

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

# NEW LEADER

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## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas  
Socialist Candidate for President

WHAT the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution could not do to protect Sacco and Vanzetti it has done for the stock gambling owners of one of the most outrageous labor hating corporations in the United States, the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. of New York City. The amendment, or rather the federal court under the amendment, could not save Sacco and Vanzetti from legalized murder. It could protect the hypothetical property of the I. R. T. from "confiscation" even at the cost of upsetting a solemn contract between the city and company fixing a five-cent fare. To a layman Judge Manton's decision in the seven or, rather, the nine-cent fare case, seems so crude that it may be questionable whether a majority of the Supreme Court will find a way to save it. That such a decision should ever have been granted is another proof of dangerous judicial oligarchy in this country. We can neither regulate public utility nor the corporation nor buy them at any reasonable figure if corporation lawyers who have happened to be appointed federal judges can fix value at reproduction cost and then set rates at a figure sufficient to give an 8 percent return. Whoever said that anything under 8 percent was confiscatory? Whoever made judges experts on valuation?

In the case of public utilities reproduction cost is determined not by any service of the company but by such factors as the growth of population and the privilege given by the state of holding a franchise. This is true of railroads and street railway lines. It is society which is primarily responsible for increasing reproduction costs. Private owners should not be given the profit. In asserting this power as well as in its exercise of the power of injunctions in labor cases the courts set up an unsocial, anti-democratic dictatorship. It looks as if one of the first issues in the Socialist campaign will be to advocate a curb on the power of the courts.

Another fundamental issue for us in this campaign is the breakdown of the attempt to regulate public utilities instead of operating them under government ownership and democratic management. If the Interborough contract cannot stand there is not much use of talking about any form of contract to regulate public utilities. If the super power trust can debauch newspapers, schools and colleges with its propaganda, as the evidence in Washington shows it has been doing, we cannot hope to regulate this giant industry. We must take over the super power business. Of course in taking over coal, super power, subways, and what not, we must set up government authorities, constituted with proper representation both of consumers and producers of a particular service or commodity, with stringent protection against partisan interference and corruption. To do this effectively requires a party with very different principles than the Republicans and Democrats possess.

(Continued on Page 2)

## New Labor Victory In Britain Hailed By Ramsay MacDonald

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
London.—The result of the bye-election at Hanley, one of the important industrial centres in the district of the potteries in England, gives striking evidence of the state of feeling towards the present government in working-class constituencies. At the last election in 1924 the labor majority decreased, but the seat was held by the labor candidate, S. Clowes, by 1,554 votes.

While it was confidently expected that labor would continue to hold the seat, the size of the majority is on this occasion quite remarkable. The labor vote by far exceeds those of the liberals and conservatives combined. The figures are: Arthur Hollins (labor), 15,136; conservatives, 6,004; liberals, 3,390. In an interview Ramsay MacDonald commented on the result as follows: "It is a magnificent result and shows in a way that nobody anticipated how the country is going. . . . It is perhaps the most remarkable result since the general election. It is the writing on the wall."

## "Socialism" To Be Topic At L.I.D. Meet

Annual Conference Will  
Be Held at Tamiment  
June 28 to July 1

THE progressive labor movement in the East is expressing keen interest in the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy which will be held again at Camp Tamiment, Stroudsburg, Pa., near Delaware Water Gap from Thursday, June 28, to Sunday, July 1.

For the first time since the beginning of its conferences in 1915, the society has decided to devote the program to Socialism as such. As the subject of the conference—"What Changes Should be Made in Socialist Philosophy and Tactics?"—indicates, the conference will be given over to a critical analysis of the various positions in Socialist thought and activity.

The main discussion will begin on Thursday evening with a session devoted to the "Economic Interpretation of History." The League is fortunate in having as its first speaker Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College, one of the most prominent of the younger historians and sociologists of the country and the author of numerous books on social questions. James O'Neal, editor of the New Leader and author of "Workers in American History," and Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser, prominent anthropologist and sociologist, will also speak. Ernest Untermann of the Milwaukee Leader and translator of Marx's "Capital" will be represented by a paper. Norman Thomas, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist candidate for President of the United States, will act as chairman of this and succeeding sessions of the conference.

Mr. Thomas' chairmanship in past conferences has done much to bring discussions to a focus and to make every discussion a contribution to social thinking.

Friday morning, June 29, will be given over to the "Socialist View of Progress under Capitalism and the Theory of Value." The speakers at this session will be Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Director of the Philadelphia Jewish Charities, author of "Social Insurance" and of "Was Marx Wrong?" who will deal with the first portion of the topic; Solon DeLeon, editor of the "American Labor Year Book" and (Continued on page 3)

## Chicago Amalgamated Home Visited By 20,000 In First Days

No one can walk through the 5 floors of the new Amalgamated Center at Ashland and Van Buren, Chicago, without realizing that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers intend to stay in business a long time. Stone, steel and concrete, from the high marble entry to the penthouse tower, spell permanence. But these enduring materials are toned down by tiled walls, rugs, fireplaces, bookcases, gymnasium apparatus, kitchen and dining equipment, lighting devices, stage accessories and many other things to show that the permanence is of a human kind. Intended for worker use and enjoyment, Amalgamated members are expected in their new home not only to pay dues but to use the bowling alleys, basketball and handball courts, to borrow from the crowded book shelves, to play chess and pool, to produce amateur theatricals, to eat and to dance. On the very top floor they can assemble in smaller groups in the social hall and step out on the roof for the cool of the evening.

Manager Sam Levin estimates that 20,000 people inspected the building in the first 3 days of its dedication. It is a remarkable addition to the trade union structures on what was known as Bolshievik boulevard immediately after the war.

## Five Striking Mill Unions Join A.F. of L.

Others Likely to Follow—  
New Bedford Mills Re-  
main Closed Up Tight—  
Funds Needed

THE workers of New Bedford have shown their might. For three weeks the city has been in the grip of a general strike in its chief and almost exclusive industry. The newspapers, the Mayor, the Merchants, the professional elements and the politicians have formed a solid wall of public opinion behind the strikers' cause.

What is the explanation? It is simple and illuminating. Labor asserted its dignity and is getting the respect its action has commanded. Had the textile operatives humbly accepted this further invasion of the medieval mill barons on their standard of living, they would have lost considerable self-respect and added to the Manufacturers' contempt for their intelligence and courage. Their unanimous resistance has knocked Babbitt into a cocked hat!

Doctors have offered free medical service to strikers; lawyers are urging them to accept free legal advice; merchants, policemen and firemen are contributing to their relief, and everybody is bowing to the glory of united, militant labor. Ye Gods, but it pays to fight like men. Who could respect a mole.

The 30,000 striking textile operatives are fighting a mighty industrial struggle; they are the advance army of labor. Let organized labor all over the country take heart and follow their example. If we lie down now, the gains of years of struggle and misery will be taken from us by organized greed and wealth. Silently and persistently, the campaign to "put labor in its place" has been going on. In the textile industry it went its merry course until it hit New Bedford. The workers here showed the courage of the whalers, who in days gone by left this port to go down into the sea in ships.

If the strikers stick together and win this skirmish, they will insure themselves a decent standard of living. Further, this experience has demonstrated to the unorganized the wisdom of organizing. The workers will emerge strongly organized with the power to demand representation in the management of the industry which occupies most of their waking hours. Also, they can send their own representatives into the city hall and be sure of reliable friends in political power who will be with them heart and soul.

New Bedford has sent out a challenge to labor all over the country. The workers here are writing history. Let their fellow-workers from Maine to California catch this spirit and stem the tide of plutocracy.

Let those who are following this great human drama help us fight off hunger and misery by sending their contribution to New Bedford Textile Council Strike Relief, P. O. Box 57, New Bedford, Mass.

One example of the splendid spirit here is the opening of soup kitchens here by two workmen's clubs. The Washington Club is doing a splendid work. Three times a week from 1200 to 1300 children file into the basement of the club with all sorts of receptacles, and bring home rich hot soup and bread. Little dark-skinned Portuguese kids march in line with fair-headed Anglo Saxons to the (Continued on Page 2)

## Socialist N.E.C. To Meet in Newark; A Dinner Planned

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in Newark, New Jersey, Saturday and Sunday, May 19th and 20th to complete plans for the launching of the campaign for Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, it is announced by William H. Henry, national secretary of the party.

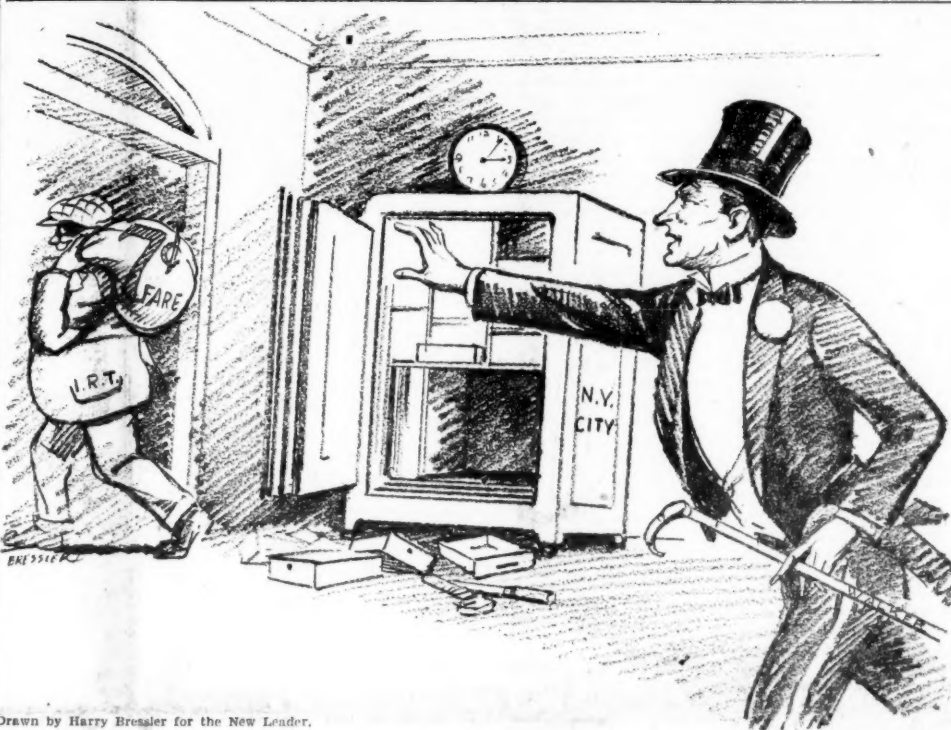
The Socialists of New Jersey will take the fullest advantage of the presence of the party leaders to make propaganda for the movement. The sessions of the committee are to be held in the Workmen's Circle Lyceum, a beautiful new \$200,000 structure.

The plans made thus far call for a banquet to be held Sunday evening at 6 p. m., toward the success of which the New Jersey state office and the county organizations of Hudson, Essex, Union, Morris, Passaic and Bergen will cooperate. Thomas, our candidate for president, will attend the committee meetings and will be one of the speakers, as will be Maurer, candidate for vice-president, Morris Hillquit, Congressman Victor L. Berger and others.

Reservations for the banquet may be made by any of the following comrades, Milo C. Jones, 127 Isabella avenue, Newark; Dr. Louis Reiss, 188 Springfield avenue, Newark; Andrew P. Wittell, 44 Linden avenue, Belleville; Robert Leeman, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City; or Charlotte Bohlin, 198 Paulinsson, Ridgefield Park. The charge will be \$1.25 per person.

# Re-Capture of I. R. T. Lines Demanded By Citizens' Meeting in Carnegie Hall; Mayor and Tammany Hit for Grab

Late As Usual



Drawn by Harry Bresler for the New Leader.

## Who Is Responsible for This Steal?

THE Tammany Administration, elected on the five cent fare issue has let itself be beaten, hands down, all over the sidewalks of New York.

And the seven-cent fare is only the beginning. A dancing, vacationing Mayor and a Transit Commission deaf, dumb, blind and paralyzed have let the most unscrupulous, public-be-damned, labor-hating corporation in the country wrench out of its solemn contracts with the City.

The nine-cent fare is on the cards. The Wall Street boys are banking on it.

The seven-cent fare will mean an extra \$16 a year out of the pockets of the subway riders. The nine-cent fare will mean an extra \$32 a year to each of them. To the 2,000,000 families in this city which live on a budget of \$1500 or less this is no joke.

"The new Tammany", in spite of all its claims to be the friend and protector of the people, has let us down.

Are Mayor Walker's silly smiles and wisecracks worth \$16-\$32 apiece to the factory and office workers of New York every year?

By not taking over the lines, as the City has a right to do, Mayor Walker and his Administration have made us pay an extra and unnecessary \$900 000 a month. Even Mr. Untermyer admits that much.

The blame for this present fare tragedy lies squarely with the Mayor and with Governor Smith who defeated Hylan and imposed Walker upon the people of the City.

The five-cent fare has never interested them as means of getting elected. It is a political humbug of the worst sort for Mayor Walker to talk about running again to vindicate the five-cent fare. It is an insult to every man and woman in the city to think that they will be simple minded enough to reward his failure and hypocrisy with another opportunity to be the nation's favorite clown.

Governor Smith is directly involved. He not only gave us Walker; he gave us our blundering and paralyzed Transit Commission. His appointments are on it. It was this Commission which delayed action until it was too late. He is the leader of the party and shares responsibility for this \$43, 000,000 annual levy on the citizens of New York.

Instead of having the impudence to think that the office and factory workers will re-elect him again, Mayor Walker and his friend, the Governor, ought in common decency to get on the carpet and explain to the voters just how their five-cent fare platform differs from a general swindle punishable under the blue sky laws.

## What the I. R. T. Wins We Lose

The City has contracts with the I. R. T. and B. M. T. to charge only a five-cent fare. With that fare he I. R. T. made \$6,395,000 in 1925-26 and \$6,289,000 in 1926-27. Its earnings for this last year would have been over \$8,000,000 if it had not spent \$2,000,000 in breaking its strike. We were asked to pay for breaking that strike. We did. The company is now using its loss on that strike

to make us pay \$40,000,000 a year. We can't win under the present system. They can't lose. Everything is down their alley.

The B. M. T. which is rich and has never complained about losing money will now proceed to raise its fares and break its contracts.

Once the Tammany Administration let our contracts be broken there is only one hope left for keeping the five-cent fare.

Can we trust Mayor Walker and Tammany to use that method—to recapture the subways for the City? The answer lies in Wall Street figures. I. R. T. stocks rose immediately after Walker's election. When it became clear that the Transit Commission and Walker both were going to pretend to see no evil, hear no evil, I. R. T. stocks doubled in value. They have gone up \$43,000,000 since the beginning of the year. The Wall Street boys were "wise". They were on the inside. They knew just what was arranged. If they thought that the Mayor would even now make any effective move, not just some nice words to kid the public some more, those stocks would not have gone up. The Wall Street boys are banking on the Mayor's ability to put over another hot one on the people of New York.

In September Samuel Untermyer said that by failing to take over the subways the City was losing \$900,000 a month. In the last eight months the City has lost \$7,200,000. What we lose the I. R. T. with all its political power in the councils of the two parties has won.

## Only One Way Out

There is only one way to keep the five-cent fare from becoming the nine-cent fare. The city must recapture the subways at once and unite them in a unified system with the lines it is now building.

1. An indignant and betrayed public opinion must force Mayor Walker to give the necessary one year's notice that the City will from now on own and operate all its subways.

2. At the end of that one year's notice, in 1929, the sold and betrayed citizens must put in a City government which can be trusted—which has had no share in this cynical business of charging every subway rider in New York \$32 for the pleasure of reading Mayor Walker's wisecracks or of hearing about his vacations in Palm Beach.

They will gain nothing by putting in an Administration representing the Wall Street and Big Business interests of the country. The Republicans have constantly stood against government ownership. They were the ones who killed Governor Smith's plan for developing the St. Lawrence power. The only thing they can be trusted to do is to gum the works and keep the subways in the hands of the company that has now broken its contract and will charge a seven cent and then a nine-cent fare.

3. The Socialists are the only ones who have constantly stood for municipal ownership and operated (Continued on Page Seven)

"Tammany Has Overreached Itself," Norman Thomas Tells Big Audience in Carnegie Hall

## THRONG URGES MAYOR RESIGN

New York Revolts Against  
Democrats' Bungling—  
Myth of "New Tammany" Exploded

THE "New Tammany" is on the carpet.

Even before Governor Smith could get his campaign started, the myth of a regenerate and reformed Tammany has been exploded. The decision of the U. S. Federal Court permitting the Interborough Rapid Transit Company to increase fares and levy additional tribute on the straphangers of \$60,000,000 or more a year has started a revolt against Tammany which is reaching tremendous proportions in New York and bids fair to spread.

A Tammany administration was elected in New York City in 1925 on a five cent subway fare platform. For three years the present administration, and for eight years previous, the Hearst-Tammany administration, failed to take a single step toward assuring a five cent fare. Under Walker, reports began to be current that Tammany had "sold out" to the traction companies in exchange for a campaign chest for Governor Smith. Credence has been given these reports by the city's bungling of the fight against increased fares. The Tammany administration let the traction company go into the courts first and get the "jump" on the people. And a Tammany judge wrote what lawyers consider a phantastic decision permitting not only a seven cent fare, but a nine or a ten cent fare.

"An Ordinary Swindle"  
Wherein does Smith and Walker's five cent fare platform differ from a general swindle punishable under the blue sky laws? is the question asked by the Socialist party and re-echoed by millions of citizens.

No sooner was the increased fare decision announced than the Socialist party, through Norman Thomas and others of its leaders, let loose a bombardment of demands that the city immediately take advantage of its privileges under the subway contracts to recapture the subways. Mayor Walker, whose election was sponsored and brought about by Governor Smith, was assailed for his vacillating and suspicious method of fighting the traction companies.

The Socialists immediately rushed into print a leaflet containing what the New York Times called "the most bitter attack on the Mayor issued thus far." The new Tammany has been "beaten all over the sidewalks of New York" on the transit fight, the leaflet stated. To cap the Socialist agitation a tremendous meeting of protest was held in Carnegie Hall, where more than 2,000 citizens cheered demands that the city take steps to immediately recapture the subways.

Under the blows from his Socialist critics, which evoked a large public response of approval, Walker began to go through the motions of making a fight. Walker, termed by McAlister Coleman at the Carnegie Hall meeting, "the sweet singer of the night clubs," however, refused to take action in the direction of recapture. The New York World, newspaper apologist of Smith and the New Tammany, came to Walker's rescue with an editorial attempting to answer the Socialists' arguments in favor of recapture.

Resolution Demands Recapture  
Resolutions at the Carnegie Hall meeting nevertheless demanded recapture and voted to send a delegation to put the matter squarely before the Mayor. The speakers included Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Coleman, Jacob Panken, Algernon Lee, who presided; Harry W. Laidler, and former Assemblyman Louis



Waldman, recognized as one of the city's foremost authorities on the transit question.

Waldman warned of Tammany's efforts to groom a new "shirt-front" in the event that Mayor Walker is forced to retire before public indignation, he it now seems probable he will.

"The one missing incident in his record story of bungling and betrayal of the best interests of the people," said Waldman, "is Mayor Walker's unhesitating announcement that he will run again next year. The Mayor's announcement has not brought the hoped-for expressions of support and it may be that, after all, the Mayor may not run again. But Tammany is playing safe. Already we learn that the genial Mr. McKee is 'disappointed' with the Mayor and is trying to prod him into more constructive activity. The plan is an old one in Tammany politics. If Olvany and the Hall find they cannot put Walker over again on the people, they will find in Joe McKee a substitute. A substitute who waited until the five cent fare was doomed before he found out that all was not well in the Mayor's office. Mr. McKee will be trotted out as the aggressive young man who tried his best to save the five cent fare even to the extent of picking a fight with the Mayor. It is the traditional Tammany trick, dating back to the days of 'Elegant' Oakey Hall, the henchman of Boss Tweed, whose white shirt front and vanguard of polish was intended to hide from public view the filth and corruption of Tammany Hall. I hope that Joe McKee will not let himself be used that way."

