The disturbing letters set out that the operators found it impossible to resume operation of the mines in the State on the basis of the Jacksonville agreement; that a wage reduction was the only solution to the present trouble. The letter explained the attitude of the operators and wound up by saying: "If it is right, you should be governed accordingly."

MORRIS WOLFMAN
LAWYER
26 COURT ST.
Phone Triangle 2166
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

U. S. Intervention in Nicaragua Is War, Wisconsin Labor Says

WAUSAU, Wis.—Declaring that United States intervention in Nicaragua, Mexico, and in China are "acts of war in all but the admission of the name," the annual report of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor presented at the annual conference here denounced preparedness, and condemned the policy of the U. S. toward these countries.

A resolution adopted protests against the "hostile, imperialistic and murderous policy of the present administration of our country, a policy which, if continued, upon its eventual reaction can only result in chaos, and the ultimate disintegration of our own nation."

President Coolidge is asked to end the "present policy of invasion of foreign countries."

CALL PILSUDSKI DICTATOR

Polish Socialists Renew Opposition to Premier's Policies

WARSAW.—A meeting of the National Council of the Polish Socialist Party has marked an added intensity in the opposition of the party to the Government of Marshal Pilsudski. This opposition now hinges on matters of principle. The party now sees in the Government a virtual dictatorship in political questions, and a force which in social and economic problems fulfills the desires of capitalist parties and large landowners. The political aim of the party, on the other hand, is a return, with interest, to democracy, its social and economic aim an intensification of the class-struggle.

The impending Parliamentary elections which are to take place, at the latest, in February of next year, do not promise to bring about any modification in the situation of the country. Any support of the existing Parliament, by the working-masses, in view of the reactionary majority it displays, is next to impossible. The coming Parliament will decide the fate of democracy in Poland.

The Socialists are striving to defend the electoral law now current. Should this be altered, the situation would become considerably more difficult. In this connection the session of Parliament which opened on June 21, will have a decisive significance.

The municipal elections, which are not yet over, have brought a notable gain to the Socialists, but to Communism a yet more signal victory. In the big towns and industrial centers Socialism is moving forward; in Warsaw, Radon, Ostroviak, successes have been won, while in small towns, such as Pruszkow, and Vioclawek, the Communist Party is winning. This latter phenomenon is substantially attributable to the disillusionment of the lower middle class, which is abandoning the Christian-Democrats and the government groups and passing direct to Communism.

The municipal elections, which are not yet over, have brought a notable gain to the Socialists, but to Communism a yet more signal victory. In the big towns and industrial centers Socialism is moving forward; in Warsaw, Radon, Ostroviak, successes have been won, while in small towns, such as Pruszkow, and Vioclawek, the Communist Party is winning. This latter phenomenon is substantially attributable to the disillusionment of the lower middle class, which is abandoning the Christian-Democrats and the government groups and passing direct to Communism.

The municipal elections, which are not yet over, have brought a notable gain to the Socialists, but to Communism a yet more signal victory. In the big towns and industrial centers Socialism is moving forward; in Warsaw, Radon, Ostroviak, successes have been won, while in small towns, such as Pruszkow, and Vioclawek, the Communist Party is winning. This latter phenomenon is substantially attributable to the disillusionment of the lower middle class, which is abandoning the Christian-Democrats and the government groups and passing direct to Communism.

The municipal elections, which are not yet over, have brought a notable gain to the Socialists, but to Communism a yet more signal victory. In the big towns and industrial centers Socialism is moving forward; in Warsaw, Radon, Ostroviak, successes have been won, while in small towns, such as Pruszkow, and Vioclawek, the Communist Party is winning. This latter phenomenon is substantially attributable to the disillusionment of the lower middle class, which is abandoning the Christian-Democrats and the government groups and passing direct to Communism.

Spend Your Vacation at the Workmen's Circle Camp Pawling, New York

Cottages with wonderful rooms for families. Large, comfortable tents. Wholesome food. Concert and entertainment. Boating and bathing. Cheerful surroundings. A camp with all the facilities and the conveniences of a large hotel.

Saturday night a wonderful concert and a camp fire. The following artists will take part in the concert: Mischa Applebaum, Mme. A. Nierasli-wsky, Julius Bloch, Saul Manin and Joseph Bergin.

Sunday morning a concert for the children.

\$22.00 a week for adults. \$11.00 a week for children accompanied by their parents.

All those who wish to come to the camp must first register in the general office of the WORKMEN'S CIRCLE, 175 EAST BROADWAY, and make a deposit of \$2.00 per person.

BUY IN BERKELEY HEIGHTS, N. J.

LOTS 25x100—\$300 up

ONLY A FEW LEFT AT THIS PRICE

SMALL PAYMENT DOWN

BERKELEY HEIGHTS is a well-developed and growing town on the Lackawanna Railroad, 27 miles from New York, and the lots are within five minutes' walk from station. Wide streets, stores, schools, social centers, electricity and other improvements. About 500 feet above sea level; dry. Fine place to live. Gorgeous scenery. Crystal-clear spring water. Good automobile roads. Easy commuting.

BUY LOTS WHERE YOU CAN USE THEM

We give no free lunch and no free ride; neither do we distribute samples. If you are interested—and you should be—you will have to pay your own fare, and I will meet you at Berkeley Heights Station on Sunday at 12:15 P. M., daylight-saving time; or you can see me at my office in New York on Saturday afternoon.

SEBASTIEN LIBERTY

2 EAST 23rd ST. (PHONE ASHLAND 6778), NEW YORK

FASCISM PLACES World War in 1928 NEW GAG ON TEACHERS Seen As Europe Lines Up in Hostile Blocs

Trade Union Law Is
Also Tightened by
New Mussolini De-
crees

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—It seems unbelievable, but it is really the truth, that the Fascist regime does not like to be too well known. It spends, especially in France, much more to induce silence than to advertise itself. And for the same reason, its apologists abroad take good care not to inform their public about the most interesting products of Fascist legislation. It is therefore necessary to rescue from an undesired oblivion these flowers of Fascism.

By a Decree of April 7, 1927 (No. 641), it has been laid down that teachers in elementary schools may be dismissed if by any act in or out of school "they render themselves incompatible with the general political principles of the government." The same provision had previously been enacted for all employees of the central administration (Decree of January 6, 1927, No. 204), for councilors of the Finance Court (Decree of February 13, 1927, No. 154), and for Councilors of State (Decree of January 9, 1927, No. 16). And it must not be forgotten that in Italy both the Council of State and the Finance Court have very important functions; thus these political reprisals are henceforth legally authorized against judges, in the strictest sense of the word.

However, one must be just; all these measures of moral and political enslavement still fall short of the cynicism of the Decree of December 23, 1926, which enacts that seamen shall be struck off the lists if they become incompatible with the national character of the merchant service, even "in consequence of acts not open to legal attack" (art. 1.). Moreover, "the time and place" where these acts, not open to legal attack, were committed, have no bearing on the consequent dismissal. Whether yesterday or ten years back, on board ship, in harbor or in some Bohemian dancing hall of Madeira, it is all one as regards an admission of Fascism who could not hold his tongue.

Teachers Are Licensed

And do not suppose that the Fascists are thus tightened only in the case of civil servants, or, like the merchant service, of categories directly and generally affecting the whole community. Indeed the Fascist Official Gazette has just published a Decree (December 9, 1926, No. 2480), by which even the most strictly private instruction is henceforward registered, supervised and Fascistized. From August of this year (art. 120) no teacher may give lessons of any kind, even in a private institution unless he has previously entered in the district register of teachers (art. 119) i. e., if he does not already belong to the ranks of official instruction. In order to be entered in this register, irrefragable "moral and civic conduct" is required.

We know what that means under Fascism! But registration implies the "disciplinary" supervision of the local official directing the scholastic administration, a supervision virtually unlimited since it is arranged in such a way as to allow of every kind of check. In fact the private teacher may be blamed for "irregular conduct" (where does this begin, especially under Fascism?) Following a first reprimand, he may be struck off without more ado, should he "continue to act irregularly" (art. 94 and 95).

Anti Union Act Stronger

And he may be proceeded against even if his slip is anything but recent, for the disciplinary action extends over 5 years! A political exclamation of four and half years ago, or an unorthodox letter written to, or received from a friend, may suffice to convert the most esteemed professor into a ragged out-of-work, driven to apply for the job of washer-up in the lowest class of restaurant!

To conclude for the moment, here is (almost on the eve of the publication of the Charter of Labor) the final readjustment of the trade union law. As we know, this law punishes with prison—minimum of six months to maximum of two years—the organizers of strikes. But in the case of "ordinary" strikers, the law only inflicts prison when a strike occurs among the employees or workers in a public administration or in "a public service or one essential to the community"; other strikers are punished only by fines. Accordingly it was necessary to compose a list of such "public services," which has just been done in a Decree (March 20, 1927), signed by the "Head of the Government" and published in the Gazette of March 28. The list which will inflict prison on strikers contains no less than 98 categories of workers. Except agriculture, everything is in it, from the business of butchers to the State production of paper, from public baths to tobacconists' stores; all the public or private factories who supply anything to the military administration; all work connected with the roads, or the reduction of electricity and gas; all transport, loading and unloading activity, and lastly all shops and stores selling provisions or combustibles.

And all that by a mere Decree of the Head of the Government who quite on his own decides whether such and such a strike affecting an essential service shall be punished by prison rather than by fines! But strikes break out none the less.

By F. Seymour Cocks

LAST March Italy suddenly charged Jugo-Slavia with making preparations to overthrow the Albanian Government. These charges were indignantly denied. Feverish consultations took place between London and Paris and certain suggestions for settling the dispute were put forward. But, owing to the opposition of Italy, these were abandoned. It was understood that in no circumstances would Mussolini agree to any reference to the League of Nations.

In other quarters pessimism reigned. In Russia M. Stalin declared that war in 1928 was a possibility. In Germany Herr von Freytag-Loringhoven predicted the coming of a general European war, in which Britain would fight Russia and France would fight Italy. A similar prediction came from Budapest. Fascist newspapers violently attacked France and expressed their extreme friendliness towards Roumania, Bulgaria and Greece. Turkey complained of the attitude of Bulgaria, and at Geneva M. de Broeckere despairingly exclaimed: "All hope of disarmament has completely vanished!"

Hungary Links Up with Italy

On April 5 Italy and Hungary signed a Treaty of Perpetual Friendship. Rome announced that "full identity of views" existed between the two countries. In Paris and Belgrade the treaty was regarded as completing the circle around Jugo-Slavia and menacing European peace. Worse followed. Jugo-Slavia had expressed its willingness to enter into direct negotiations with Rome. Mussolini refused even to fix an interview with the Jugo-Slavia Ambassador, and stated that the Treaty of Tirana was no concern of Belgrade's.

"The Treaty of Tirana," said the "Lavora d'Italia," "will not be examined either with Jugo-Slavia or the League of Nations."

France pressed London to intervene at Rome. Sir William Tyrrell arrived in the Italian capital. Nothing tangible resulted. The diplomatic correspondence of the "Daily Telegraph" stated it was unlikely that the British Government would take any further steps as "the excellent relations now existing between London and Rome should in no circumstances be jeopardized." The French press opened an attack on Downing street. "The Temps" accused Sir Austen Chamberlain of having had previous knowledge of the Treaty of Tirana and of having raised no objection to it. It was the duty of Britain to influence Italy, "otherwise there is a real danger to peace."

Other authorities stated that Chamberlain had set his face against any appeal to the league, and charged the British Government with closing its eyes to all avenues to a solution. Some days later these views received striking confirmation from Italy, when the "Corriere della Sera" published an article declaring that

"the British Government was, from the beginning, loyal and without reserve, at the side of the Italian Government. . . . The agreement between the two countries was thus complete, and London could not now dissociate itself from Rome, and has never thought of doing so."

Albanian Question Still Unsettled

Subsequently the "Times" reported that Mussolini took the view that there no longer existed any "incident to discuss," and that in any case there could be no reconsideration of Tirana. From Belgrade came sensational reports of Italian intentions and military preparations: "Small stations were being equipped with long loading platforms, the Fascists were demanding the occupation of Dalmatia." In the "Daily Telegraph" Mr. Charles Woods reported that the financial situation of Albania was critical, and said that any action by Italy in the direction of occupying the Customs "might well result in developments perhaps disastrous, not only for this part of the Balkans, but for Europe in General."

In June, as a result of the Jurachkovitch affair, diplomatic relations between Jugo-Slavia and Albania were completely severed, and although this particular matter has now been apparently settled the main dispute is still unresolved, and is likely to remain so. Following upon the arrival of a Jugo-Slavian military mission in Turkey, it has recently been announced that Mustapha Kemal Pasha is about to visit Belgrade, there to conclude a treaty between the two countries.

The Breach With Russia

In May President Doumergue visited London. It has been held in some quarters that this visit signified that an attempt was being made to bring about a renewal of the entente cordiale. More recently the attitude of M. Polcare has greatly exacerbated the relations between France and Germany. On the other hand, M. Bone, the exceedingly able Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, has stated that there exists a rapidly growing tendency towards the formation of a Central European bloc, composed of France, Germany, Russia, Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia. On May 27 the British Government broke off diplomatic relations with Russia. This rupture, said the "Sofra," will lead to the formation of a war-front. The "Anglo-Russian antagonism will rage from the Baltic to India and China, and two grappling Governments will endeavor to seek allies everywhere." On the same day Mussolini said:

"The spirit of Locarno has evaporated. Everybody is arming. Italy . . . must be able to mobilize 5,000,000 men and to arm them, and her air force . . . must be so numerous that the sur-

face of their wings must obscure the sun."

Since then the situation has rapidly deteriorated. The Council of the League has met and has dispersed. That is all that can be said of its deliberations.

A Final Survey

And here one takes a final survey. One sees the Fascist combination, the league of Dictatorships—Italy, Hungary and Spain, Albania, Greece and Bulgaria, with Britain compromised in some mysterious way with Italy.

One sees the power and majesty of the British Empire arrayed against the Soviet Union, with the Russian Border States, Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and Roumania, forming themselves—or being formed—into an anti-Soviet bloc.

One sees, divided from these, France, with her great air force, Jugo-Slavia and Czechoslovakia, looking eastward for allies. There in the east lies Russia, and not only Russia, but Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan; and Turkey is already linked by treaty both to Russia and to France, and is about to form a similar connection with Jugo-Slavia.

One sees also Germany with a Government which, whatever happens, is certain to pursue a severely realistic policy.

And one sees the antagonism growing between Britain and Russia, and between Italy and France, and the storm-clouds darkening over the Adriatic and the Russian frontier.

Here is a situation perilous, more perilous and more complex than that of 1914. For at any moment a catastrophe may occur—many indications point to 1928 as being the critical year—and nation after nation, linked by treaties and mutual antagonisms, will be precipitated, one after another, into the abyss.

And so the darkness deepens over the international scene, a darkness incarnadined, an Odean darkness: "Wretched men, what ails you? Your heads and faces and your knees are wrapped in night, and a cry of warning is kindled; and your cheeks are wet with tears, and the walls and the bases of the pillars are splashed with blood. The porch is full of ghosts and the courtyard is full of them—ghosts hurrying to the gloom of the nether darkness; and the sun has perished out of heaven, and an evil mist is spread abroad. So he spoke, and they all laughed merrily."

Is this to be the fate of the world? It is for the Peoples to reply.

PAINTERS OF WORLD CONFER IN VIENNA

The Fifth International Conference of Painters was held at Vienna on June 20, 16 delegates representing 181,430 members being present from ten countries, together with several fraternal delegates.

The international secretary's report on activities was adopted, and also those of the delegates representing the various countries; after which the conference proceeded to pass important resolutions concerning working conditions, wages and tariffs policy, holidays and the training of apprentices. Much of the time of the conference was taken up by the discussion of technical and trade innovations. Occupational diseases, the risk of accidents and the convention drafted by the International Labor Conference of 1921 were also thoroughly discussed; the last items to receive consideration being organization questions and general proposals and resolutions.

