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of the  
Socialist and Labor  
Movement

# NEW LEADER

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## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Socialist Candidate for President

IT IS as pleasant as it is surprising that the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals by unanimous decision has reversed the decision of the lower courts against Roger Baldwin and others in the famous Paterson free speech case and vigorously upheld a reasonable doctrine of free speech and free assembly. Any other decision would, of course, have meant that the courts had found a way to make the constitutional guarantee of civil liberties absolutely meaningless. But this is precisely what the lower courts had done. They had ruled in effect that a free speech protest meeting at which one or two young policemen professed themselves to be frightened became, for that reason illegal, even although the object of the meeting was legal and no display of force was made by the spectators. For a while, at least, in Jersey it will take something more than the timidity of a young policeman to upset the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly. For this victory we are duly grateful. Among other things it justifies the methods of the Civil Liberties Union and ought to encourage further efforts along the same line to uphold and increase what liberties we have.

While I am in the rather unusual business of saying a good word for the courts I ought to record the fact that the New York City Parole Commission has undone some of the harm of the unfair and vindictive decision of the Court of Special Sessions in New York City which sentenced the young University of Wisconsin student, David Gordon, to a long indeterminate period in the city reformatory because he had written an obscene poem in which, after Biblical analogy, America was likened to a harlot. There wasn't anything good to be said for the poem as a piece of literature or propaganda but the judges who passed on young Gordon acted like men less concerned with justice or with a young man's future than with venting their spleen against a young Communist who had offended their sensibilities. For the more enlightened attitude of the Parole Commission liberal public opinion, especially as expressed in the New York World deserves credit.

This same New York World which every now and then does and says something worth while is nevertheless a sorry and untrustworthy champion of progressive causes. So much is well established by its summary breach of contract with Heywood Brown who had written critically of it in the Nation. Its turnings and twistings in the New York transit matter are further evidence of its essential weakness in seeing through any cause of fundamental economic importance. It does not even give the news. Hearst's American is telling far more of the truth about power trust propaganda than the supposedly liberal World. And here is another bit of evidence.

Charles L. Craig whom Mayor Walker appointed counsel for the City in the transit cases has heretofore done nothing but argue against some of Mr. Untermyer's positions in the case. Now until recently Mr. Craig has held options on the 4th, 6th and 7th avenue surface lines in New York City. These lines have a basically unsound financial structure and an equipment and service worthy of the Tooterville Trolley itself. Today they don't dare compete with the subways. Once let the I. R. T. increase its fares and up will go their fares, to the immense profit of their owners. I wrote to Mayor Walker asking whether Mr. Craig still held options on these lines and if so how in the name of decency he could act as counsel for the city in pretended opposition to a seven cent fare. I got no reply from the Prince of Wisecracks. I sent the letter to the papers. The New York Times published it in part and the New York American practically in full; the New York World, as usual, ignored it as it has steadily ignored the issue which I raised. The same day that the World could not find room for my letter it found room for columns of blarney about how angry the Mayor was at the revelations of graft which he claimed to inherit from the preceding Democratic administration. Of course that's just the dapper Jimmy's line. Either by neglect or connivance he lets the city drift into scandal after scandal which he then proceeds wholly ineffectually to denounce. And the World which occasionally gently slaps him on the wrist in its editorial columns out of devotion to the "new" Tammany lends its news space to this effort to fool the people. There you

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## Casey Heads Penn. Labor Federation

Maurer Retires After Sixteen Years of Leadership of Workers—New Official A Congressman

PHILADELPHIA. — Congressman John J. Casey of Wilkes-Barre, is the new president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, succeeding James H. Maurer, who for 16 years presided over the country's strongest state labor movement. Maurer, recently elected Commissioner of Finance on the Socialist ticket in Reading, and now the party's candidate for vice-president of the United States, declined to run for re-election. Maurer's final report, closing 16 years of service, sounds a clarion call to unions to reorganize on industrial lines, if they hope to cope with well organized business.

"I have been preaching for years to you men," he told 427 delegates to the Philadelphia convention of the biggest state labor federation in the country, "to study your industries, to study economics, to study modern business and politics. In this, my farewell address to you, I urge more strongly than ever before that you do the hardest and fastest thinking you have ever done in your lives."

"The organization of our steel industry is a greater challenge, a more crying need to our movement than ever before. The A. F. of L. voted to organize the automobile industries. Evidently this drive had to be postponed. But the drive to organize the steel mills and foundries cannot be postponed if it is ever to be accomplished."

**Urges Attack on Steel**  
"Steel is a basic industry; organization in basic industries is the primary requirement of a strong and healthy trade union movement. And, as was found when organization was attempted in the auto factories, nothing can be accomplished in modern large-scale industries with our old craft methods of organization. I say to you flatly, what I said to Sam Gompers not very long before he died: The steel industry can only be organized along industrial lines."

"Call it by whatever name you please. Don't abandon the unions you have now—simply adapt them to the needs of the day. Accept all workers, of whatever skill or type, who are employed in a given mill into the one organization. Sub-divide them later if necessary; keep craft distinctions wherever they will help, but insist on the one fundamental fact—all workers in the same industry should be in the same union and all workers in one plant must absolutely be in one federated organization."

"In my own industry, the building industry, the time is over-ripe for a federation of building trades unions. We must have an end to jurisdictional disputes if we are going to maintain our unions."

**Coal Operators Denounced**  
Maurer, in his report to delegates representing 400,000 workers, dealt hard blows at operators who are beating Pennsylvania miners into industrial serfdom through cozzacks and injunctions. "During my recent visit to Russia," he observed, "I found no such conditions in any of the Russian coal fields as prevail right here in rich Pennsylvania. The coal mines in Russia do not suffer from unemployment. The industry is not overdeveloped as it is here. No cozzacks, coal and iron police, company gunmen or deputy sheriffs were anywhere in evidence in Russia today as of old during the reign of the Czar. It seems that now the tables are turned and that the poison weed of old Russian despotism has found root in Pennsylvania."

**Casey Miners' Congressman**  
Mr. Casey, elected to Congress on the Republican, Democratic, Labor and Socialist tickets, was elected to the House of Representatives.

## Socialist Rejects Invitation To Be Mussolini's Guest

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
Glasgow.—The Chairman of the Labor Group in the Glasgow Town Council, P. J. Dolan, nominated as a delegate to the International Tramway Congress in Rome, has refused to attend. He has addressed the following communication to the Town Clerk of Glasgow:  
"The Honorary President of the Conference is Signor Mussolini, and the delegates have to be the guests of the Fascist Government. Italy is terrorized by the dictatorship of one man, who has used his evil power unscrupulously to suppress all criticism of his fanatical and fantastic rule. To accept the hospitality of Signor Mussolini would be offensive to my Socialist faith, and an insult to the brave men and women who have suffered hardship and persecution in their efforts to re-establish Democratic Government in their beloved Italy."

CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. CASEY has been elected President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Though elected on old party tickets, he is known as "The Coal Miners' Congressman."



JOHN J. CASEY

## Amalgamated In Convention In Cincinnati

General Executive Board  
Presents Story of Two  
Years' Accomplishments

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
CINCINNATI.—Delegates to the Eighth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers met in the opening session at the Hotel Sinton Monday. The report of the General Executive Board carries an informing review of the work of the organization since the convention two years ago in Montreal and the data will serve as a basis for committees and discussion on the floor.