Governor Smith's Transit Commission blocked an bungled effective opposition to an increase, Thomas declared. He promised to stomp the country telling the facts about "The New Tammany."

Thomas said: "Tammany Hall has overreached itself. As a predicted in the campaigns of 1926, '27 and '28, it has sought to keep the five cent fare issue alive to fool the people while giving its friends, the stock gamblers, the opportunity to get a seven or nine cent fare through the courts. Tammany Hall has lost in this game. You cannot forever fool the people with words. Here is the record:

"Governor Smith drove out Hyman and gave us Walker. Governor Smith gave us the blundering Transit Commission, composed of his personal friends. Comptroller Berry is another personal friend of Smith's. And Berry was openly opposed to the five cent fare. Apparently well grounded rumor says that Chadbourne and certain other traction men are personal friends of Smith. So much for Governor Smith in this matter."

"The Tammany city administration and Governor Smith's Transit Commission between them should have given us a program for unified transit. They talked and did nothing. Jimmy Walker, who is going to run again to save the five cent fare, never even gave notice of intent to recapture, which is the one indispensable thing an honest and intelligent Mayor would have insisted upon."

City's Lawyer Attacked

"When matters finally came to court action the city and the Transit Commission botched things at every turn. Clarence Lewis, counsel for the Transit Commission, made Mr. Untermyer's work as difficult as possible. Finally the city appointed as special counsel former Comptroller Craig, who is about the last man in New York who should have had the job. According to well founded reports Mr. Craig has options on certain surface lines which would profit enormously by a seven or nine cent fare. A decent sense of honor would have made him decline such an appointment. Instead he went into court and opposed Mr. Untermyer's line of reasoning at important points. Now he and Jimmy Walker between them have found another excuse for not giving notice of recapture. Perhaps by their failure in time they will permit the courts to fix no-high a valuation on the subways that they cannot be recaptured. Thus do Mayor Walker and his Tammany colleagues add the transit fraud to the bus franchise scandal, to the largely unpunished milk scandal, to the Queens sewer scandal, to the street department scandal in the Bronx, to the school building scandal, to the no-nothing fraud on housing and to the election frauds with which they have burdened the city which trusted them. It is a pretty record, this, that the new Tammany is making—a record of national significance which I shall do my utmost to explain to the people of America."

The G. O. P. Fully As Bad

"Republican protests against Tammany. However, are one degree more hypocritical than Tammany itself. Leaders in the Republican party have always been for the seven cent fare or higher. In the last Mayoralty campaign I heard poor Mr. Waterman flounder like a school boy through a speech someone had written for him on transit in which the only thing that was intelligible was his belief in private operation of subways."

Former Mayor Hyman, who is trying to rise from his political grave, is scarcely better. In eight years of office he did nothing to give us a constructive subway policy. Now in a pathetic bid for Re-

publican support he too talks of private operation of subways. He offers no plan whatever to give us unified subways or to save the five cent fare. Neither now nor in the past has Mr. Hyman shown any understanding of the problem. His only virtue was a stubborn loyalty to the principle of the five cent fare. And under present conditions obstinacy is not enough. Some brains are necessary."

The Court's Interference

"But the people of New York must understand not only the shortcomings in varying degree of Mr. Hyman, the Republican party and, above all, Tammany Hall. All Americans should learn from what has happened the even more important lesson that under our present system we entrust to our courts a dangerous and unwarranted power to set valuations and even to upset solemn contracts. The fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution, which could not save Sacco and Vanzetti, can it appears, save one of the most obnoxious corporations in America and guarantee profits for its swollen values, most of which belong to the speculators, who have more than doubled the market value of I. R. T. stock since its appeal to the federal courts. It is not confiscation, it appears, to take from \$18 to \$32 each in extra fares out of the pockets of poor, hard-working New York families for the benefit of stockholders. It is confiscation of value less than an 8 percent return on values which not so much the company as the city has created. To a layman the decision of the federal judges seems so weak in its reasoning that it is hard to see how the Supreme Court can uphold it. The vital thing for New York and the country, however, is the dangerous judicial tyranny under which courts can evolve values out of their inner consciousness and fasten them on the workers. In the light of the seven cent fare decision it becomes more than clear that the very first step in social progress in America is to curb the excessive power of the courts, not only in the matter of injunctions but in the fixing of valuations and in the determination of what is and is not confiscatory. This also is a fact I shall try to make clear to the voters of America."

Regulation A Failure

"Finally I shall tell the people of this country that our bitter New York experience is one more proof that there is no effective way to regulate public utilities and natural resources. We must own them publicly and administer them honestly and democratically for use and not private profit. What that means in the case of the New York subways we have been explaining in every campaign for years. Here, once more, is our program:

"New York's transit problem in the large depends upon proper city planning. With proper city planning we can solve the problem by a unified system with a five cent fare. Such a system requires: (1) Immediate notice of recapture of all parts of the present subways which are recapturable. (2) Assessment of the larger part of the cost of building new subways where it belongs, namely, against the property benefited. Already property along Ninth avenue has risen by about 300 percent as a gift to the property-holders from the City of New York. (3) The creation of a New York City subway authority, an authority representing subway riders and subway workers. Of course this should be accompanied by recognition of the workers' own union and an express recognition of the right of collective bargaining. An aroused electorate can demand this solution and it can force the state and city government to see to it that the subway authority is of high grade ability and character. To demand less than this and to get less than this is to admit the failure of democracy in New York City."

Panken demanded that the Mayor resign, a suggestion that won the thunderous approval of the audience.

Panken declared:

"The decision by the court to allow a seven cent fare is menacing to the people of the entire United States. It strengthens a rule of law, which, in my judgment, is turning our government into an agency guaranteeing profits to private individuals or corporations. For the time being it fixes the profits of corporations at 8 percent. There is no guarantee that the profit will not be increased."

"By court decree, our government is becoming an instrument used to exact from the people contributions to the profits of the few."

"Fortunately, there is provision in the contract for recapture. We insist that there be no delay in giving notice for recapture. If the Interborough cannot run the railroads the city can. The city should. The city must."

"Is a 'threat' to be made to enable the Interborough to use it as a basis in court litigation? Is our 'dandified' Mayor prodding the Interborough with more ammunition to fight the strap-hangers? Let him answer."

"The notice of recapture is to be merely a 'threat' to the Interborough. We do not want any 'threats.' We want our subways back. We want the retention of the five cent fare. Recapture the subways, or resign, Mr. Mayor."

"Again the city administration is planning to be late, Mayor Walker and his

## Walker, Piqued By Criticism, Calls Socialists "Carriers"; Do You Want Facts, Jimmie?

Mayor Walker refers to the Socialists as "Carriers." This is to remind his honor that "carrier" was pick on the bodies of dead ones only. If he regards his political corpse as a fit object for scavengers it is nothing to us. Only let us inform him that birds of prey are very much alive, especially around election time, and that while the Socialist Party does not have for its emblem the vulture, as do those two wings of the same bird, the Republican and Democratic Party, it nevertheless is no tame pet. It can fight the enemies of the working class as it has proved in many

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Panken demanded that the Mayor resign, a suggestion that won the thunderous approval of the audience.

Panken declared:

"The decision by the court to allow a seven cent fare is menacing to the people of the entire United States. It strengthens a rule of law, which, in my judgment, is turning our government into an agency guaranteeing profits to private individuals or corporations. For the time being it fixes the profits of corporations at 8 percent. There is no guarantee that the profit will not be increased."

"By court decree, our government is becoming an instrument used to exact from the people contributions to the profits of the few."

"Fortunately, there is provision in the contract for recapture. We insist that there be no delay in giving notice for recapture. If the Interborough cannot run the railroads the city can. The city should. The city must."

"Is a 'threat' to be made to enable the Interborough to use it as a basis in court litigation? Is our 'dandified' Mayor prodding the Interborough with more ammunition to fight the strap-hangers? Let him answer."

"The notice of recapture is to be merely a 'threat' to the Interborough. We do not want any 'threats.' We want our subways back. We want the retention of the five cent fare. Recapture the subways, or resign, Mr. Mayor."

"Again the city administration is planning to be late, Mayor Walker and his

advisers are planning to delay notice to the Interborough under the contract to recapture the subways."

"Our 'jazz' Mayor has learned to be late; it has become a studied plan with him. I have no objection to his being late in his appointments; he must not studiously carry out his plan to be late in connecting with asserting the rights of the city in relation to transit."

"He was late in bringing the five cent fare into the state courts. His inclination is to attend ball games and other functions. He is not too late for these. We need a Mayor on the city's job. Let 'Jimmie' have his fun. But let him resign as Mayor of the city."

Coleman won the audience with a witty address.

"Out in the back country," he said, "there are many places where they pasture cattle and sheep and still use the turnstile. The stiles are for the passage of human beings—not the cattle. In this largest city of the world reverse the process and use turnstiles for the passage of human sheep. Now they are rigging up the turnstiles so that it will only work when you deposit a slug that will cost seven cents. The slug is an appropriate symbol for the I. R. T. That hard-boiled corporation has been slugging the people right square in their collective noses ever since they got hold of the subways."

"The Mayor said he was 'surprised' when the seven cent fare decision was handed down. Coolidge was 'surprised' to learn about the oil scandals, and Smith was 'surprised' to hear about the census graft. If any well thought out plan for handling traction ever came from City Hall it would be our turn to be surprised. We get the slugs and the turnstiles and nice new rebate slips, the Interborough gets the jack and the Mayor gets more and more surprised."

N. Y. Socialists Are For Old Age Pensions Church Group Told

Albany—A plank providing for pensions for all superannuated working men and women will form part of the Socialist state platform of 1928, it is announced by former Assemblyman Herbert M. Merrill of Schenectady, Socialist state secretary.

Merrill made the announcement at a meeting of the State Executive Committee. He added that the committee had also received a request made by the Evangelical Brotherhood of Buffalo for a statement of the party's stand on the matter of old-age pensions.

Merrill was authorized to write to Fred W. Bickson, secretary, as follows:

"This is to acknowledge your communication of the 29th of April in regard to the establishment of workingmen's pension fund, and to say to you that I shall be pleased to refer your letter to the platform and agenda committee of our 1928 state convention. I might incidentally remind you that the Socialist parties of America and the world have from time immemorial supported legislation designed for the relief of unemployment and old age. However, we are not inclined to think that a workingman should participate in the contribution to the pension fund. The social order that throws him on the scrap-heap of industry when he is 45 or 50 should be wholly responsible for his maintenance, and contributions should come solely from employers and the state."

NEW BEDFORD UNION JOIN THE A. F. OF L.

(Continued from Page 1)

soup boilers where gentle hands fill their pail and send them home happy.

The fourth weekly mass meeting was held last Monday. One of the speakers was Alfred Baker Lewis, New Eng. Dist. Secy. of the Socialist Party. He presented the Council with a \$25 check from the Socialist Party. His speech, as well as that of Frank Manning of the Young People's Socialist League, was well received. It is planned to have two speakers from New York next Monday, one of them Norman Thomas.

Civil Liberties Union Ready To Aid Students

Charging that "self-appointed guardians of the minds of college youths have undertaken to interfere with the discussion of controversial social problems before college audiences," Dr. Harry P. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, announced that the organization stands ready to aid any student group whose freedom of discussion is violated. The Union will take action on any cases reported to it by giving full publicity to the facts and protesting to the authorities and graduates of the institution involved.

A study of the history of Tammany Hall and of the Republican party in recent years would suggest that ours is a government of the people by the grafters and for the capitalists. What's your idea?

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

seem likely to have fastened on the city. And the voters may not always thank Al Smith for his boy-friend Mayor.

Here is a partial list of the burdens the new Tammany and its Democratic allies have fastened on New York: The largely unpunished milk scandal, the phony bus franchise to the Equitable Company, the shocking waste of millions of dollars in imperfect construction of new school houses, the sewer and paving scandals in Queens, the seven or nine cent fare, and still more recently, the far reaching fraud in the Department of Street Cleaning. Not one of these frauds or scandals was discovered by the city administration and in not one single case has the city administration taken active and adequate steps to trace down and punish the guilty parties. Meanwhile everybody knows that while our police are brave, there is plenty of corruption in the Police Department and a very miserable brand of justice served out in our courts. A well informed lawyer said the other day that members of his profession were complaining because they used to have to pay policemen to lie for them. Now they have to pay them to tell the truth!

Incidentally labor has two reasons to look askance at this "new" Tammany. All labor is opposed to Fascism. Yet Jimmy Walker's latest guest from abroad is some prince or other whom Mussolini made Governor of Rome. And Jimmy never loses a chance to tell how he admires Mussolini. Finally, it is to be remembered that this "new" Tammany has resorted to every device, secret and open, to try to escape the law providing that the prevailing union wage scale shall be paid in city work. Quite a record, isn't it, for an organization that is going to go out before the country as clean and progressive?

Of course this doesn't mean that Tammany is worse than any city political machine or that the Republicans in New York are better than Tammany. It's a joke to hear Mrs. Pratt, the Republican Alderman, attack Tammany's transit record when one remembers how poor old Waterman, the Republican candidate in the last Mayoralty election, blundered through the dull and uninformed speeches that someone wrote for him about New York's transit problem. He had no remedy. He would even have turned over the new subways now building to private operation. And, by the way, ex-Mayor Hyman who is trying to climb out of his political grave is talking this same nonsense of private operation. No, it doesn't matter by what name the political machine is called as long as it exists to save special privilege and private profit for the few rather than to serve the great masses of workers with hand and brain.

Mr. Hoover's friends have been circulating quite widely his "Child's Bill of Rights." You will remember that according to it we are to strive to bring it to pass that no child in America shall endure certain evils. Thus, no child shall ever suffer "from unreasonableness." Just what has candidate Hoover done or what does he expect to do to bring that ideal nearer attainment in the coal fields? What would he do for the children of the unemployed? What about a textile center like New Bedford, where men are gallantly fighting a ten percent reduction in wages under which now the average New Bedford family earns about half the estimated minimum budget for health and decency? So far Mr. Hoover's only answer is that he stands for the policies of President Coolidge.

Massachusetts Socialists are illustrating their Socialism by the honest and friendly help they are giving in the New Bedford strike. They are not trying to capture the union or the strike. They are trying to work with the union, giving their ideas and their help in democratic fashion. Socialists and friends of labor everywhere are investing in human well-being and in the cause of labor when they give to the New Bedford Relief Fund, Post Office Box 57, New Bedford, Mass.

I don't usually say much about typographical errors, which are very hard to avoid in a paper with so small a staff as the New Leader. Moreover, such errors can usually be easily corrected by the reader. But last week I suffered rather more than usual from these errors. Thus, in the reprint of my article, "Why I Am a Socialist," I was made to say that bankers and investors in foreign securities "do not desire imperialism." I wrote the precise opposite. These groups may not desire large scale war but they do desire imperialism. In an earlier part of the same article I said that while men might not declare as emphatically as once they did that this is "the best of possible worlds" a lot of them still say that it is "the best of possible worlds." By omitting italics the paragraph was made unintelligible. Other mistakes both in the article and in my column were probably noticed by the reader and automatically corrected. But then I sometimes wonder how many of these mistakes that bother the author ever worry the reader who specializes usually most on headlines.

Spring Has Come to CAMP TAMIMENT, Forest Park, Pa. and you may meet it on Decoration Day when this camp for adults where rare good fellowship is found, opens for the season on May 29th.

Everything for your happiness—a full orchestra—a brilliant review—a week-end of real fun with a delicious au revoir dinner on June 2nd.

P. S. If you can't come down on the 29th make it any day up to June 2nd. For rates and routes write to CAMP TAMIMENT, 7 East 16th Street NEW YORK CITY Phone: Algonquin

## Judge Fixes Wages For Ind. Miners

### "Have Made Jobs Available at Certain Price", Indiana Court Says

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Labor leaders here are looking with dismay at the amazing new move on the part of the mine operators to get out of paying union wages agreed to in the Jacksonville contract.

An Indiana coal operator has gone to the courts and obtained an order from Judge Linn D. Hay of the Superior Court of Indianapolis which fixes the minimum scale for miners at five dollars a day, two and a half dollars less than the Jacksonville rate.

The lawyers for the Knox Consolidated Coal Company, who obtained the order, did so by the simple device of throwing the company into a receivership. In granting the company's request for setting the new scale, the judge says:

"I have ordered no one to work for a certain price, but I have made jobs available at a certain price if the men care to work."

That was very nice of you, Your Honor, not to order men to work at a certain price. But how long will it be before some such order does issue from some "superior" person?

This business of getting the courts to fix the price of labor is just about the hoary limit in legal interference with the rights of workers.

You will remember that the Kansas Industrial Court shenanigan had some such lovely arrangement. And you will remember that one man with guts enough to go to jail, namely, Alexander Howat, put that thing on the Fritz.

Now you can make all the contracts you want with union representatives and then by merely getting some friendly creditor to throw you into bankruptcy receive the blessing of the court and fix prices for your help that will suit your fancy.

It is doubtful if at any time in the history of labor since there was a movement in this country when labor was so completely at the mercy of the courts.

In a book called "Don't Tread On Me," published by the Vanguard Press of New York City, the authors say:

"A recent commentator on the present situation has remarked that the struggle between organized capital and organized labor today takes the form of a battle between the courts and the trade unions, with the capitalists standing beyond the battle so long as the courts continue their present course. Evidently we are marching with great speed back to 1866 when the Philadelphia Shoemakers, who were on strike, were haled into court, charged with two offenses; one, a combination to raise wages, the other a combination to injure others. From the time of these first conspiracy cases until the present, the attitude of the courts toward labor has varied in degrees of suspicion and hostility only to the extent to which labor has won the public to its side, or been able to stand on its own feet and fight back."

That is just it. The courts will not be so free and easy with injunctions, evictions and price-fixing orders once a strong, militantly aggressive movement is under way. Most courts in the long run are presided over by elected judges. Would a man like Hay of Indianapolis dare to hand down such an infamous order if he figured that there was an alert political party, representing the interests of labor in the field?

"Hoch monopoly! Hoch courts and judges and injunctions!" wrote Oscar Ameringer a short time ago. "Hoch profit uber alles! The inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Oh, well—oh, hell."

"What is labor going to do about it? Will it docilely sit down and permit its liberties to be stolen decision by decision? Will it forever duck and dodge, while whining a hoary refrain, 'We must obey the law.'"

"Obey and be damned. If obedience to unjust laws settled the problems of life, there would be no such thing as liberty, democracy and equality before the law—pitiful as it is. If blind obedience to unjust law is a virtue then Washington was a criminal, Tom Jefferson a felon, and Franklin was a jail-bird."

And with these few but strong words of Oscar's we will draw the curtain over a world where men can make other men work at wages set by courts, where you can enjoin workers from even mentioning the fact of a nation-wide strike and where Harry Sinclair is innocent while the jails of West Virginia and Pennsylvania are filled with men who have done nothing more than refuse to work at starvation wages.

A flood of literature is coming from the super-power footpads to prove that public ownership is a failure but not one word about the profits this crowd hopes to reap. Strange, isn't it?