Union Bank Buys Building
The International Union Bank, owned by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has bought at auction the New York Clockmakers' Joint Board Building, 130 East 25th street, from which deposed Communist union officials were expelled recently. The price paid was \$25,000 over the first mortgage, upon which is due \$117,000.

Let's See Your Tongue!

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

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

27 STATES FIND LEGION WORSE THAN KLAN

Hays Attacks Patriotic Organizations for Censorship Efforts

CERTAIN reactionary organizations, including the American Defense Society and the National Security League were attacked as "unpatriotic" by Arthur Garfield Hays in a radio address broadcast by Station WPCB at the Park Central Hotel, New York City.

Mr. Hays, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, also branded the American Legion, Woman's Temperance Society and Ku Klux Klan as "censorship organizations."

"Little by little the liberties of American citizens are slipping away," said Mr. Hays "and the process is so gradual as to be hardly noticeable. However, we are gradually losing even the fundamental rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage."

"You can speak and write on any subject you please in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and New Jersey, unless, perchance, the subject concerns unionism in time of strike."

"In California the I. W. W. are jailed for expressing their views. In Tennessee you can talk, I presume, on any subject except that which is closest to the hearts of the people—to wit, religion."

"Freedom of residence is a fundamental right and yet in 1925 Dr. Ossian Sweet and ten other Negroes in Detroit were put on trial for murder for defending themselves against a mob of white men who tried to force them from their homes."

"We are no longer the country of the oppressed of other nations. Our immigration laws bar out the seekers of opportunity in America. We are not even the country of political refugees. We send anti-Fascist back to Italy, sometimes to jail and torture."

"Unfortunately, during the last year, the American Legion appears to have been a fairly active agency of intolerance and oppression. Twenty-seven states report that they were worse than the Ku Klux Klan. An exception of course must be made in favor of the Willard Straight Post and a few others which regard themselves as American first, to whom intolerance is more hateful than radicalism. But many of our former soldiers regard themselves as potential guardians whose duty to protect present conditions is more important than the obligation to defend eternal principles."

PALESTINE UNIONS FOR FREE IMMIGRATION

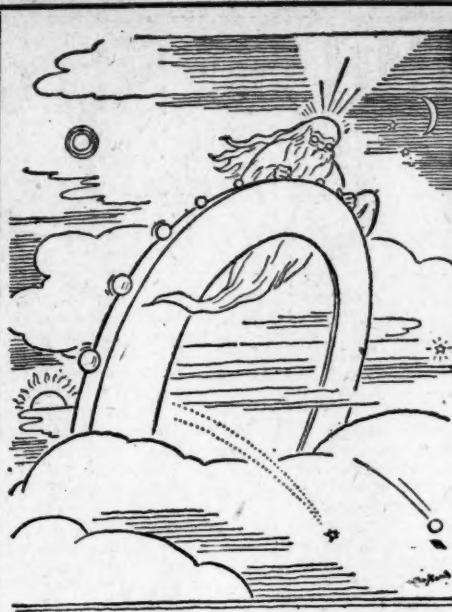
Jerusalem.—Freedom of Jewish immigration to Palestine heads the list of demands formulated by the Jewish workers of Palestine in a number of resolutions adopted at the convention of the Palestine Jewish Labor Federation, representing all factions of the Jewish labor movement in the country.

The convention, which lasted a fortnight, came to a close last Saturday in Tel-Aviv.

The conference urged the Zionist executive to increase its colonization activity. A series of demands was formulated requesting speedy action on the part of the Palestine government to solve the unemployment problem and to hasten the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home.

The government was also urged to grant state lands for Jewish colonization to facilitate the naturalization of immigrants, to promulgate labor legislation and to admit Jews to service in the Palestine frontier force.

Union Bank Buys Building
The International Union Bank, owned by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has bought at auction the New York Clockmakers' Joint Board Building, 130 East 25th street, from which deposed Communist union officials were expelled recently. The price paid was \$25,000 over the first mortgage, upon which is due \$117,000.



Art Young in "Heavenly Discourse"

GOD AT THE WHEEL

Get Your First Smile Reading the Chapter Headings of This Delightful Book

Is God a Jew?	God's Picnic
Marriage	God's Picnic and the Playwright
God Receives a Delegation	Rabelais and Censorship
Freedom	Censorship
The Monkeys Complain	God and Christ Have a "Merry Christmas"
Birth Control	Denver Prays for Rain
Anthony Comstock in Heaven	God on Catholicism and the K. K. K.
Prohibition	God Advises Peter as to the Church
Billy Sunday Meets God	Bishop William Montgomery Brown Enters Heaven
The United States Must Be Pure	God and St. Peter Discuss Theology
Billy Sunday Instructs God	Joan of Arc, Heretic and Saint
A Fly Bothers God	Satan Regains His Reason
St. Peter Loses a Soul	Charles Evans Hughes Visits Heaven Without a Passport and Is Deported
Preparedness in Heaven	England's General Strike
Prayer	The "Lame Duck" and Imperialism
Satan Brings the United States into the War	The Golden Rule
A Pacifist Enters Heaven—in Bits	Satan Asks for Help
The Stupid Cannot Enter Heaven	Noah's Cruise
Heaven	
God, Paul and Satan on Christianity	
Satan Loses His Mind	

Other New Vanguard Titles

Full Size, Well Printed, Clothbound. Only 50 Cents Each.

THE MAIN STREET. Adventures of Two Migratory Workers. William Edge.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION. Peter Kropotkin. Two volumes. (\$1.00)

WHAT IS MUTUALISM? Clarence L. Swartz.

THE WAR MYTH IN U. S. HISTORY. C. H. Hamilton.

FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. Thomas and Hamm.

IS CONSCIENCE A CRIME? Norman Thomas.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

At All Bookstores—Or 50c. Each by Mail.

Laughter Rocks the Heavens! HEAVENLY DISCOURSE

By Charles Erskine Scott Wood

PICK YOUR SEAT on a soft fleecy cloud to see Wood's "Celestial Follies." The sky is the stage. The all-star cast includes Billy Sunday, Satan, Roosevelt, Jesus, Rabelais, Ingersoll, God, Mark Twain, Bishop Brown, St. Peter and others. The discourse sparkles. "Voltairean!" Romain Roland calls these brilliant dialogues. Wit, biting truth, slap-stick humor, imagination. Laughter rocks the heavens—and human foundations tremble.

"Heavenly Discourse" contains several delightful drawings by Art Young and a striking frontispiece by Hugo Gellert.

"Audacious," "Funny," "Rabelaisian," "Glorious"

JOHN MACY—"Heavenly Discourse" is a glorious book, serious and funny, and so amusing. It takes its place among the true satires of literature. There is the true sense of fact set in a whirling imagination. I fancy Swift would have enjoyed that book and I know that Mark Twain would have chuckled and smirked at it as it is with it and by it."

JOHN COWPER POWES—"Perhaps no note is more rare in modern literature than the one that can truly be called Rabelaisian. Our sophisticated modern ways are too disillusioned, too thinking and too second to pour the wine and carve the meat and prepare the condiments for this sort of banquet."

GENEVIEVE TAGGARD—"Charles Erskine Scott Wood; the last pioneer of the art of letters, a man of the proportions of William Shakespeare."

"Breath-Taking," "Uproarious," "Ironic," "Heavenly"

CHARLES W. WOOD—"Heavenly Discourse" is heavenly. Wood views us all with divine detachment—precisely all of us from Billy Sunday up. If he had told us what he saw in the first person, we might have been a little bit shocked. But he has told us what he saw in the third person, and we are all the better for it. Only those who are thoroughly alive and strong can digest such stuff as this."

MAX EASTMAN—"There's nothing else quite like these dialogues. It is not only the audacity of his wit, but his imagination that makes them unique. They are the irony of a poet—the irony of the two or three American poets who ever wrote anything sublime."

JOSEPH FREEMAN—"They are classic, full of laughter and wisdom, which place the author among the world's great satirists and humorists."

B. W. HUESCH—"I have determined, after all, to go to heaven. I used to think it was more agreeable to join my friends who have gone before, but since reading 'Heavenly Discourse' I have changed my mind. The book ought to be read by all who hope to go to heaven, but more especially by those who have formed a false opinion of the place."

JUNIOR CRAY

:-: To Build a Stronger Socialist Movement :-:

By James Oneal

III

IN this final article the writer will offer some conclusions based upon a consideration of the problems discussed in the two previous contributions.

Our experience with the free-lance Socialist press and private publishing companies warrants the conclusion that the Socialist Party should discourage such ventures in the future. Every Socialist publication should be discouraged if it does not accept some measure of party control and bear some responsibility to the organized Socialist movement. This does not mean that the party organization should own and direct such publications. The history of the S. L. P. shows that this policy tends to bureaucracy.

The New Leader and the Forward are examples of publishing associations maintained by party members. Such organizations avoid direct party control but by providing that only party members can belong to them we guard against the publication venturing on some policy not approved by the party. At the same time, while not directed by party officials they insure a wide measure of free discussion by the party members, including views and policies supported by party officials. As the party organization is rebuilt there will be no danger of free-lance publications taking a course not approved by members of the Socialist Party. In the case of The American Appeal the party does own direct but this publication is intended more as a popular propaganda organ than anything else. Its editor has no power to venture on a course not formulated by conventions or a referendum.

The same reasons hold good for Socialist literature publishing agencies. It is not too much to say that the Chas. H. Kerr Company did more in the decade preceding the World War to prepare the Socialist Party for disruption than any other single agency. For years its literature had become of an Anarcho-Syndicalist character. It is time that we recognized the duty of the party to build up its own publishing house and use the revenue derived from this source for the general educational and organization work of the party itself. The national dues have always been insufficient for the

organization work of the National Office and the profits from its own publishing house will supplement the income of the national organization.

But even more important is that by publishing our own literature we will not have it selected for us by an individual whose views may change as they did change in the case of Kerr. It is true that he sold stock in his company to Socialists but it was also sold to others. But the possession of stock did not give its holders the power to determine the kind of literature to be published. Even if the stockholders held this power, the fact that non-party members held stock insured the publication of some literature that we would not ourselves choose. This private firm bore no responsibility to the party, it received hundreds of thousands of dollars that should have been received by a party publishing house, and in the end it sowed the party with factions. It is an experience that we must not repeat.

That the old form of language federations proved disastrous goes without saying, but this problem is not easy of solution. The problem may be stated as follows: How shall the party organize Socialists speaking other languages without at the same time permitting them to be an independent power in the organization? The writer makes no pretense at giving a final answer but a few observations may be helpful.

In the first place it should be remembered that Socialist Locals and Branches do not constitute a political party under the election laws of the states. They are simply political clubs maintained for propaganda just as district and assembly clubs maintained by Republicans and Democrats are. These clubs do not function as units of a legal political party. The legal party consists of the various committees and candidates selected according to the election laws of the states. This distinction should be kept in mind in approaching the problem of the language federations.

A political platform and nominations for public office essentially belong to

a political party, not to propaganda clubs which may include non-citizens. For this reason it might be well to restrict language federations to educational work in their own languages but the policy of the political party, its principles and nominations, should be confined to the English-speaking sections of citizen members.

By this distinction between the political party and the propaganda clubs we permit those who do not speak English and many of whom are not citizens to carry on Socialist propaganda, be attached to the Socialist Party, and yet be deprived of power in the American section of the organization. Experience has shown that the language federations had a dual power. They exercised power in the federations and then in the general party organization. The general party organization had practically no influence or power within the federations.

The party could also provide that members of the foreign federations, as rapidly as they become citizens and learn the English language, should become members of English-speaking branches of citizens. This policy would provide an inducement for federations members to fit themselves for membership in the regular branches and thus gain the privilege of voting on principles, resolutions and policies of the political party.

What is proposed is obvious. Membership in language federations would be first grade membership, and membership in the English-speaking branches would be second grade. The member who passed from first to second grade would then come into continuous contact with American citizen members. Any tendency for the member to react solely to what is happening in his homeland across the Atlantic will have the counter-influence of American members who know that our first duty is to the problems of the movement here.

Under the old system each national-ity was segregated to itself. Branches of the federations tended to think and act in terms of what happened abroad.

The United States was of secondary consideration and sometimes, as in the case of the Bolshevik revolution, no consideration at all.

It may be said that if federations are maintained their members will still have a tendency to think in terms of foreign affairs. This may be true, but for the first time these members will have no opportunity to shape the policies and principles of the American organization. Moreover, those who intend to stay in the United States and become citizens will try to fit themselves for membership and service in a regular party branch.

If a member graduates from a federation branch into a party branch and still wants to help educational work in the federation, we might well permit this. But it should be a rule that when a federation member learns English and becomes a citizen he must become a member of an English-speaking branch. This may mean paying dues to the federation and to the branch, but it will be optional with him if he chooses to pay dues to two sections of the organization.

The problem of defining the limitations of members in the first grade is not an easy one and there will be honest differences of opinion in working it out. All that is offered here is a broad suggestion of the principle in the hope that it will contribute something toward the solution of a problem that grows out of the character of our population.

Then it appears to me that it is time that the Socialist Party should decide that it will not permit its time and energy to be wasted upon fruitless issues of policy that have been decided over and over again in this and other countries. I have in mind the various "left" proposals. These include opposition to immediate demands; emphasizing economic organization and power to discredit political action or political action to discredit trade union organization and power; sabotage and ill-defined "mass action"; physical force in its various forms.

Shall the Socialist Party always remain a debating society and waste its time with issues that have been settled by the Socialist movement in all countries for many years? If "left" proposals only contained something new, there might be something said in favor of the educational value of these proposals, but, almost without exception, they are as old as the Socialist movement itself. The writer recently heard a speaker at the L. I. D. conference outline a course of action which fairly seethed with the views of Johann Most. If introduced into a Socialist organization its members might easily become engaged in a controversy over issues decided by Socialists nearly forty years ago.

It is these archaic issues raised by "lefts" we have reference to. The party should encourage independent thinking and investigation, but it might be well for us to have an automatic rule whereby obviously old controversies raised by ill-informed members as "new" should be ruled out of order. Any member not satisfied with the disclosure that the issue is old might well be invited to cancel his membership if he persists in raising that issue. It is time that we ceased to be a society for resurrection of the dead.

There is also a rich field to cultivate in the publication of useful literature dealing with specific problems of American life. The League for Industrial Democracy has published some excellent pamphlets of this type which the party may well follow. A vast amount of important information is available for this work. Probably one reason for the splendid advances made by the British movement is the amazing number of excellent studies of problems affecting the British working class published by the I. L. P. and the Labor Party. Agriculture is especially important and we have practically nothing on this phase of American economic life. A careful attention given to this in the next few years and we will have the beginnings of a Socialist literature that will compare well with any abroad. Moreover, our speakers will be better informed and more convincing when speaking to public audiences. This subject really requires a special article to consider fully and it can only be hinted at here.

I am also convinced that in political campaigns we should be more realistic than we have been in the past. Because of an archaic representative system that makes no provision for representation of minority parties our political struggle is especially difficult. When we win in a city or a district we generally face fusion of the capitalist parties. Our task then becomes doubly hard. All the more reason why we should to some extent concentrate in favorable cities or districts. This does not mean the neglect of weaker sections but some concentration should be effected where opportunities are good to avoid the pessimism that follows when our enemies concentrate and defeat us.

There is a special problem in New York City which has special interest for the Jewish Socialists in the needle trade unions. They have accomplished a great work in building these unions but in all the years of their work they neglected one important duty. This was to send delegates to the Central Federated Union, men who would give their time to helping this body to a more progressive attitude. The Jewish comrades were so active in their own unions and in the United Hebrew Trades that they did not give the attention to the C. F. U. that they should.

In this neglect they missed a big opportunity in the first few years following the end of the World War. The Chicago Federation of Labor had taken the initiative in helping to organize a national Labor Party. Shortly after this the New York Central body also broke with the old "non-partisan" politics of the A. F. of L. In March, 1920, the late Samuel Gompers sent a plea to the Central Federated Union to aid candidates of the old parties and the Reconstruction Committee of the C. F. U. answered in a powerful statement declaring in favor of independent political action. The C. F. U. already supported the Labor Party idea.