The outstanding features of the report deal with the industrial policy of the union, the condition of the local organizations, factional politics which have disturbed some organizations, relations of the Amalgamated with other branches of the labor movement, and the Amalgamated co-operative enterprises.

The industry itself, the report shows, has witnessed a revolution since the year 1920. "New types of clothes replace the old; price levels have been turned topsy-turvy; the direct-to-the-consumer business has grown from a little to a business of great magnitude." This has brought new problems to the union "which has been assuming a larger share of the functions of management."

**26,000 Aided by Insurance**  
This expansion of the union beyond the function of control of wages and hours has been something more than homage paid to a theory. "Vague terms, like union control, have under our arrangements with many manufacturers been translated into stern reality," the report declares. "Already many of the functions of supervision and management have, in spots, been taken over by the union. The savings which have been effected by this procedure have gone to our members and to increase the business of unionized firms."

The threat of an expanding non-union market has also been checked. One of the chief achievements was the organization of the Nash business in Cincinnati in 1925 which transformed a non-union into a union market.

The unemployment insurance system in Chicago is now five years old and has passed the experimental stage. A complete table of the members receiving benefits from this fund from 1924 to November, 1927, shows that in the first mentioned year 26,428 members were aided. The number thus helped has fluctuated from year to year and in 1927 there were 15,383 members benefited.

The factional controversies fomented by the Communists occupy Part Three of the report which shows that they subsided in New York City there was an extension of intrigues into other centers. The report declares these to be "an aftermath, not a new development. The backwater of the New York stormy currents of 1925 found their way to Rochester and into our two Canadian centers, Montreal and Toronto, in an attempt to resuscitate the remains of political factionalism." It is charged that the "directing agency" of this factional war in Foster's Trade Union Educational League.

The report goes into some detail in reciting the story of Communists meddling in the union and concludes with the statement that "politically they are as dead as the proverbial door-nail, for they stand for no principle, for mischief only, and no movement stands a chance to live if it represents no vital principle. They lost the right to be considered as a wing of the movement, as anything but a nuisance which the movement

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## Thomas In New Bedford; Spurs Men On

Huge Crowd of Textile  
Strikers Cheer Socialist  
Candidate for President

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, addressed 3,000 persons in an open air mass meeting at Buttonwood park. A crowd composed about equally of men and women listened attentively while Mr. Thomas condemned the 10 per cent wage cut and applauded the attitude of the union operatives who engineered the strike.

**Quotes Hoover Statement**  
Quoting Herbert C. Hoover as having said, "It is our business to create a country where no child can suffer from undernourishment," Mr. Thomas asserted: "I formally invite Mr. Hoover to come to New Bedford and explain how we can create such a children's country and accept the wage cut of 10 per cent. I ask him now to explain how to feed that child if you don't fight to get back your rights."

"A farmer," the speaker said at another point, "can not dock his mule part of his hay and not expect him to kick. You can't cut down the gasoline you give a tin lizzie and expect it to go. We ought to be able to do what a mule or a tin lizzie can do."

Mr. Thomas indicted the Pierce as paid dividends and yet tried to cut an example of a corporation that had wages. He stated that the Pierce mills had paid an average of \$32 a year per share for the last 10 years.

**"Put Men Before Dividends."**  
"It is the blackest wrong," he cried, for a dividend to be paid when you can't pay living wages to men. I don't say that we have yet come to the place where business can be run without paying dividends. But men should come first. The first obligation should be to the 100 share, but the living man and the living woman."

A striking figure on the impromptu platform erected for him a short distance from the grandstand, Mr. Thomas stood tall and thin and erect against the sky, his hair, almost white on top, blowing in the light breeze. He gestured freely, and spoke clearly, with a resonance that carried his tones easily to the edge of the crowd.

He was introduced by Frank J. Manning, volunteer worker for the Textile council, after a brief speech had been made by William E. G. Batty, secretary of the council. Mr. Batty's remarks were confined almost entirely to announcement of the tag-days projected by the council, when flowers are to be sold in several cities for the relief fund, and an appeal for workers to assist in the project.

**Cries Phrase in Song.**  
After Mr. Batty dismounted from the platform, and Mr. Manning had presented the speaker of the day, as "Labor's foremost champion in America, who just happens to be candidate for president," Mr. Thomas climbed to the platform.

He referred to the rendition of America by the band that volunteered its services to the meeting. "Sweet land of liberty," he quoted, "that's what we're in. Sweet land of liberty, where you have liberty to make nine cents go as far as 10, to make 90 cents go as far as a dollar, and to make your children eat less, and wear poorer clothes, made from the cloth that you have woven yourselves."

The Socialist standard bearer then

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## Thomas, Maurer, Hillquit Speak in Jersey Saturday

THE first battery of the Socialist Presidential campaign in New Jersey will be fired in New Jersey. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in Newark this weekend to complete its plans. On Saturday evening, May 19, the campaign will get under way with a mass meeting at Socialist Party Headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City.

The meeting will be addressed by the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, Norman Thomas, Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and James H. Maurer, former president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and a member of the Socialist city administration of Reading, Pa.

The other speakers will be Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger, who addressed a capacity meeting in the same hall a few months ago, from which hall he had been barred by the Jersey City police

a few years previously; William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party; Morris Hillquit, celebrated Socialist and Labor attorney, who polled nearly 150,000 votes as candidate for Mayor of New York a few years ago; James O'neal, editor of "The New Leader," and William Kane Tallman, Socialist candidate for Governor of New Jersey.

On Sunday evening, a banquet will be held in Newark, in honor of the National Executive Committee and the Party's candidates, and reservations are being made at a rate that indicates an attendance of several hundred.

Reservations for the banquet may be made with 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 Leemans, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City; or Charlotte Bohlin, 198 Paulinsson, Ridgely Park. The charge will be \$1.25 per plate.

## Children of New Bedford Strikers Manfully Bear Brunt of Fight Against Wage Slashes



ABOVE.—Children of New Bedford Strikers On Line Waiting to Be Fed at One of the Relief Kitchens Opened by the Union. BELOW.—A Row of Typical Mill Workers' Homes.

## Second Month of Strike In New Bedford Finds Ranks of Workers Solid

### Rebellion Against Wage Slashing Keeps Textile Mills Shut Down Tight In Massachusetts

By Paul Blanshard

AFTER a strike of one month, the textile workers of New Bedford, Mass., are holding virtually 100 per cent strong. Backed by 99 per cent of the community, they represent one of the last strongholds of organized labor in American cotton mills. Their fight, it seems to me, is one of the most important strikes in the history of American labor unionism.

In the mining towns of Pennsylvania, thousands of miners are making a heroic struggle in behalf of the wage scale of \$7.50 a day. In New Bedford these 27,000 strikers are fighting against a wage cut of 10 per cent which will bring their wages down to less than \$17.50 a week. How does an American family live on less than \$17.50 a week?

I went through several homes of New Bedford strikers and found that many of them have been receiving \$13, \$14 and \$15 a week for many months while they were working. When the strike came, they had absolutely no financial reserve. Their homes without luxury and without savings for periods of emergency will soon be the homes of the starving unless outside aid can be rushed to them. New Bedford is not a cheap city, in

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### New Bedford Workers Score First Victory

New Bedford.—The first break in the strike here of 30,000 workers came today when the representatives of the New Bedford Textile Council and the management of the Old Colony Silk Mill arrived at an agreement. In effect, the workers scored a complete victory, returning to work on the old scale of wages.