## Greatest Assistance To Miners Given By Poorer Classes

New York—A survey of contributions made in behalf of destitute families shows nearly half of the total sum is given by people, themselves poor. This statement is made by Miss Susanna Paxton, Executive Secretary of the Emergency Committee for Miners' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Miss Paxton has recently completed an analysis of contributions received for the relief of destitute families of striking coal miners in the fields of Pennsylvania and Ohio. About 47 per cent of the total amount comes in sums of less than \$5, she finds.

Frequently these small sums are accompanied by letters which show the donors' poverty, Miss Paxton says. One such letter from a woman in the middle west contained a single dollar and added: "It is all that I can spare from my own necessities. God bless my dollar and stretch it far."

The Emergency Committee, a national non-partisan organization, is preparing a corps of doctors to go into the coal fields, where there is an increasing amount of uncurbed diseases. In these fields smallpox, diphtheria and influenza have in some places approached plague proportions.

British I. L. P. Termed Traitors by Communists For United Front Move

In the Communist "International Press Correspondence," under the title of "The Reformist Unity swindle against the revolutionary unity of the working-class," is defined an attitude towards the Manifesto of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, which proposed efforts to unite the working class. This article, curiously, appeared only in the German and French editions of "International Press Correspondence," while it is missing from the English edition.

From this article in the German edition of "Imprecor," No. 31 of the 23d March, 1928 (French No. 32, 28th March, 1928) we extract the following passages:

"It is not the first time the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain (I.L.P.) has tried to arrest the decline of its influence on the British Labor movement by affecting before the masses sympathy for the revolution, and by making proposals for the creation of one single international, that is to say, for the fusion of the International of social traitors and social imperialists with the Communist International. This reformist manoeuvre is explained by the development of the labor movement in Great Britain. Indeed, the Independent Labor Party is threatened with dissolution. . . ."

"The union of the Communist International with the I.L.P. international or fusion between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party in any country is just as impossible as the mixing of fire and water. . . . The assembling of the working masses for the proletarian struggle can only be done against the will of the leaders and reformist parties and solely by the Communist International and its sections."

"The Manifesto of the Independent Labor Party reaches the height of insolence and ignominy when it speaks of the Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union and of the trade unions and 'opposition' trade unions not affiliated to the Amsterdam International as 'dissentient minority movements, reflecting still further division.' In this way the Independent Labor Party is giving the reformists of the Right the slogan for their disruptive activity in the trade unions. The I. L. P. thus exposes itself as the ally of these leaders."

Textile Workers Win

Warren, R. I.—Three months' strike for union work and 450 Parker cotton mill workers are back on the job with wage cut rescinded and their United Textile Workers union recognized. The Parker mills tried to repudiate the union agreement and announced a 10 percent wage cut with the 54 hour week. The victory is held a promising omen for the big New Bedford strike.

Charles Penrose of the Pennsylvania Bankers' Assn., a nephew of the late Senator Penrose, appeared as helping to whip the national banks and trust companies into line to bring pressure on the legislature against the Pinchot measures. Penrose also wrote a pamphlet which was circulated by Johnson's committee.

Minutes of the meeting of Johnson's committee on October 20, 1927, showed that Mr. McKenzie urged a general placing of advertising in the newspapers, because the electric companies could not expect support from the press unless they supported the press.

Tie-up With Colleges

"Yes, that is honorable and lawful," said Johnson. "We expected them to get their friends to vote against these bills." "Then," responded Healy, drily, "we have a test of your understanding of honor."

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## Boston And Maine Men Hit Company

'Co-operation' Talk Makes Boston Railroadmen Hot Under the Collar

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
BOSTON.—A gathering of more than 1000 members of the six brotherhoods of operating employees of the Boston & Maine Railroad, at Faneuil Hall, by an overwhelming vote adopted a resolution condemning the management of that company for alleged unfair treatment of the workers.

The meeting was called for the purpose of endorsing the action of the general chairman of the unions in forming a co-operative organization for the "betterment of the conditions of the members." The resolution was suddenly offered from the floor and, declared "out of order," it was adopted.

Though the unions affiliated with the cooperative organization are the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Order of Railroad Telegraphers and Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

The plans for the meeting called for the general chairman of the different organizations to explain the creation of the point cooperative body and then for the adoption of a resolution, endorsing the organization, and calling on the chief executives and Grand Lodge officers to do all in their power to make the new organization a success.

Up to the time that the vote on this resolution was passed, the meeting moved along like clock work. Harmony between workers and management of the Boston & Maine system was the keynote of the speeches by the different officers. Suddenly the peace and calm were shattered when one of the members rose and started to read a resolution.

He had read less than a minute when the gavel of H. L. Ramm of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, chairman of the meeting, dropped and he told the reader that his resolution was not in order.

At this decision by the chair hundreds of the men in the hall were on their feet seeking recognition, and demanding that the resolution be placed before the meeting.

The following resolution was then read to the meeting:

"Whereas, the present management of the Boston & Maine Railroad has utterly failed to evidence a proper spirit of cooperation with us, and has by divers acts of hostility sought to break down our morale by conducting so-called efficiency programs:

"By causing the wholesale discharging of old and faithful employees; by lengthening our daily work and making more arduous and disagreeable our labors, with the resultant effect of causing demotions among the older employees and younger men laid off;

"By promulgating needless rules and restrictions under the pretext of insuring safety, the penalty for the infraction of which is instant dismissal from the service; by repeated infractions and violations of our schedules, such as refusing to allow and pay proper and justifiable claims, and by making unreasonable interpretations of the provisions of the schedules and by delaying or causing delay to claims, to the extreme inconvenience of the employees and unnecessary expense to their organizations.

"In the face of all these abuses we have remained faithful to our tasks. Repeated supplications for a fairer and more humane spirit of toleration and co-operation have been met with repeated injury and abuse:

"Therefore, be it resolved that we publicly protest in the most vigorous terms against the existing policy of the management of the Boston & Maine Railroad and the treatment they continue to accord ourselves and our associates, and demand in the name of justice and fair play that these injustices cease at once and that they manifest an inclination to treat with us in the close associations that our relations concede and more in the spirit of humanity and decency as becomes the attitude of man to man."

The resolution was adopted amid yells which might have been heard at the Old State House.

While no ultimatum or threat of action was contained in the resolution, the statements of a number of speakers were to the effect that much unrest and discontentment exists among the employees of the Boston & Maine Railroad Company.

Senator Smoot, Utah's prize babbit, declares that we are happy because Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's work has been that of a "genius." Smoot's Mellon is one which the workers have never tasted.

## Kellogg Treaty Needs Disarmament Clause, Henderson Declares

May Day Message To New Leader Urges Dedication to Peace—Finland Leader Sends Message

TO the New Leader and the American Comrades:

ON MAY DAY all the workers of the world dedicate themselves to the ideal of the international solidarity of peoples. Within the comity of nations peace should be organized and justice made to prevail. The International has now many imitators, in form if not in substance. By the Covenant of the League of Nations the great majority of the world's states have accepted obligations not to resort to war, and they have bound themselves to submit all disputes to peaceful settlement and to keep the peace while they are being considered. They have, however, preserved the right to resort to private war after three months delay in the event of a breakdown of conciliation by the Council.

The new treaty which your Government has proposed to other Powers is valuable because of the psychological impulse it gives to the work of building peace by forcing people to think about the problems involved and by bringing the United States and the rest of the world together in co-operation for peace. It may become a bridge between the United States and the members of the League of Nations. As I interpret Mr. Kellogg's draft of the proposed treaty, the United States is willing to renounce all recourse to war as an instrument of national policy even if the negotiations for the settlement of a dispute have broken down. This has always been the policy of British Labor. On the other hand, the United States Government does not pledge itself in advance to a particular procedure for the peaceful settlement of all kinds of international disputes. This is a weakness of the treaty. Peace must be organized, but it must be peace with justice. Nevertheless, the Kellogg Treaty indicates an advancement. But what is the value of treaties to outlaw war without disarmament? The masses cannot be expected to give to declarations of pacific intentions by governments a greater importance than the governments themselves. Willingness to disarm is one test of the sincerity of all signatories to such treaties. Must we maintain great armies on land, great navies on the sea, and great fleets of ships in the air against the war which we have outlawed in our hearts and by a solemn international engagement? I hope that the Kellogg Treaty will be signed, with such amendments and such amendments only, as may be necessary to outlaw war without ambiguity or equivocation. If it is signed in all sincerity by the great Powers, it should be a prelude to a new disarmament treaty without precedent in the history of the world.

We entertain great hopes with regard to the future, and we are wishing you, too, Comrades in America, a good success in your efforts.

Arthur Henderson  
President, The Socialist and Labor International,  
London, April 24th.

From Finland  
Comrades of the New Leader:

Please, accept a greeting from a country which, small and far away from the high-roads, never has played any big part in the history of Socialism, but where the workers, like our comrades everywhere else, are striving for the realization of the great idea of Socialism, common to all of us. Please, accept a greeting from Finland.

The workers over here, conscious of their position as a class, have for thirty years been fighting for their liberation as a class. Towards the end of the nineteenth century our Social-Democratic Party was founded.

Situated at the frontier of the big Russian Empire, our people shared the fate of all the other nations within the Russian Empire: to be downtrodden by Czarism. Indeed, we had general franchise, and we captured 40 per cent. of all the seats in the Parliament, but it availed us little, for Russian Czarism suppressed all social progress. The conviction grew strong among our workers that Finland must become nationally independent; only then would the prospects of freedom improve also for the working class.

For a long time the prospects were dark. Only the world war brought about the downfall of Czarism, and in harmony with the workers of Russia the national independence of Finland was realized. Already during the world war, however, had the controversies within our country been sharpened to the breaking point, and at the same time as Finland was freed from Russia, a citizen war broke out. The bourgeoisie won, and took a terrible revenge on the working class. It thought already it had put an end to Socialism, thanks to its White Terror. But only a year afterwards the Finnish working class was gathered once more, in spite of the big depletion. Tenacity is a national virtue of the Finns.

During the last few years "Communism," supported by Russia, has tried to gain a foothold in Finland. But the great majority of the workers have remained true to Social-Democracy, and Social-Democracy has constantly gained at the expense of Communism.

A proof of the outer strength of Social-Democracy is the fact that the recent Social-Democratic Government (1926-27) gave speed to the general progress, and the prestige of Social-Democracy grew considerably. However, our main strength is to be found in our organizations; there is a net-work of 1,300 Social-Democratic Labor Unions all over the country, and their close upon a thousand houses of their own are pillars of strength to our propaganda work in

the country. Special, and rather strong federations are taking care of the sport, study, temperance, and art activities among the workers, and these federations, like the Co-operative organizations of the workers, are under Social-Democratic leadership. It is true that the Communists hold the reins within the Trade Union Movement, yet the Social-Democrats have a big, and growing influence also there.

We entertain great hopes with regard to the future, and we are wishing you, too, Comrades in America, a good success in your efforts.

K. H. Wilk,  
Secretary,  
The Social-Democratic Party of Finland.

PEACE AND SOCIALISM are the burden of May Day Messages received by the New Leader this week from Arthur Henderson and K. H. Wilk, secretary of the Socialist-Democratic Party of Finland.



K. H. Wilk



Arthur Henderson

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## "Socialism" Topic at L. I. D. Session

(Continued from Page 1)

Algermon Lee, Educational Director of the Rand School of Social Science, on Friday evening, "The Class Struggle" will be discussed in all of its ramifications by Dr. William M. Leiserson, Professor of Economics at Antioch College and, for years an impartial chairman of the men's clothing industry; Louis B. Boudin, New York attorney and author of the Theoretical System of Karl Marx; Paul Blanshard, Field Secretary of the L. I. D. and formerly educational director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Rochester; Benjamin Stolberg, among others.

"The Means to Labor or Socialist Control and the Transitional State" will be discussed on Saturday morning by H. S. Raushenbush, Secretary of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Ex-Assemblyman Louis Waldman.

The Saturday evening session will be given over to a symposium on "Enlightened Capitalism versus Socialism as a Means of Solving the Social Question," with Norman Thomas, Ivy Lee and Arthur Garfield Hays among the speakers. The problem of independent political action might also be here discussed.

Following the discussion, the Annual L. I. D. play will be given. Among those who are serving on the Play Committee are Paul Blanshard, chairman; Gertrude Weil Klein, Samuel H. Friedman, Solon DeLeon, Paul Sifton, Nellie Seles, Roland Gibson, Harry Mayer, Ben Levine, Leonard Bright, James Phillips, McAllister Coleman and Irwin Hochberg. Judging from the early accounts of the play, guests of the Conference may look forward to an hour of keen enjoyment on the occasion of its appearance.

"The Structure of the Socialist Society" will be considered by Stuart Chase, author of "Your Money's Worth" and "Tragedy of Waste" and director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., Harry W. Laidler and others.

The final session will deal with "Next Steps in American Socialism" with Dr. Jessie W. Hughan, J. B. S. Hardman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Benjamin C. Marsh, Benjamin Stolberg, McAllister Coleman, Norman Thomas and others as participants.

The afternoons of the conference will be set aside for recreation—including walking, tennis, swimming, rowing, canoeing and general sociability. The fare from New York to the Camp and return is \$7.37 while the cost of board and room at the conference is \$3.50 a day with a special rate of \$2.50 a day for bona-fide college students. Those interested in receiving further information regarding the conference should communicate with Harry W. Laidler, Chairman Conference Committee, L. I. D., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

## Socialists of Europe Win Many Women

Special Propaganda Campaigns Put On—Great Loss in Nina Bang's Death

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

VIENNA.—"Women's Day" in Austria surpassed the success it had last year, when it inaugurated the election campaign. This year it formed the climax of some weeks' special propaganda among women to bring them into the Party. This propaganda was directed chiefly to the great number of women who had voted Socialist at the last elections but who still remain outside the organized Party. At the end of December, 1927, there were 127,000 women in the Party in Vienna alone.

Throughout the whole country great demonstrations were held on the 17th and 18th of March. Meetings were held in all 21 districts of Vienna, accompanied by processions with music and torches. In many districts, instead of one, there had to be two and three meetings held; and often the hall proved far too small for those wishing to take part. News comes from provinces also that the attendance this year beats all records. These gatherings on "Women's Day" in Austria have given proof this year—which is a year of continuous hard fight against reaction in all spheres—of a determination which will insure triumph.

SUFFRAGE URGED IN SWITZERLAND  
ZURICH.—"Women's Day" made much advance in Switzerland this year. During the latter half of March Comrade Alice Fels of Belgium visited a dozen different places throughout the country, including Geneva, Lausanne, Bern, Basle and smaller industrial centers and even villages, and spoke on the international significance of "Women's Day" and the activities and prospects of the Belgian women's movement. The women everywhere showed eagerness to hear what was being done in other countries. Comrade Dora Fabian of Germany also gave a series of addresses in Zurich and other places. The Swiss women everywhere decorated the meeting halls with red banners and flowers. All speakers emphasized the absolute necessity of the franchise for women, which still seems far off in Switzerland.

ACTIVE IN GERMAN CAMPAIGN  
BERLIN.—At the meeting of the Executive of the German Socialist Party in Berlin on February 29, it was decided, in view of the imminent election campaign, not to allot a definite time limit for the celebration of "Women's Day" throughout the whole of Germany; but the meeting, nevertheless, considered it the duty of the districts and localities to organize, as part of the whole election campaign, special meetings of women, such as propaganda meetings, demonstrations, processions and so on, and to distribute special literature on these occasions. The Party calls upon all women to lend their utmost efforts to the Socialist Party to bring it victory at the polls.

COPENHAGEN.—In the early hours of March 26, 1928, after a long and painful illness, Nina Bang died in Copenhagen. She had been the first woman to belong to a European Government as a Minister. For the two and a half years during which the Stauning Socialist Government was at the helm, it was she who directed the Ministry of Education. In Parliament she had represented Socialism since 1918, when for the first time women took part in the elections, whilst earlier still she had belonged to the City Council of Copenhagen. At her death, Danish Socialism can look back on more than thirty years of her activity for the Party. Back in the nineties she entered the service of the Party Press, and later she was for a long time member of the Party Executive.

Nina Bang hailed from middle-class circles. Her father, the Deputy Ellinger, was a strict conservative. By profession and through collaboration with her husband a historian, Dr. Gustav Bang (who died in 1915), a noted investigator in Marxian theory, she was a historian. Her activities for the Party, especially as propagandist in the great campaigns waged in 1899 by the Trade Union Federation, then recently founded, not only brought her into conflict with the conservative circles of her upbringing but aroused the utmost sensation through the country.

Nina Bang's Marxian outlook induced her to devote her time in particular to investigation into economic history. Her inquiries into the Scandinavian transit duties of 1857-1858 had such a good reception that in 1912 contributions were made by other Northern States as a guarantee for the continuation of the work. The first volume appeared in 1906 and part one of the second volume in 1922. Her sustained contact with the political movement, its foundations and requirements, led her to inquire into the activities and organizations of the Danish limited liability companies. For a beginning, she opened the question of the Danish bank, the "Landmandsbank." The effect of the disclosures which started in 1922 on her initiative had a significant reaction on the fate of the present capitalist Government of Denmark. Her insight into the economic bases of international politics was of a decisive moment for the Danish labor movement.

For the Danish comrades of both sexes her activity for the development of the school system as regards workers' schools signified the climax of her achievements. Since her earlier years as teacher in an elementary school she had been outside practical school teaching; however, through her immense capacity of work and bold intelligence, she reached results which not only aroused the enthusiasm of the workers, but extorted admiration even from her opponents. In Nina Bang the International Socialist movement has lost a great personality and a woman of fine intelligence and of maternal character.

## Big Profits For New Bedford Mills, A Survey Reveals

Rarely have textile barons presented a poorer case for wage reduction than in New Bedford. Whatever may be the financial position of the coarse goods mills throughout New England, suffering from southern competition, authorities are well agreed that there is no economic justification for the New Bedford mill owners' savage slash at workers' living standards.

The New Bedford Textile Council retained Labor Bureau, Inc., to make a study of the local industry. This investigation showed that 1927 was the banner year for the city's fine cotton cloth output—shirtings, novelty weaves, cotton-silk and cotton-rayon mixtures—and that a 10 per cent increase in output had been registered over 1918, the previous record year.

State labor department statistics told the story of low earnings, averaging \$19.95 in 1927, but dropping to \$19 for the first three months of this year. With the 10 per cent wage slash directed by employers, the wage offered for 48 hours hard monotonous toil would have been \$17.10. Labor department figures show this to be less than half of the budget needed to keep a worker's family at minimum health and decency standards.

Wages Are Miserly  
Although miserly wages force workers to send their wives and children into the mills to scrape together enough for a living, the mill owners, thank you, have done quite nicely. Twenty-two mill companies carry a surplus of \$19,000,000; 18 companies paid dividends of \$2,100,000 last year; in the past 10 years, companies have handed out \$32,000,000 in cash dividends, in addition to \$17,330,000 in stock dividends, upon which profits must be paid forever more.

Economists from the business side agree with labor's economists. M. D. C. Crawford, style editor of Fairchild Publications, publishers of the standard textile and clothing dailies of the trade, is bitter in his condemnation of New Bedford's manufacturers. High lights in Crawford's findings are:

1. The wage cut can have no possible effect on the market in cutting New Bedford costs. Overhead, raw material, cost of selling and style mistakes are dominant cost considerations, not wages.

2. Not one New Bedford manufacturer has a modern point of view, either on styling fine cotton goods or selling them. New Bedford's methods are archaic; her manufacturers incompetent. Intelligent management would mean that New Bedford would be above domestic competition while the tariff would handle French and Scottish competition.

Long Strike Seen  
3. The mills should have exhausted every other means, which they have not done, before they began to take out of the lives and comfort of their workers the price of their own economic mistakes.