Within a year Mr. Gompers decided to get a majority against this new policy by combining the Brooklyn Central body with the C. F. U. A turning point had come in the history of the A. F. of L. The men who favored a Labor Party were eager for support. If the delegates of the needle trade unions had attended the central body during this crucial period independent political action would have remained the New York policy despite the amalgamation with Brooklyn. With Chicago and New York taking the leadership the result might have been different but the absence of many delegates of the needle trades gave a majority to the conservatives. With the defection of New York the Labor Party idea received a severe blow and within a few years Chicago had to give up the lone fight.

The Socialists in the needle trades unions missed one opportunity and should not miss another. These unions should be in the Central Trades Council and do all they can to help that body towards more advanced policies and especially in the matter of political action. This is not a Socialist Party problem although it affects its members in the needle trades. The whole trend of A. F. of L. history might have been changed had this neglect not occurred in 1920-22.

A matter of the relationship of

party institutions in New York also deserves some consideration. That is the relationship between the Rand School, the Forward, The New Leader, the Socialist Party, the Jewish Socialist Verband and, possibly, the Workmen's Circle. The Verband and the Forward have been so absorbed in the fierce struggle with the Left Wing in recent years that in many ways they have been isolated from the party itself. This is an unhealthy situation. I recall that when Abramovitch was lecturing in this country I could get no list of his dates for publication in The New Leader. The Verband occasionally made speaking assignments for Comrade Cahan, Pankin and others and The New Leader never heard of them. On two occasions affairs were also arranged which came into conflict with affairs arranged either by the party or The New Leader.

All this indicates a looseness of affiliation and co-operation which should not continue. The conflict has not been deliberate. It is the result of what has virtually been isolation of these institutions and organizations from each other. A further result has been the commission of some mistakes in fighting the Left Wing, mistakes that could have been avoided if there had been continuous contacts and intimate co-operation between the Rand School, the Forward, the Verband, the Socialist Party, The New Leader, and the Workmen's Circle.

One special result of this loose relationship should be mentioned because it has become an undercurrent of discussion for several years. The Forward is our most powerful institution. The party divisions and institutions as well as the trade unions have reasons to be grateful to the Forward because of its financial aid to them in time of need. Its publicity has also been invaluable. Therefore what is said here is written by one who fully appreciates the splendid work of the Forward in all the years since it became a power.

But out of the loose relationships mentioned above have come a peculiar situation. Despite the generous attitude of the Forward, when representatives of party divisions and institutions come before it to state their requests for help, these representatives have felt that they are subordinates approaching a superior rather than equals approaching an equal. They appear, state their respective wishes, retire and await a decision. Now observe another phase of the relationships. These representatives never appear in council with the Forward except when they ask for aid. The psychology of the relationship is almost exclusively one of finance. The Forward officials know that this is the mission of these representatives and the latter also know it because they never get together for any other purpose. The nexus, therefore, is one

of cash, not of common ideals and problems.

This is inevitable in a situation where each institution and division of a common movement is more or less isolated from each other. It develops a feeling that may eventually become unhealthy. Out of the isolation has also come some mistakes of policy and especially in opposing the intrigues of the Left Wing. No member and no particular division of the movement is at fault. It just grew up.

It occurs to me that the mistakes and the finance psychology that have developed out of this situation may be eliminated and the whole movement be strengthened thereby. The various institutions of our movement should be united in some sort of a delegate council which could meet once each month. It would consider problems and issues in which all are concerned in these monthly meetings and hold special meetings when an emergency requires it. The council meetings would provide a clearing house for ideas and especially for common action. The reports of delegates each month would keep all institutions and organizations informed of their respective problems and, above all, eliminate conflict in activities.

This would also eliminate the finance psychology that has grown up. The Forward and all other institutions would maintain intimate contact with each other once each month regardless of any financial questions. Contacts and cooperation would be maintained for the only reason that they should be maintained in the Socialist movement—because of their common ideals.

One thing should be avoided. The powers of such a council should be advisory and nothing more. I would not have it assume an authority to command the Rand School, the Forward, The New Leader or the party to follow instructions. Its main functions would be to eliminate conflict of activities, be a center of information and counsel, obtain cooperation and publicity for the work of each institution and organization, and develop the team work that has been lacking since the outbreak of the World War.

New York City in many ways is the center of the organized Socialist movement. It should set an example in co-operation and efficiency, obtain the best results with the least friction, inspire the membership with team work and co-operation in support of campaigns, strikes, and every other phase of working class struggles. With such solidarity we will also be less immune to any other "Left" craze that may become the fad of the hour.

:-: Why Vienna Rioted :-:

ON July 14, 1927, while Paris was wildly celebrating the one hundred and thirty-eighth anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, tens of thousands of workmen attacked the Ministry of Justice in Vienna, setting fire to the building in which it was housed. For three days the capital of the Austrian Republic was swept by riots. Police quarters were wrecked, scores were killed in street clashes, hundreds were wounded. A general strike paralyzed the entire life of the Danubian state.

The immediate cause of the sudden and fierce outbreak of mass violence in Vienna was the acquittal of three Austrian Fascists who are generally believed to be guilty of the assassination of a Republican guard and his child, several months ago. This verdict was one of a long series of similar judgments pronounced in the courts of republican Austria by Pan-German Nationalist and Royalist judges who still retain their old offices in spite of the Revolution of 1918. The extraordinary vehemence of the popular protest, however, amply indicates the existence of deeply smoldering fires of unrest in the hearts of the usually complacent and pacific people of Austria. The assault on the Ministry of Justice is but symptomatic of the state of smoldering revolt into which the Austrian masses have been driven by the "stabilizers" of present-day Europe.

Austria's sickness is no new phenomenon. The world war was explained by many persons as an inevitable operation on the sick state of Central Europe, the Dual Monarchy. But the treaty of St. Germain, dictated by the Allied "peace-makers," only perpetuated, in a different form, the ailments of Southeastern Europe. If the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire was a political and cultural absurdity, the new Austrian Republic is an economic absurdity. The old empire was a crazy-quilt of divergent national groups, held together by cohesive economic factors making for industrial unity and prosperity. The new state, reduced to one-eighth of its area and population, is like a head severed from its body, miraculously kept alive by the financial oxygen administered under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Austria with its 6,500,000 people, was the nerve center of the dismembered empire of 51,000,000. It drew grain from Hungary, coal and iron from what is now Czechoslovakia, and sent them in return manufactured goods. Economically speaking, the Dual Monarchy was a free customs union, an embryonic United States. Socialist and progressive elements of Southeastern Europe, after the overthrow of the Hapsburgs, demanded the creation of a federation of free states in the Balkans. This would have been, and still remains, the only possible solution of the Balkan problem. The Treaty of St. Germain, however, was an instrument of selfish and blind politics. It was conceived with the Little Entente in view, as a make-weight for a new balance of power for France in Central Europe. It disregarded the vital interests of a huge population. It resulted in a monstrous system of arbitrary tariff barriers which clogged the delicate economic arteries developed during a century of industrial and commercial expansion. It deprived a great

"A Warning to the Agents Of Horthy and Mussolini"

and thriving area of its only first-class outlet to the sea, turning Trieste over to Italy, which needed no additional access to the sea.

An Anomalous State Today Austria is the most anomalous state in Europe. Enveloped on three sides by a ring of unfriendly countries, suffering from chronic unemployment, forced to import her raw materials from across the near borders and to face prohibitive customs in her exports, she is naturally a fertile soil for national and international trouble-breeders. The Pan-Germans have been cultivating the ground for a union with Germany, as if a union with industrial Germany would and could solve Austria's economic conundrum. The Royalists, stimulated by Admiral Horthy's stalwarts from Hungary, have been busy organizing for a monarchist coup, in the hope of aligning Austria in a Hapsburg restoration, this time under the aegis of Budapest. And recently Mussolini, in his extraordinary policy of Balkan penetration, following his peaceful "conquests" of Hungary and Rumania, has been fishing in the muddled waters of the Danube, encouraging Austria's Fascists to brazen acts of terrorism.

That the Austrian masses have not succumbed to adventurous political experiments in the past nine years, in spite of their proximity to Bolshevik Russia, Horthy's Hungary, Fascist Italy, Royalist Bavaria and Pilsudski's Poland, is a tribute to their high intelligence and to their excellent Socialist leadership. Their endurance has been remarkable in view of the fact that their suffering since the Armistice has been unparalleled anywhere outside of Russia. If Bolshevism has never taken root in Austria, it is because Austria is part and parcel of Western civilization. Austria boasts the strongest Socialist party in the world, in proportion to population. In the recent elections, held three months ago, the Socialists polled in the entire country 1,355,000 votes, nearly 43 percent of the total national vote, an increase of 225,000 as compared with 1923. In Vienna alone, with a population of 2,000,000, the Socialists polled 694,000 votes, more than 62 percent of the entire city vote. At the same time, the Communists polled only 13,000 votes in all of Austria, which was half of their strength in 1923.

Communists and Socialists The Communists in Austria, therefore, form less than 1 percent of the Socialist rank and file. The specter of Bolshevism evoked by the bewildered daily press upon receipt of the reports of the riots in Vienna, appears as the old familiar bugaboo, and merely serves to belabor the real issues and to screen the real culprits. There is no danger of a Communist coup in Austria, but there is "danger" that the Socialists, by their constructive achievements, will ultimately take over the Republic, not only politically but economically and socially! It is Austrian Socialism which stands in the way of all putschists, by its championing of a Balkan federation

and by its accomplishments in the field of social reform in Vienna, which it controls.

As long ago as last spring's electoral campaign, in which the Socialists were opposed by a united bourgeois bloc, all the elements of a latent civil war were marked. The bourgeois parties attacked the Socialists with astonishing bitterness, the Right press fuming and raging against the "criminal band" led by such men as Adler and Bauer. This Socialist "criminal band" was guilty of resisting and blocking every move for the restoration of the Fatherland. To the rabid nationalists, "Red" Vienna has been the cause of immeasurable chagrin, for the hands of the Socialists, controlling the capital of 2,000,000 people, have wrought veritable marvels there. Where is there another city in the Old World in which, in the course of the last five years, 25,000 homes have been built for the workman? Yet this is the record of the Socialist administration of Vienna. The child welfare work conducted by the Socialist municipality is unequalled anywhere in Europe. The infant mortality has been reduced 16 per cent, before the war to 8 per cent, by the "Red" guardians. Tuberculosis, so prevalent under the Empire, has dropped considerably.

Violence and Its Answer But it was the taxation policy of the Socialist municipality that aroused the fierce opposition of the reactionary groups. In Vienna, 791 capitalists are paying annually to the city a combined tax equivalent to the total contributed by the other 490,000 tax payers who form the balance of the population. Isn't this rank Bolshevism? But it is Bolshevism of a new kind. It makes a potent appeal to the workman as well as to the middle class. It makes life bearable in a colossal industrial city with a pitifully small hinterland. In a word, it creates some sort of an internal equilibrium in a body externally suspended by the arbiters of St. Germain. Could there be anything more calculated to provoke the blind fury of the "patriotic" adventurers at home and the international adventurers of the neighboring states whose sole source of vitality is the iniquitous Treaty?

Helpless in the face of the deeply-rooted Socialist power, the reactionaries have had but one reply to make; namely, violence. Entrenched in the judiciary, the old imperial bureaucracy has been working hand in hand with the Fascist terrorists, washing the bloody hands of the assassins of the defenders of the Republic. The rioters in Vienna were not the aggressors. They merely struck a telling counter-blow. The intensity of their outburst only testifies to the fundamental mass craving for justice. The storming of the Ministry of Justice in Vienna was prompted by the same popular passion that caused the storming of the Bastille in Paris. Whatever may have become of Equality and Fraternity since the French Revolution, Justice still remains the untarnished standard of any civilized and humanitarian system of

government. If the Austrian masses have given vent to their outraged feelings in such a revolutionary fashion, it is perhaps partly due to the failure of their leaders to replace the retrograde judiciary with a new code and apparatus of justice. At the same time, the action of the masses serves as an ominous warning to the agents of Horthy, Ludendorff and Mussolini that Socialist Austria will no longer brook their plots and murders, and will not stop at taking over the helm of the state should they persist in their policies of special privilege, and their intrigues in the dark field of Balkan politics.—THE NEW REPUBLIC.

PULLMAN PORTERS IN MEXICO MAKE DEMANDS; COMPANY MAY YIELD

MEXICO CITY.—The Pullman Company operating coaches on the Mexican railways has refused to accede to the demands of the Pullman porters. The company states that it will withdraw the Pullman service from Mexico if the men persist in their demands.

This threat of the American corporation does not disturb the organized workers of Mexico. Under the Mexican constitution and laws the trade unions are recognized. The police power is not placed at the disposal of corporations as in many other countries while the Government officials are sympathetic with the workers because the latter have been careful to organize their political power into a party of their own.

Other American corporations have on a number of occasions in the past years taken the position of the Pullman Company, but in the end they have had to yield recognition of the labor organizations.

STRIKE CUTS INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT TOLL

Only 16 fatal accidents were reported to the Illinois Industrial Commission as having occurred in May, 1927. This makes a decrease of about 30 per cent, as compared with the 23 fatalities reported for April. Coal mining activities are still at a standstill, due to the bituminous miners' strike. This factor undoubtedly contributed to the low figure of fatal accidents reported in both April and May. Mining is charged with only one death.

PLUMBERS' HELPERS IN ORGANIZATION DRIVE

The American Association of Plumbers' Helpers, which has recently gone through a strike, in which they have succeeded in raising the wage anywhere from 50 cents to \$2 per day, are now starting an organization drive for 100 per cent control of the trade. They are trying to mobilize other building trades workers to support them in their campaign. An appeal is being sent to all building trades locals in Greater New York asking them to support this campaign.

WORKERS' UNITY HOUSE

In The Blue Ridge Mountains, Forest Park, Pennsylvania.

12 Cottages—Hundreds of Beautiful Rooms with New, Modern Improvements. Finest Food.

Dancing, Excellent Jazz Band. All Outdoor Sports, Bathing, Canoeing, Tennis, etc.

Only Three Hours from New York.

For information and registration, apply to International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Educational Dept., 3 W. 16th St., N. Y., Chelsea 2348. Office open until 7 p. m. daily, 2 p. m. Saturday.

The Repast Cafeteria
Formerly
The Rendezvous
In the People's House
7 East 15th Street, New York
Now Under
New Management
DELICIOUS WHOLESALE FOOD
POPULAR PRICES
PLEASANT ATMOSPHERE
"The Place Where All Radicals Meet"

CAMP GANEDEN
COLD SPRING, N. Y.
ON THE HUDSON RIVER
The Finest Location in the State, with the Most Modern Improvements
Boats Leave Every Sunday, 9 a. m., from Franklin Street Pier No. 24
Plenty of Food and Refreshments

ATHLETICS
Rowing, Swimming and Fishing in the Beautiful Lake Ganeden
All for \$3.25, Including Round Trip Tickets
Boats Leave Camp at 8:30 p. m.
Weekly Rates, \$18 per

THE STRUNSKY ATLANTIC HOTEL
BELMAR, N. J.
The finest hotel in Belmar. On the boardwalk. Single rooms, also en suite, with or without bath; running water in every room. All modern improvements, finest cuisine.
NEW YORK OFFICE: 47 WASHINGTON SQUARE
SPRING 9275 or BELMAR 658-1147-1741
SEND FOR BOOKLET

Camp Tamiment
FOREST PARK, PA.
Nature's wonder spot in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Pennsylvania, 20 miles from Delaware Water Gap. All outdoor sports; 18 splendid tennis courts. Dancing and entertainment in glorious hall on shore of lake. Make early reservation at 7 East 15th St., New York, or call Stuyvesant 2094.
Make Your Reservations Now for the July 4th Week-End

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

It's the Heat

SOME people are crazy all of the time. All people are crazy some of the time. And sometimes all go crazy at the same time.

The latter stage lets me in, wherefore I shall now proceed to recount or elucidate on some of the crazy problems which are afflicting mankind at the present time.