Union officials here expressed the opinion that this favorable settlement with the Old Colony Mill would probably lead the way for further victory in the strike which is now in its fifth week.

The Old Colony Mill employs about 200 workers.

### Berlin Socialists

#### Gain 8,786 Members

Berlin.—Despite unemployment, the Berlin Socialists register an increase of membership from 45,087 to 53,873, i. e., of 8,786 members. 3,854,500 leaflets and 45,000 pamphlets have been distributed. During the recruiting week itself a special edition of the "Vorwaerts" of 1,350,000 copies was circulated. The Party has displayed remarkable activity in local politics. The Berlin City Council included 73 Socialists, of whom 9 are women; in the local bodies the Party is represented by 261 members including 34 women. Of the mayors of districts 10 belong to the Socialist Party.

### No Relief For

#### Phila. Jobless Men

Philadelphia.—Buck passing between the Mayor and city council is killing the bill appropriating \$50,000 relief for Philadelphia's 60,000 jobless men. The Mayor says it's up to the council, and the council says it can't find the \$50,000 to appropriate.

### D. A. R. PROTESTS BLACKLIST

Washington.—While Mrs. A. J. Broseau, president general of the D. A. R., was voyaging to London to be presented to King George after her triumph in the recent D. A. R. congress over the anti-blacklist group in New England, the Oregon Lewis and Clark chapter, at Eugene, seat of the University of Oregon, adopted and sent to Washington headquarters a protest at her intolerance.

### MINERS PROTEST SPEEDUP

East St. Louis, Ill.—Speeding up 9th Illinois coal mines is reaching intolerable proportions, according to a resolution adopted by Local 2705, United Mine Workers, and forwarded to the district and international officials by Pres. Howard Kerchner.

### REDUCE ENGINEERS TO FIRING

Cleveland.—Many locomotive engineers have been reduced by lack of runs to a fireman's job again, according to grand chief engineer Al Johnston of the Brotherhood. He expects the situation to improve with the opening of lake navigation.

## Baldwin Case Blow to N. J. Mill Bosses

Reversal of Conviction  
First Victory for Free  
Speech in Textile Dis-  
trict

A striking victory for free speech has been won through the reversal by a New Jersey court of the conviction of Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who faced six months in prison for making a speech during the 1924 textile strike in Paterson.

The Court of Errors and Appeals, highest tribunal of New Jersey, declared itself for "the most liberal and comprehensive construction" of all the mandates guaranteeing the right of free assembly. It unanimously reversed the convictions of Baldwin and of four others in connection with an alleged "unlawful assembly" during the silk strike.

Judge James A. Delaney in Special Sessions, Paterson, sitting without a jury, convicted Baldwin, John C. Butterworth, George Cabrilla, Basil Effa and David Nitkin April 9, 1925. Baldwin was sentenced to six months in jail and the others were fined \$50 each. Baldwin has been free in \$2,000 bail. The convictions were sustained by the Supreme Court.

Baldwin declared the decision pleasant surprise.

"We had hardly dared hope for so favorable a result. Indeed, I had been making plans to go to jail," he said. "The fact that the decision is unanimous will help to put an end to the lawless police authority which for years has marked strikes in New Jersey industrial towns."

Mrs. Baldwin said the case was the first ever to test the question of unlawful assembly in New Jersey.

### Judge Kalisch's Opinion

The opinion, written by Supreme Court Justice Kalisch, said, in part: "The right of the people to meet in public places to discuss in an open and public manner all questions affecting their substantial welfare and to vent their grievances, to protest against oppression, economic or otherwise, and to petition for the amelioration of their condition and to discuss the ways and means of attaining that end, were rights confirmed and guaranteed them by the Magna Charta, petition of right and the Bill of Rights, the mainstay of the British Constitution and the bases of both our Federal and State Constitution. Of course, it goes without saying this inestimable boon of liberty was to be enjoyed by the people in a peaceful and law-abiding manner. "Our Federal Constitution recognizes this invaluable right of the people."

The decision in the Baldwin case will give heart to textile workers and their union leaders who have found in "Jersey justice" during strike time a most ruthless autocracy. Scores of textile union leaders and strikers have been jailed in the past for exercising free speech rights. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, was one of these, having challenged the police authorities of Garfield in the last Passaic strike.

## A. F. of L. Appeals Third Time For Coal Strikers

Washington.—Its third and most emphatic appeal to the membership of the American Federation of Labor to contribute money, food and clothing to the striking coal miners and their families has been issued by the executive council, at the request of a delegation from the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America. It asks every trade unionist to give, to the point of personal sacrifice, to relieve the terrible suffering of the victims of the war waged upon the coal miners' work by the operators. It asks all workers to give one day's pay to the relief fund.

"Suffering and distress among the striking miners and their families continue in a most aggravated form," it says, reviewing the struggle of the past 13 months in central and western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and other bituminous fields.

"Never in the history of an industrial conflict were greater courage in conflict, loyalty to a trade-union policy and devotion to trade-union obligations and principles shown than in this great miners' struggle."

The council asks that money be sent to Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, and that food and clothing be sent to Wm. Hargess, Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, and that nothing be given or sent to the National Miners' Relief Committee, which is the successor of the Ohio-Pennsylvania Miners' Relief Committee, denounced in an earlier circular by the council as being a Communist organization.



## Socialists Expect Gains In Germany

**Election This Sunday Expected to Result in Victory for Social-Democratic Party**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BERLIN.—General elections in Germany, Sunday, May 20, are the most important that have been held in years and general opinion forecasts losses for the extreme Right and the extreme Left. That is, if the trend of opinion for months in any indication, the monarchists and Communists will be weaker in the next parliament than they are in the present one.

The party of the Socialists, the Social Democratic Party, is the strongest in the Reichstag with 131 members. The National People's Party is next with 108 members. Ten groups are represented in the present Reichstag, the representation being sufficiently distributed to make impossible any one party control. Since the revolution in 1918 Germany has been governed by coalition ministries and there is no indication at present of a change from this expedient.

The total number of deputies in the Reichstag is 493 which are distributed except for a few scattered members, as follows:

PARTIES	DEPUTIES
Social Democratic	131
National Socialist	11
National People's	108
Economic Union	21
People's	51
Bavarian People's	19
Catholic Center	68
Democratic	32
Communist	35
Left Communist	10

The second mentioned party, National Socialist, is not Socialist at all but the most extreme of the reactionary parties. Its leaders and followers are anti-Semitic, favor the old Pan-German monarchist ideal, and would overthrow the republic and establish a dictatorship if opportunity offered. The Bavarian People's party is a Catholic party with a similar program but it chiefly stresses south German Catholic interests.

The National People's Party, the second strongest party, is the successor of the old German Conservatives, the party of Bismarckian tendency and it is generally referred to in the press as the "Nationalists". The party represents agrarian and land-holding classes, especially of Prussia, ex-army officers and officials of the old regime, big capitalists, bankers and the middle class with strong monarchist sympathies.