The strike, it is conceded, may last until Labor Day. In the meantime, trade authorities agree that fine goods competition to New Bedford will be strengthened in Fall River and other New England points. They also report New York dealers inquiring in the south whether mills can supply the fancy cloths.

In any event, manufacturers will find it would have been cheaper to improve management and even increase wages, rather than suffer loss of markets through a prolonged strike. As the leading New Bedford newspaper asks editorially, "Is the game worth the candle?"

## Two New Socialist Locals Organized In Minnesota

Minneapolis, Minn.—Emil Herman, national organizer of the Socialist Party, is in Minneapolis for a few weeks on an organizing mission for the national organization. Within ten days after his arrival Herman has organized a Socialist local in Minneapolis and one in St. Paul. Another local is in process of organization in a nearby city.

Considering that Senator Shipstead has finally filed for renomination as a Farmer-Laborite in the primaries, Socialists do not consider it advisable to file a state ticket. There is no desire to divide the labor forces in the state.

On the other hand the Communists are filing candidates for Governor and U. S. Senator in the Farmer-Labor primaries in opposition to Shipstead and the Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor. This follows instructions received by Communist organizations in all countries from Moscow.

As for presidential elections for the Socialist candidates, Thomas and Maurer, the road appears to be clear without any conflict with the Farmer-Labor movement. There is little doubt that much of the Farmer-Labor vote will go to our presidential candidates as the Socialist Party was strong in this state years ago.

After Herman has finished his work in Minnesota he will go to Oregon and Washington where pressing matters of organization and filing tickets await him.

## Armenian Socialists Here Mourn The Death of Sapah-Gulian

The Armenian Socialists in America as well as in the Old World are mourning the loss of an old and valiant leader in the person of Stephen Sapah-Gulian, who died in the New Jersey State Hospital at Greystone and was buried from the headquarters of the Hunchak Club, at 340 Third Avenue, New York, last Sunday afternoon.

Sapah-Gulian was born in Turkish Armenia in 1861. He became a school teacher, but his activities as a champion of Armenian independence and of betterment for the working people got him into trouble with the Turkish government and he had to go into exile. In 1893, while living in Paris, he took part in forming the Hunchakian party and became editor of its paper. In 1911, after the triumph of the Young Turks, he returned to the Orient, and narrowly escaped death in Constantinople.

Mr. Sapah-Gulian first visited the United States in 1903, when he founded the paper Eritassard Hayastan (Young Armenia), and ten years ago he again made this country his home and resumed the editorship of the paper.

Yugoslav Party in Congress

Belgrade.—The Ordinary Congress of the Yugoslav S. P. was held in Belgrade April 13 and 16. It was attended by 123 delegates, and by comrades Stivin (Prague) and Parkas (Budapest), representing parties abroad. It appears from all the reports that the decline of the party has everywhere been checked and that it is now in a period of growth and consolidation. There is already a regular nucleus of 3,000 paying members, to which must be added twice as many irregular members. But at the last municipal elections the party secured some 25,000 votes and elected about 100 municipal councillors.

By an unfortunate error in make-up the names of Claudio Treves and of G. E. Modigliani got transposed over their respective articles on this page in last week's issue of the New Leader.

## Box Workers Drop 30 P.C.; Output Up

Production in N. Y. Industry Jumps 121 Per Cent. Despite Lower Personnel

THE Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor, has made public a report on the paper box industry in New York City.

One of the outstanding facts as shown by this study is the extent to which machine power is replacing man power in this industry. For example, the number of workers in the paper box industry in New York City decreased 32 per cent. between 1914 and 1925 while the output per wage earner increased 121 per cent. The primary horse power per wage earner more than quadrupled during this same period thus indicating the extent to which this industry is using fewer men, but producing more goods.

The working hours in the paper box trade are comparatively short, it is said. Almost one-third of the workers were on a 46-hour week, another third had hours between 46 and 48 while the remaining third had hours of 48 and over but only two per cent of the workers had hours as high as 50. There is little or no overtime among women workers in the paper box industry. As a matter of fact the women in this industry suffer from overtime which means a reduction in the size of their pay envelopes. The overtime in this industry is almost wholly concentrated among the men workers. The paper box industry shows marked fluctuations in employment since it is directly dependent on industries which use boxes to pack their products. At the peak of the fall season the working force is increased 12 per cent, and the payroll 20 per cent, above the average. In the drop which followed the employees taken on during the fall season are dropped and not again re-employed. Between the high point of employment in December and the low point in June there is a drop of 12 per cent, above, to 7 per cent, below the average in employment; from 20 per cent, above and 13 per cent, below in payroll. The fall season therefore adds large numbers of workers in this industry which cannot be absorbed during the rest of the year.

Strike Caused Inquiry  
This study was undertaken at the request of a committee appointed by Acting Mayor McKee to study and report on the merits of the recent 19 weeks strike in the paper box industry. The committee composed of Judge Bernard L. Sheinag, Rabbi Herbert Goldstein and Harry M. Durning after holding public hearings felt that it could not proceed because there was no factual materials on the questions involved in the strike. The report of the Bureau of Women in Industry does not attempt to study issues or to become involved in the controversial aspects of the strike. The purpose is to present a disinterested survey of present conditions.

The point on which the trade unionists in this industry made their strongest fight at the time of the strike was the physical working conditions in the trade and there is no doubt that the physical working conditions in many paper box factories are far below standards. Workrooms were dirty and there was inescapable neglect in regard to sanitary arrangements. Cellars were often used for cutting rooms exposing workers to dampness in the spring and fall and to boiler heat in winter. The paper box trade in general, however is located in old buildings where really values are low since many of the manufacturers are operating on a very small margin, cheap rentals are of prime importance and large space is necessary to accommodate small values. This fact is particularly responsible for the conditions under which many workers are employed.

There is a wide variation in earnings for men and women in this industry. The median earnings a week for men was \$30.15 and \$16.42 for women. As an example 12 per cent of men and 41 per cent of the women earned less than \$16 per week and the earnings for workers in union shops would be higher than those working in non-union plants. In union plants the weekly rate of pay for men was \$37.14 and \$32.86 for non-union. The median rate of pay for women in union plants was \$23 and in non-union \$19.93. Years earnings showed a median of \$1758 for men and \$916 for women.

Ambassador Morrow in Mexico City is said to be reading mystery yarns. If he solves the mystery of the remainder of the oil loot we hope that he will report to the national Republican convention.

We just had a celebration of egg week, probably as an aid to Republicans and Democrats to stock up with arguments.

Not until a court had decided that the Interborough Transit Company must have an increase in fares which will net it over \$40,000,000 a year did Mayor Walker think that he must have another term. If the increase amounted to a few hundred millions the spats and cane we call Mayor would decide that he was entitled to serve for life.

Application for membership in the Speakers' class is to be made at the office of the Rand School or that of the People's Party, both of which are in the People's House, at 7 East 15th street.

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# SOCIALISM AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRY

## Competition a Thing of the Past—"Diffusion of Ownership" Myth—The Future Points to Socialization

The following article is the second of a series Dr. Laidler, associate director of the League for Industrial Democracy, is writing for The New Leader, restating the basic principles of Socialism as they apply to the United States of today. The first article, "What the Socialists Are After," appeared in The New Leader of March 24th. A third, giving the Socialist criticism of present day society, will appear in an early issue.

By Harry W. Laidler

IN MY former article I tried to explain something of the meaning of modern Socialism. The aim of Socialism, I declared, was to develop in industry as well as in politics a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Specifically, Socialists urge the social ownership and democratic management of the socially necessary means of production and distribution, of the principal industries of the country. Socialists are Socialists for several reasons. One of the reasons is that they believe that Socialism is a logical development from present day industry. When one speaks of a reorganization of industry, he is oftentimes met with a statement that everything has always been at it is at the present time and will always remain approximately the same. There are some people whose vision of industrial development is no broader than that of the Kansas farmer, people used to tell about. In regard to geographical width, this farmer had always lived in the small Kansas town in which he was born. When he got along in years he thought he would see something of the world. So he dressed one morning, went to the station and took the train that landed him in another town about ten miles distant. He stayed there for several hours and then returned to his home town on the afternoon train. That evening he went to the corner grocery store to tell of his experiences. "Well, John," asked Farmer Jones, "what did you think of your trip?" "I tell you," replied Farmer John, "if the world is as big as I thought it is, it's a whooper." In industry there are many farmer Johns who think that if there has been no revolution in the past five years no change may be expected.

We who are students of history know that industry is looked upon in a large way in a constant state of evolution. I never stand still. It is always changing. There was once a time when the dominant form of industrial development was a system of chattel slavery. This system existed, during the glories of Greece and Rome and the empires of the East. But chattel slavery after a while outgrew its usefulness. It was unable to surmount the difficulties of the slave labor quickly exhausted the soil and necessitated ever greater expansion on the part of the nations. And in the Vandalia and the Huns swept the Alps they dealt a death blow to the system of slavery. There were survivors here and there until the middle of the Nineteenth Century but the system perished as a system with the end of the Roman Empire.

### The Beginnings of Industry

During the Middle Ages the dominant form of industry was a feudalistic system. Under feudalism there existed the baron lords who lived in their castles on the Rhine and the Danube and who owned all of the land. On the other hand there were the serfs who owned none of the land, who were sold with the land and who gave everything above enough to keep them alive to the feudal aristocracy.

There, however, came a time when serfdom outgrew its usefulness. Handicraft industry began to develop in towns and villages; the serfs began to increase numbers to leave the great landed states, to go to centers of population and with the development of industry and trade the system of serfdom gradually began to crumble. In Europe the French Revolution marked the end of that system as the principal organization of industrial society.

Then there slowly entered another industrial order, the order known as capitalism, based upon wage labor. In the beginning of this Republic, the capitalist system was in a very primitive stage. In the South chattel slavery still survived. In the country the farmer was an independent economic unit and the farmer's family in many instances raised their own food, made their own homespun clothing and lived a life isolated from their fellows. In the cities, there were, on the one hand, a number of indentured servants who had to spend paying off their debt incurred in making a passage to the New World. On the other hand, most of the artisans worked in small shops and in those shops were either their own masters owning the

primitive tools with which they worked or were apprentices who knew that within a comparatively short time they would be their own masters. In some instances we find that worker with a kit of tools under his arm going from farm to farm and making shoes for the farmer's family.

### Hand Industry Replaced

Steam power and electricity, however, gradually began to take the place of hand power and with the progress of the country the small shops developed into the factory. At first American factories were owned by individual employers who were not only owners of the plant but who were also promoters of the business and served as superintendents and managers. Later, however, individually owned concerns gave way to partnerships which brought together the capital of several individuals and these partnerships in turn developed into corporations. In many lines of industry the corporations have grown by leaps and bounds and have evolved into trusts and combines which control in considerable part their respective fields. The Federal Trade Commission, for instance, recently declared that in the mining industry eight combinations control about three-fourths of the anthracite produced; that two combinations control one-half of the copper deposits; two combinations, one half of the iron ore; 30 combinations, one-third of the bituminous coal.

In the field of manufacture, it is only necessary to mention the United States Steel Corporation, the Standard Oil group, the Havemeyer interests, the General Motors and Ford, Armour, Swift and Morris, the Pillsbury interests, etc. to suggest the way in which certain great industrial and financial concerns in the steel, oil, sugar, automobile, meat packing, flour and other industries, are exerting a powerful influence over their respective fields. In the years since the war, industrial and financial control has grown apace. It is true that an effort

has been made in late years to sell stocks to tens of thousands of customers and employees in order that the ownership of stocks may be diffused. Professor Carter of Harvard sees in this tendency an economic revolution. Stocks are undoubtedly owned more widely than they were in the past. Public utilities have sought to increase the number of customers and employee owners partly in order that they may secure a larger investing public, partly that they may create a greater sentiment against public ownership, partly, in the case of employees, that they may be able to alienate the worker from the organized trade union movement and in some cases because of interest in the workers. While the movement of ownership has progressed it has by no means advanced as far as many of its advocates assume. About a year ago, the Federal Trade Commission made an estimate that only from 1 1/2% to 2% of the stock of the average corporation was owned by the worker. While Mr. McCoy, an auditor of the United States Treasury, estimated recently in an article in the American Bankers Magazine, that, if duplications in stock ownership were eliminated, it was probably true that not more than 1,200,000 people in this country owned stock in corporations.

### The Growth of Monopoly

Accompanying the diffusion of ownership we find an ever greater concentration of control in the hands of the few. The thousands of owners of one or two stocks in a public utility of the type of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, take no part in control. If you owned a few shares in one of these utilities, you do not give up your work and journey down to New York to attend an annual meeting of the corporation for the purpose of voting your stock. If you do anything, you sign a proxy giving the vote to one of the controlling group of the corporation. Recently I heard of a gentleman who had an interview with the president of one of the



HARRY W. LAIDLER

large banking corporations on the day and hour on which the annual meeting was set. When he appeared at the bank at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and heard that the annual meeting was scheduled for that moment, he apologized and said that he would come some other time. The president, however, came out of the room in which the meeting was scheduled, said that only three or four stockholders were present, that everything had been duly arranged before and insisted on conducting the interview and utterly ignoring the annual meeting as a mere fiction.

Professor Ripley of Harvard has shown

how the inner circle of many financial and industrial concerns keep control of the respective companies by retaining most of the common stock and by selling non-voting stock or Class A common stock without voting privileges. In certain industries such as the electrical industry control is still further concentrated through the holding company. One finds for instance the Texas Power and Light Corporation, a holding company, owning the common stock of a number of local companies in Texas; the Southwestern Power and Light Corporation owning the common stock of the Texas Power and Light Company; the American Power and Light Corporation owning the common stock of the Southwestern Power and Light Corporation and the Electrical Bond and Share Company and the Electrical Bond and Share Securities Companies holding a controlling interest in American Power. Through these holding companies it is possible for those who own a million dollars worth of stock in the company at the apex of the pyramid to control corporations valued at tens of millions of dollars below.

### Competition Passes Away

Over fifteen years ago, Professor Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia University, one of the great sociologists of the country, observing this tendency toward concentration in control, had this to say: "Shall the chief and controlling means of production in the United States, the natural resources, the means of communication and transportation, and the great funds of loanable capital, be owned by the billionaire four hundred who by virtue of such ownership shall be able for all practical purposes to own a hundred or more millions of us ordinary human beings or shall we ordinary human beings at our collective capacity own the means of production ourselves and proceed to work out the realities of a democratic republic?"

Dr. Giddings is right. The question

before the people is more and more whether the great industries will be monopolized by the few in the interest of the few or by the community in the interest of all workers of hand and brain. Since the war the large corporation has entered the field of distribution as well as of production and we now find the great department store, the mail order store and the chain store absorbing an increasing amount of profits of the distributing industry. The vice-president of one of the large department stores recently stated to me that he did not know how it would be possible for the small neighborhood store to survive and prosper very much longer against the competition of the A. and P., Woolworth's, Liggett's, Child's, the United Cigar, Kresge's, Sears Roebuck, Marshall Field, Macy's Wanamaker's, etc. The economies of large scale purchasing and distribution are such that the small store wishing to compete has to eke out in many instances a scanty existence.

The old days of unrestricted competition have passed by. It is impossible to return to those good old days. Combination and monopoly in private hands has done away with a certain amount of waste involved in competition. There is no guarantee, however, that the public will get the advantage of the economies involved in combination. Those on the inside will try to secure as much of these profits as possible. If we wish to eliminate competitive waste and at the same time have the public secure the benefit of the newer economies we must see to it that private monopoly is transferred to the hands of the community. During the history of this Republic we have evolved from individual production where the shoemaker performed every operation in the making of a pair of shoes to social production, where it takes perhaps a hundred operations to make a pair. We must eventually evolve from individual ownership of the tools and machines of production to social ownership.

ship. In the beginning of this Republic we had, as I have brought out, a rather primitive, and individualistic form of industrial democracy where it was possible for most workers to own their tools individually. The great machines and factories are now so tremendously complex and expensive that it is out of the question for each worker to own separately these great machines. The alternative is either to have these machines owned for the most part by absentee owners who may take no part in the conduct of industry or to have all of those who do useful work in society participate in such ownership through community control.

### The Salaried Administrators

Not only is modern industry separating the worker from ownership but it is also separating the manager from the owner. As I have formerly indicated, in the good old days the individual employer generally served as superintendent and manager. With the development of the corporation those who buy stocks on the market have usually no relation to the management and may, by the purchase of stock, be an owner one day and by the sale of stock be entirely out of the picture next day. In the meanwhile the administration of the industry is entrusted to salaried administrators and technicians who may not own a single share in the corporation and whose incentive to do his best work depends primarily on his salary.

With the growth of monopoly we also find that the people begin to demand that the state regulate industry to an increasing extent. This is seen in the case of railroads, gas, electricity, telephones, telegraphs and other public utilities and is being demanded more and more in the coal and other industries. Years ago I happened to be on a debating team representing Wesleyan University in a debate with Syracuse University on the question as to whether the Interstate Commerce Commission should have the power to declare what were unreasonable rates on the railroads. My opponents in debate said that if such power were given to the Commission it would be rank socialism. During the last twenty years railroad regulating bodies have assumed increasing power over rates, safety appliances, accounting systems, passenger and freight service, labor conditions, etc. They are gradually assuming functions that were formerly considered functions of private enterprise. The time is likely to come when the people will decide that if public bodies take the initiative in all of these phases of railroad operation, the nation should go further and take over the ownership and administration of the railroads so that they can be run altogether for the benefit of the community rather than for private gain. For thus far public regulation has proved no solution. The fact is that whether we like it or not with the growing complexity of society, society is taking over an increasing number of services that were formerly left entirely to private interests—schools, water supply, parks, recreation centers, libraries, fire protection, sewerage disposal, street cleaning, harbor improvement, highways, bridges, etc.

### The Plight of the Individualist

The plight of the person who still says that he is an individualist was humorously described by Sidney Webb years ago in England when he said:

"The individualist city councillor walks along the municipal pavement lit by municipal gas and cleaned by municipal brooms with municipal water, and seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school, hard by the county lunatic asylum and the municipal hospital, will use the national telegraph system to tell them not to walk through the municipal park, but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading room, by the municipal art gallery, museum and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town hall in favor of the nationalization of canals and the increase in the government control over our railway system."

The municipal and national control here indicated is not Socialism. It does not carry with it the democratic control the Socialists insist on, nor labor control of government, without which Socialism is impossible. But it is taking society far away from its old individualistic moorings. Society has therefore seen evolution in the past and the future one thing that is certain of the future is that it is bound to continue to change. And, looking at this evolution from the standpoint of several decades, the logical direction as is indicated by the foregoing facts and by many others not here set forth of that change seems certainly to be toward a socialist society.

## FIFTY YEARS OF THE "VOLKSZEITUNG"

### N. Y. German Paper Is Oldest Labor Daily in the United States

By Louis Stanley

TURN the pages of the "Volkszeitung" for the last half century and, if you know some German, there will be revealed to you, with all its joys and sorrows, practically the whole course of the modern Socialist movement in the United States. In that history the "Volkszeitung" played a decisive role.

When the first issue of the "Volkszeitung" appeared on January 28, 1878, the Socialist movement in this country was struggling for existence. The First International, the headquarters of which Karl Marx had transferred to New York City from London in order to keep the organization out of the clutches of Bakunin, the anarchist, lingered on this side of the Atlantic until it was officially dissolved at Philadelphia on July 15, 1876. Four days later the American remnants of the First International fused with other Socialist groups into the Workingmen's Party of the United States. It was this new organization that met at New York, N. Y., Christmas, 1877, and after a thorough overhauling became the Socialist Labor Party. One month later the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" came upon its scene.