The problems confronting the Arms Limitation Conference at Geneva are:

1. How each participating nation may reduce the naval forces of all the others without reducing its own.
2. How to establish freedom of the seas without disturbing the control of the seas by those who hold it now.
3. How to prevent attack by giving to each sea power a navy large enough to repel:

- A. The navy of its principal competitor.
- B. The navies of its two principal competitors.
- C. A combination of the navies of all of its competitors.

4. How to prevent competitive armament by allowing each nation to build the largest navy of all.

These and many other problems before the Geneva conference are to be settled by front admirals, rear admirals, and other high naval officers whose promotion or demotion in rank and pay is dependent upon the expansion or contraction of the naval establishments of their respective countries.

If, for illustration, the navy of England was reduced to one cruiser its personnel would consist entirely of naval officers above the rank of rear admiral—with a mass meeting of front admirals in command of the bridge.

According to a Roman historian, Bunkus Piffelartum, a conference somewhat like the one at Geneva was called by the cats of the Island of Corfu in the year 27 B. C.

It seems that the cats of Corfu were engaged in a competitive struggle over the mice of the island, which, on account of the keenness of the struggle, aided by the keenness of the teeth and claws of the cats, threatened the extermination of the mice.

After months of deliberation, a resolution was finally adopted calling for the purchase of grindstones with which to dull the fangs and claws of the kittens. As an inducement to the kittens, the sponsors of the resolution, who happened to be the strongest cats, agreed to buy the grindstones and supervise the grinding.

Wherefore the conference broke up amidst the wild meows and cat-calls of the kittens.

The problems confronting the American farmer are:

1. How to maintain and, if possible, increase the present value of land while reducing the taxes and interest burden based upon the value of the land.
2. How to stimulate the consumption of hay, corn and oats through the increased use of farm tractors, motor trucks and other gasoline-consuming implements and vehicles.
3. How to reduce debts by improved credit facilities.
4. How to raise the price of farm products in the world market by means of import duties.
5. How to keep the children on the farm while the old folks move to town.
6. How to find new arguments in favor of the policies from which they are seeking relief.
7. How to vote for Coolidge and farm relief without getting the jug and losing the juice.

The problems of the bituminous coal operators are too few and too easily solved to demand extensive or comprehensive treatment. Briefly stated they are:

1. How to decrease the perpetual over-supply of soft coal by means of better mining methods and improved mining machinery.
2. How to stimulate the consumption of coal in industry and transportation by lowering the wages and purchasing power of the miners and the workers in other industries and transportation facilities depending on them.
3. How to lower the selling price of coal by means of progressive wage cuts to the point where coal is as cheap as air, thereby inducing coal consumers to keep their furnaces going through July, August and September—just as people inhale more air than they really need on account of its extreme cheapness.

4. The least and last problem of the operators is where to borrow the money to pay interest, dividends and overhead on an industry so perfect as to permit the free distribution of its product.

The problem of the automobile industry is:

How to raise the price of used cars to the point where it will pay for new cars and leave a margin sufficiently large to finance the installment purchasers of used cars.

Other important industries, such as the radio industry, are confronted with similar problems. But, after all, it can be safely stated that industry as a whole has but one important problem seeking solution.

And that is: How to sell two hundred and thirty-one billion dollars worth of commodities to people with an annual income of one hundred and sixty-four billion. Or how, in the event this cannot be done, to sell the difference at a fair profit to foreigners—without taking anything in return.

Outside of these and other problems which must be solved to assure continuation and, if possible, the perpetuation of our present economic, social and political order, which, as everybody knows, is the best ever conceived by the mind of mortal man, there are still a few personal problems which deserve mention, to-wit:

Musolini: "How can I borrow enough money from my creditors to extend the new Roman empire over their territory?"

Baldwin: "How many more victorious wars like the last one will be required to reduce the present status of England to one of complete bankruptcy?"

Stalin: "If the creation of twenty million new land owners did not earn Soviet Russia the support of the bourgeois nations, how many more private owners must we create to secure sufficient loans from abroad bourgeois nations to make communism a complete success?"

Foster: "How to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. A. without the knowledge and consent of the proletariat?"

Coolidge: "How can I play shrinking violet on the bass drum from the house top?"

Otherwise there are no problems!

Adam Coalidigger.



Starting at the Top

By Joseph T. Shipley

"Orthodox education may be a preparation for life, but adult education is an agitating instrumentality for changing life. Adult education will become an agency of progress if its short-time goal of self-improvement can be made compatible with a long-time, experimental but resolute, policy of changing the social order. . . . Manifestly, these aims cannot be realized until adult educators evolve a method adequate to the purpose. . . . Ed. C. Lindeman 'The Meaning of Adult Education.'"

The educational system, from kindergarten to college, has become involved in a vicious circle, which tends to enthrone things as they are, and to look upon the new as akin to Bolshevism and Satan. For if education is a preparation for life, it must naturally prepare for life as it is—what other life do the teachers know? and the more life stays as it is, the better they know it and can prepare for it. This feeling keeps the majority of educators in the land comfortable in their conservatism, willing to float with the current. The "current" of the land is determined by the currency. With patriotic ardor that in every region, from "God's own country" to "the greatest city in the world," finds its own complacent superiority, even non-Nordic Americans (Lindbergh is, after all, not an Anglo-Saxon), come to see that the United States are first in peace and first in war, even if not first in the hearts of their fellow-men. The theory of American supremacy (the State coming ultimately to replace the deity) goes beyond the school histories into the implications of the lower grades, so that children grow with a state of mind as hard later to change as that of a hard-shelled clam. The alertness of mind and quickly critical vision essential to true democracy (and present in most children) grow limp and befogged before the attitude of "instinctive respect" for our officials "as such" which the New York Educational authorities expect of their teachers, or expect them to teach. The growing feeling that the President is above criticism—though somewhat weakened by his recent use of words to catch trout—is an echo of Italy under Nero or Mussolini rather than the voice of a free people to a public servant.

Save for the small group of experimental schools, this attitude seems to characterize the educational system of the country. If today's children are tomorrow's hope, they must be given new food, or democracy will die of social constipation. But here the circle closes on our hopes; how change the education of our children when

their teachers—caught when they themselves were young—are products and therefore perpetrators of the same systems, methods, and ideals? Even Plato recommended lying "for the public welfare," which soon enough, as the story of propaganda shows, comes to mean for those who control the government.

The growing recognition of this educational impasse has been accompanied by a move toward adult education. In most countries this has sprung out of the labor movement; in the United States the earliest efforts were more pious Chautauqua lectures and the public night schools where foreigners were Americanized according to the ideals taught the children. But even in this land—to some extent because the war threw certain radical professors out of work, and they sought activity, but largely as a growth from such movements as the Rand School, and a gathering demand—there have been more recent advancing efforts in adult education. Several books on the subject have already appeared; Mr. Lindeman's

(quoted above) interprets the movement; Joseph K. Hart's "Adult Education" (Thos. Y. Crowell Co., \$ 1.00), presents a historical survey, in an attempt to indicate a proper method.

The destructive characterization of present conditions to which Mr. Hart's backward glance leads, and which indeed pervades his volume, is admirably documented and sustained. His constructive presentation is itself less an account of things (few enough) being done than an analysis of possible types and motives of future activity. Yet the experience of Denmark, "today the most literate, the most industrious, the most prosperous nation in Europe," is outlined and adduced as evidence that proper methods can be found.

There is no doubt that a large number of the adults in the land, but more especially of those about to be launched from college into life, feel the faults of our present schooling. The wearisome fact, that sets its drag-chain on hope, is that the majority of comfortable adults wish to be left—like the clam in its slime—in their moribund comfort. The world goes on in spite of them; shall they continue to hold the rest of us from keeping up with the world?

The Liberties in America

"THE Story of Civil Liberties in the United States" is a masterpiece. Leon Whipple, the author, has written a thrilling and readable story of the constant struggle by minorities for their rights of Free Speech, Public Assembly and Freedom of the Press. The book is properly dedicated to Albert DeSilver, one of the outstanding Americans of the Twentieth Century, engaged in this historic struggle.

The throttling of persons talking against the party in power is no novel device. Mr. Whipple tells the exciting tale of the raids on Greenleaf's Political Register, because it had spoken disparagingly of a Constitutional procession in New York City as far back as 1783. The Alien and Sedition Acts of the last years before 1800 were forerunners of the legislation under which this country suffered during the late war. The early years of this Republic, founded for freedom, well exemplify the unfortunate principle that "Whoever has power has civil liberty."

Before 1830 in these United States we find many prosecutions for blasphemy, State protection of morals—the forerunner of post office censorship, and even the startling case of a General disagreeing with a civil judge and ordering his deportation.

From 1830 until the Civil War, the minorities were different in complexion and causes but the fears of the groups in power continued to lead to suppression. Read in Mr. Whipple's

book, of the Mob Era, of the Anti-Masonic excitement, of the so-called Native American persecutions. Do you know that in New England a convent was burned in a wave of religious intolerance, and that Massachusetts was even then famous for its Snelling Committee? The Mormon's history is also a good story. But above all, this volume does a masterly job in connection with the oppression of the abolitionists. Here at least is an example of a small hated and oppressed minority that eventually won for itself, at least in the North, those basic Civil Liberties which we all believe are clearly declared for us in our constitution.

During the Civil War Mr. Whipple carries the tale of intolerance still further. Do you know that President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus, and that the army defied the Supreme Court?

The last two sections of this book deal with Labor—illegal arrests and detention of workers, extradition and kidnapping. We come right up to the days of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in Lawrence, and the record of Jacob Oppenheimer who was held for 110 hours in a straight jacket in San Quentin jail.

Mr. Whipple traces the forces—majority and minority—historically down from the days when we were subjects of Great Britain. The book must be read by all. It should be a sort of Bible for that most precious of human rights—civil liberties. The avowed

throttling of Civil Liberties in Russia under the Soviet Government and the dishonest abandonment of similar rights in Italy under Mussolini are not touched on by Mr. Whipple. Nevertheless, if you will understand the motives that lead to oppression, the fears that produce suppression and the vitality of minorities that always wins in the end, read this—one of the best books published by the Vanguard Press.

Just one word more as to the publisher. The Vanguard also deserves our thanks—a non-profit making publishing enterprise giving us at 50 cents, each well bound and printed in readable type, the best of ancient and modern militant economic literature.

Morris Ernst.

Douglas' Grim Tale

WHAT "Everyman's Library" has for years been doing with the established classics, "The Modern Library," in its excellent ninety-five cent books, has for some time most happily been effecting with the newer classics and those to be. While "The House With the Green Shutters," which George Douglas (Brown) wrote before his early death, is too grim a tale to have won wide popularity, it has not failed to win wide praise. The unhappy mental life of the author, illegitimate son of a peasant woman, in what the preface aptly refers to as a Scottish "Main Street," admirably fitted him to present the side of the Scottish character and life ignored in the romances of Scott and Stevenson, and sweetly drowned in the pleasant flow of Ian Maclaren and Barrie.

Certainly the power of "The House With the Green Shutters" is compelling. Long before I read the story, its name (or, perhaps, some reverberant echo of its reputation) had a sinister, almost repellent, fascination—the paradox is potent!—and the green shutters seemed the closed lids of a monster, waiting. Nor did acquaintance with Gourlay dispel the fancy; the gathering grief that comes upon the household, while the jealous and spiteful Scott gleefully preys, makes as strong a novel as the editors have included in the Modern Library, and one that is sure of its hold.

William Lea.

Is America Selfish?

(Continued from page 8)

universe from motives of pure interest. The fact that few of them reach the high intellectual eminence of the Curies, Einsteins and Kelvins of the Old World does not detract from the motives of their labors—labors that do not have material gain as the end. It seems equally safe to venture tentatively the assertion that a larger proportion of the American people pursue esthetic ends than is the case in European countries, that is, strive to create or at all events appreciate, objects of beauty and esthetic pleasure. The fact that few, if any, of them reach the grand eminence of Europe's best artists is irrelevant to the issue here under consideration. And it may be remarked in passing that, judging from America's experience with European artists and intellectuals, the esthetics of the Old World are disposed to wring the last cent from those who are willing to pay for "spiritual goods." How many great pieces of literature and music have been composed either for a price or under the stern whip of poverty? Is the action of the composer in such circumstances to be viewed as material or spiritual? Guess, who can.

Again, assuming that gifts to hospitals, educational institutions, charitable institutions, the Red Cross, and relief of the suffering in all parts of the earth represent spiritual rather than material acts, can it be said that in this relation America is more materialistic than the countries of Europe? Let the statisticians speak. Is a man who devotes great energies to the accumulation of a fortune and then gives it all to a cancer hospital more materialistic than a priest who for a living wage preys that his flock may be prosperous in this world and happy in the next? Again, guess, who can.

A Futile Argument
Perhaps the upshot of this article is nothing except confusion. Philosophically speaking, that is probably a correct outcome. Certainly it is not here contended that Americans are spiritual and Europeans are material. Certainly it is not here urged that any great good can accrue from debates between Europeans and Americans over this question. If it were not for the fact that Europeans pour over here by the hundreds to lecture, paint, play, draw, and carve for all the hard cash they can get and that scores of their write books complaining about American materialism, silence would be the best thing for Americans with respect to this issue. In any event every attempt to make an antithesis between material and spiritual motives is a mere echo of an ancient quarrel, now without meaning, philosophically absurd and socially futile, cutting into halves a whole organism, the seamless, living body of the tangible and intangible universe.

The Big Bowser Pulls a Boner

MERLIN H. AYLESWORTH, suave and adroit president of the National Broadcasting Company, or, in other words, the Big Bowser of Broadcasting, made the mistake of his short career as radio czar when he let J. F. Rutherford get the air on the largest radio hook-up of history. Rutherford is head of the remnants of Pastor Russell's flock, and he and some of his followers were juggled by the Government during the late war. It is his face that you see on the mysterious posters announcing, "Millions Now Living Will Never Die."

With memories of the time he did in the hoosegow at Atlanta very much in mind, Dr. Rutherford just plumb bust loose with his ideas about war and economics. It must have knocked Aylesworth and his gang for a loop when Rutherford started in by advising everyone to desert organized Christianity. Listeners at fifty-three stations heard Rutherford say, "Organized Christianity is an unholy alliance against the common peoples of the earth." They heard him accuse the sky-pilots of having sold out to the capitalists. They heard him denounce the continued oppression of the poor by the rich and also denounce wars of all sorts. They heard his statement that a little greedy group has a stranglehold on water power, woolens, aluminum, etc.

I would like to have seen Mr. Aylesworth's face when he listened to this. How he must have been kicking himself for having taken up Dr. Rutherford's challenge. It was a hot day when he and Rutherford both appeared before the Federal Commission and Rutherford said that the radio interests were keeping him (Rutherford) off the air at the behest of the orthodox clergy. Aylesworth, usually as slick as they come, took up Rutherford's deft and said that for all he cared the heretic could have all the air he wanted. Now if Aylesworth doesn't get called onto the carpet for that break, we don't know our radio onions. Mr. Aylesworth was put in there to see to it that no such naughty ideas as Doc Rutherford's got aerial currency. Especially about who owns the people's water power. That's a particularly touchy point with "Doc" Aylesworth, who, before he got his present job was press agent for the National Electric Light Association, the bunch that sends out the dope about how God devised Niagara Falls and the St. Lawrence River for the private profits of the Northeastern Power Corporation.

And speaking of power, we stopped off at Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, N. Y., the other day to listen in to the opening of a week's conference of the Women's Auxiliary of the Machinists' Union. Evelyn Preston, who knows more about the mysterious ways of privately owned power corporations than most anybody, was telling the women just how they were done in the eye by the big companies. She stopped her talk long enough to ask how much these wives of workers were paying per kilowatt hour for their electricity. Different rates were quoted from all over the hall. They ranged from five cents in Cleveland to as high as ten in some of the Southern cities. Then a woman from Ontario, Canada, arose and said that she was paying only three and one-half cents and that after eighty-six hours the rate dropped to one and one-quarter cents. There was first-hand evidence of the advantages of the publicly owned power works of Ontario that all the oratory of the utility salesmen present could not shake.