The Catholic Center Party is the third party in the Reichstag and, as its name implies, it is a party of Catholics in general. It also has heavy support from rich Catholic capitalists and landowners and the whole of the clergy work with it, but owing to the Catholic and peasant elements supporting the party the policy of the Center is never consistent and is always wavering. At one time it will shift to the Left and then to the Right.

**Proportional Representation Used**  
The People's Party, with 51 members, is an offshoot of the old National Liberal Party of Imperial Germany, its chief financial supporters being the big coal, iron, and steel magnates as well as those middle class voters who cannot follow the extreme Nationalists. It represents the Protestant wing of German capitalism. It holds capitalist property sacred and is opposed to all forms of socialization. It is a bitter opponent of all Socialist measures.

The other parties are of less importance, each representing some variation in views from the larger conservative parties. The Communists are split into two groups and it is almost certain that both will lose votes as well as Reichstag members in the election Sunday.

Indications are that the Socialists will poll an increased vote and increase their representation in the Reichstag. Germany has the most accurate system of proportional representation of any nation in the world and the representation of each party is a certain index to its vote no matter where it is cast in the Reich.

**JUBILEE OF THE CZECH PARTY**  
Prague.—On April 8 the Czech Socialist Party celebrated the 30th anniversary of its foundation Congress by a gala meeting in Prague at the same time in which 50 years before the secret Congress of St. Margaret took place. Fifty of those present at the original Congress attended the commemoration.

## WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Organized 1884  
60,000 MEMBERS IN 344 BRANCHES IN THE U. S. A.

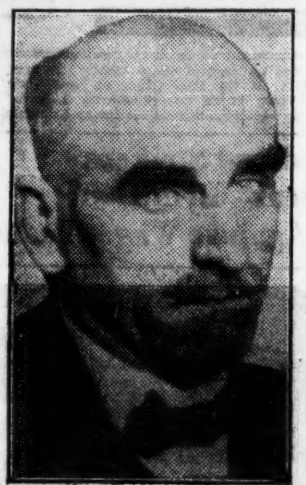
Assets on December 31, 1927, over \$2,330,000  
Paid for Sick and Death Benefits, over \$13,440,000  
Benefits in case of Sickness or Accident \$6, \$9, or \$15 per week for first 40 weeks, one-half thereof for an additional 40 weeks, or altogether \$360 to \$900.  
Sick Benefits for Women—\$9 for first 40 weeks, \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, or altogether \$540.

Death Benefits—in proportion to the age at initiation (Class A and B), \$885 at the age of 16 to \$405 at the age of 44.

Parents can insure their children up to the age of 18 years against death.

**Workers! Protect Yourselves and Your Families!**  
For further information write to the Main Office: 9 Seventh St., cor. Third Ave., New York City, or to the Branch Financial Secretary of your District.

**ELECTIONS THIS SUNDAY**  
In Germany will record large gains for the Socialist party, is the general expectation. The party's campaign is being led by Otto Braun, since 1920 the prime minister of Prussia; Paul Loebe, Rudolf Breitscheid, Rudolf Hilferding and others.



DR. OTTO BRAUN

## Wisconsin Socialists In State Convention Beginning June 9th

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Milwaukee, Wis.—Preparations are being made for the Socialist Party state convention in Milwaukee, June 9, to last two or three days.

The state executive board of the party has begun work on a tentative platform to present to the convention, and State Secretary Al Benson has sent out letters to the party strongholds in the state asking for platform suggestions. From reports in the state office it is believed that there will be delegates from practically every county in the state and some counties have already begun to name delegates.

The subject of candidates is receiving attention and a number of suggestions have been made in letters received by the state secretary. These mention both Milwaukeeans and leaders from various parts of Wisconsin.

Plans are being made for entertainment of delegates while in Milwaukee.

## Kenosha Scab Violence Draws Court Action

Kenosha, Wis.—The hand of justice, not very heavy and well cushioned, it is true, descended on the Allen A. O. hosiery strikebreakers in Kenosha municipal court, when 15 scabs were put under bond to keep the peace for the next 6 months. Judge Slater evidently thought they were pretty well behaved toughs, as he fixed their bond at \$150 each, to be forfeited if they were naughty again.

All that the strikebreakers had done, it was shown, was to shoot up several unions belonging to the locked out union hosiery workers, resulting in one man going to the hospital with a bullet in his leg. A couple of the union actors were wrecked. That was all. The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is conducting the long fight for union recognition and against speeding up.

## Fertilizer Makers Fight Government Project

Washington.—One hundred and one manufacturers of commercial fertilizer are in Washington to defeat the Muscle Shoals bill as reported to the House by its military affairs committee. They declare this bill to be much more dangerous to their business than the Norris bill adopted by the Senate, since the House committee measure would put the Government into the business of producing commercial fertilizer on a large scale.

Charles J. Brand, head of the fertilizer lobby, was formerly head of the marketing division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and was known as a friend of the Chicago meat packers when they were under investigation by the Government.

## St. Paul Road Resumes Contracting Subterfuge

Escanaba, Mich.—Contracting-out, one of the causes of the national shop strike in 1922, is appearing again at the Escanaba ore docks of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific railroad. When the iron ore handlers, enrolled in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks & Freight handlers, reported for work with the opening of navigation they found they had contractor Addison Miller as boss instead of the road. For the present he is paying the agreed rate, \$11.50 an hour. Railroads began the contract habit to evade decisions of the old rail labor board and to get out of collective bargaining with their employees.

## Convention Will Elect Officials

**Ladies' Garment Workers Settle Important Issue—Propose to Raise Nearly \$2,000,000 to Help Union**

BOSTON.—An issue which produced a marked division of opinion in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' convention was a proposal that national officers be elected by a referendum vote. After a thorough debate this measure was defeated by a vote of 134 to 56. The decision was generally regarded as a victory for the bigman forces.

Much can be said for and against the proposal as it is not a simple question of democracy on the one hand and efficiency on the other as outsiders may imagine. The question has come up in other periods in various forms and has been debated as earnestly as in this convention.

Advocates of the referendum, including Vice Presidents Salvatore Nifno and David Dubinsky, and Joseph Breslaw, manager of New York Presses' Local 35, had contended that adoption of the measure was imperative to restore the confidence of New York workers in the national leadership. The votes for the proposal came from instructed New York delegates and a scattering of delegates from New York suburbs.

The decision, coming after nine hours' debate, most of it acrimonious, presages the re-election of Sigman for President and most of his General Executive Board. Just as important was the problem of financing the union. Anarchic forces in the industry, coupled with internal wrecking by Communist partisans and a disastrous strike of the New York Cloakmakers led by them, has made the financial problem, one of extreme importance for the International, the joint boards and locals.

To help wipe out the debt of \$1,850,000 in the New York Cloak and Dress Union, the convention voted to take a National referendum on a special assessment to be levied upon the entire membership.

The assessment is to be three days' pay, to be contributed beginning with the next fall session. One-third of the proceeds will go to the International. One-third to the New York Joint Board, and the remainder to the local unions in the community where the money is raised. Since the majority of union members are in New York, the largest share of the income will go to the New York Joint Board. It is estimated that \$900,000 will be raised if the assessment is approved.

Speakers pointed out that the Communists during the 1926 strike in New York spent \$3,500,000 of which \$850,000 was in employers' securities, deposited with the union to assure faithful performance on union agreements. These securities were held in trust and the International, after the Communists were eliminated from power, obligated itself to repay the securities.