The Socialist movement in the late 70's was in the throes of a terrific dissolution. There were those who claimed that a powerful trade union movement should be the basis of a political party, here were others who saw the main chance in the ballot alone. The depression that followed the panic of 1873 played into the hands of the "political" elements. The Socialist Labor Party was dominated by this faction and the "Volkszeitung," though not an official organ, defended this point of view among the Germans, particularly of New York. The editor at this time was Alexander Jonas.

### The Greenback Period

The "trade union" side had to lie low for a while. It saw the Socialists making advances in various local elections, and in several places, notably Chicago, actually placing men in their ticket in office. Paradoxically, wherever the "trade union" faction was most active there the electoral results were best, for the intimate contacts with the workers' economic organizations were effective in reaching the voters.

With the return of prosperity in 1879, the workers abandoned independent politics and the Socialist vote declined. The "trade union" group now came to the

fore. The "Volkszeitung" maintained its stand.

In 1880 the Greenback Party, representing the money-hungry farmers of the West, held its national convention at Washington, D. C., preparatory to entering the presidential campaign. Thither came the Socialist Labor Party leaders unofficially, hoping to sway the gathering into an acceptance of their views. They were outmaneuvered by the Greenbackers so far as the platform was concerned but did succeed in having a lukewarm resolution passed which declared "that land, light, air and water are the free gifts of nature to all mankind" and, consequently, their monopolization. This compromise was the signal of revolt by the "trade union" group. The "Volkszeitung," under the editorship of Jonas, found the measure satisfactory.

In New York City the situation had taken a somewhat different turn. The "trade union" element had withdrawn in 1877. In an endeavor to carry their beliefs into practice, they had formed the International Labor Union for the purpose of organizing the unskilled workers. At the same time Bismarck's savage anti-Socialist legislation had driven to this country German revolutionaries who looked askance both upon trade union action and practical politics. They wanted pure revolutionary propaganda. The "Volkszeitung," therefore, found itself the spokesman of the moderate Germans and Americans. The radicals carried New York in the referendum on the Greenback compromise, but at any rate, Abram S. Hewitt, Democrat, became Mayor. After the election a serious effort was made to place the insurgent movement upon a permanent footing. The Single Taxers wanted to commit the new party to their own doctrine exclusively; the Socialists were just as determined to steer the movement into Socialist channels. Through control of stock the "Leader" was wrested from the Single Taxers and Schewitch, of the "Volkszeitung," as facile in English speech and writing as in German, was installed as editor in place of Louis F. Post. Two independent labor parties arose: the United Labor, led by George, and the Progressive Labor, headed by Schewitch. In the midst of the campaign the two leaders debated the issues publicly, while Gompers acted as chair-

### The Reaction Against Politics

The reaction of the workers was to abandon politics altogether and take up pure and simple trade unionism on the one hand and anarchism-syndicalism on the other. The American Federation of Labor was an expression of the former; the Black International of John Most in the East and the Red International of B. G. Haskell in the West were of the latter. As a consequence, the Socialist Labor Party lost membership heavily. It

was the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," after 1884 edited by the brilliant Russian ex-noblemen, Sergius Schevitch, that kept the banner of socialism flying during this period of reverses. However, the paper had now come to see the necessity of entrenchment in the trade unions. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party still maintained its political emphasis.

The year 1888 was a turning-point in American labor history. The unorganized flocked into the unions. The American Federation of Labor replaced the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. Labor parties succeeded in various localities, leading the A. F. of L. for the first and only time to endorse independent political action.

Against this background occurred the famous Henry George campaign in New York City. The "Volkszeitung" supporters entered enthusiastically into the fight with the expectation that it would eventually become socialist. Their influence in the trade unions, particularly the Central Labor Union, did much to swing the labor element behind Henry George, the Single Taxer. This was an important consideration, since all the local newspapers, except the "Volkszeitung," an English weekly, to serve as the official organ of the organization, was instrumental in running the first presidential candidates, Wing and Hatchett, in 1892, and began a persistent campaign to capture the trade union movement for the S. L. P. His boring from within failed miserably both in the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. From this he concluded that the existing organizations were too rotten to be resuscitated. He, therefore, organized the dual Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1895 and commenced a vicious attack upon the existing unions and their officials.

The "Volkszeitung" now edited by Herman Schluter, believed that this policy was suicidal. They felt that the party had to be patient but persistent in its win over conservative trade unions to Socialism. They planned to strip Daniel De Leon of his power. Taking advantage of a provision in the S. L. P. constitution, they declared the De Leon group deposed.

More activity is reported in Kansas. Ross Magill, back from the National Convention reports he is up to his ears in office work preparing to get the state ticket ready to be filed. George W. Snyder, Chairman of Cherokee County, has sent out a call for Socialists to meet in Columbus, on Saturday, May 12, 2 p. m., to nominate a full county ticket.

### Florida

J. D. Mitchell, Box 262, Mulberry, is now acting State Secretary. Comrade Edson, who acted for some time, was of the belief that Mitchell had more

time to give to the work. He writes that new life is developing in the Florida movement, and that the Socialists will have a ticket on the ballot. There are a number of active Socialists in the party in Florida, and we feel confident that each will get in touch with Mitchell and cooperate with him fully.

### West Virginia

John F. Higgins, State Secretary, reports the calling of a state convention to nominate a state ticket and electors for the national ticket. The convention will be held in Moose Hall, Morgantown, Sunday, June 3, 1:30 p. m. The Socialists will nominate a full ticket, from top to bottom, and lay plans for a vigorous campaign. "We have a growing and active membership in West Virginia," says Higgins. Every Socialist in the state should plan to attend this convention and help with the work.

### Oklahoma

Thomas L. Bule, State Secretary, is preparing to make sure that our ticket will go on the ballot. The Socialists of Oklahoma have selected a competent man for their secretary, and we hope each and everyone will give him full support and help build up the membership

of Socialists who are in a position to do so should make contributions to Bule. There is expense connected with running the state office, to say nothing of the unusual amount of work to be done.

### Nebraska

Socialists of Omaha, write to the National Office that they wish to see that our national ticket is on the ballot in that state. They are preparing petitions to be circulated for the necessary signatures, and candidates will be selected for electors so that the voters may have an opportunity to vote for Thomas and Maurer.

### New York State

The State Executive Committee met at State Headquarters, Albany, last Sunday. Herman Kobbe of Nassau presided. Other members present were Feigenbaum, Gerber and Murphy of New York, Newkirk of Utica, Sander of Syracuse and Wiley of Schenectady. Most of the meeting was devoted to the discussion of the State Convention, but while Albany had been previously selected as the place, it was voted to defer a final decision until after a conference with the Committee of Action.

The following preliminary convention committees were appointed: Rules, State Secretary Merrill; Platform, Waldman; Oneal, Sec. Feigenbaum and Coleman; Organization and Constitution, Gerber, Kobbe and State Secretary Merrill.

The Committee received a communication from the Evangelical Brotherhood of Buffalo. Representing the men's organization of fourteen churches connected with the Evangelical Synod of North America, requesting that the Socialist Party incorporate in its state platform a plank calling for the creation of an old-age pension fund. The communication was received and referred to the Platform Committee.

### Iowa

State Secretary McCrillis, writes that a careful examination of the state election laws gives the Socialists an opportunity of placing a ticket on the ballot in two different ways. McCrillis will call a state convention in the near future to nominate a full state ticket. Socialists will also most likely have candidates for congress in all districts. This is good news from that state will give McCrillis full support.

(Continued on Page Seven)

## Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

### National

Readers in unorganized communities desiring information on how to organize local divisions of the Socialist Party may obtain instructions, leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by sending a letter to: National Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

### No Change in Dues

Members of the party in all states are reminded that there is no immediate change in the dues system. It seems in some states that members are refraining from payment of dues owing to an expected change. This attitude might cripple the National Office and at the time when dues and contributions are essential to help weak states. Pay your dues without delay!

**National Convention Minutes**  
The National Convention minutes will be in the mails before the members read this statement. The minutes are

sent to all local and branch secretaries and delegates to the convention. It was the intention that the minutes would be mimeographed and sent to the local divisions for their use. The minutes were so extensive that we were obliged to put them in print.

**Finnish Federation**  
Comrade Selvo, secretary of the Finnish Federation, reports a healthy dues stamp sale for April. Personal calls at the branches are made by federation officials and others for the purpose of creating greater activity. Rejoice reports May Day celebrations were well attended despite severe snow storms.

**Socialists Move Into Action**  
The Socialists are moving into action all over the nation with one idea in mind—to place the Socialist ticket on the ballot in every state and put up a rip-roaring campaign for the Socialist Party.

### Minnesota

Emil Herman, National Organizer, has been in the state for ten days and is organizing a local at Minneapolis and one at St. Paul. Within a short time he will move upstate, where we fully expect some new local, especially at Duluth. Plans are already being made

to place the party ticket on the Ballot. Herman spoke at a mass meeting in Labor Lyceum, Minneapolis. A big and enthusiastic crowd was present.

### Pennsylvania

Local Allegheny County has opened new headquarters in room 308, Arcade Bldg., 230 Fifth avenue, Pittsburgh, between Market and Wood streets. All members and friends are welcome. Their aid is earnestly solicited.

A get-together banquet will be held Sunday, May 13, in the Hotel Henry beginning at 6 p. m. This will be the opening gun in the campaign. Among the prominent speakers will be a representative of the Labor Party of Belgium.

Local Reading has arranged for two picnics at Keller's Park, Sunday, July 1 and Sunday, August 26. The Philharmonic Band will furnish music for the first picnic and the Cadet Band for the second. Prominent speakers will be engaged.

The Berks County Women's Socialist League arranged a get-together banquet in the Labor Lyceum last Sunday, May 6. This was an affair of old time and active members.

The 10th ward branch, organized a month ago had 40 members. All wards in the city are now organized except the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th. The section where a number of active Socialists are being organized into a Southwest Branch.

Organizer Aulenbach is arranging meetings for Hyde Park, Hamburg, Mt. Penn, Mohnton and Stony Creek Mills for the next two weeks.

Councilman James H. Maurer has announced that Darlington Hoopes, state secretary of the party, has been appointed Assistant City Solicitor. Hoopes will serve for four years.

### Kansas

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## TURNSTILES AND SHEEP

OUT in the back country there are many places where they pasture cattle and sheep and still use turnstiles.

The turnstiles are for the passage of human beings—not the cattle. In this largest city in the world we reverse the process and use turnstiles for the passage of human sheep.

Now they are rigging up the turnstiles in the subway so that you can only pass through if you put in a slug that will cost you seven cents.

The slug is an appropriate symbol for the I. R. T. That hard-boiled bunch has been slugging the people of New York right square in their collective noses ever since they got hold of the subways.

Figure who these people are who want us to pay seven cents for the privilege of being slugged around in a dark and smelly hole in the ground.

There is Frank Hedley—the public-be-damned Hedley. And there is his "yes-man," lawyer Quackenbush. It was this Quackenbush who ran into the courts not so long ago and asked for an injunction against each and every one of the three million members of the American Federation of Labor to prevent them from organizing the underpaid and sweated subway workers. In addition he threatened to sue the A. F. of L. for damages which he said were incurred during the short-lived strike of 1926.

Then there is that eminent press-agent Ivy Lee, familiarly known as "Poison Ivy" Lee, who is the personal publicity man for the Rockefeller, the coal operators, the Pennsylvania Railroad and other labor-baiting organization.

It was Ivy Lee who testified that he was paid \$12,000 a pair for the heavy job of getting out "The Subway Sun," that masterpiece of modern fiction which should by all means have received the Pulitzer prize for the greatest imaginative work of the year. It was Ivy Lee, too, who wrote the constitution and by-laws of the fake company union which rejoices in the satirical name of "Brotherhood"—the brothers Hedley, Quackenbush and Lee.

Now they have added to their ranks one of the slickest corporation lawyers in town and they are all set to give us the ride of our lives.

Supposedly lined up against this hard-boiled quartette is that sweet singer of the night-clubs, the Honorable Jimmy Walker. He is supposed to be fighting terrifically in our behalf. I have a six-months old kitten home who could put up a better fight with one paw tied behind her back than Jimmy is showing.

If he is fighting for our interests I might suggest that he take off that high hat we have seen so much of lately, throw away the pillows that he's using in place of boxing-gloves and get down to business.

As I recall it we elected Walker because he was okayed by Al Smith and had a good line of wise-cracks. Also because he wrote a song in which he asked "Will you love me in December as you used to do in May?" Well, I'm here to say that I'm not too stuck on that man in May. The New York World has even gone sour on him and at the beginning of his administration the editorials in that remarkable paper simply watered at the mouth every time they mentioned "Our Jimmy." Now they are suggesting that we ought to have two mayors—one to wear a high hat and welcome visiting channel swimmers, Fascisti and girl scouts and the other to do some of the tall thinking and hard work that the transit situation calls for.

It is reliably reported that Walker has never read the thorough-going Undermyer report suggesting the recapture of the lines. He had to go to the Mardi Gras at New Orleans or unveil a statue on some southern mountain the day the report came out and couldn't find time to get around it.

Now it's bad enough for us who are strong in numbers but pitifully weak in power to have to take on such heavy-weights as Hedley, Quackenbush and Ransom, but it's nothing less than pathetic to think what a light-weight we have to represent us down at the City Hall.

While the Interborough gang is getting out the die for the slug they are going to wish on us, the Mayor is going around saying that he is terribly shocked by the court's seven cent decision. It has just plain knocked him off his feet.

It was such a surprise! But it didn't seem to have surprised Wall Street any or the transit bankers. In fact, two hours before the rest of us were let in on the decision, they were gambling in R. T. stocks down in Wall Street and as long ago as the last Mayoralty election Norman Thomas was going up and down through the city proclaiming from every platform that this seven cent fare business was all cooked up then. Walker was to be taken by surprise and put it all up to the courts, making them the official goats.

It would be interesting if we could get some public officials in this country who were not always taken by surprise. You remember how surprised Mr. Coolidge was when the oil scandals came out and that in spite of the fact that he had sat not twenty feet from the late Senator La Follette while the latter told the Senate all about Teapot Dome.

I suppose Al Smith is greatly surprised to learn about the Queens sewer graft and the fact that Mrs. Knapp didn't do just right by our census no doubt is a shock to some of our Republican leaders.

The really surprising thing about the whole business is the patient way we all take it. We seem to think that it is all right that the City Hall should be used as an annex to the circus. If any well-thought out plan for running the subways should come from that building it would be our turn to be surprised. We read pretty pieces about the "new Tammany" and some people actually fall for these bed-time stories of the reform of the old man-eating tiger. To be sure the tiger has been spruced up a bit. They have trimmed his whiskers and taught him to play golf like a good pussy, but don't think for one minute that his fangs are not as sharp as ever.

The old gang is getting away with it, however, and everybody around the City Hall knows that they will keep right on with this pillow fighting and business of being surprised while we go ahead and pay seven cents and later on nine cents—pretty sad little sheep going through the new turnstiles.

If Walker thought for one moment that he would be brought to task by an outraged citizenry for gross neglect of his obvious duties, do you suppose he would have the brass to come out and say that he would run again for election? By the time the next campaign comes around he will probably have thought up a new song, rhyming "moon" and "June," had his picture taken with some visiting firemen from Rahway, New Jersey, cracked a wise one for the newspaper boys and everything will be lovely.

That's us folk. We get the slugs and the turnstiles and the nice new rebate slips, the Interborough gets the jack and the Mayor gets more and more surprised.

McAlister Coleman.

## About "The Great Game of Politics"

By James Oneal

IF THE number of books on American politics appearing this year is any criterion there is a distinct renewal of interest. Perhaps the low estate to which politics has sunk since the end of the World War has awakened the curiosity of many to learn how it happened and why it happened.

William Bennett Munro is the author of a small volume (The Invisible Government. New York: Macmillan, \$1.75) which, in many ways, is a Chicago pineapple hurled at many of our political superstitions. The opening chapter on "Fundamentalism in Politics" reminds one of an expert house renovator entering a dwelling which has accumulated dirt and cobwebs for many years and sweeping the place clean. He asserts that our democracy has become a "necromancy," that is, "a form of government by the graveyards." To this is added the naive credulity of millions of voters "who decline to accept things on faith in the realm of religion, but who do not have the slightest compunction about swallowing the catchwords, phrases, formulas, and slogans that go to make up a creed in politics."

With this as a starting point, he considers slogans and issues and artless beliefs in politics and leaves the floor strewn with broken images. Epigrams abound on nearly every page. Here are a few. "Every newly installed administration is more prolific in alibis than in action." "Two and two do not make four in politics." "Sooner or later, in all governments, democracy and efficiency obtain a divorce for incompatibility of temper." "That which man does not change for the better, time is sure to change for the worse." "There is nothing accidental about post-war atrocities. They follow carnage, as night the day."

An Introduction to Politics

Brilliant and stimulating as these essays are we cannot follow him in all his reasoning without some dissent, as, for example, when the author rejects the view that the Constitution did not represent speculative and other property interests because the same men who framed it were largely responsible for the idealistic Declaration of Independence.

"Had the leopard changed his spots?" he asks. Of course not, but he forgets that the Declaration itself was a platform with slogans and he forgets what he has said about slogans. We may even agree that the debtors and mechanics would have made a worse job of the Constitution, if they had had the upper hand, without abandoning the view that the men of property made the Constitution as a charter to protect their own interests. We may even concede that in the after period the "money power" was more capable of ruling without agreeing that this holds true today. Time and changed conditions render the judgment applicable to one period invalid to another. Professor Munro himself has embraced a "graveyard" view in his discussion of the "money power."

Just as stimulating and less subject to criticism is the volume by Penfield Roberts (An Introduction to American Politics. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$2.25). The work is divided into three sections. Part One considering how the United States is governed; Part Two is devoted to current problems and proposed solutions, and Part Three to interpretations of politics. Professor Roberts is no more inclined to accept the naive fundamentalism of American politics than is Professor Munro and the two major parties are considered as two organizations without differing views, although each is vitally interested in obtaining power. Current political beliefs are not reasoned but are generally a matter of family tradition. Newspapers help little in probing the realities back of politics and are not reliable as sources for forming sound opinions.

In this connection he presents some striking quotations from correspondence which passed between John Adams and

John Taylor of Virginia in 1814. Adams was frankly for an aristocracy based on the ownership of property while Taylor was a radical who believed in an informal class struggle by mechanics and small farmers to hurl the aristocrats from power. Taylor believed that by establishing publications representative of the mechanic and farmer classes they would accomplish their aim. Adams answered Taylor by saying, "we must remember that the art of printing, to which you appeal to level aristocracy, is almost entirely in the hands of the aristocracy." He taunted Taylor by adding that for mechanics and farmers to rely on a weapon which a ruling class could use more effectively because of its wealth was to "commit the lamb to the kind guardianship and protection of the wolf." Would that politicians of our period were as frank as old John Adams!

An Encyclopedia

Into the book the author has crowded illuminating discussions of our alleged "prosperity," the House oligarchy at Washington, the Nordic nonsense, the Supreme Court and its powers, war and international relations, and the interpretation of history. He is somewhat critical of the economic interpretation of history and declares that "Economic determinism does not govern human conduct at crises." This we may concede regarding the masses, the politicians and the statesmen, for the statement has chief reference to war. In such a crisis normal judgment goes into the discard and all the slumbering hates and fears, grudges and superstitions, primitive emotions and seditious lusts rise to the surface and dominate the human race. It is a book worth having and may be commended to our readers.