When it came to the matter of electrical appliances, there was other interesting testimony. Many were the stories told of electric refrigerators that broke down regularly once a month, of electrical irons that ran up huge bills, of a number of electrical doodads that cost so much for upkeep as to be beyond the means of most workers.

Stuart Chase in his book, "Your Money's Worth," which we mentioned last week, has quite a lot about appliances and if you're thinking of buying any, take our advice and first invest in a copy of Chase's book. It will save you a lot of money not only in appliances but in the purchase of other things as well. Forget the lovely ladies who are doing their lingerie in pretty white washing-machines in the advertisements and get some expert like Chase or Miss Preston to give you the low-down on this matter.

Now the President has gone in for placer mining. Ain't he the versatile little feller? When you figure up the different things he's been lately, he reminds you of that ditty we used to holler when we were kids, "Rich man, poor man, beggarman, thief; doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief." The only limitation he hasn't put on is that of President of the United States and from where we are it doesn't look as though that were in his repertory.

If Cal is going in for this "Man with the pick" stuff, we hope he gives the soft coal diggers a whirl. We would sure admire to see little Cal trotting down the main entry with a lamp in his hat and his lunch bucket on his elbow. When it came to loading his turn, however, we have our doubts. It's all fired hard to take good movies in a soft coal pit and what the hell is the use of getting all dressed up funny, if the camera men can't shoot? No, it looks as though Cal were going to stay up where the light is good and the publicity men are old pal, Adam Coal-digger, can't have Cal for a buddy. Cal could certainly learn a lot about life from Adam and Adam would have a new species of homo sap to add to his collection of American flora and fauna of which he writes so delightfully.

Brother Des Verney of the Pullman Porters' Brotherhood dropped in at the office to give us his definition of a "radical." A man had fifty slaves and it was his custom to line them up every morning and give them a swift kick in their posteriors before sending them off to work. That is, he kicked forty-nine of them. But the fiftieth was stubborn and refused flatly to be kicked. Whereupon the others got together and after due deliberation they decided that there was something mighty funny about a guy who was so pernickety as to refuse to be kicked every morning. "That bird," said they, "must be a high-brow. What makes him think he's any better than us? Don't we get kicked without kicking? Let's chase him out of here. He must be a radical."

McAlister Coleman.

Quatrain for the Fundamentalist Faculty of Des Moines University after their dropping twenty professors for refusing to swallow the whole Bible. . . . This we prescribe for faith and highest learning. To every student, prof., and gracious donor, That Adam got his wisdom from an apple. And once a while got mad and swallowed Jonah.

Walls and Bars

Experiences and impressions in three prisons

by Eugene V. Debs

THE time will come when the prison as we now know it will disappear, and the hospital and asylum and farm will take its place. In that day we shall have succeeded in taking the jail out of man as well as taking the man out of jail.

Think of sending a man out from prison and into the world with a shoddy suit of clothes that is recognized by every detective as a prison garment, a pair of paper shoes, a hat that will shrink to the size of a sponge when it rains, a railroad ticket, a five-dollar bill and seven cents carfare! Bear in mind that the railroad ticket does not necessarily take a man back into the bosom of his family, but to the place where he was convicted of crime. In other words, a prisoner, after he has served his sentence, goes back to the scene of his crime. Society's responsibility ends there—so it thinks. But does it? I say not. With the prison system what it is, with my knowledge of what it does to men after they get into prison, and with the utter contempt with which society regards them after they come out, the wonder is not that we have periodical crime waves in times of economic and industrial depression, but the wonder is that the social system is not constantly in convulsions as a result of the desperate deeds of the thousands of men and women who pour in and pour out of our jails and prisons in never ending streams of human misery and suffering. But society has managed to protect itself against the revenge of the prisoner by dehumanizing him while he is in prison. The process is slow, by degrees, like polluted water trickling from the slimy mouth of a corroded and encrusted spout—but it is a sure process. When a man has remained in prison over a certain length of time his spirit is doomed. He is stripped of his manhood. He is fearful and afraid. He has not been redeemed. He has been crucified. He has not been reformed. He has become a roving animal casting about for prey, and too weak to seize it. He is often too weak to live even by the law of the fang and the claw. He is not

acceptable even in the jungle of human life, for the denizens of the wilderness demand strength and bravery as the price and tax of admission.

Withal, a prison is a most optimistic institution. Every man somehow believes that he can "beat" his sentence. He relies always upon the "technical point" which he thinks has been overlooked by his lawyers. He sometimes imagines that fond friends are busily working in his behalf on the outside. But in a little while the bubble bursts, disillusion appears, the letters from home become fewer and fewer, and the prisoner in tears of desperation resigns himself to his lot. Society has won in him an abiding enemy. If, perchance, he is not wholly broken by the wrecking process by the time his sentence is served, he may seek to strike back. In either case society has lost.

I do not know how many prisoners came to me with their letters soaked in tears. They sought my advice. They believed I could help them over the rough edges. I could do nothing but listen and offer them my kindness and counsel. They would stop me in the corridors and on my way to the mess room and say: "Mr. Debs, I want to get a minute with you to tell you about my case." Or, "Mr. Debs, you read this letter from my wife? She says she can't stand the gaff any longer." Or, "Mr. Debs, my daughter has gone on the town. What, in God's name, can you do about it?" What could I do about it? I could only pray with all my heart for strength to contribute toward the rearrangement of human affairs so that this needless suffering might be abolished. Two or three concrete cases will suffice as examples of the suffering that I saw.

Jenkins—for that is not his name—was a railroad hand. Aged 25. Married and six children, the oldest a daughter, aged 16 years. His wages were too small to support his family in decency. He broke into a freight car in interstate commerce. Sentenced to five years in Atlanta. He received a letter a little while before his term expired telling him that his daughter had been seduced and was in the "red light" dis-

trict. This man came to me with his tears and swore that he would spend the rest of his life tracking down the man who ruined his daughter and, upon finding him, he would kill him. For days I sought that man out and talked with him and persuaded him against his rash program. His wife stopped writing to him. She had found an easier but a sadder way of solving her economic problems. His home was completely broken up by the time he got out of prison.

Another prisoner who had been a small tradesman, married and the father of eight children, also broke into a freight car. It was his first offense. He got five years. He showed me a letter from his wife saying there was no food in the house and no shoes for the children. The landlord had threatened them with eviction. That man was thirsting for revenge. Society had robbed his family of their breadwinner. The mother had too many children to leave them and work herself. Society deprives a family of their provider should it not provide for the family? It would have been more humane to have sent the whole family to prison.

Another young man, aged 25, showed me a letter from his wife. He was married a little while before he was convicted. His wife was pregnant and was living with the prisoner's invalid mother. She had written to him saying that unless she got relief from somewhere both herself and his mother had made up their minds to commit suicide. They were destitute. They had been refused further credit. They could endure the misery no longer. Many men attempt suicide in prison. One of the most damaging influences in prison life is the long sentence. It produces a reaction in the heart and mind of the man who receives it that defeats its intended purpose.

Every prison of which I have any knowledge is a breeding place for evil, an incubator for crime. This is especially true about the influence of the prison upon the youth and the young man. Of him I shall write in my next article.

Government Power Plant Slashes Farmers' Bills, Survey Reveals

By Judson King

(In this article completes his observations on the workings of the government's Minidoka (Iowa) power plant.)

I called on Mr. Fred Lindauer, secretary of the Riverside Electric Co., south of Rupert, who showed me his books and told me the story of this farm company, which is typical.

In 1918 some 75 farmers subscribed \$100 each, making a capital of \$7,500 with which has been built 14 miles of transmission lines to connect with the government high lines. They made a 10-year contract for current with a demand charge of 15 k. w.

This year their juice will cost them right at 2c. per k. w. h. They sell at 3c. per k. w. h. plus a flat service charge of \$1 per month.

Income for 1926, \$1,436.27. Expenses, \$1,195.42. Bank balance, \$340.85.

Which represents their surplus, for the five years, in spite of \$450 lost in a bank failure. At the next meeting it will be decided whether to reduce rates or continue present rates and lay up a reserve for depreciation.

Cost to Electrify a Farm Home on Minidoka

As I drove into the yard I noticed two 100-watt electric lamps fixed at the top of a 30-foot pole—that meant ample light at night from the road to the barn door, light for the house yard, the barn yard—light everywhere for a thousand yards in every direction, and no oil lantern needed. Other farmers have them, keep them going all over the project—you can see them for miles and miles—it looks like a city. Ask any farm woman what such light means.

As I entered the house Mrs. Lindauer was by chance, ironing her daughters' dress with an electric iron. In addition, she has an electric washer, sewing machine motor, percolator, grill, curling iron, and 18 lamps.

Mr. Lindauer has installed a 3/4 h. p. motor which does the pumping for an automatic water system supplying the house, barn and yards. It runs his corn sheller, feed cutter, potato sorter, emery wheel, and so on.

The wiring, meter and transformer installed to connect up this equipment with the transmission lines cost them \$44. Total, \$144, which includes \$100 stock in the company.

The Lindauer bill for the month of February read:

Fixed service charge\$1.00
74 K. W. H. at 3c..... 2.22

Total\$3.22

Net cost per K. W. H., 4.3 cents.

This is not exceptional. I have a bill of Mr. Victor Smith, another farmer, who lives some 10 miles from Lindauer. He is a member of the Declo Light and Power Company, owned by 43 farmers. Two hundred and sixty-four K. W. H. used at a net cost of \$12.12—or 4.8 cents per K. W. H.

When Served By the Power Companies These costs are approximately the

same as paid by farmers in Ontario. The auto trip West was made by way of Ontario, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and on West, collecting light bills all the way. Now note a couple of examples of what I have found farmers paying private enterprises.

Mr. W. H. Stromquist is a farmer who lives near Cambridge, Ill. He is served by the Sherrard Power System. He has sent me his bill for Jan. 11, 1926:

60 K. W. H. at 15c..... \$9.00
28 K. W. H. at 10c..... 2.80
Total bill\$11.80

Average price per K. W. H., 13.4c.

Mr. Henry Wehling lives near Amber, Iowa, and is served by the Iowa Power Co., a great super power system. His bill for Oct. 17, 1925:

21 K. W. H., at 18c.....\$3.78

His minimum monthly charge is \$2.50. His bills, and those of his neighbors who take the service, run in winter up to \$5, \$6 and \$10 at 18c. per K. W. H. straight. To get this service they had to sign a contract for ten years at these rates.

It may be contended that it is unfair to compare government rates on an irrigation district with private rates charged where no irrigation is necessary. And it is doubtless impossible for the Iowa Power Co. to pay dividends on a huge volume of watered stock and serve Mr. Wehling as cheaply as farmer Lindauer is served near Rupert.

But this is beside the chief point here to be noted, which is the low cost at which the United States government is producing and selling it at a profit. The "power summary" of the Minidoka project for May, 1926, for example, sold to:

City of Burley, 229,300 K. W. H., .0116c. per K. W. H.
City of Rupert, 103,600 K. W. H., .0107c. per K. W. H.
Rural Electric Co., 6,094 K. W. H., .0189c. per K. W. H.
Riverside Elect. Co., 2,800 K. W. H., .0211c. per K. W. H.

There is a standard schedule by which all contracts are made and rates vary slightly according to differing conditions and the amount contracted for by each unit. All is in the open. There are no secret inside deals. All pay alike and are treated alike.

Some Conclusions

In submitting this brief report to my puzzled friend, the congressman, his colleagues, and other who also may be puzzled as to what might be done with Muscle Shoals, the following propositions would seem tenable:

1. Despite propaganda, government engineers have built efficient power plants at Muscle Shoals and at Minidoka.

2. Despite propaganda, government engineers have operated these plants successfully—one for 16 months, the other for 16 years.

3. If Uncle Sam can sell power wholesale to Burley and Rupert, he can sell it wholesale to Birmingham, Jackson, Knoxville and scores of other cities large and small—same with farm organizations.

4. If Uncle Sam can wholesale power to Burley and Rupert at 1c. per K. W. H. and make money, he can make money by selling Muscle Shoals juice to southern cities. Because it only costs 2 mills to send a K. W. H. 300 miles—which pays fixed charges on an honest investment, depreciation and all operating costs.

5. If Rupert, a little rural town of 2,500, can make \$10,000 a year retailing this power at 7 cents top rate, Birmingham, with a population of 200,000, ought to make—well, how much!

6. If Uncle Sam can build high power lines in Idaho, he can build them in Dixieland. Or associated municipalities could build their own high lines.

7. But suppose southern municipalities should adopt the Ontario

system of fixing rates just high enough to pay interest, sinking fund, depreciation and operating expenses on their local distributing systems—which is the just way.

They could then soon sell current to the people at 3 cents in the cities and at from 5 to 7 cents per K. W. H. in small towns.

What would happen to private power rates now charged by the 13 associated power companies?

8. I fear we have arrived at the crux of this matter. Muscle Shoals cannot supply all the power needs of the South, but public competition at reasonable rates would force the trust to reduce its rates by one-third or one-half. They have been reduced more than that in Ontario.

9. Public competition is the only thing that will rightly regulate the power trust—experience proves it, in Los Angeles, in Seattle, in Springfield, Ill., in Cleveland, and many other places.

And that is the chief reason why Muscle Shoals should be kept in the hands of the people.

A Socialist Camp

By August Claessens

IT is surely news to all of those Socialists who do not read the Jewish press that a very excellent camp has been established by their Jewish comrades named Camp "Ganeden" (Paradise) located near Cold Spring on the Hudson.

Camp Ganeden is now in the third year of its existence and is growing in popularity as well as in population. The location is one that not only compares with the very best camps in the country, but one can conservatively say that in beauty and airiness it exceeds most of them. It is located high up on the side of one of the mountains overlooking the Hudson River Valley. The view from the dining and social halls is the same as that from the parade ground of the West Point Military Academy, just across the Hudson River. A panorama of extreme beauty is presented to the visitor. The Storm King and Tuxedo Face Mountains are to the north and the Hudson River winds its way through the narrows of the Highlands. Coming up the road from the village of Cold Spring, one soon catches a glimpse of the camp. There it is—with its hundred or more tents, its beautiful social hall and other buildings standing out in the afternoon sun. In a picturesque grove stands a monument to Eugene Victor Debs, encircled by ornamental marble seats. An athletic field and tennis court are under the process of construction, and less than a quarter of a mile away, through sylvan paths and dense woods, is a lovely lake used for bathing and boating.

The camp is owned by our Harlem comrades, the Jewish Socialist Verband and one or two labor organizations. The rates are \$18 per week and for children somewhat less. The food is excellent. The kitchen is under the

direction of Comrade Hyman Marcol and the social and intellectual activities are under the guidance of Comrade Sol Chonin. Prominent Socialist writers and speakers are visiting the camp and are assisting by giving lectures, readings and camp fire entertainments.

For those who are not in a position to pay the high prices charged by some of the camps and who prefer to rough it out in the open for themselves and their families, there are few places that one can recommend more highly than this camp. The camp is within easy distance of New York City by automobile on the Albany Post Road, or by the New York Central. Last but not least, it should be kept in mind that the entire undertaking is purely co-operative. Camp Ganeden is owned by Socialists and run for the benefit of Socialists, sympathizers and their friends. Those desiring further information are requested to get in touch with Secretary Claessens, 7 East 15th street, telephone Algonquin 4620, or to the Jewish Socialist Verband, 175 East Broadway, and the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th street.

Building Trades Unions Join in Sympathy Strike

Asbury Park, N. J.—Steamfitters, ironworkers, electricians, plumbers, lathers and hodcarriers affiliated with the Monmouth Building Trades Council began a sympathy strike Monday when the Master Builders' Association declined to meet the demands of an eight-dollar-a-day wage scale for laborers. They are now getting \$7.

BANNED BY BOSTON

UPTON SINCLAIR'S SUPPRESSED BOOK, 'OIL'

TWO VIEWS

The Boston Censors Say:

"Oil" is immoral and destructive. It cannot be sold in this city.

The Nation Says:

As sheer story, "Oil" is a tremendous piece of work; it is a modern "Dombey and Son" but more vigorous, poignant and honest.