An emergency tax of \$1 per member was levied by the convention for support of the striking soft coal miners, upon recommendation by Vice President David Dubinsky. It is expected the tax will net \$50,000.

Upon recommendation of President Morris Sigman the convention voted to refer to the incoming General Executive Board questions dealing with wage scales in New York, the "jobber contractor evil," a time guarantee of employment and proposals for shifting thousands of cloakmakers into the dress and allied trades. A plan recommended for study is that minimum scales be based upon annual earnings instead of weekly because of the highly seasonal nature of the women's garment industry.

The "bootleg" shop, fostered by certain jobbers in the cloak trade, was denounced in the officers' reports, and recommendations were made for an intensive effort to eliminate it from the industry.

Presented as a grave problem is the rapid shift of activity from the cloak to the dress trade. Within the last ten years 16,000 cloakmakers in New York have been displaced without being absorbed by other trades, while non-union workers have invaded the dress trades. The Executive Board is to study how cloakmakers can be shifted without economic dislocation.

## Minnesota Farm-Labor Committee Completes Its Primary Slate

St. Paul.—Former Mayor L. A. Fritzsche of New Ulm will make the race for the Farmer-Labor nomination for governor of Minnesota in the June 18 primaries in place of county attorney Floyd B. Olson, who does not choose to run. Fritzsche takes over the Farmer-Labor Assn. indorsement that Olson had received in the March convention.

Thomas Vollum and R. C. Sletten, indorsed for lieutenant governor and state treasurer, also did not choose and have been replaced by Thomas Melgren of Preston and P. J. Seberger of St. Paul. U. S. Sen. Henrik Shipstead accepted his indorsement but is opposed by Wm. Watkins of Minneapolis. Fritzsche also has an opponent in Ernest Lundeen, who filed for governor before Fritzsche was selected.

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## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

have the perfect picture of New York's "liberal" daily in action. The moral of my tale is: Subscribe to The New Leader, and do it now if you want to know the facts the World omits.

It is a relief to turn from the evasions of the New York World to the gallantry of the New Bedford strikers. Paul Blanchard has given something of their story in other columns of this paper. Recently I spoke at a mass meeting of the strikers in one of the city parks. The calm, good natured determination of these exploited men and women is an omen of victory. So just is their cause that to a gratifying degree they have the community with them. Intelligent merchants are learning that it is not absentee stock owners who make them prosperous but the purchases of the workers. A 10 per cent cut in wages already so low that they do not provide on the average for the needs of the family much more than 60 per cent or 70 per cent of a minimum budget of health and decency is a tragic blow to the whole community. The strikers have a good chance of victory but the struggle will probably be long. The owners are financially powerful. It is not likely that they will yield without a fight. Relief, as Mr. Blanchard points out, is desperately needed.

The workers themselves are doing marvels. For instance, the Washington Club composed mostly of English textile workers (who are also members of the union) is giving three times a week a big bowl of nutritious soup and a loaf of bread to more than two thousand children. They prepare the food and buy the bread. Most of the other provisions they get as donations from the town and country around. They showed me with pride a little pig which had just been donated to them. Of that pig it may be said he died in a worthy cause. What better epitaph for any of us?

The victory of these strikers may check the movement to reduce wages which is gaining ground in many industries. The local unions are now affiliated with the United Textile Workers. But that union is not itself strong enough to take anything like the whole burden of a relief in a strike of which from 26,000 to 30,000 workers, not counting dependents, are out of jobs. The Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, of which I am chairman, is arranging to solicit and to forward to the strikers' committee funds for relief.

The interesting thing about the pre-convention campaign is that the reports so far given tell us so little. For instance, the power trust does not have to contribute to Mr. Hoover's campaign expenses in order to make him the beneficiary of that expensive propaganda under which it secretly subsidizes writers and college professors and turns the public schools into propaganda agencies for private profit. As the campaign goes on I shall have some questions to raise on the subject and I hope to have a chance to ask them of the Senate Committee itself.

Charles E. Hughes in his Princeton addresses made about the best defense that can be made for the Administration's Nicaragua policy. And what a weak defense it was! All that has happened there, it seems, is a natural consequence of our virtuous policy in agreement with the Central American nations not to recognize governments established by violence. Now a policy which has cost the United States and Nicaragua so much violence may be open to doubts as to its wisdom. We let big nations run their revolutions and, as a rule, recognize de facto governments. Why not grant little nations the same privilege, especially if the alternative is a war of intervention in which we sacrifice our own money and the lives and health of our own boys?

As a matter of fact our refusal to recognize the Chamorro government established by revolution was not a reason for failing to recognize the Sacasa government which had good legal title and which might have won with our recognition. It was not the reason for our putting our old puppet, Diaz, in office again. It was not the sufficient explanation of the ill considered Stimson agreement. Neither is it the justification for adding Nicaragua to our empire as we are doing, whatever outward forms of independence we may preserve.

The reason for all these things is American investments both in Nicaragua and in neighboring countries which may take to heart Nicaragua's experience. It is the interest of American financiers in the Nicaraguan loans and in the Nicaraguan bank and railroad. It is the devotion of our State Department—sometimes the stupid devotion of our State Department—to dollar diplomacy. Not all of Mr. Hughes' suave legalism and pious protestations can alter that fact.

Speaking of piety, that other good Baptist, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has at last asked for Col. Stewart's resignation as president of the Indiana Standard. And the National Chamber of Commerce has uttered noble words about ethical standards. Well, that's something, but it comes very late. Big business has proved itself inwardly as corrupt as the government it bribed. It did not of its own knowledge and volition ever protect its own stockholders in the Continental Oil deal. When some of its leaders were caught in the oil scandals it acted very much like Tammany Hall when it is found out. That's the ethics of capitalism.

## RadiumCorp Lets Women Victims Die

**Poisoned at Work, Five Workers Find It Impossible to Get Aid**

By Pauline M. Newman

FIVE working women are dying in New Jersey as a result of radium poisoning. They know that they are dying. They know that their days are numbered. They were told by medical authorities that they may die before September next. The poison has been taking their lives—inch by inch. There is nothing they can do but count the hours, the days, and wait for the end.

That is not the worst. These women have dependents. One has two children. A boy of four and a girl of eight. Who will support these children after they go? Who will care for them? Moreover, medical science has not yet revealed whether the poison will show in her children. It has not yet told her that it will not show. And the unspeakable fear that the children may be infected is making the days of their mother one prolonged agony.

These women were never warned concerning the danger of the work they were doing. Consequently they kept on working for the Radium Corporation. They felt sick and did not know the cause of their sickness. They went to doctors and the doctors did not know. Two years have passed—in misery and suffering. At last they were told by the medical authorities the nature of their illness and that there is no hope for them—they will die. There is no cure.

## Company Being Sued

They are now trying to sue the company for damages. They want to get some money to relieve the burden of their families. They want to finish their remaining days in the knowledge that when they go, the children of the one, and the families of the others, will have something to support themselves with. They are not asking for charity. They are asking for what is justly due them. But the attorney for the Radium Corporation claims that since these women did not file their suit two years ago, they have no right to sue now. The time limit in which to file suit has passed. They can just sit and wait for grim death to end it all. The fact that it took almost two years for the medical profession to determine the nature of the disease is ignored. The attorney for the company has succeeded in getting the courts of New Jersey to continually postpone the case for weeks, for months. These working women are dying. But the permission to sue the company must not be granted now. Certainly, your Honor, of the Chancery, keep on postponing the hearing. These women will soon be gone. Your conscience will be at peace. You will have done your duty. You will have distributed justice between the rich and poor alike.