Of a different type is the book by Professor Stuart Lewis (Party Principles and Practical Politics. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. \$5). It is the nearest approach to an encyclopedia of American politics that we have seen; of 500 pages 141 are devoted to a brief history of political parties, issues, struggles, and the popular and electoral vote. Little attempt is made at interpretation but those who do not have Stanwood's two volumes on the History of the Presidency will find the more important data of that work summarized and serving as an introduction to what follows.

For the rest the work has important chapters on the convention and caucus, the direct primary, national conventions, party organization, campaign methods, party finance, corrupt practices, the ballot, representation, patronage and civil service, party lines in office, the initiative, referendum and recall, and political activities of individuals. Each chapter is followed by an extensive bibliography in which we note the inclusion of some books not published when the volume appeared but announced by various publishers. In the appendices will be found a comparison of the party platforms of 1924, a record of the political conduct of the presidency and Congress from 1789 to 1929, the electoral and popular vote for President and the Constitution of the United States. The author does not seem to have overlooked anything in the way of factual presentation of American politics and party history. Certainly, a very useful volume.

We now approach sacred territory. William Starr Myers, Professor of Politics in Princeton University, has ventured to write a history of the elephant (The Republican Party, A History. New York: The Century Co. \$5). We get the impression that the author maintained his courage while writing of the period ending with the dawn of twentieth century.

THE RICH AND THE POOR — By Adam Coaldigger

THE longer I live the more I learn. Frinstance, The New York Times has just shown me how poor a rich man can be and how rich a poor man can be, and that's something I never knew before.

It says: "Mr. Mellon (Andy, the greatest since Alexander Hamilton) is reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in the country, if not the wealthiest, yet he was in no position at a given moment to draw a check for \$50,000 (for the Republican deficit). On the other hand, when a gunman raids a poker game on Delancey street, participated in by a dozen garment workers, he usually carries off a roll of \$5,000 or nearly \$5,000 per garment worker."

That shows who owns the money of this country who's rich and who's poor. And just think before the days of the Amalgamated the clothes workers didn't have any more cash in their overalls than poor Andy has now. Some Union, that little old Amalgamated.

Spending \$50,000,000

The battleship Colorado, the navy's finest yet, cost \$27,000,000 and the gold-braid boys prophesy still bigger, better, braver and more costly junk.

They promise that the next up-to-date death ships will hold Uncle Sam up for \$50,000,000, which isn't much, if you say it right fast and never stop to think, like I tried to do when I ran up these few items we might have had instead of a floating liability.

For \$50,000,000 I could buy: 100,000 pairs of \$10 shoes; 100,000 \$50 suits; 200,000 \$5 hats; 1,000 \$10,000 school-buses; 1,000 \$25,000 farms; 8,000 \$200 automobiles; 10,000,000 quarts of 12-cent

milk a lot of babies would relish; and 4,000,000 pounds of coffee—which a lot of stomachs without brains and backbones are begging for today.

That's what I could buy with one bat-tleship. Or I might put it into a revolving fund and save a few farmers from rushing off to the cities to see who could work cheapest, they or the guys who are already on the speedways.

Yep, I think I could do a lot better with \$50,000,000 than sink it in the ocean, but, as I am no statesman, I guess I must be figuring foolishness.

Besides, our country is too great, rich and prosperous to bother about a little thing like \$50,000,000. There's plenty more where it came from and—what are taxpayers for, anyhow, if they can't feed their Sea Dogs, War Dogs, and Devil Dogs, Steel Hogs, Powder Hogs and Profit Hogs so as to keep them in condition and prepared to break the peace at a moment's notice?

It's all right to say it don't amount to nothing; that we are rich and can stand it, but \$50,000,000 is a heap of money and, as I said, all wars got to end in peace some time.

So why not end them before they start and save our money, corpses and Christianity, is what I'd like to know?

Dear Uncle Sam: Every day I read where you pinched some poor devil for making and selling home brew? Why do you do it?

Home brew isn't intoxicating. Why, I once poured home brew in the goldfish bowl by mistake and the poor thing never noticed the difference.

"Enforcement officers break into bed-chamber of Helene Herringfresser, con-

Then he begins to watch his step, treading warily along difficult paths, passing from apologetics to worshipful reverence of the modern keepers till he reaches the reign of Harding and his successor, Calvin Coolidge. Here we observe a Professor of Politics in a curtsy to the animal and a graceful bending of the knees. The work raises the question whether one still holding an academic position can write a candid history of the G. O. P. and retain his candor as he approaches the contemporary holy of holies.

The earlier period of origins is fairly presented although it is chiefly narrative in treatment and rarely goes behind the scenes or probes beneath the surface for causes of issues and new alignments in politics. Occasionally he offers his own assertions with a dogmatism which either ignores or sweeps aside the evidence contained in reliable documents. Thus in the matter of the Panama "revolution" Professor Myers declares that the charges that Roosevelt "connived at and fomented the revolution have fallen down completely by lack of any authentic evidence." This completely ignores the studies of Professor Latane and the boasting volume of Bunau-Varilla, the chief conspirator in that shady episode, who revealed the inner history of the Panama "revolution" and Roosevelt's relation to it.

Honoring Roosevelt's Spleen

Then what is the purpose of the author in linking up the assassination of President Garfield by Guiteau with the Sacco-Vanzetti case (p. 275) and quoting the letter of Roosevelt to the late J. St. Joe Strachey in which Roosevelt assumed that the man who shot him in Milwaukee had a brain no more "un-sound" than that of the late Eugene V. Debs? (p. 409). Competent experts declared the man who attacked Roosevelt to be a defective but Roosevelt must vent his spleen upon Debs and the author thinks he is writing "history" by incorporating this letter in his book.

Need we be surprised that on page 463 Professor Myers indulges in cheap criticism of the investigators who uncovered the oil grafters by saying that "the accused were given little or no chance to defend themselves, and the public became so disgusted that, although there was little doubt of the transgressions of certain people, in general they were allowed to escape through the consequent popular indifference." How illuminating! Not a word of the perjuries, the tampering with a jury, the concealment of important evidence, two high court decisions and the employment of detectives to shadow jurymen. Need we be surprised that one who can write such "history" also writes on page 452 of the nomination of Eugene V. Debs in 1920, "then happily posing as a martyr while serving a sentence in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta." One can only answer that if some of our academic mandarins had the courage of Debs more informing and more reliable history would be written in this country.

Uniform with Professor Myers' work is a volume by Frank R. Kent (The Democratic Party, A History. New York: The Century Co. \$5). The author is a newspaper man without any special training for writing history yet, despite a number of slips, his work is more satisfactory than that of the Professor of Politics. As a journalist Kent has done a satisfactory job even though, like Myers, he has not probed very deep beneath the surface to disclose the economic, geographical and sectional influences on parties and party issues. Of the errors we note than Van

Buren is credited with the authorship of the Free Soil platform in 1848. As a matter of fact the old Free Soilers accepted Van Buren as a candidate with reluctance and Salmon P. Chase wrote the platform. It does not follow, as the author states (p. 158) that because the Free Soilers and later the Republicans did not "go the full length of the Abolitionists" that "this was one instance in which the extremists were right." The extremists would have nothing to do with political action and denounced the Free Soilers as much as they did the slave owners. It is not quite correct to say that Fremont and Coolidge "did not get on the ballot" in 1864. They withdrew when it became apparent that victories of the Union armies insured the election of Lincoln. On page 411 the year 1924 should read 1914. It may be doubted whether the Hughes-Johnson incident in California was alone responsible for the defeat of Charles E. Hughes in 1916. Wilson had a narrow margin of nearly 4,000 votes over Hughes in the state but the Socialists lost nearly 36,000 votes in 1916 compared with their vote in 1912. We are certain that most of these votes went to Wilson and this shift was probably more decisive in the result in California than the Hughes-Johnson incident. Finally, Kent's work bears no trace of the offenses which are glaring in the work of Professor Myers.

Mr. Schmaltz Expostulates

"THE Man Who Knew Coolidge," (Sinclair Lewis, N. Y. Harcourt Brace;

\$2.) is a monologue in six parts by Mr. Lowell Schmaltz of Zenith, the metropolis of the state of Winnemac and the home of Mr. George F. Babbitt and of the church of the Rev. Dr. Elmer Gant-ry. Mr. Schmaltz is a he-blooded, red-man who has made a success of life selling office supplies. "The Man Who Knew Coolidge" is a long, tedious smoking-car monologue in which Mr. Schmaltz tells how he and Cal were pals at Amherst—at least, he knew Cal at college. That is, until he quit college at the end of November in his freshman year. And he called on Cal at the White House and took his family with him, and he tells all about it in dull, maddeningly tedious detail. At the end he didn't get to see Cal at all, but that didn't prevent him from being on the Inside of big public events.

The book is made up of the original monologue (recently printed in Mr. Mencken's little green book) and five others, equally tedious. If you suffer from insomnia the book can be cordially recommended. The dull, droning platitudes of Mr. Schmaltz will put you to sleep in three minutes flat. It is one of the dullest things ever put between covers.

But after you rub the sleep out of your eyes, tune in on some boob Rotarian on the radio, or read "The Man Nobody Knows," or read a speech by Coolidge himself, or start a conversation in a barber shop or in the corner grocery and note the uncanny accuracy with which Lewis has caught the current ideas of our great boobies. Dull as it is, it is to be feared that Lewis has given us a photograph of the American mind that is ruling us today. And there's no use either being bored, or peeved. You've got to understand that mind if you want to understand America.

W. M. Feigenbaum

Over in the province of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company the super-power crowd has a grievance. A number of statesmen at Harrisburg introduced bills in order to be bought off by super-power. That's a real grievance. When the oil gang purchase statesmen they get something worth while for their money.

apropriated the other day for the redemption of the Mississippi valley all by himself, and do it with one crop.

Yes, such is the spread between farm values and hotel prices.

However, this is not a farm relief mis-erere.

What I am driving at is that pinching home brewers is about the smallest, peasantiest business a government can be in. Imagine the government of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln snooping around people's houses in search of home brew. Why every one of them was a gentleman, scholar and good judge of whisky.

Washington operated a still. Jefferson and Franklin knew more about French wines than any ten Frenchmen.

Jackson could down a quart of Tennessee fire water without batting an eye, and if that old grocery bill addressed to Abe Lincoln, which I saw some time ago in Springfield, is telling the truth, honest Abe surely was a connoisseur of liquid grocery.

If King George Third had known his onions and pinched all the prominent home brewers in the colonies, every founding father would have found himself in jail. And there never would have been the land of the free and the home of the brave in which sovereign citizens are slammed in the hoosegow for trying to extract stimulation out of such an innocuous concoction as home brew.

G'wan, Uncle Sam, try to do something worth while. Something big and staggering—something that will show that you are a world power—put Harry Sinclair in jail, or settle the coal strike.

## THE CHATTER BOX

LONG ago, I used to go about the highways sniffing a little, and posturing a good deal. And all because I thought I was an intellectual. I imagined the rest of the land was filled with Babbitts years before Sinclair Lewis gave them a name. I knew their palaver, their simple vices and their still simpler idiocies, years before they were discovered by the Literary Guild and the Book of the Month Club. Therefore, being the discoverer, I took my grief over them from every soapbox between Henry Street and Corleais Hook Park. Mmmm . . . didn't I lace it into them . . . those dumbbells, those nitwits . . . those numbskulls . . . low-brows . . . cakeaters . . . ignoramuses . . . dollarchaasers . . . street-corner jiggers . . . bartending booze bumpkins . . . Pollyanna policy players . . . yes men . . . jellyfish . . . and from here on I could add all the unpublishable names I have been since called by left wingers and medicine men. . . I walked among them like Gargantua, and felt that they were unfit for such pranks as that worthy played once on undeserving humanity. I confess now that those little artistic places in the Village, and throughout the other Bohemias of New York aided and abetted my advent into such arrogant superiority.

I used to sit and sip tea with a few others of my stripe, publicity peddlers, ad. writers, Imagist poets, art out-right vagabonds of verbosity. I also used to listen to their proof-reading of business men, salesmen, shipping clerks, and realtors. I used to get in on their ulterior pity for all who did not write or philosophize. My mind was plastic and my vanity immense. So it naturally followed that I graduated from this Cambridge of intellectual bunk, cum laude, for myself in particular.

Today I walk humbly in the wake of those whom I once pitied, and maligned. My penitence may even sound heretic to those of my comrades who still believe that the general public is mentally all wet.

I refuse to sit in on any more councils gathered for the purpose of sneering down the common man. I am gladly learning that the unlettered and unlearned soul has an importance of its own. An importance beyond the peaks of song or the vast ranges of learned thought.

As I watch the millions upon millions of books, and books and still more books drop down, being vomited forth from the press rooms of the land, I wonder bitterly. How little of it all is written to teach the common man a higher and a finer lesson in life? How little time has he had to read for learning? How much of this romance, beauty, intrigue and intellectual delicacy is sold to a paltry few hundred thousand who have the money, the time, and the real or imagined capacity to partake of this literary orgy? How few of the hundred million ever can come within reach of these feasts?

Petronius tells of a Roman dinner. He describes minutely each viand, each wine, each fancy dish as they came to the festive board, toted on great platters by a veritable procession of slaves. Even as I read that old classic, there came before my inward eyes a scene of these days. Books, fancy tomes, gay volumes, dainty tales, droll narratives, fancies of deep learning, idle and stupid stories, narratives of epic glory, and colorful yarns of travel and adventure. Slaves print them, bind them, cart them, mail them to the banquet table around which so few are seated. So few who gorge themselves with the fine or sensual dishes, while all about stand the slaves who are too dull with toil to even desire any part of the superfluity.

So that a real swell of compassion and brotherhood engulfs me whenever I come among a bunch of low-brows at a Kiwanis meeting, or when business brings me to a Chamber of Commerce function. Whatever my economic beliefs may fling against their position in this crazy world, however I am tempted to belabor them for their greed, their bigotries, their natural cruelties, I still find some softness for their unlettered diction, their starved sentiments, their anemic minds. I even understand how much easier it would be to convince them of my beliefs, if only they had been allowed in youth to eat at the table of books and thought. I feel that they belong to the tragic millions that lie utterly crushed beneath the industrial millstones. Physically they are well fed, materially they are comfortable, mentally they are as hungry or as numbed with famine as the hordes that they help to keep starved in all things, spiritual and material.

These business men, shop keepers, white collared thanes and thralls, this vast middle class of money grubbers, order hunters, boosters, and hurrah-boys are much in need of an economic change for their mental welfare and development. This industrial monster that devours everything fine and gentle and noble in human beings is as brutal to them as it is to the humblest ditch digger in the land.

And when liberal wiseboys and literary talents give the Babbitts the merry ha-ha because of their natural ascendancy over the lowbrows, I feel it time to stand forth and ask for some decency and human treatment. I think that literary people are poor sports at best. Because they are better equipped to sling the pretty salvo of the paragraph does not entitle them to keep up this constant bombardment of ironic mirth and ridicule against the poor dullards of the mart.

I am non-Communist enough by now to know that the men of obliteration of the bourgeoisie by either satire or Cheks would not solve the ills of our social system. Our ruling classes are brutal because they are stupid in method and in mind. This business of trade and barter is as tyrannical of their inner selves and finer consciousness as the machine and shop is to the worker.

Because of these facts I have long learned to be tolerant even to the fiercest slave driver of the factory. I may be stirred to my entrails with disgust at greed; I could crucify with my own hands a mine owner, or a factory boss during a strike, and when the guards kill the starving strikers; I might cry out in frenzy against the horrors of child labor and the butchery of youth in war; I might be moved to murder the mob during a lynching bee . . . and yet all these retaliatory emotions and methods at best would be futile to my dream . . .

As the years go on, I am being taught the efficacy of understanding. And the vital need for compassionate judgment. It is a great and terrible pity that so many of our best minds sit in silver towers of superior judgment and view the rest of the world as so much putty and oil for pretty modeling.

And it is, moreover, inexcusably miserable that there is so much intellectual arrogance and so little human decency among those who by all measure of logic and equipment ought to know and be so much better than they are. The next time an intellectual tries to explain to me why there are Babbitts, and how they act and what they say, I'll just up and tell him that he is insulting me. Since, in last analysis, I am one myself except for the grace of having had health and energy enough to read a thousand books during twenty-five years of trying to live on in an unlivable world.

Oh, for a world where the millions would have time to read and write and think and discuss and be intellectuals. Oh, for a world without bosses, without slaves, and without that most intolerable of all nuisances, the snickering, intellectual mob . . .

S. A. de Witt.







# Who Is Responsible For This Steal?

(Continued from Page 1)

eration of the subway because that was the cheapest way. It is the only way to keep the fare. The Socialists are proved right. They knew more about the workings of utilities than the others. They can be counted on to do the job the way it should be done because they are the only ones who really believe in it. The others simply use it for election purposes. The Socialists use it in spite of elections.

4. The City must take over its own subway by paying for them only 15 per cent, more than the actual money put into them instead of paying interest on—more than was actually put into them. It should operate them through its own especially created New York Subway Authority on which the workers would have representation together with the subway riders. New subway construction should be paid for in part by taxing the business property especially benefited. As it is now the humblest shop hand on the East Side is putting money into the pocket of the real estate speculator whose hold-

ings on Eighth avenue have jumped 300 per cent. As a matter of course the men's own union should be recognized and collective bargaining with it established.

Under this plan improvements in service can be made promptly and all the millions of dollars instead of going to the company will go to ourselves.

The *Untermyer Report* is authority for the statement that a unified subway system, charging a five-cent fare, can be made to pay a profit in place of the \$13,000,000 loss which the City now incurs annually, and in place of the \$43,000,000 which the Interborough will shortly charge in increased fares.

This is an issue of national importance. What Tammany and the courts did to the City of New York, other political machines of both parties and the courts have done and will do to all our public utilities. Build the one party that stands for your interests.

VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.  
JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

## SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

(Continued from page 4)

### MANHATTAN

#### 3-5-10th A. D.

This branch will meet Friday evening, May 18, at the home of Dr. E. Ingemann, 27 Washington Square North. Important business will be the nomination of delegates to the State Convention and of candidates for Congress, State Senate and Assembly.

#### 4th A. D.

The next meeting will be held Wednesday, May 16, at the East Side Social Center, 304 East Broadway. Nomination of delegates to the State Convention will be considered as well as other important matters. Harry Ulanoff, Louis D. Lieberman and Julius Green were elected at the last meeting to take charge of open air meetings.

#### 14-15-16th A. D.

This branch will meet Saturday, May 12, at 8:30 p. m. in the headquarters, 241 East 84th street. The principal business will be the nomination of delegates to the State Convention and candidates for Congress, State Senate and Assembly.

#### Harlem Branches

An enrolled voters meeting has been arranged for Friday evening, May 18, in the East Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 60th street. Letters will invite Socialist enrolled voters in part of the 15th and all of the 17-18-20th Assembly Districts. Speakers are Wm. M. Feigenbaum and Louis Waldman.

#### 18-19-20th A. D.

Street meetings are being held in the Negro section of Upper Harlem. An effort will be made to obtain members for our branch and to lay the groundwork for an intensive campaign during the Fall.

### BROOKLYN

#### Central Branch

The Central Branch will meet Tuesday, May 15, at 8:30 p. m. at the Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. Esther Friedman has been invited to give her impressions of the National Convention and the coming campaign. Enrolled voters in the 4th A. D. will be invited.

#### 5th A. D.

A mass meeting will be held by this branch Friday, May 11, at the Freeman Mansion, 1243 Southern Boulevard, 8 p. m. Speakers are Esther Friedman and Henry Fruchter.

#### 8th A. D.

A well attended meeting was held last week. Nominations were made for delegates to the State Convention. In the near future a meeting will be held with enrolled voters who are not residents of the Amalgamated Houses.