Fortunately the remainder of the country enjoys a degree more of freedom than Boston. You may still read "Oil." But we are not sure how long the privilege will be yours. The New Leader has been lucky enough to secure a number of copies of "Oil" for its readers.

"Oil," 521 pages, bound in cloth, sells for \$2.50 at all book stores (excepting the Bostonese). You may secure it for \$1.50 if you accompany your order with a six months' subscription to The New Leader, costing \$1.00. For your convenience use this blank:

THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 15th Street, NEW YORK CITY

Enclosed find \$2.50 for which you will send Upton Sinclair's "Oil" to:

Name

Address

And the New Leader for six months to:

Name

Address

(If you are already a subscriber to The New Leader we will send you "Oil" and extend your subscription six months.)

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261
Office: 62 East 100th Street, Telephone: Lehigh 2141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street
ISAIDORE SILVERMAN, WILLIAM MERROW,
Financial Secretary-Treas. Recording Secretary.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 3, New York City.
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Meets Every Thursday Evening
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza—4100-5415. THOMAS WRIGHT, Secretary

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Jackson St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM AZLANT, President
I. JAFFE, Vice-President J. WELLNER, Bus. Agent
N. PRINSTEIN, Recording Sec'y. I. RABINOWITZ, Treas.
M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 200 Tapscott St., Brooklyn

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6
Phone Watkins 9188
LEON H. ROUSE, President
John Sullivan, Vice-President
Jas. J. McGrath, Secretary-Treas.
Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer
Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.
Meets Every 2nd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 57 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418
Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6394.
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President.
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHTRENS, Recording Secretary.
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers
LOCAL UNION No. 405, of NEW YORK CITY
Office 3923 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4072.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 345 East 84th Street
SATTREY J. MURAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President.
FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. Business Agents: TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary.
GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HANNETT, FAY DREW.

LIGHTER CAPTAINS' UNION
LOCAL 996, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
Office and Headquarters: 317 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 4415 Main.
Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.
JOHN E. JOHNSON, President. GUSTAV ANDERSON, Vice-President. GILBERT O. WRIGHT, Secretary-Treasurer.
EUGENE MURPHY, Recording Secretary OTTO WASTOL, Business Agent
D. AUGUST PIERSON, JOHN WYCKE, Delegates.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION
LOCAL 34
Office: 39 EAST 94TH STREET Telephone Lenox 4559
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary THOMAS CAHILL, President EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS' UNION
LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Sine
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENBERT, President CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y.
VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America
LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 100th Street
OFFICE: 581 EAST 101ST STREET. Telephone MEIROSE 5674
THOMAS DALTON, President. CHARLES H. RATCHER, Bus. Agent
HARRY E. SILBERT, Fin. Sec'y THOMAS ANDERSON, Rec. Sec'y

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS
LOCAL UNION 1464, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA
67-69 Lexington Avenue Madison Square 4892
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President
MICHAEL ERIKSON, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y Ludwig Benson
Christopher Gubrandson, Charles Johnson, Jr., W. J. GORDNER, Rec. Sec'y Ray Clark
Recording Secretary Treasurer Business Agents

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA
OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 100 East 63rd Street, New York. Phone: RHINECLAY 3329
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
JOHN A. HANNA, President. J. L. DALTON, Vice-President. W. J. GORDNER, Rec. Sec'y
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA
LOCAL UNION No. 808
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Sine 4414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HACKETT, President ALFRED ZIMMER, Rec. Secretary GEO. W. SMITH, Treasurer
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60
Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 4421.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 345 EAST 94TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y JOHN LEARY, JOHN DOOLEY, MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y JOSEPH LAMORTE

THE Workmen's Circle
The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence
85,000 MEMBERS
\$3,200,000 ASSETS
750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada
Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$5 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$1 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit, \$200, or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.
For information, apply to THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
175 East Broadway, N. Y. City
Telephone Orchard 6616-6617

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society INCORPORATED
New York and Vicinity and 49 Branches in the United States.
Established 1872. Membership 44,000. Main office for New York and vicinity at 227 East 84th St. Phone Lenox 3559. Office Hours: 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Sat. 9 a.m.-1 p.m. Closed on Sundays and Holidays.
Brooklyn Office open only Mondays and Thursdays from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. Labor Lyceum, 949-957 Willoughby Ave. For addresses of Branch Secretaries write to our main office.
FURNITURE, FLOUR and GROCERY TEAMSTERS UNION
Local 285, T. C. S. & H. of A.
Office and Headquarters, 159 Rivington St. Phone: Dry Dock 2070
The Executive Board meets every first and last Wednesday. Regular meetings, Second and Fourth Saturday
WM. SYNDER, President MICHAEL BROWN, Business Manager SAM SCHORN, Business Agent

Brady the Cartoonist
is the man to see about that individual cartoon—drawn the way YOU want it.
Send A POSTAL TO 264 NEPTUNE AVE. Brighton Beach, N.Y.

WHEN YOU BUY FELT, STRAW, PANAMA or WOOL HATS
ALWAYS LOOK FOR THIS LABEL



WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ORGANIZED 1894
MAIN OFFICE: 9 SEVENTH STREET, N. Y. C.
Number of Members December 31, 1925 57,115
348 BRANCHES—98 in the State of New York
TOTAL ASSETS—Dec. 31, 1925..... \$2,530,781.96
Benefits Paid
Death Benefit.....\$3,481,370.89
Sick Benefit.....\$461,033.81
WORKING MEN, PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES!
in case of sickness, accident or death!
Death Benefit, \$250. Sick Benefit, \$360 to \$900 for 80 Weeks.
For Further Information Write to the Main Office or to the Branch Financial Secretary of Your District

Falk, Dworkin & Co.
Public Accountants
570 Seventh Avenue
Longacre 7214-7215
NEW YORK
MEMBER OF ACCOUNTANTS' UNION

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.
Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 19
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Tuesday Evenings
Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.
WORKERS!
Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers!
Always Look For This LABEL
WAITERS & Waitresses' Union
LOCAL 1
162 E. 23rd St.
Tel. Gramercy 0845
LOUIS RUBINFIELD, President
WM. LEITMAN, Sec'y-Treasurer

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

The news is beginning to arrive at national headquarters indicating that Party activity is picking up, that organizations are being formed and a general move along the line of being made towards a working organization. Many states are making preparations for early nominations for state and other offices in the early part of 1928 to keep pace with the movement for President and Vice-President that will take place in January. Our comrades should lose no time in building up the Party organization and increasing the number of readers to the Socialist press.

"Walls and Bars"
The great "Walls and Bars" will be ready this week. Many orders are coming in with every mail. Locals and branches of the Party, and in some cases individuals, are ordering this book in quantities and it is fully expected that every branch and local will plan to sell every copy of this book that can be sold. This great book, an excellent opportunity for our comrades to sell it to members of trade unions and to other organizations by paying them a visit. This great book should have a very large sale, and it can be made by each branch of the Party doing its duty. Many members are sending in orders for the book. American Appeal and thereby receiving a copy of the book free as a prize.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Local San Francisco is becoming more active. Old timers, who had not been at a local meeting since headquarters were moved to the Grand Building, are showing up again. At the last meeting seven new members were accepted, most of them young people under 30 years of age, full of life and ambitious to work. The prospect for the organization of a Young People's Socialist League is good, and a committee is being formed to initiate plans for such an organization. The outlook for the coming municipal campaign was discussed and the comrades are enthused over the turn of things toward a bigger and more active organization.

Los Angeles
Los Angeles Socialists held a banquet on July 29 in Telford Coffee Shop at 540 South Broadway. The local organization is raising a \$3,000 fund for the purpose of building a great Party organization in Los Angeles.

MONTANA

Local Livingston has initiated a national referendum of the party on the following question: "That the National Convention be held in the city of Livingston, 14, 1928, to May, 1928, the date to be set by the National Executive Committee. Local Livingston contends that the Livingston Convention is in conflict with Article 4, Section 4, of the party constitution, that a January convention would likely face unfavorable weather, that it prevents the holding of after presidential preference primaries, that more funds can be raised for a later convention and that it would also receive more publicity.

WISCONSIN

Epsstein in Milwaukee

Milwaukee Socialists will hear Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the National Association for Old Age Security, Saturday night, July 30. It was at first planned to get him here on August 3, to address the Federated Trades Council, among other bodies, but this conflicted with a speaking date in Minneapolis. Epstein is considered the leading authority on the problem of old age and pensions, and is convinced, and convinces those who hear him, that even from a mere money standpoint, as well as from humanitarian motives, the poorhouse is a tremendous costly method of sustaining the aged.

PENNSYLVANIA

Southwest Socialist Picnic
Old Socialists, young Socialists and sympathizers of the Party will meet at Allegheny county, and, in fact, from all parts of southwestern Pennsylvania, are all set for a big day out in the open on Sunday, August 21, at Woodville Park. The park is reached by McKeesport-Irwin trolley line or by automobile on the Lincoln Way. Good speaking, lunches and refreshments. Invitations are being turned out and be sociable with your fellow-Socialists.

NEW YORK STATE

Executive to Meet

The State Executive Committee will meet in Albany on Sunday, July 31, at 10 a. m. Among matters to be considered will be times and places of official conventions, possible candidates for Associate Judge of Court of Appeals, and organization work during the summer and early fall. Members of the committee are Fred L. Arland of White Plains, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Julius Gerber, Patrick J. Murphy and Samuel Orr of New York, Herbert M. Kobb of Nassau, Ray Newkirk of Utica, Fred Sander of Syracuse and Theresa B. Wiley of Schenectady.

The unofficial party convention for Schenectady County held last Monday resulted in the endorsement of candidates for most county and city offices. Ward and town tickets will be completed in the near future. James Folan was endorsed for Assemblyman from the 1st Assembly District and Thomas Pashley of Glenville for the 2d Assembly District. Herbert M. Merrill was again endorsed for mayor. Charles W. Noonan for President of the Common Council, John L. Meyers for Comptroller, Marie L. Steele for City Treasurer, Nathan M. Selzer and DeLacy Duke for Assessors. Charles W. Noonan and Theresa Wiley were selected for delegates to official State Convention.

Schenectady Socialists have been greatly edited by an obituary in the "Communist Worker." The obituary newspaper had Richard J. Verhagen, former Socialist assessor, listed as deceased instead of his brother, Anthony, sometime president of the Bakers' Union. Anthony Verhagen was recently killed by a fall.

NEW YORK CITY

Primary Petitions

The primary petitions are ready for circulation. All comrades who can spare a few evenings a week are requested to get in touch with the City Office, 7 East 15th Street, phone ALgonquin 4620. The work of collecting signatures requires the assistance of every active member. The job must be completed by Aug. 16.

MANHATTAN

A general membership meeting of all branches in the 2nd Judicial District is being called for Monday evening, Aug. 14, at the headquarters of the 6th-12th-15th Assembly Districts, 94

Committee Seeks Name for A Fraternal Socialist Order

WANTED—a name. Last year the National Convention of the Socialist Party authorized the selection of a committee to study the feasibility of adapting a system of fraternal insurance to party membership. The committee, finally constituted, consists of Graham of Montana, Hoopes of Pennsylvania, Sharts of Ohio, Snow of Illinois and King of California, chairman. The committee has reviewed the situation with some thoroughness and has concluded that fraternal insurance of party membership directly is not advisable; but it believes that the institution of a fraternal order as an auxiliary to the party, contributing to its propaganda and feeding its members, is not only feasible but can become a valuable force for rebuilding and maintaining the party organization.

The popularity of the fraternal order combining insurance and sociability is well attested by the numerical strength of such institutions. They number over 10,000,000 members and each year recently have been initiating approximately a million new members, which is about one-third of the number of youth arriving of each year.

The committee on insurance is agreed that such an auxiliary fraternal order as they contemplate recommending to the party should have degrees of membership; somewhat corresponding to the present degrees in party membership wherein one must be six

months a member before being entitled to vote on national party referendums, and three years a member before being eligible to election as a delegate to national conventions. Initiation into the order and promotion from one degree to another will be accompanied by secret ceremonies. The ritual will be designed to instruct the candidate in the principles of Socialism and organization. It is not intended to be wholly serious. Fun and sociability will be accorded a prominent place in the proceedings, but provision will be made also for a regular educational program.

The committee is far enough along in its work to desire a suitable name for the proposed organization. We believe that the party members can be of immediate assistance to us in this matter. The name should suggest our purpose either literally, figuratively or symbolically. Thus the following names have been suggested by members of the committee—literary, American Brotherhood of Socialists; figurative, Sons and Daughters of Vulcan; symbolic, American Order of the Red Star. We invite further suggestions. If you have any preferences either for the foregoing suggested names or for any of your own, you will confer a favor on the committee by sending it in at once to Cameron H. King, 117 Buchanan street, San Francisco, Cal. The committee will also welcome any suggestion regarding the whole question of such a fraternal order.

AVENUE "C." The membership of the 1st-2nd A. D. Jewish Downtown Branch, the 4th A. D. the 6th-12th A. D. and the Italian Branch will be held at this meeting. The order of business is the organization of the campaign, the election of committees and ways and means for the preliminary work during August. Street meetings are being held in various parts of the Boro of Manhattan with remarkable success.

BROOKLYN
General Party Meeting
A general party meeting of the members of all branches is called for Tuesday evening, August 2, at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. The order of business is the circulation of primary petitions, matters pertaining to the campaign and the finding of ways and means for sustaining the headquarters. The critical situation which usually arises in the summer months is now before us. Our finances are low and our expenses are large. This problem must be solved at this meeting. It is therefore imperative that all comrades make it his or her duty to attend.

Branch 7
This branch meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday in each month, at the club rooms, 4215 3rd Avenue. During July and August the branch will meet but once a month, on the second Tuesday. A well attended meeting was held on July 12 and it was voted to purchase several thousand leaflets from the National Office and copies of Eugene Victor Debs' last book, "Walls and Bars." The branch is assisting in the drive for financing the County Office. A committee was elected to solicit subscriptions for the New Leader and other important business matters were transacted. Following the business meeting, a social gathering was held. Thanks to the women comrades, refreshments were served.

BROOKLYN
2nd A. D.
The recent affair held by this branch in celebration of their tenth anniversary was, in spite of very hot weather, a successful one. Branch meetings are being held every Friday evening at the club rooms, 420 Hinsdale Street.

4-14 A. D.
Branch meetings are held every Monday evening at the club rooms, 345 South 2nd Street. Beginning next month, August Claessens will deliver a series of outdoor lectures on Saturday evenings at corner Havenmeyer and South 3rd Streets.

5-6 A. D.
Branch meetings are held every Tuesday evening at the club rooms, 167 Tompkins Avenue. Two street meetings are being held each week with fair success.

22 A. D.
At the branch meeting held a week ago an unusually good attendance was in evidence. The following comrades were elected as officers: Organizer, Carrie Tartak; financial and recording secretary, Samuel Kantor; delegate to the Central Committee, Meyer Singer.

The Saturday evening meetings at Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues have achieved remarkable success. An audience of some 75 to 100 people is present at these meetings. The opening of August Claessens has been delivering a series of lectures on the corner since the first of June. Immediately following his last lecture next Saturday evening the meeting will be continued with Ethelred Brown and Frank Crosswath until the opening of the campaign.

23 A. D.
Branch meetings are held regularly every Monday evening at the club rooms, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street. August Claessens began a series of Friday night lectures at corner Bristol Street and Pitkin Avenue last week. He will continue these lectures throughout August. An unusually good attendance was present at the first lecture.

Brownsville Outing to Valhalla
Last Sunday about a dozen comrades appeared at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum with their automobiles to participate in the ride to Valhalla near White Plains for the benefit of The New Leader. Other Socialists and friends filled the machines and a group of Yipsels joined in a truck. The result was an enjoyable ride, lunch at the park, place singing and hikes, and realization of \$100 for the benefit of The New Leader. The outing was so enjoyed that there was some talk of trying to make this a big annual affair each coming year.

IN THE Workmen's Circle

News of the Young Clubs

WITH the beginning of warm weather and with many members leaving for the country and the seashore, some of the Young Circle Clubs have decided to discontinue their weekly meetings during the summer. The activity of the league as a whole, however, is being continued uninterruptedly by those who are remaining in the city.