Why, after the Sacco-Vanzetti murder, one should still get excited over injustices handed out over a court bench, is one of life's paradoxes. One should no longer expect from the courts, anything but adherence to the opinions of those who have power, of those who rule. But one does nevertheless. This thing haunts you. These women have been denied the joys of life while they worked. They have been robbed of life itself. They should no longer need to worry over finances. They should be allowed to die in peace. They should be allowed to die with the knowledge that their children will have something to live on after they go. They should be allowed to die knowing that justice is not dead in America! Five working women are in search of Justice. Who will help them find it?

## Karl Marx's Birthplace Acquired for the Party

Berlin.—The house in which Karl Marx was born on May 15, 1818, which is in the old city of Treves (91, Bruckstrasse), has been secured on behalf of the Executive of the German Socialist Party. The house which is little different in appearance from what it was in Karl Marx's youth, is to be maintained and looked after by the Party as a memorial. The acquisition of this house will arouse general interest and satisfaction in the International Socialist movement.

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## Henderson Demands Mussolini End Milan Star Chamber

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Zurich.—The President of the Socialist and Labor International, Arthur Henderson, M. P., has despatched from London the following telegram to Mussolini to Rome:

"In the name of the Socialist and Labor International we deplore and condemn the dastardly outrage at Milan by which so many innocent persons lost their lives as we have deplored and condemned the deeds of violence of the Fascist regime of which the murder of Matteotti is a symbol graven on the consciousness of the civilized world. In order that the moral conscience of the world may be assured that the persons guilty of the Milan outrage may be brought to justice and that innocent persons may not suffer, we express the hope that the persons accused will be represented by Counsel chosen by them, be informed in good time of the evidence collected against them and be permitted to call witnesses in their defence in public trial before a regular court."

"Arthur Henderson."

## Amalgamated In Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

must ignore or brush aside, as expedience may in each case dictate.

An outstanding section of the report which reflects great credit on the Amalgamated is the review given of the many friendly and helpful relations the union has maintained with other sections of the working class movement. It has taken a sympathetic interest in the British miners' strike, has given substantial aid to the Furriers, the Cloakmakers and other unions, participated in the New York City Socialist campaign to re-elect Judge Panken, cooperated with the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota, with the Socialist Party in Milwaukee, and worked with labor forces in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The total contributions made by the General Office and by Joint Boards and local unions through the General Office from June, 1926, to April, 1928, were nearly \$125,000. But this does not tell the whole story. Loans by various divisions of the organization to trade unions engaged in strikes amount to a total of \$370,000 and the report declares that "the banks owned and operated by our union proved to be of invaluable service to this cause of the labor movement." Among those receiving assistance besides the organizations mentioned above are the Passaic Textile strikers, El Nuovo Mondo, the Italian labor daily, the Chicago Federation of Labor, Brookwood Labor College, the Labor Institute of Philadelphia and others.

A review of the progress achieved in the cooperative apartments venture and the Amalgamated Bank conclude this interesting report. The net impression of the report is that of a union that is alive, progressive, sympathetic with all phases of working class striving and an example of what a trade union can be.

We presume that the slogan of Tammany this year when Smith is nominated for President will be, "Turn the Oil Rascals out! Hoover may answer, 'Take Care of Your Own Sewers.' It will seem like home again.

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P. S. If you can't come down on the 29th make it any day up to June 2nd.  
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# POWER DEALS GIVE 15 COMPANIES 80% OF PRODUCTION

## Casey Heads Penn. Labor Federation

(Continued from Page 1)

claret party tickets, without opposition, by anthracite miners, defeated John A. Phillips, Philadelphia printer, for Federation head. Casey, with the support of the official miners' forces, won easily, 546 to 331. John Otis received 75 votes.

Casey, like Maurer, comes from the plumbers' union. He began work at the age of 8 in the coal breakers. Following years as an apprentice and journeyman plumber, he became foreman, superintendent and finally an employer before turning wholly to politics. Elected to the state legislature on a straight Labor Party ticket, Casey pushed through the Keystone state's first employers' liability law in 1908 and represented the Federation in drafting the workmen's compensation bill. Casey was first elected to Congress in 1913 and was the first trade unionist to sit on the important ways and means committee. During the war, he helped draft the government's war labor program and was labor adjuster for the Emergency Fleet Corp. He is Democratic candidate for re-election to Congress this fall. Jas. E. Kelley was re-elected Federation secretary and Tobias Hall of the Textile Workers was chosen A. F. of L. delegate.

Exciting scenes marked closing hours of the convention, with delegates near fistfuffs. The miners had adopted denunciation of the "Save the Union Committee" and the "Pennsylvania and Ohio Relief Committee." Another resolution praised John L. Lewis' conduct before the senatorial investigating committee.

**Kennedy Leads Miners**  
Thomas Kennedy, U. M. W. A. secretary, led the miners' officials. He stated that collections through the A. F. of L. for miners' relief totalled \$400,000. This sum, he said, was far below the actual needs of strikers.

Despite warnings by President Adolph Hirschberg of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union and other Philadelphia delegates that the Mitten-Mahon agreement exempting local street car men from unionism marked the introduction of company union influences in the legitimate trade union movement, the convention declined to support a resolution condemning the contract. The agreement provides means for unionizing employees on lines to be acquired by the Mitten traction interests, presumably in New York City, in return for the union's promise not to organize street car men in Philadelphia and Buffalo.

Resolutions adopted by the Federation include: Immediate withdrawal of American troops from Nicaragua and Haiti; Mass violation of injunctions against picketing; One day's pay for the striking miners; 44-hour law for women to replace the present 48-hour law; Compensation for occupational diseases; Trial by jury in injunction cases and no yellow dog contracts.

## Penn. Labor Party Holds Meeting

Philadelphia—James H. Maurer adjourned the session of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, turned the gavel over to Charles Kutz, and the Pennsylvania Labor Party was declared in convention assembled. With the same personnel as the Federation meeting, the Labor Party convention was the largest in years.

The Labor Party went on record for public ownership of mines, super-power and natural resources. Delegates condemned militarism, injunctions and the yellow dog contract. The convention reaffirmed the position of the Labor Party as the political expression of the State Federation's legislative aspirations and the practical medium through which labor unions can establish a third party when they find the time is ripe. It was formally decided to adopt the Federation's legislative program as the Labor Party program.

Only candidates endorsed by the Federation and International A. F. of L. unions can be nominated, endorsed or supported by the Labor Party.

Officers elected for the coming year are: Chairman, Charles Kutz; secretary, Charles Oyster and treasurer, James Kelley, also secretary-treasurer of the State Federation. The executive board consists of Chris Golden, president of District 9, United Mine Workers; Gustave Yeager, railway telegraphers; William Welsh, U. M. W.; James Marks, president of District 2, U. M. W.; Edith Christensen, Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League; Robert Norman, carpenters; and Stanley Flogick, U. M. W.