A well attended meeting of enrolled voters and other citizens was held last Friday evening and a score of applications were obtained. Jacob Panken delivered a very effective address. There are several applications on hand for the formation of a Third A. D. Branch. The next meeting will be held Friday evening, May 18, at the Marlborough Mansion, 156th and Beck streets. Esther Friedman will be the speaker.

A Russian Piroshke party and entertainment will be held Saturday, May 12, at 8:30 p. m. at the headquarters of the Socialist Party Branch Seven Bronx, 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue.

Proceeds will go towards the relief fund of the striking miners in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. Admission fee is 25 cents. All Bronx Socialists and sympathizers are urged to come and bring their friends. Help make this affair a financial and moral success.

### BROOKLYN

#### 2-7-16th A. D.

A joint meeting of the members of the six branches was held last Sunday morning at the Boro-Park Labor Lyceum. It was surprisingly well attended and a very spirited discussion took place relative to the organization of the Campaign. Samuel Stodel was Chairman, Charles Kanowitz, Secretary. The following recommendations for nomination were made and the City Executive Committee informed. Congress, Eighth District, William Karlin; State Senator, Fourth District, Wm. M. Feigenbaum; Assembly, Second District, Wm. M. Feigenbaum; Assembly, Sixth District, Samuel Stodel; Ninth Assembly District, Rose Brody; Second

Assembly District, Frank Rosenfarb. The campaign Committee consists of the following: H. Kruckow, J. Handler, W. Berkowitz, L. Eiblit, A. Mostoff, E. Mullins, S. Shapiro, Rose Brody, C. Mullins. This Committee will meet Monday evening, May 14. It is expected that a very energetic campaign will be conducted throughout the Eighth Congressional District.

16th A. D. Last Saturday evening, a social and entertainment was held by this Branch. It was the first of a number of affairs planned by this Branch. A very enjoyable evening was had. Miss Stodel sang several songs. August Claessens delivered a short talk, told some stories. The crowd made merry until the early hours of the morning. Special mention should be made of the members who came from the 18-20 and Coney Island Branches. Their presence was highly appreciated.

18th A. D. Plans are all set for a big meeting of enrolled voters Friday evening, May 18, in the Rockaway Mansion, 695 Rockaway Avenue. A. J. Shipiloff and Louis P. L. L. will speak as well as give a report on the recent National Convention.

At Friday's meeting, May 11, Gilbert R. Sackman will speak on "Labor Union Machinery as an Aid to Employment." Everybody is cordially invited. The warm weather is almost upon us and the first outdoor meeting will be held on the corner of Ralph and Sutter avenues, Thursday evening, May 17. Enrolled Brown will start the ball rolling with the assistance of Sy Sarashin as Chairman.

12th A. D. Good news. After several years of inactivity in this section an effort is being made to re-organize a branch. Thanks to the energetic work of G. Jellima, Frank and Sadie Smith and Harry D. Laidler, a branch will be organized. A meeting is being arranged in the home of Comrades Smith. Socialist enrolled voters and sympathizers will be invited.

Branch meetings continue to be excellently attended. The meeting last Monday night brought in six new members. The meeting was held at the home of the branch. It was decided to hold a joint meeting with the 5-6 Assembly District members on the question of Congressional and Senatorial nominations. On Monday evening, May 14, Louis Waldman will visit this Branch and on May 25 a theatre party will be held at the Henry Miller Theatre. The play is "Our Betters." Members are working hard to make this affair a success. The proceeds will go to the Sunday School Fund.

QUEENS COUNTY  
New Branches  
Two new branches are being organized in Queens County. One at Sunnyside-Woodside and the other at Rockaway Beach. The meeting in Sunnyside will be held Monday evening, May 14, at 8:30 p. m. in the home of Edward Levinson, 3294 44th street, Sunnyside. There is quite a colony of party members living in this section and the enrolled voters and sympathizers will be invited to attend. A representative of the City Office will be present and a branch will be organized.

Rockaway Beach  
On Friday evening, May 11, an organization meeting will be held in the Workmen's Circle Center, 158 Beach 85th street, Hammels, Rockaway Beach. There is quite a colony of party members living in this section and the enrolled voters and sympathizers will be invited to attend. A representative of the City Office will be present and a branch will be organized.

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### BROOKLYN

Friday, May 11th, 8 p. m.—Pittkin avenue and Bristol street. Speakers, Louis P. Goldberg and others.

Tuesday, May 15th, 8 p. m.—64th street and 20th avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and others.

Thursday, May 17th, 8 p. m.—Sutter and Ralph avenues. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Simon Serason, and others.

Friday, May 18th, 8 p. m.—Pittkin and Bristol street. Speakers to be announced.

### The Young People's Department

Brookwood Labor College  
The conference of the Brookwood College at Irving Plaza, May 5th and 6th was attended by Julius Ulanovsky, El Cohen, Reba Pushoff, Abe Belsky, Ben Senitzer and Manny Switkes, as fraternal delegates. Dr. Saposs officiated as chairman in Mr. Saposs's absence. A portion of the first session was devoted to the nature of the unions entitled to delegates. It was decided that the Y. P. S. L. not being a union, would not be given official representation, but were invited as fraternal delegates.

The program continued with talk on "The Young Workers in Industry" by Tom Tipet, Economics Instructor. Then Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union spoke on legislation affecting conditions of young workers. The evening session was devoted to talks and discussions by C. Miller and others on young workers in the various industries.

The Sunday session featured a talk by Dr. Saposs, who discussed the method used by French Youth to organize the young workers. He pointed out, however, the real value of this conference was minimized due to the tactics of the communists who instead of turning the discussions to their own channel and who disturbed at every step.

Carnegie Hall  
Y. P. S. L. members turned out in full force at the Carnegie Hall meeting, Tuesday night. They did their bit to help out the meeting across. It is hoped this year's campaign will continue and grow among our members. The increase activity in the Socialist Party gives our membership an opportunity to show its strength and worth.

Yipsel May Day Message  
Julius Ulanovsky delivered his second talk over WEVD this time the character and purpose of the Y. P. S. L. was the subject of his talk with special emphasis on the value to the individual of his participation in the organization during his impressionable years. The occasion was the May Day celebration when youth the world played an exceedingly important part.

New England Convention  
The Young People's Socialist League of New England held a successful convention at Fitchburg, on April 28th and 29th which was attended by 30 accredited and fraternal delegates. The convention was called together by district organizer Adolph Ginsburg and was addressed by Alfred Barker, L. A. A. J. Parker, National Secretary of the Y. P. S. L. and Samuel S. L. National Executive Committee. After the addresses and the various committees had been elected, the convention adjourned and the delegates attended an entertainment arranged by the local circle.

Sunday was a busy day. The educational committee was explained by Louis Rabinovitch, chairman. An outline of educational work for the coming year was presented. The first hour of the program included the organization of public speaking classes, train speakers, the organization of study classes, and the establishing of a Yipsel speakers bureau.

Resolutions were passed against labor, compulsory military training, public school, and the Negro race. A resolution pledges both moral and financial assistance to the textile strikers of New Bedford. Yipsels were particularly urged to support The New Leader by subscribing to it themselves and helping to get subscriptions for it.

Frank Crossen, organizer of the Pullman Porters' Union, addressed the convention, reviewing the struggles of mankind to gain religious freedom, political freedom and to free the Negro race from chattel slavery, but he said we have the greatest struggle of emancipating man from economic slavery. The inspiring address was greeted by a round of applause. Frank Manning, a member of the Boston circle who is aiding the New Bedford textile strikers, told of the conditions that caused the strike. He said that the workers were 100 per cent behind the strike.

The following officials were elected: District secretary, Anita Ginsburg; District organizer, Louis Rabinovitch; Glad Nimmer, Laila Wahner and Frank Manning. Edwin Hill, of Gardner, was elected athletic director and Esther Levensberg and Laila Wehler were elected auditors.

New York City  
IMPORTANT  
The Socialist Party and the Rand School will cooperate to conduct a special class for campaign speakers and Yipsels, open only to party members and Yipsels, will meet on Tuesdays, 7:30 to 10 p. m., from May 22 to July 24. Each evening there will be two periods, the first devoted to study of subject matter, the second to instruct prospective speaker on particular points. The first hour will be visited by well-known comrades with Algernon Lee in charge; the second under the guidance of August Claessens. The fee is \$4.00, three of which will be returned if eighty per cent of the sessions are attended; otherwise the return goes to the party's local campaign fund. You must register before the first class, which begins Tuesday, May 22 at 7:30.

A Successful Hike  
Last Sunday the Yipsels of Greater New York had a hike to Clove Lake. The announcement said that the company will leave the Manhattan shore at 10:15, L. and behold! At ten fifteen

the company left the Manhattan shore. With the pie-eating contest, the songs, the baseball game, and the Yipsels, all continuing to a perfect day, "twas no wonder that the event was glorious. The board of Directors of the Y. P. S. L. Publishing Association will meet on Saturday, May 12, 7 p. m. sharp, at the Rand School.

Manhattan Seniors  
Circle Six will meet this Sunday at 8 p. m. Little Frauenglass will give some readings and recitations of poetry, together with an appreciation of certain selections. Lillian Kaplan will conclude her "History of Cooperative Communities in the United States." Discussion and after the Educational meeting, dancing will follow. On May 20, Seymour Goodman will speak on "Kropotkin, His Life and Work." On May 27 a social evening will be held. You are invited to attend. No admission charge.

Circle 8  
On Saturday, May 12 we will celebrate our sixth anniversary with a Strawberry Festival. A few features are a spotlight strawberry pie-eating contest; aesthetic dancers, flying post, etc. All Yipsels and friends are urged to come and have a good time.

Brooklyn Circle 2  
McAlister Coleman, the fighting strap-hanger, will address the Youth Rally on the Seventh-Cent Street rally confronting the New York State.

Members of the League are invited to attend the Yipsel mass meeting to be held at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Sunday, May 13, at 8:00 p. m. Alice Cohen-Altmann, Lester Shulman, Julius Ulanovsky, Morris Novik and many other prominent members have been asked to speak. The Current Events Group has been coming along favorably due to the tremendous interest shown by the members. Every other week, the League Philosophy Group has postponed its meeting until Tuesday evening, May 15.

Any League member. All had a splendid time. The Dramatic Group will start work on two new plays. Don't forget Sunday evening, May 13, at 8 p. m.

Bronx Circles  
Sunday, May 13, Eddie Fetherhols, the delegate to the Brookwood Labor Youth Conference will report to a joint meeting of Circles One and Four. Similar joint meetings are to be considered by the members. Every other week, the meetings will be held out doors.

Bronx Bulletin  
The Bronx Bulletin is still going strong. Since its establishment in February, 1927, 33 numbers have been issued. The Bronx Bulletin will continue to publish it until the League publication has been firmly established. If necessary its publication will continue after that time.

The Boro Committee held its Second Annual Declaration Contest at 1167 Boston Road. Six prizes were awarded. There were separate Senior and Junior Groups, each competing for a first, second, and third prize. The announcement of outdoor activities for the rest of the summer by the Boro Committee will appear shortly.

The City Office would greatly appreciate the immediate settlement for children of the Finnish reception tickets that had been taken by some of the active comrades who apparently have become invalids. Please return tickets or the equivalent.

Juniors  
The new Junior Central Committee has elected the Executive Committee, Alvin Rotkin, Meyer Diamond, Morris Graemer, Ben Horowitz, Harold Raskin. The meeting started promptly, and with the space of an hour the standing committees were elected. The Executive Committee met, reports were given and a special Constitutional Committee was selected.

Circle 3  
For the past few weeks this Bronx Circle has been devoting itself to an in-depth study of Upton Sinclair's "Letters to a Judge." This study is part of a course which contained Laidler's "How America Jives," "What is Industrial Democracy?" of Thomas, and other L. D. pamphlets of a similar nature. The summer meetings will be purely literary.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD  
OF GREATER NEW YORK  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
Office: 775 Broadway, Orchard 1187  
Board meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m.  
All locals meet Wednesday  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager  
HYMAN NOVODOM, Sec'y-Treas.

Embroidery Workers'  
UNION, Local 1, L. G. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 4th and 8th Tuesday, at the office, 101 E. 10th St.,  
Melrose 7650  
CARL GRABHER, President,  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

United Hebrew Trades  
115 E. 11th Street  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.  
Executive Board meets 2nd day, 5:30 P. M.  
M. TIGEL, Chairman  
M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

Waterproof Garment Workers'  
UNION, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.  
120 East 24th St. Madison Square 1934  
Executive Board meets every Monday  
at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, President  
MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

Joint Executive Committee  
OF THE  
VEST MAKERS' UNION  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
Office: 175 East Broadway  
Phone: Orchard 6099  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday  
at 7 P. M.  
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.

See that Your Milk Man Wears  
the Emblem of  
The Milk Drivers' Union  
Local 584, I. U. of T.  
Local: 268 W. 14th St. City.  
354 W. 14th St. 3rd  
Thursday of the month at  
Bedford Ave. 12th St. East  
Fifth St. Executive Board  
meets on the 2nd and 4th  
Thursdays at  
BETHOVEN HALL  
20 East Fifth Street  
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.  
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION  
LOCAL NO. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 4021 Stage  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Tuesday evening, 7:30 p. m.  
Regular meetings every  
WILLIAM WEINERT, President  
CHARLES WEBER, Vice-President  
SAMUEL POTTER, Sec. Sec'y

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners  
of America  
LOCAL UNION 488  
MEET EVERY MONDAY EVENING  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST STREET  
CHAS. E. JOHNSON, President  
HARRY P. EILEY, Sec'y

German Painters' Union  
LOCAL 69, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Evg.  
at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary  
ALVIN BOETTNER, Sec'y  
FRANK WOLINSKY, Sec'y  
243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

Neckwear Cutters'  
UNION, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
7 East 15th Street, Steyness 7678  
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of  
Every Month at 102 East 33rd Street,  
Fred Farsland, N. Y. C.  
Alvin Weiser, J. Rosenzweig,  
Vice-Pres.  
Wm. B. Chisling, Business Agent.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION  
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, Pulaski 0798  
Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays  
W. REISS, President  
JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President  
SAMUEL MINDEL, Sec. Sec'y  
ALVIN BOETTNER, Sec'y  
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL  
CAP MAKERS  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers  
International Union  
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5TH STREET  
Phone: Orchard 5880-1-2  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd  
Wednesday  
JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer  
A. HERSCOWITZ, Sec'y  
Organizers

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1  
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd  
Saturdays  
Executive Board meets every Monday  
All Meetings are held in the  
Headgear Workers' Lyceum  
(Bethoven Hall)  
210 East 5th Street

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners  
of America  
LOCAL UNION 488  
MEET EVERY MONDAY EVENING  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST STREET  
CHAS. E. JOHNSON, President  
HARRY P. EILEY, Sec'y

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917  
BROOKLYN, N. Y.  
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 215 Sackman St., Brooklyn  
ABRAHAM AZLANT, President  
I. JAFFE, Vice-President  
M. WEINERT, Sec'y  
M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 200 Tapesco St., Brooklyn

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR  
Telephone: Steyness 6500-1-2-3-4  
STUDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President  
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
511-513 Broadway, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: Spring 7000-1-2-3-4  
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr.  
ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

International Pocketbook Workers' Union  
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
11 WEST 15TH STREET, N. Y.  
Phone: Chelsea 3634  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman  
CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer  
A. I. SHIFACOFF, Manager

Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office: 640 Broadway, Phone Spring 4444  
Uptown Office: 10 West 31st Street, Phone Wisconsin 1270  
NORMAN LEDERER, I. H. GOLDBERG, NATHAN SPECTOR, ALEX ROSS  
Chairman, Sec. Bd., Sec'y, Pres., Sec'y  
ORGANIZERS: I. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

FUR WORKERS' UNION  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y.  
Tel. Hunters Point 35  
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres.  
HARRY REGOON, General Sec'y-Treas.

New York Clothing Cutters' Union  
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four"  
Office: 44 East 13th Street, Steyness 5586  
Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 1 P. M. in the office  
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager  
I. MACHLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS  
OF AMERICA, NEW YORK LOCAL NO. 1  
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 388 WEST 11TH ST.  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at  
ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE  
Chairman, Sec. Bd., Sec'y, Pres., Sec'y  
PATRICK NATION, A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Flynn, Frank Schol, Treas.

N. Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6  
LEON H. ROUSE, President  
John Sullivan, Vice-President  
Jan. J. McGrath, Secretary-Treas.  
Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt & Boys' Waist Makers' Union  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 Broadway, Room 323  
G. GÖZE, Manager  
H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
These meetings are held in the Office of the Union

Carpenters and Joiners of America  
LOCAL UNION NO. 508  
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue  
Office Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone: Steyness 3414  
Except Thursday, Regular meetings every Monday evening  
JOHN HARKLEY, President  
ALFRED ZIMMER, Sec'y  
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President  
JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary  
SIDNEY FASTER, Business Agent

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418  
OF QUEENS COUNTY, NEW YORK. Telephone: Stillwell 6504  
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City  
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
WICHEL J. MURRAY, President  
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary  
WILLIAM MURPHY, Recording Secretary  
CHARLES MEADAMS and GEORGE PLANAGAN, Business Agents

Furrier's Joint Council  
of N. Y.  
Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of  
THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION of U. S. & C.  
28 W. 31st Street  
Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m.  
EDW. F. MCGRADY, Manager

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF  
CARPENTERS AND JOINERS  
OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163  
Day room and



# NEW LEADER

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

Editor ..... James Onal  
Assistant Editor ..... Edw. Levinson

## Contributing Editors:

Peter L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algonson Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAlister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



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SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1928

## Tammany's Shirt Fronts

BEFORE the delegates arrive at the Democratic convention at Houston the white shirt of Tammany, Governor Smith, will be considerably smudged because of his associates. It is an interesting fact that every time that Tammany Hall has been exposed as a criminal enterprise from the days of Tweed to the present it has reopened for business with a new shirt front. The era of the Forty Thieves was followed by Tweed's polished Mayor A. Oakley Hall. Tweed died as a convict and was succeeded by the Kelley dynasty. Croker followed and millions were made out of houses of prostitution, gambling, graft and certain forms of vice which are so disgusting that they are unprintable. Van Wyck was the shirt front for these criminals. Murphy followed in logical order and Smith was groomed for the role of shirt front. His part was to keep out of the plundering and the graft, leaving all this to the Tammany rats high and low and the game has been played accordingly.

Within the last year or two the milk grafters and the sewer grafters have been dragged into the spotlight. The rats have been more concerned with the effect of these exposures on their shirt front than they have been with the crimes of the grafters. Their offense was that they spotted the shirt front and impaired its market value. This week the lid blew off the street-cleaning department and the rats are very nervous. It promises a good old-fashioned scandal of grafting by Tammany leaders and office holders which will be embarrassing to the brokers who will gather at Houston.

It is an old story and while the case has only reached the stage of charges the whole history of Tammany Hall shows that it runs true to form, that there is nothing new in it, and that we have every reason to believe that it is true. It includes the old game of padding of payrolls which extends to all boroughs, distribution of the loot among officials, weekly graft collected by "inspectors", and other phases of graft.

Tammany Hall isn't a political party. It never has been. It is as much a business institution as producing soap or tooth paste. Its leading heels become wealthy and it packs offices with its faithful. Thousands of soft jobs are created and maintained with its occupants rendering no service whatever to the city. This of itself is a huge graft for which the masses have to pay.