But not even all these will be altogether without the pleasures of the country, for the Workmen's Circle has made arrangements to accommodate a group of young Circles at its camp at Pawling, N. Y., for the week end of August 6. We plan to leave for the camp at 1 p. m. that day and return the next day at 6 p. m. All members desiring detailed information may obtain it from Norbert Bromberg or from the officers of their club if it is meeting during the summer.

At a recent meeting at the Rand School of all Young Circle League members interested in athletics a number of teams were organized. Two baseball teams are being formed and equipped, as well as a tennis and a swimming team. Those interested should communicate with Hy Kaplan, manager of the baseball team, or Marcus Mason and Joel Rheims, captain and manager, respectively, of the tennis team. The swimmers should see Norbert Bromberg.

Arrangements have been made to have the two baseball teams play their first game with the new outfit at the Workmen's Circle Camp on August 7. The recently organized Young Circle Club that meets in the Rand School every other Friday is flourishing splendidly. Since most of its members are older than those of the other clubs, they are more likely to remain in the city during the summer and can continue meeting. With the following program planned, the next meeting on July 29 promises to be a very enjoyable one:

1. Mandolin Recital.....Joel Rheims
2. Recitation.....Sophie Goldfarb
3. Piano Recital.....Hyman Kaplan
4. Recitation.....Martin Goldin
5. Talk on Oscar Norbert Bromberg

BROOKLYN
Friday, July 29, 8.30 p. m.—Bristol street and Pitkin Avenue. Speaker, August Claessens.
Saturday, July 30, 8.30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, August Claessens, Samuel Kantor.
Monday, August 1, 8.30 p. m.—Hinsdale street and Sutter Avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath, I. M. Chatcutt.
Tuesday, August 2, 8.30 p. m.—Sumner and Floyd streets. Speakers, Samuel H. Friedman, Jos. Tuvin.
Wednesday, August 3, 8.30 p. m.—Pulaski and Tompkins Avenue. Speakers, Hyman Nemser, Samuel H. Friedman.
Friday, August 5, 8.30 p. m.—Bristol and Pitkin Avenue. Speaker, August Claessens.
Saturday, August 6, 8.30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter Avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Samuel Kantor.
Sunday, August 7, 8.30 p. m.—Havenmeyer and South Third Street. Speakers, August Claessens, Emil Bromberg.

BROOKLYN
Saturday, July 30, 8.30 p. m.—Beach and Water streets, Stapleton. Speakers, Joseph Tuvin, Ethelred Brown.
Sunday, August 1, 8.30 p. m.—Beach and Water streets, Stapleton. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Walter Dearing, Joseph Tuvin.

Socialist Youth Denounce War

(Continued from page 1)
withstanding all obstacles, achieved. The speaker closed with a glance at the immediate tasks, and welcomed especially the close connection between the Youth Societies and the L. S. I., which afforded the best security for a happy continuation of the efforts already initiated. The discussions on the subject ended in the acceptance of the following resolution:

"In intimate conjunction with the Labor and Socialist International, the Socialist Youth International has always co-operated to the best of its ability in averting the dangers of war, as provoked particularly in recent months by the Fascist policy in Albania, and by that of the Imperialist Government in China.

"Moreover, in the new and grave division between Great Britain and Russia, the Socialist Youth International is likewise aware of its unity with the L. S. I. in a decisive struggle against the reactionary assaults of the British Conservative Government in Russia.

"The Socialist Youth International stands, in complete union with the International Socialist working-class, against any policy of isolating and

boycotting Russia, which entails the peril of war-like entanglements and of a victory of foreign capitalism over the Russian proletariat.

Want Democratic Russia
"The restoration of peaceful political and economic relations between Russia and other States is equally the most efficient means of overcoming Bolshevik illusions and methods. For a democratic Russia is the best surety for peace and for the liberation of the Russian workers also from terrorism and oppression. It clears the way towards the ultimate union of the workers of all nations."

Kimml (Vienna) reported on the work undertaken for the application of the Amsterdam programme for the protection of Youth. He was able to note that now at length there is permanent co-operation between the three Socialist Internationals for the application of the minimum programme previously published. The most urgent necessity was joint action by the Socialist parties, the trade unions and the youth societies with regard to the social policy of the various countries. The reports of the members of the Executive demonstrated the pleasing fact that international discussions have almost everywhere given a strong stimulus to the endeavours to enlarge the sphere of the protection of youth. The Executive gave its approval to the minimum programme reached in January, 1927; in addition, however, the inclusion of a demand for the appointment of inspectors of youthful workers from the ranks of the working-class was considered.

At coming international gatherings the question of prolonging the compulsory school age is to be specially examined. Further, consideration was given to the problem of securing closer common action between societies in countries where the legal conditions substantially coincide. The International Labor Office is once again to be urged by the workers' representatives to take up again the questions of the protection of youth.

At the conclusion of the Conference of Leaders the majority of the delegates proceeded to Stockholm to attend the Scandinavian Youth Celebrations (June 23 and 24).

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY
A Co-operative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members in Various Matters in which They Should Have the Advice and Other Services of a Lawyer.
S. JOHN BLOCK, Attorney and Counsel
Labor organizations can obtain full information regarding cost of membership, etc., from the office, 225 Broadway, Rooms 2709-10, New York.
Board of Delegates meets on last Saturday of every month at 8 P. M. at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn.
CHAS. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y.
Carpenters' Union No. 493 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

WHEN YOU BUY CLOTH HATS AND CAPS
Always Look for This Label

634269 A

UNION DIRECTORY

K. T. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET
Phone: Orchard 8600-1-4
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.
S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLES, Organizers.

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

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

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

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 5th Ave., Orchard 3359
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
AL. GRABER, President
I. KORN, Sec'y.
I. BELSKY, Treasurer.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street, Tel. Stuyvesant 3637
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
every Tuesday, 8 P. M.
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager.
Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street, Stuyvesant 7676
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 165 East 23rd Street
Fred Fauselband, N. Ullman, President.
A. Weltner, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres.
Wm. R. 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
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. U. of T.
OFFICE: 208 W. 14th St., City
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth St.
Executive Board meets on 2nd and 4th Thursdays at BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth St.

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

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1097, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 61 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1074. Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M.
ABE LEMONICK, P. KOPP, Sec'y.
GARRET BRIDGE, J. GREEN, Vice-Pres.
JACOB RAPPAPORT, AARON RAPPAPORT, Bus. Agent.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 245 East 44th St. and 4th Thursdays at BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth St.

PETER ROTHMAN, President.
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary.
AMROSE HAAS, Fin. Sec'y.

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 306 ROBERTS AVENUE
Telephone Longways 5889
Day Room Open Daily, 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President.
M. McDONALD, G. P. BRENNEN, Vice-President.
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

MEETING HALL TO RENT

FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES. Seating Capacity 300.
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLES, Sec'y-Treas.

Patronize Union Laundries!

Laundry Drivers' Union Local 810
Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
Phone Dickens 1144
Philip Lurie, Pres.
M. Brodie, Organizer
I. Bursztein, Treas.
R. Rosenzweig, Bus. Rep.

AMALGAMATED TEMPLE

11-27 ARION PLACE
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Meeting Rooms and Mass Meetings for Organizations at Moderate Rates
BROOKLYN
LABOR LYCEUM
949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn.
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. Stage 3145.

LABOR LYCEUM

949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn.
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. Stage 3145.

AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 137
Office: Room 410-11, Bible House, Astor Place and Fourth Avenue, New York
Phone: Stuyvesant 4219
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

M. BROWD, H. PRUCHTER, Vice-Pres.
J. I. NEWMAN, PHILIP GINDER, Treasurer.
Rec. Sec'y

Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 208 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WAT 4th 7100
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at 8 P. M. in the AMALITHONE BLDG.
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President.
A. J. KENNEDY, Vice-Pres.
Frank J. Flinn, Sec'y.
Frank Schol, Fin. Sec'y.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

Office: 19 Fourth Avenue, Phone: Sterling 9728.
Regular Meeting every Monday evening, at 188 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday evening at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
THOMAS F. OATES, President.
CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 15th Street, Stuyvesant 5086.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the Office.
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager.
I. MACHLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2148
MORRIS SHIMAN, President.
ABRAHAM SAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street - - - Telephone Ashland 2900
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street, Union Local 46, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—211 E. 14th St. 1st and 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Bronx—E. 187th St. & Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 10 A. M.
Bklyn—166 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—16 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE RINFOR, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 4, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 801 E. 16th St. Melrose 1490
CARL GRABER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
R. GUSKIN, Chairman.
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman.
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR.
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President.
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
611-613 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7090-1-2-3-4-5
ABRAHAM BECKMAN, Gen. Mgr.
ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

77 GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1897
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
MORRIS BLUMENKRICH, Manager.
HYMAN NOVOYDOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.
Office 3 Delancey St., Drydock 8809
Exec. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
MAX SCHMIDT, Chairman.
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary.
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple, 11-27 Arion Pl., Bkn., N. Y.
W. TAYLOR, Chairman.
LEON REBO, Sec'y.
Ph. Sec'y

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE: Phone Chelsea 3004
11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. **CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.**
A. L. SHIPACOFF, Chairman.

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City
Telephone Stuyvesant 6885

Editor.....JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON

Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger
Abraham Cahan
Harry W. Laidler
Joseph E. Cohen
Clement Wood
John M. Work
Joseph T. Shipley

Morris Hillquit
Algermon Lee
Norman Thomas
Lena Morrow Lewis
Wm. M. Feigenbaum
G. A. Hoshin
Cameron H. King

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States
One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.25
Three Months75
To Foreign Countries
One Year \$3.00
Six Months 1.90
Three Months 1.10

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the oppressed working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1927

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

A LITTLE over twenty years ago the "literature of exposure" was as popular as the movies are today. Magazines and newspapers were revealing the secrets of how industrial and financial magnates had obtained and were still getting their bags of dollars while Congress and the State Legislatures came under the glare of the spotlight. Here were found skulking in the shadows the gentlemen who made the laws that surrounded our jolly pirates with legal screens. One magazine series bore the caption, "The Treason of the Senate."

For several years it was popular sport to pelt our ruling Babbitts. They were on the defensive. Nobody liked our bloated bags of cash. Disgust continued to mount with the whole capitalist order when Roosevelt stepped in with his famous "Muck Rake" speech. The strenuous one roared at the "muck rakers" and declared that they should be ashamed of themselves. With all his bellowing, Roosevelt could be counted upon to serve his class in an emergency. A reaction soon set in, the magazines gradually changed their policy and they became "good." Some of them are today glorifying the very Babbitts whom they then denounced.

Since the end of the World War the upper classes have occupied the spotlight as models of virtue through the magazines, with a few notable exceptions, but especially through their publicity agents. Moreover, what they rake in as surplus values today makes their former plundering look like a penny ante poker game in comparison. A part of the loot they now get goes to subsidize patriotic organizations whose main purpose is to utterly damn any person or organization that does not believe that intense skinning of the masses is one of the "inalienable rights of man."

In June William Allen White, the noted Kansas journalist, broadcast the question: "Why are people deaf to the cause of reform?" The mere putting of the question shows to what extent the ruling classes have recovered their control over the social order which was dangerously rocking some twenty-odd years ago. A comparison of the two periods presents a striking contrast. Just when the masses will recover from the drugs being administered to them only the future can tell.

A DRASTIC IRISH ACT

UPON recommendation of President Cosgrave the Irish Parliament has passed the Public Safety Act. It empowers the police to search for documents, provides imprisonment for those in possession of "seditious" documents, deportation of suspicious persons, and the death penalty for those found in possession of arms.

There is a remarkable similarity between this legislation and the Alien and Sedition Acts of the Federalist Party in the administration of President Adams. There is also a close similarity between Cosgrave's party and the party of Adams. The Federalist Party was a militant representative of early capitalist and financial interests in this country and Cosgrave's party represents the same interests in Ireland.

It is probable that Cosgrave and his political cronies will suffer the fate that came to the Federalist Party for enacting the Alien and Sedition laws. Murder is a capital offense and it requires no such drastic legislation as that passed by the Dail to punish it. What Cosgrave and his associates have done is to create a despotic regime in an effort to stamp out the irreconcilables. They have become as intolerable as the madmen who think that political assassination is the road to freedom.

WALLS AND BARS

OUR readers have had an opportunity to read a few excerpts from the last book the late Eugene V. Debs wrote and we shall present a few more instalments, but not the entire work. Our intention is to give our readers some idea of the book, which will probably be ready for sale by the time this appears in print, and yet the few selections that appear in The New Leader cannot compensate one who fails to read the complete work.

Into this book Debs has crowded not only experiences of absorbing interest, but a critical consideration of prison regime that is devastating. For more than a hundred years specialists in penology and criminology have piled up reports and books regarding the prison and prisoners and recommendations have been made of more or less value. Some old barbarisms have been eliminated in some prisons, but on the whole prison administration is still a foul, savage and inhuman survival of the prison hulks and underground dens of other days.

Capitalist society has the criminals it deserves, and the average prison itself is a university which gives its inmates a post-graduate course in fitting them for a criminal career when they are released. Many others have insisted upon this, but no other man has approached the whole problem from the standpoint of the workers as Debs has approached it in this book. It is this that gives the book distinction.

We hope, therefore, that this book, published by the National Office of the Socialist Party, will be widely read and that it will render some service in wiping out a phase of contemporary society that reeks with brutality, and that is an indictment of the capitalist system in which it is rooted.

THE THIRD TERM

SOME folks are terribly disturbed over the question as to whether Coolidge will run for another term. As an "issue" this is as important as the question whether Dempsey fouled Sharkey. It also raises the old question as to whether the tradition set by Washington applies to a third term that is not "elective." Then from this may follow another "issue." Should mere precedent set by Washington determine the question when the Constitution itself sets no limit to the number of terms a man may hold?

The answer to all these questions will depend upon whether the individual likes the man in office or not. For example, many Democrats who oppose Coolidge for a third term were themselves receptive to a third term for Wilson and there was some talk of it before he was stricken with illness. Had Wilson retained his health and decided to accept another nomination in 1920 the present party lineup on this "issue" would have been reversed that year.

These facts show how insincere the professionals are in discussing such questions. The issue of nullification of Federal laws by States also played the same role in politics in the first sixty years of the republic. Virginia and Kentucky were the first to assert it. New England, where it had been denounced, embraced it in 1814, but the South denounced it. The South returned to it in the decade before the Civil War, only to have New England and Northern States in general oppose it. Now and then an individual State upheld nullification because of some grievance, and this shifting of position from one side to the other not only was true of the States but also of the political parties.

Being for or against a third term is hokum, an essential article in the profession of capitalist politics. It is intended for those who have not learned to think, who are also essential to the rule of the professionals.

CHANGING LAW

LAW is slower to yield to fundamental changes than other phases of changing society and its conservative adepts, as Charles A. Beard has said, present it as "a mysterious substance discovered in the realm of abstract justice." In our own history it has been so rigid that it required a number of revolutions to bring it into accord with striking changes in the basis of society.

Nevertheless, law does change, although it is the last to be affected by the evolutionary concept. In a recent series of informing articles in the New York Law Journal William S. Andrews considers the process by which this alleged "abstract justice" bears the impress of the evolution of society. The following paragraph is typical:

"I for one do not lament the past. Mere rigidity means death, not life. As always, law must express the needs and the desires and the theories of the community. It cannot by formulas check the changing philosophy of the people as to its government. To this it must conform, perhaps slowly, perhaps with hesitation—but conform if it will live. The philosophy may be unwise—the wisdom of our fathers may be greater than our own. I do not pretend to know. Wise or foolish it is going to control. All the courts may do is to follow these changes—acting as a check, perhaps, but yielding in the end."

In other words, the artificial locks built to dam the flow of the idea of evolution into law are breaking down. What was once intelligent as a principle adapted to the age of agriculture and hand tools became an abstraction in our age and the abstraction in turn is giving way to the concept of universal change. We are only in the beginning of this change and some states, especially in the South, still cling to the "mysterious substance" of a fixed concept unrelated to a changing world.