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## Penn. Federation, Under Maurer, Was Vanguard of Labor

**Affiliation of 267 Unions Rose to 1,400 During 16 Years of Socialist Leadership**

PHILADELPHIA—Workers have not even gotten credit, much less cash for making America the world's wealthiest nation.

This is James H. Maurer's conclusion in his final report to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, as he lay down presidential burdens carried for 16 years. Workers, the biggest factor in greatly increased productivity, have only succeeded in working themselves out of jobs by speeding up, he summed up in his report to the Federation convention, meeting in Philadelphia.

Maurer warned delegates that casting workers on the scrap heap of unemployment and helpless old age is heading the country toward serious trouble. "The offering up of hundreds of thousands of men on the altars of profits for owners of stocks and bonds cannot continue," he said.

"Labor must realize that unless the political, social and industrial leaders change their policies, it will be suicide for the worker to continue with the experts in making industry more efficient. Labor must share fully in these improvements or the present system cannot continue. Earnings must be made larger to enable the consuming power of the public to keep pace with the producing power of industry."

**Recounts 16 Years of Work**  
In his 40-page report, Maurer discussed unemployment, its causes and remedies, old age pensions, the coal strike, the yellow dog contract, social insurance. He reviewed his own stewardship of the Federation since 1912 when it had no permanent headquarters and only 267 unions affiliated. Today the Federation has both a paid organizer and educational director, a healthy treasury and 1,400 affiliations representing 400,000 workers.

In 1912, the little labor legislation on the books was unenforced; politicians manned the labor department; child workers were exploited; 90 per cent of the factories were death traps. Since then organized labor has obtained wage increases, shorter hours, adjustment of grievances and workmen's compensation. Maurer described his own activities, consisting of lecture tours carrying him to all but five states and to 12 European countries. He has discussed labor problems with three presidents and five Pennsylvania governors, with Labor Party leaders in England, international labor

chiefs in Geneva and with Chicherin, Trotsky and Stalin in the Soviet Union. He has served as president of the Workers Education Bureau, head of Brookwood Labor College board, member of the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland, chairman of the Pennsylvania Old Age Pensions Commission and chairman of the unofficial trade union delegation to the Soviet Union.

Maurer pleaded for concentrated emphasis on the organization of the steel industry in western Pennsylvania. He urged that no union be abandoned but rather adapted to take in all workers of every skill, type and craft. He asked for the end of jurisdictional disputes in the building trade and abolition of old craft jealousies.

Urging new policies to meet new situations, Maurer warned against being mesmerized by talk of high wages which do not exist. He declared the country is prosperous only in spots and cited miners' wages of \$1,050 a year. In Reading, where he is a Socialist councilman, a survey showed workers averaging but \$22.75 a week.

"I do not mean to pass out of the organized labor movement picture because I am retiring as president of the Federation," he concluded. "Rather I am returning to where I was when you honored me with this position, back to the rank and file, there to play my part in the grand and glorious cause for the emancipation of my class, and to make this a better and happier world to live in."

Maurer is the Socialist Party's candidate for vice president.

**James H. Maurer**

**SOCIALIST TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP SHOWED ITS METTLE IN THE 16 YEARS OF JAMES H. MAURER'S PRESIDENCY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.**



JAMES H. MAURER

chiefs in Geneva and with Chicherin, Trotsky and Stalin in the Soviet Union.

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**James H. Maurer**

## New Bedford Mill Strike Enters Second Month With Men Solid

(Continued from Page 1)

fact its cost of living is one of the highest of Northern mill cities.

**The People in Rebellion**  
Yet these strikers are standing absolutely firm and the mills are closed because they and the whole community are firmly convinced of the justice of their cause. In a sense this strike is the rebellion of the masses of the New Bedford people against the arbitrary domination of the handful of mill owners who cut wages without even discussing the proposal with their employees and the community.

This far it is a quiet, smiling strike with policemen exchanging banter with the strikers, very few arrests and virtually no strike breakers. But all the germs of bitter class warfare are there, manufacturers rich and stubborn, workers poor and growing more bitter as the days of hunger go on.

Manufacturers in cutting the wages of New Bedford workers had a flimsy case. The public should realize that the fine goods mills of New Bedford are not very much affected by Southern competition. They have no right to believe that the South is ruining them by a 60 hour week or wages of \$12.35 a week. It is true that the South has these hours and these wages but Southern mills produce coarse goods which do not compete with New Bedford. New Bedford is an aristocrat of cotton manufacturing cities in this country and less than 8 per cent of the competing looms in the industry lie in the South. The rest of the 150,000 fine goods looms in the textile industry are in New England where labor conditions are not very much different from those in New Bedford.

Profits of New Bedford manufacturers have been so large that the community has a moral right to ask them to bear losses for several years before cutting wages.

**Butler's Heavy Profits**  
William M. Butler, for example, Mr. Butler, who is the close friend of President Coolidge, is head of three of the mills in this strike. Not all of his profits are made public, in fact secrecy of profits is one of the devices which the manufacturers use to prevent what they regard as unpleasant propaganda against them. But one of Mr. Butler's companies gave its stock dividends of 200 per cent in 1922 two others for the last 10 years have averaged 26 per cent and 8.3 per cent dividends on common stock.

Mr. Butler obviously believes in Coolidge property.

It is true that manufacturers in New

Bedford have one strong point in favor of a wage cut. Certain fine goods mills in Fall River have cut wages 10 per cent and this competition from Fall River is a threat against New Bedford manufacturing costs. But if the New Bedford strikers win their battle, it is virtually certain that Fall River fine goods mills will be forced back to the New Bedford scale almost immediately. That is the reason why this strike is so important. It will set the standard of wages for fine goods mills for the future.

**The Strike Leadership**  
The labor struggle is being led by the veteran officers of the American Federation of Textile Operators which for years has been an independent union. Now that union has joined the United Textile Workers and there will be cooperation between the strikers and the American Federation of Labor. Only the left wing group is for the time being outside of this new alignment. This left wing committee has perhaps 2000 members who do not pay dues while the labor union which is leading the strike has approximately 8000 members. The left wing group has staged mass picketing and effective mass meetings but the feeling between it and the established union is one of great hostility because of the bitter attacks upon union leaders by leaders of the Textile Mills Committee.

I have a great admiration for the energy of the left wing leaders in New Bedford but not nearly so much admiration for their wisdom. They have so bitterly denounced Abraham Binns, William E. G. Batty and Thomas McMahon that the unification of the workers under the leadership of these veteran union officers will be impeded. The communists have assiduously distributed copies of the Daily Worker containing scurrilous attacks against the union administration and the Citizens Relief Committee. I think they are wrong in doing this in spite of their earnestness and enthusiasm. The established unions in the textile industry have been sluggish and at times ineffective but the charges of corruption brought against them in New Bedford have still to be proved and the reputation of those charges without proof is a serious blow at the success of the strike. The finest thing which could happen to the New Bedford strikers now would be the complete unification of all elements under vigorous leadership sponsored by the national union.

**Shumate Called**  
Willard Cope, director of the Georgia propaganda, had, boasted in print that his work, during nearly four years, resulted in a Georgia legislature, in 1925, which was the first that had not "baited the corporations". Instead, it enacted a law exempting new business enterprises from taxation, and it repealed the state inheritance tax law. His method in securing these results was the weekly issuance of "facts" on public utility questions to all members of the legislature, to state officials and to all newspapers.