## Footpads Abroad

NO SECTION of our possessing classes has ever been more brazen in its methods than the super-power footpads whose aim it is to acquire the great power sites of the nation. This crowd has employed a host of newspaper men, college professors, authors and public speakers for its work. It prepares speeches for candidates for public office. It has succeeded in altering text books in schools where books have made favorable reference to public ownership. Lame duck Senators and Congressmen have been promoted to its staff of mercenary liars. Millions of pamphlets have been circulated in high schools which condemn public ownership and glorify capitalist exploitation. It serves no less than 900 daily and weekly papers in Illinois with its lying propaganda regarding public ownership in Canada and the blessings of capitalist ownership at home.

This crowd has the largest bags of cash at its disposal of any group that has ever swooped down on Washington. It is no more interested in the merits of public or private ownership than a burglar is in the pedigree of the latest arrival at the Bronx Zoo. It is out for loot and nothing more. Hydroelectric is the coming power in this and other countries. It will eventually displace all other forms of power and heat. Those who control it will, in combination with great financial allies, be the absolute masters of American life and receive revenues exceeding the dreams of those who head the Ford, Morgan and Rockefeller dynasties.

The attractive power of its bags of gold was dramatically revealed last week when it was learned that David Lawrence, publisher of the United States Daily, a "factual" and "impartial" newspaper, wrote the footpads a proposal by which they could use the publication for high-power advertising against public ownership. Lawrence explains that he also offered space to organizations opposed to the foot-

pads but the answer is that he sent these organizations the customary form letter. The footpads received a detailed letter showing how they could distribute the advertising among their constituent groups and give the impression that it was not coming from the same source.

Make no mistake about it. This propaganda is polluted whether it appears as advertising, in a pamphlet, or in the mouth of a politician. It supports the greatest raid ever proposed upon our natural riches. It is national burglary in the guise of business enterprise. It remains to be seen whether the footpads get away with the plunder.

## Breaking the Spell

A WOMAN writing to the Philadelphia Enquirer displays a reaction against the big oligarchies of capital which must be felt by many others who think at all. She objects to the "forty-year-old deadline that hits the men perhaps more tragically than us women." She has reference to the policy of the large firms to throw aside men of this age, relying upon a well-stocked labor market to supply the living commodity needed by the masters of industry.

"I vote for every man I can find who is out to fight the big corporations for cheaper rates, or for government ownership," she writes. "Nowadays I express myself freely, and if some of your friends in big business could hear the comebacks I get from all sorts and conditions they might be better prepared for what will surely descend upon them politically within a few years or more."

How widespread this feeling is it is impossible to tell, but it is evident that it is a revolt against the supremacy of corporate power. One of the amazing things about American life is the ease with which the capitalist class has taken millions by the nose and led them to quiet acceptance of an economic oligarchy such as the world has never seen. These millions have accepted the dogmas of corporate mastery and permitted dull politicians to expound them by argumentation that does not rise above drive.

However, the spell of corporation mastery is certain to be broken some time and this woman's letter shows how one victim is awakening from the narcotics served by politicians, high-power publicity men, and the editorial goose-steppers. The extension of this revolt means the end of the two organizations that are to market Hoover and Smith and eventually the surrender of our corporation dynasties to an industrial democracy of Socialism.

## Nuclei vs. Nuclei

ONCE again the obsession known as Communism is pulled up with a jerk by its keepers in Moscow. Years ago the chief article signed by applicants for admission to the holy order was a pledge to place their brains in pickle and that pledge still holds good. The mandarins in Moscow supply the brains and all that the boys here are required to do is to wiggle. Of course the gents who do the thinking in Moscow for the boys in the United States have a right to command as they pay for the American wiggle.

The latest order from the capital of the holy land apparently commands an abandonment of the "united front." The humor of the situation lies in the fact that this front has not been established and there was nothing to abandon. At any rate, the bull has reached the faithful all over the world and it is answered by a responsive wiggle here. The recent Socialist Party convention was deprived of its annual entertainment which Socialists have enjoyed from reading an invitation to join a "united front."

In Germany an amusing situation has arisen which provokes roars of laughter in trade union and Socialist circles. The German wiggle split into two wiggles. The insurgents consist of followers of Trotsky who insist that the regular Communists are "petty bourgeois" and "betrayers of the working class." That, of itself, has its elements of humor but it is the tactics of the Trotskyists that provide great joy.

The game is simple. The Trotskyists learned it from their opponents. They go to regular Communist meetings and try to "capture" them. If they fail they break up these meetings by fair means or foul. Then the Trotskyists plant "nuclei" in the Communist organizations just as the Communists have in the trade unions. Through these "nuclei" life is made miserable for the errand boys of Stalin while the Trotskyists have one helluva good time. Socialists and trade unionists look on with merriment as the "world revolution" is transformed into a bruisers' festival. We heartily wish both success in the "revolutionary struggle".

## An Appeal to Socialists

DESPITE the inspiring start which the Socialist Party campaign obtained by the work of the national convention and the nomination of our presidential ticket The New Leader feels it is imperative to call attention to certain vital essentials of the party for the next few weeks.

Contributions to the campaign fund are especially urgent. The National Office must help many states west of the Mississippi River. This region faces economic prostration. Many Socialists are eager to work but they need financial help. There are competent organizers ready to enter the field but the National Office cannot place them. Lack of funds alone delay this work and delay is perilous. Time is important. Tickets must be filed by certain dates in these states or Socialist Party electors will not appear on the ballot.

In short, an awakened spirit must be followed up by substantial contributions to help our distressed supporters in the West. We are not a regional movement. Our movement embraces the whole country. Failure in the West is failure in the East. We cannot dodge our duty because we do not live in the West and a solemn responsibility rests upon every member and friend.

We advise two things. Those who have not yet liquidated their campaign pledges made at the convention banquet should do so at once. Mail your check to G. August Gerber, 31 Union Square, New York City.

Others should immediately send what they can to the National Office. It is urgently needed. Mail to William H. Henry, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Do not wait. Do it now!

# LABOR POLITICS IN MINNESOTA

## The Farmer-Labor Party's Changing Fortunes

By Murray E. King

A SURVEY of the progressive farmer and farmer-labor movements of the United States naturally brings us to Minnesota. In Minnesota independent farmer-labor political action had its birth in 1922 when the farmers' Nonpartisan League of the cities united in the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota.

Six years have passed since that event. The hopes of the founders of that movement that it would soon spread into other states and develop national strength and permanence have not been realized. But after six years the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota still stands as an unique development in the United States.

It is the only state movement based on political action by the rural and city workers that has maintained so long its position as second party in the state and a serious contender against the dominant party for possession of the state government. It is the only state where something like half the voters have gone to the polls for six years without serious fluctuations and voted for a party of the producers, although before the war the Socialist party seemed to be rapidly approaching that position in several states.

## Many Obstacles to Hurdle

In the election in Minnesota two years ago the Farmer-Labor party cast 266,000 votes and elected between a third and fourth of the state senate and lower house. It cast something like 40 per cent of the vote. This was a recession from a former high mark, but not a serious recession, especially in view of some of the conditions this party had to contend with prior to the election. On the one hand it had its wavering conservative elements who had really never been touched with any degree of class consciousness. It had its politically crooked elements natural to a movement as loosely organized as this movement and lacking discipline and intensive education. It had the agents of the American Federation of Labor non-partisan policy to combat. At the time the writer of this article left Minnesota this non-partisan labor propaganda had apparently reached its zenith. A large majority of the unions had withdrawn from the Farmer-Labor Party. The Party held a convention in St. Paul and changed its name to Farmer-Labor Association to mitigate whatever antagonism it could on the part of the labor "nonpartisans", while attempting to function as the actuating force of a party. On the other hand, a handful of die-hard members of the old farmers' Nonpartisan League were opposing the party movement with all their strength.

This does not represent nearly all the disunity, trouble and lack of clear thought and class-conscious feeling then manifest. It looked then as though the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota was surely disintegrating. Yet, in the following election, 40 per cent of the people of Minnesota voted for the candidates of this party and elected many. This large popular support under these circumstances may be interpreted variously, but it is hard to escape the conclusion that the mild class consciousness and milder radicalism of this movement had found widespread lodgement among the people, and that it had been demonstrated that it is possible in the United States to break voters away from the old political parties in effective numbers in a movement opposed to existing rule.

Now, again, comes proof of the ability of this movement to hold its strength. At the March state convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, nearly 300 delegates were present representing 71 of the 84 counties of Minnesota. Not only was there substantial territorial representation

## Socialists Score

### Big Victory in Zurich; Communists Losers

ZURICH.—On April 14 and 15 there were held in Zurich Council Elections at which Socialism achieved a brilliant success. The Socialists have now a majority in the small City Council, having 5 seats as against 4 held by the bourgeois. The office of Mayor has passed into Socialist hands. Dr. Kloti received 26,894 votes against 25,813 cast for the previous mayor, who belongs to the Democratic Party.

In the elections of the large Council, the Municipal governing body, Socialism has also progress to record. Here it gained three seats, thus increasing from 36 to 39 out of a total of 125. The Communists lose four of their nine seats, and therefore return only five strong. The increase in the Socialist membership has made it possible to maintain the working-class majority on the large Council, since the bourgeois parties hold only 61 seats out of 125.

## Yudico, Mexican

### Socialist and Union Leader, Passes Away

We have received the sad news of the sudden death of Comrade Samuel O. Yudico, Socialist, Comrade Yudico was one of the youngest of the Mexican trade union leaders, and he held the offices of Secretary of the land and sea transport-workers and of Secretary of the Mexican trade union centre (C.R.O.M.) for home affairs. Only last summer he attended the Paris Congress of the I. F. T. U. as fraternal delegate of the C. R. O. M. and visited other countries of Europe for purposes of research. The Mexican comrades lose in Yudico an extremely capable and enthusiastic leader, whose unexpected death will be severely felt by the young Mexican Trade Union Movement, which has so many difficulties to contend with and so great a work to do in Latin America. Furthermore, such leaders as Yudico are in the nature of things more rarely to be met with in Mexico than in European countries, for which reason they are the more missed.

## Rhode Island Labor

### Fights Power Rates

Providence, R. I.—Newport's union electrical workers have aroused Rhode Island labor to power their exactions. Through resolutions approved both by the Newport Central Labor Union and the State Federation of Labor, electricians have started a demand which may cause the governor to name a commission to investigate high charges by private light and power companies.

Editor, New Leader,

It may interest your readers to know that a local Italian weekly paper (Il Lavoratore) in its last issue dealing with the recent Socialist Party's National Convention and the "bankruptcy of the Socialist Party" tells its readers that Berger and Hillquit by order of the Convention sent the following message to the Bremen Flyers:

"It is with pride that we learn of the spirit of the German officers conquering the ocean and regaining the respect for the sacred colors: Black, White and Red in so far distant places of the world."

If a Communist sheet can lie so brazenly, so unscrupulously, do you wonder humanity is so backward and far away from redemption?  
A NEW YORK ITALIAN SOCIALIST.  
N. Y. C.



From a woodcut by J. J. Lankes drawn for "Spring Plowing" (Doubleday, Doran)

tion, but there was a wide representation of trade unions and other economic organizations. There was unmistakable evidence of widespread interest and enthusiasm. Trade union interest showed every sign of having increased over conditions when the Farmer-Labor Association was formed. If these external signs are of any value there will be an increased Farmer-Labor vote in Minnesota this year.

But there is another side of the movement. It can best be illustrated by taking the platform adopted by this convention and contrasting it with platforms of the past as examples of the thought, vision and spirit of this movement. The earlier platforms of the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota stressed straight-out principles arising from the essential issue between the producers and their exploiters—the issue of control of government. They reflected to a certain degree the fighting spirit and the class consciousness that belongs to any open declaration of this issue. There was in these earlier platforms clear indication that the party had in mind a fundamental change to a new social system. These earlier platforms call the new social order Industrial Democracy.

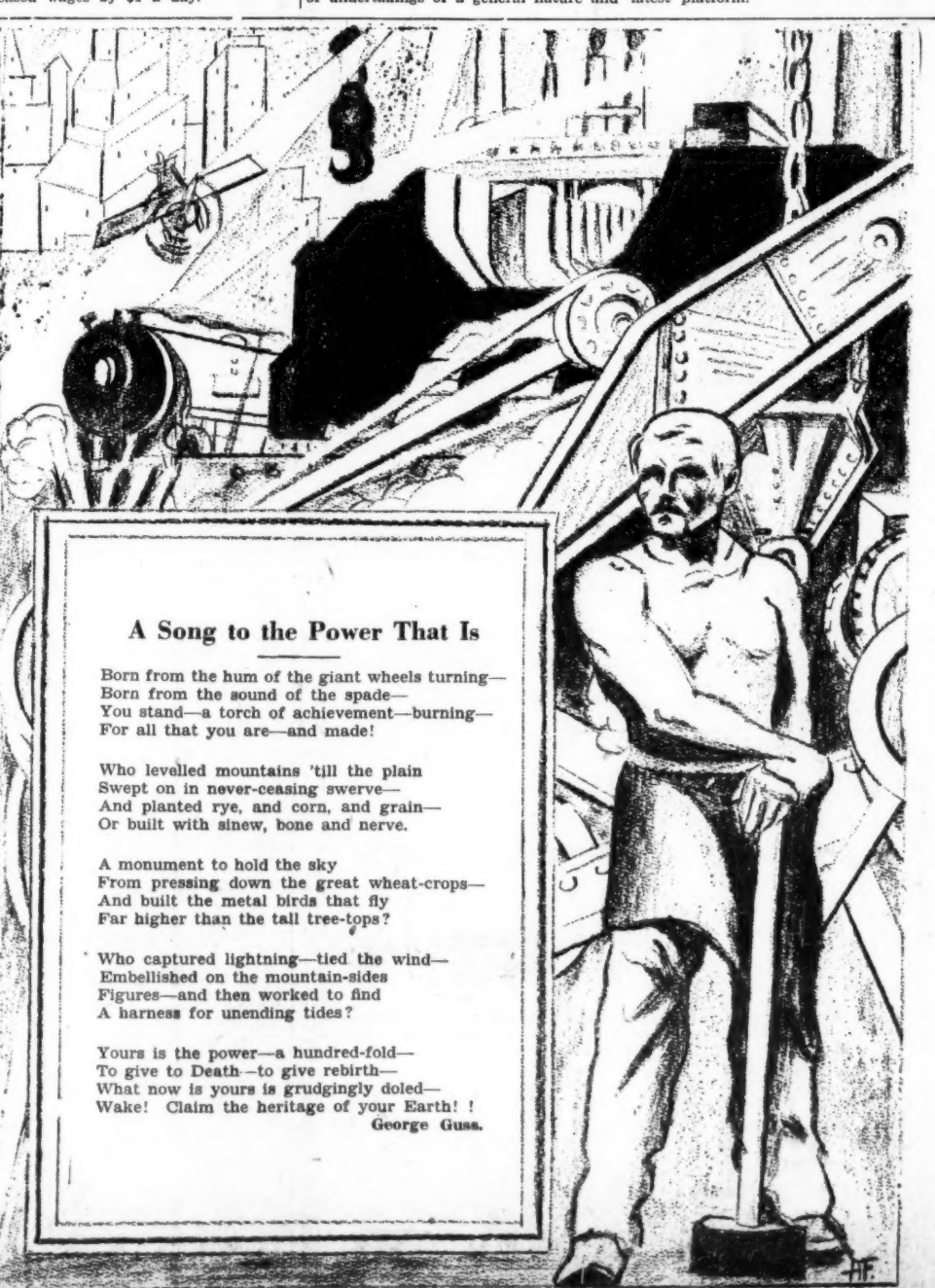
Alas, there is a sad slipping from any such clear declaration of goal and purpose in the platform adopted in Minnesota in March. I have before me the platform then adopted together with the platform just adopted by the Republican party of New Mexico. The essential characteristics of each document is that it (1) consists of a list of promises of public undertakings and reforms; (2) neither platform hints of any goal or purpose or ideal as the objective of political action; (3) neither platform attempts anywhere to tear the mask off from existing conditions and reveal their sinister and menacing significance; (4) neither platform hints that there is such a thing in existence as a struggle between organized wealth and the producers; (5) the Republican platform is the shortest, most pointed and, is just as radical.

Both these platforms have these common demands: state owned printing plant; public works for employment of unemployed; better workmen's compensation law; reduction of taxes for poorer classes of citizens; condemning abuse of injunction in labor disputes.

"Lack of Radicalism" Praised  
In other measures bordering on public control or ownership the two platforms are about equally progressive. Both concern themselves principally with support of undertakings of a general nature and

President Coolidge replied to an appeal from the Porto Ricans, some months ago, by declaring that they had made fast enough progress and should not ask for an elective governor.

Granite Cutters Win  
Quincy, Mass.—Success has crowned Granite Cutters efforts to get the 5-day week and a \$9 scale. Dozens of locals throughout New England have increased wages by \$1 a day.



## A Song to the Power That Is

Born from the hum of the giant wheels turning—  
Born from the sound of the spade—  
You stand—a torch of achievement—burning—  
For all that you are—and made!

Who levelled mountains 'till the plain  
Swept on in never-ceasing swerve—  
And planted rye, and corn, and grain—  
Or built with sinew, bone and nerve.

A monument to hold the sky  
From pressing down the great wheat-crops—  
And built the metal birds that fly  
Far higher than the tall tree-tops?

Who captured lightning—tied the wind—  
Embellished on the mountain-sides  
Figures—and then worked to find  
A harness for unending tides?

Yours is the power—a hundred-fold—  
To give to Death—to give rebirth—  
What now is yours is grudgingly doled—  
Wake! Claim the heritage of your Earth! !  
George Guss.

Arthur J. Rosenberg

with promise of internal reforms in the state government. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor platform promises local instead of state regulation of public utilities. It demands Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterway; prohibition of dams on the international boundary line, etc.

No sooner were copies of this platform made public than the bitter reactionary dailies that have fought the farmer-labor movement with venom, praised the platform for its mildness, "sanity" and "lack of radicalism." In commenting on these praises, The Minnesota Union Advocate backed up or receded on a single principle. As proof of this it points to the declaration of principles indorsed in this platform. The declaration of principles were adopted at the last farmer-labor convention attended by the writer when the Farmer-Labor Association was organized. These principles state a fundamental purpose and goal.

But one wonders if the removal of all fundamental principles from the platform and this indorsing in a clause a document that was adopted two years ago and is now forgotten or practically out of print is not a species of political pussyfooting. It reminds one of the pious man who, in order to save himself the trouble and nuisance of having to utter a long prayer before retiring to bed each night, had the prayer printed and posted on the wall over his bed. Each night upon retiring he would point to the printed prayer and say: "Them's my sentiments, O Lord."

One can understand why this kind of a platform was adopted if he understands the inherent educational defects of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. I am acquainted with many of its leaders and believe I understand the basic idea actuating its methods. That idea is that if the farmers and city workers can once be united around their interests as a fighting force in the political field it doesn't make so much difference what their platforms and principles are. Their interests and the nature of the struggle will inevitably draw them closer and closer together so that the principles and methods of their movement will develop as the fight proceeds. For this reason, this Farmer-Labor party has never developed intensive education. It has never reached the majority with a message that has the force of a great conversion which turns men and women in hot rebellion against the present system and in irrepressible struggle toward a new system, such as one sees in the Socialist movement.

One of the most influential writers and farmer-labor leaders in Minnesota has told me more than once that it is a mistake to talk to the average farmer or worker about such things as the cooperative commonwealth or Socialism; that they are not capable of grasping such abstractions; that it is better to present them with a concrete program of constructive improvement. In this way the masses can be united, and as they ascend the ladder of practical achievement, will gradually construct the new system. I am sure that this, in the main, is the philosophy behind the Minnesota farmer-labor movement and behind its latest platform.