All of which indicates that the conservative priesthood of the law are not entirely hopeless. Today they too often justify the statement of Charles Macklin, the Scotchman, in the eighteenth century that "the law is a sort of hocus-pocus science, that smiles in yer face while it picks yer pocket; and the glorious uncertainty of it is of mair use to the professors than the justice of it."

Heirs of Time

From street and square, from hill and glen,
Of this vast world before my door,
I hear the tread of marching men,
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps
Hangs, a vast torchlight, in the air;
I watch it through the evening damp;
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine-clad or clothed in state,
Their title-deeds not yet made plain,
But waking early, toiling late,
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some say, by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep,
The children of each outcast heir
The harvest-fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant brain shall yet be wise,
The untamed plow shall grow calm and still;
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,
And work in peace Time's wondrous will.

Some day, without a trumpet's call,
This news will o'er the earth be blown;
"The heritage comes back to all!"
The myriad monarchs take their own!"
—THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Is America Selfish?

::: Beard Discusses Materialism :::

By Charles A. Beard

(Author "The Rise of American Civilization")

IN A RECENT review of M. Andre Siegfried's book entitled "America Comes of Age" I denied that this nation is more materialistic than European countries, meaning thereby that, considering their opportunities, the American people do not devote a larger proportion of their energy to acquiring material goods than do the people of the Old World. Now the editor of The New Leader asks me to elaborate the opinion thus expressed.

First of all, it should be noted that I was not there asserting a thesis myself, but merely traversing a view expressed in Siegfried's book—a view that runs current among many schools of critics who turn their guns on the United States. To establish either side of the proposition in question would require a great deal of ingenuity and research and in my review I contented myself with insisting that the burden of proof rests upon those who sing the ancient refrain that America is materialistic. I am not now prepared to nail my thesis to the door of The New Leader sanctum, but perhaps it will serve to promote a discussion of this interesting issue if I make a few reflections upon the subject.

At the outset it will be useful to ponder the word "Materialism." In the history of philosophic thought, it has, of course, a definite place; but in the popular mind it has been entangled with the century-old battle between science and theology, between capitalism and feudalism. The materialist, as John Morley remarks, looks "for the sources of knowledge, the sanction of morals, the inspiring fountain and standard of esthetics, to the outside of men, to matter, to the impersonal senses." The theologian looks "to divine revelation, authority, and the traditions of the Church." In that sense, perhaps, America may be more materialistic than the Catholic countries of Europe.

Religion and Materialism

Turning, however, from the philosophic sense of the word to practical usage, we find it extremely difficult to discover activities that are purely spiritual or purely material in motive and purpose. At one end of the scale, of course, we have people who have dedicated themselves to the religious life and who do sacrifice ease and comfort of the body to the service of the poor and sick. But among those who do dedicate themselves to the religious life are always to be found a small proportion of "saints" who prefer the ease of the monastic cell rather than the struggles and disappointments of the secular life. Many a

monk is far more "materialistic" in his motives and conduct than hard-working men and women who battle against poverty, rearing their children and keeping their homes together. In proportion to population, the Catholic countries of Europe have more monks and nuns than does the United States; but it would take a great deal of research to discover just how much "spirituality" that means. Very few of the monks that I have seen in any part of the world, Orient or Occident, look emaciated from the lack of good food and wine.

At the other end of the scale from the people dedicated to the "religious" life are the gluttons and gourmands who deliberately devote great pains to satisfying their animal appetites. Certainly it would be a bold person who would venture to assert that America has a larger proportion of such "materialists" than any European country. Many a fine old esthete in Paris, Hamburg or Rome, who devotes inherited wealth to collecting objects of art and goes to mass regularly spends more time fussing about his meats and wines than do stalwart laborers who bolt their loaves and gulp their wine. If anyone thinks that he can discern the point of separation between pleasures of delicacy and the pleasures of grossness, he has a keener eye than the writer of this article.

Between the two extremes of those consciously dedicated to the "religious" life and those who deliberately pursue the pleasures of the flesh is the great mass of people in all countries. Now it is doubtless true that a larger proportion of the people in America enjoy a standard of life above the line of bare subsistence than is the case in any European country. Does that make the American people more materialistic? Not at all. Does it mean that they devote more energy to the pursuit of material goods than European peoples? Not at all. In this connection, environment must be taken into account. In my original contention I said "considering their opportunities." Americans do not devote more energy to the pursuit of material goods. It is true that in parts of Europe where the population is congested and the soil is exhausted and a pseudo-clerical class lives comfortably upon the peasantry, the people are more "easy going," to use a colloquial phrase. Why work harder if the surplus is to be skimmed off by landlords, if nothing but a bare subsistence is to be gained anyway?

Peasants and Farmers

But surely no one will contend that a peasant who is satisfied with black bread, merely because that is all he can get, is more spiritual than an American farmer or workingman who strives harder to enlarge his income because he knows that in the rich natural environment of America effort

will produce greater results. Even at that it is not to be supposed that European peasants and working people do not toil as hard as Americans, on the whole. A statistical inquiry into this question, with respect to the issue of this essay, would produce interesting results. If Europeans get less for their labors, on account of the nature of their material endowment in natural resources, they are not to be exalted as more spiritual. Indeed, men and women who are above the margin of subsistence can be, and usually are, more generous in their gifts to assist the less fortunate—the sick, the poor, the dependents of the earth. As far as my experience goes, the hard-fisted peasants of Europe reach more eagerly for cash than do the comfortable farmers of America; and those who labor along the lines of travel in all parts of the world seem to be about equally zealous in gathering "bakshish." Even with my spectacles I can not discover striking differences; at least, none worth mentioning. At this moment I can recall the broad smile of pleasure that came across the face of a certain Holy Man in the Orient when I dropped into his begging bowl a silver coin, instead of the copper usually deposited by the faithful.

Entirely apart from all that has been said it is possible to classify actions and motives with reference to material and spiritual ends? When a peasant pays a priest for praying hard for rain to improve his crops, is the performance to be deemed spiritual while the acts of an American farmer in building an irrigation plant to relieve himself from such dependence on Providential favors are to be set down as a materialist? Guess, who can. Again is a French peasant who whistles away his spare time playing a lute and allows his wife to break her knees washing his clothes on stones in the brook at the rear of his cottage to be set down as spiritual while an American who works overtime to get his wife a washing machine must be dubbed a materialist? Moreover, what proportion of so-called spiritual acts that is, religious ceremonies and benevolent deeds done under religious sanctions, at bottom may be regarded as acts of calculation designed to acquire the pleasures of heaven or to escape the penalties of hell? Guess, who can.

Unselfish Careers

Assuming for the moment that the deliberate choice of a career which does not promise increasing material rewards is an evidence of spirituality, it seems safe to say that the United States has relatively as many people of that type as any European country. At all events, until the facts are before us, no decision ought to be accepted offhand. Certainly, it seems that America has her full share of scholars, scientific workers and researchers delving into the mysteries of the

(Continued on page 5)

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

and has aroused such suspicion in all Latin America? For instance, might we not trust the Pan-American Union to supervise elections in Nicaragua to set up a government which may function peacefully when the American marines are withdrawn?

While I am speaking of encouraging signs in labor activities I should like to say a word of praise for the parade of institutes being conducted at Brookwood Labor College. The Textile Institute, I am told, was unexpectedly valuable, and I can bear personal testimony to the representative character and eager interest of the first institute of Women's Auxiliaries now in session at Brookwood. Mrs. Grace Klueg, of the Machinists' Auxiliary, deserves great credit for her success in thus arousing the interest of the women in labor problems. And while I am at it I don't want to forget to mention Passaic's interesting, vital and exceedingly well-attended Labor Chautauqua which filled the second week in July. All the unions in the city co-operated. The city officials and the press were friendly. It was a novel experience for me to walk in a parade with a band from Garfield to a Passaic public school where I was one of the speakers. The only other parade in which I participated in Garfield was a sort of spontaneous affair conducted by the police, with a terminus at another kind of public institution. The very bad conditions in the whole textile industry make the work of the union in Passaic difficult. The interest displayed at the Labor Chautauqua showed that such work is not hopeless.

This is the critical hour in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Recent word from Boston makes me somewhat more hopeful that justice at last will be done than I was a week ago. I am a bit skeptical of the psychological effect of big demonstrations with the chance they give to the lunatic fringe during these days when the governor and his commission have finished their hearings are working on their separate decisions. Later on, if less than justice is done, all elements should unite in a carefully considered program for the most effective demonstration ever seen in America. What-ever demonstrations are held in Boston or elsewhere on Sunday, July 31 will, I hope, help rather than hurt the cause of justice to these innocent victims of judicial prejudice mixed with class hatred. Meanwhile the name of Albert Dreyfus on the French petition for Sacco and Vanzetti and the possibility that he may even come to America in their behalf is a solemn—in a sense a symbolic portent and warning to those in authority.

The newspapers are making much of the fact that the General Motors has made a record profit for the first half of 1927 and that the United States Steel has also made a rise in net earnings in the same period. Against this must be set the fact that government figures indicate for the month of June general decrease in employment and factory payrolls for the third month in succession. As for the farmers, the Department of Agriculture announced that for the crop year ending June 30 there was a decrease of 20 percent in net income. The department estimates the average income per farm operator available for labor, capital and management at only \$853 in 1926-'27 as against \$922 in the previous year. This estimated decrease for all farmers was borne out by the actual returns from 13,475 farmers which indicated that the average income of this relatively small group dropped from \$1,297 in 1925 to \$1,133 in 1926. As for coal miners, there isn't a ray of light. In the oil fields there is overproduction and prices are relatively low. But Ralph Arnold, California politician, geologist and oil producer, sees terrible and dangerous wastes in the situation which will bring about an alarming shortage in seven years. Republican and speculator that he is he tells President Coolidge that we must have Federal regulation to save us. Could there be a more striking illustration of the wastes of the profit system and the unreality of our prosperity?

Maybe General Motors have Henry Ford to thank for part of their prosperity. They may rejoice, but the rest of the country will soon be singing: "Where's that Prosperity?"

In the fur graft investigation in New York the expected happened. Magistrate Corrigan found no legal evidence of bribery and could only say that the union's money was not properly accounted for. The investigation under all the circumstances would have been almost impossible for the most zealous seekers after facts. As it was, Tammany Hall, the police department, the left wing, and considerable sections of the right wing did not want results. So Magistrate Corrigan leaves the left wing leaders under suspicion but clears the police. Yet I have not discovered a lawyer, politician, or labor man familiar with what goes on who is not morally certain, whether or not he can or will prove it in court, that in New York City police are bribed, gangsters are hired, political fixers are given enormous rackets in practically every great industrial dispute. It isn't only the left wing and certainly isn't only the workers who are responsible. The left wing appears to have run the prices up by bad management. We may yet hear of a labor Locarno between bosses and workers to fix a lower wage scale for some of their shady helpers! I know that there is a struggle going on in the labor movement against these evils. On the success of that struggle depends the recovery of the soul of the unions involved.

S. A. de Witt.

::: THE CHATTER BOX :::

Sacco and Vanzetti

Wracked by the years' corroding grief,
You gesture life away, a crumbling leaf.

Slowly the blood drains from each martyred vein,
Throbbing to brutal and unrelaxed pain.

Your fellow-men still go their trivial way
Through each slow-handed, agonizing day.

While the flowers of your brave life wilt,
Smugly they speculate upon your guilt.

—Lucia Trent.

Now if Sacco were a bruiser from Manassas, and Vanzetti were a two-fisted cauliflowerer nose-busted pug from Boston, and both of them were matched up for a fifteen-round near-championship fight at the Yankee Stadium, the world would care a mighty whole lot about them. Eighty thousand intellectuals, actors, millionaires, judges, mayors, gamblers, thieves, politicians and bootleggers would pile in tier upon tier, paying over a million dollars at the gate for the thrill of seeing one or the other being pounded into a knockout. Fifty million citizens of all ages and conviction would eagerly read the next morning newspapers, and twenty million would have trembled with the story as it wheezed out over the radio, round for round, on the eventful night. That is, if Sacco were the Manassas Mauler and Vanzetti the Gabby Gob.

But since Sacco and Vanzetti are two lonely Wops, and dubs enough to believe in a fairy tale about a beautiful world peopled with loving folk, doing unto others as precepted by the good Book—they are in prison now, waiting for death at the hands of the State. And the chances might well be that they will die. The judge who sentenced them is quite odorous and "die-hard" in the matter. The lives of two lonely Italians are as nothing to a judge's dignity. And Governor Fuller is mighty uncomfortable in a task of trying to match an innate sense of decency against his own political future. Damned ticklish predicament for a man to be in who is on the rise politically. Coolidge is in the White House now because he chose quickly in the Boston Police Strike. Oh, where is that race of men, one of whom once declared, "I'd rather be right than President." They are gone. Alas, the only Vanished Americans. That committee business is just a buffer against blame—a sort of alibi. Personally, we feel that they mean to go right through with the gruesome business of doing the railroad men to death. For surely, the world will soon forget two unimportant, idealistic aliens. Who remembers, Frank Little, Tom Mooney or Billings? Even labor has forgotten their own. What are two Wops anyhow against preserving the face of a judge, or insuring the future of a governor? And the press, the great Fourth Estate that is wasting acres of wood pulp discussing whether the Sharkey-Dempsey fight was fair, foul or frameup, hasn't a column to spare for the Sacco-Vanzetti frameup.

But if Sacco and Vanzetti were two rib smashers and jaw busters! Aw, well. This is America, and if this country don't suit you, then get to hell out of here.

Two Persons

Friend

He promenades through streets as some men gardens,
plucking
Basketfuls of smiles and stripping trowns as weeds.
He strolls as though through leafy trellises, tenderly
tucking
Tendrilled thoughts to walls, gathering what he
needs.

A Politician Answers

You raise your hands in scorn of me because I compromise.
They're white, and soft! A gesture never set a
people free.
Their cleanness is a blot which marks just where
your interest lies.
Christ bowed to Rome, loved Judas more than any
Pharisee.

—Ralph Cheney.

Frankly, we are not enjoying this summer. We haven't been to camp once this season, nor been away to the country for more than a few days, and that because of domestic pressure. Honestly, we feel that no man or woman of mind and sense of justice ought to have a good time until this Sacco-Vanzetti business is definitely settled. It is just getting on our own nerves to an alarming extent. Even words fail their mission and totter into this column without style or direction. We cannot get our ideas squarely across. Sometimes the mood gets on us to dress in sackcloth and douse ourself with ashes and go madly about the streets shouting for justice. The impassivity of a world we know to be beavily dull and dense rises up like a wall between us and our intention. Writing letters to newspapers is just a futile feat. None but the Socialist and radical sheets with their puny circulation will get to publishing what we have to say. Every means for protest has been used up and anything we have to propose just dwindles before the uselessness of repetition. And yet Sacco and Vanzetti must not die. They must not die. We keep repeating it to ourself with the grim matter of a prayer. For we are sitting with them now in the Death House at Charlestown, Massachusetts. All of us are sitting there with them. All of us are victims of a judicial and governmental stupidity, that will not back down on its own error. The old precept that the King can do no wrong is now—politicians can do no wrong. And when the life is jolted out of their two weak bodies, what of our own precious lives, fellow Americans? Something is whispering a demon into our reasoning. Something is saying queer, mad things to us.

It is hell to be born with a mind, and a sense of justice, in a world where such qualities are spurned, laughed at and of no use save to give pain to the possessor. Better by far some humane agency be created to choke off any such monstrosity at birth. This world were a happier place to live in if all people were like Judge Thayer, Tex Rickard, Jack Dempsey, and Peaches Browning. No one would suffer much in spirit at the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, and no one would be weeping over the grave of dead ideals. Again, we stop, realizing how words may soon dance crazily before our sight, and when typed make mad sense at best. So we will draw again on reason and patience and abide the outcome. But in the meantime, there are sackcloth and ashes on our being and head. It should be a summer of shrieking protest and poignant sorrow lest winter bring weak will and useless lamentation.