Frank Shumate of the Georgia Railway & Electric Co., a lobbyist in Washington during the past winter against the Muscle Shoals public-operation bill, is to be summoned later to testify. Records of his office up to Jan. 1, 1928, are reported to have been recently burned.

## Women and Children Die In Industry

Albany, N. Y.—Five women and three children were among the 145 industrial workers who died in April in New York state from accidents suffered while at work.

## Raushenbush and Laidler Challenge Power Trust Lobby

A part of the wealth used by the power trust lobby to poison public opinion on the subject of government development of Boulder Dam, Muscle Shoals and against ownership and distribution of power in general, went to no less respectable gentlemen than Ernest Greenwood and former ambassador Richard Washburn Child, as the story below tells. Greenwood got \$7,193.51 cents, the 51 cents possibly denoting the ratio of truth in the book he wrote. Mr. Child got \$7,500 for two pamphlets on Boulder Dam. The power trust paid both, as well as others less well known, among them Frank Bohm, one time "left wing" Socialist.

To match this subsidized "research," Harry W. Laidler and H. S. Raushenbush have written "Power Control," just published by The New Republic. The book may be obtained through The New Leader, 7 East 15th street, at \$1.00 per copy.

## Power Lobby's Operations in States Shown

**Cleveland School Children Get 15,000 Pamphlets Florida Press Well Taken Care of**

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—Ohio, Florida and Georgia are the latest of the long list of states to be revealed in the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the power trust, to be victims of the propaganda intrigues of that element of big business. Methods are the same as in Illinois, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The only differences are those of degree of activity in molding public opinion.

In Ohio, the testimony taken May 9 by the commission showed, the Ohio Committee on Public Utility Information, directed by Fred J. Bollmeyer, placed in the public schools of the city of Cleveland 15,000 copies of a pamphlet called "Aladdin of Industry." This document sought to persuade students that public regulation of the utilities was already complete; that customers now owned a vast total of shares in Ohio electric companies; and that the companies were institutions of which the people should be proud defenders. Material issued to the newspapers was widely printed, with the same purpose. Many of the smaller papers used the stuff without any indication that it had not been written by their own editors.

**Florida Papers Willing**  
In Florida, where the annual electric utility business has only \$18,000,000 gross income, a fund of \$12,000 a year is raised by a levy on the companies. R. J. Holley, director of the propaganda work in Florida, testified that his chief service was in keeping in close personal contact with newspaper editors. Until two weeks ago he was also secretary of the Florida Press Association, so he travelled around the state to visit editors in the name of the association and to drag in his power trust arguments as a special feature of the conversation.

"We put on a speaker at the State University," was Holley's explanation of many items in his expense account. He would get a utility executive to make a speech at the university, attend the meeting and write an account of it for the papers throughout the state. He testified that 60 per cent of Florida newspapers, daily and weekly, used his prepared articles as their own; 20 per cent of them used his articles as editorials of their own. He showed an average of 900-copies per month, of his statements glorifying the utility companies, published in the state press.

Chief Counsel Healy, for the Commission, read into the record a talk by one of the Florida power executives, instructing their speakers to "Call the country editor by his first name, and slap him on the back." Other testimony was to the effect that 300 papers in the Carolinas, only one was hostile to the companies' program. How this harmony was reached may have been indicated by one Florida expense bill of \$1,000 for a "deep sea fishing party." Holley's dues to the Rotary Club at Sanford, Fla., were put on his expense account at \$59.60 for nine months.

**Shumate Called**  
Willard Cope, director of the Georgia propaganda, had, boasted in print that his work, during nearly four years, resulted in a Georgia legislature, in 1925, which was the first that had not "baited the corporations". Instead, it enacted a law exempting new business enterprises from taxation, and it repealed the state inheritance tax law. His method in securing these results was the weekly issuance of "facts" on public utility questions to all members of the legislature, to state officials and to all newspapers.

Frank Shumate of the Georgia Railway & Electric Co., a lobbyist in Washington during the past winter against the Muscle Shoals public-operation bill, is to be summoned later to testify. Records of his office up to Jan. 1, 1928, are reported to have been recently burned.

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## Five Groups Hold Half of Industry; 828 Deals in 1927

THE national Committee on Coal and Giant Power, with headquarters at New York, stated that during 1927 control of the power industry had been concentrated through 828 utility changes. Eighty per cent of the national production is now in the hands of fifteen holding and operating groups. This amounts to 60 billion kilowatt hours out of 75.1 billion produced in 1927.

The first five companies, the committee stated, control half of the whole production. These include the Electric Bond and Share, Insull, Northwestern, North American and Byllesby interests.

The committee's report signed by H. S. Raushenbush, secretary, co-author of "Power Control," called attention to the importance of keeping a few key power resources, such as Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam and the St. Lawrence as "measuring sticks" to the system of private control in a few hands which extends throughout the country. The desire to defeat the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam proposals and make competition from them impossible was given as a reason for the large expenditures in political campaigns by the power companies. The evidence being produced by the Federal Trade Commission was cited in proof.

The exact amount of production for the first fifteen companies based on figures published by the Electrical World, is as follows:

**Production in Kilowatt Hours in 1927**

1. ELECTRIC BOND AND SHARE	13,762,470,000 kwh	Percent of Total 18.32%
Utah Power and Light.....	784,402,000	
Idaho Power Company.....	352,253,000	
New Orleans Public Service.....	319,849,000	
Arkansas Power and Light.....	183,843,000	
Dallas Power and Light.....	171,925,000	
Louisiana Power and Light.....	250,542,000	

2,062,907,000 2.74%

AMERICAN POWER AND LIGHT		
Montana Power Company.....	1,336,997,000	
Minnesota Power and Light.....	401,856,000	
Texas Power and Light.....	355,707,000	
Northwestern Electric Co.....	255,768,000	
Kansas Gas and Electric.....	221,118,000	
Florida Power and Light.....	214,167,000	
Pacific Power and Light.....	171,611,000	
Fort Worth Power and Light.....	140,230,000	
Texas Electric Service Co.....	241,723,000	
Nebraska Power Company.....	201,094,000	

3,570,269,000 4.75%

NATIONAL POWER AND LIGHT		
Pennsylvania Power and Light.....	908,579,000	
Houston Lighting and Power.....	362,094,000	
Birmingham Electric Company.....	288,073,000	
East Penn Electric Company.....	195,180,000	
Memphis Power and Light.....	166,244,000	
Edison Electric of Lancaster.....	135,474,000	

2,483,070,000 3.3%

AMERICAN GAS AND ELECTRIC		
Ohio Power Company.....	1,131,133,000	
Appalachian Electric Power.....	1,095,378,000	
Indiana and Michigan Electric Power.....	390,808,000	
Scranton Electric.....	237,512,000	
Kentucky and West Va. Power.....	168,960,000	
Atlantic City Electric.....	157,892,000	
Indiana General Service.....	105,634,000	

3,287,317,000 4.39%

**SOUTHEASTERN POWER AND LIGHT**

Southeastern Power and Light.....	2,215,947,000	
Central Georgia Power.....	143,260,000	

2,359,207,000 3.14%

2. INSULL GROUP		
Commonwealth Edison Company.....	3,778,380,000	
Public Service of Northern Illinois.....	884,762,000	
Central Indiana Power Co. subsidiaries.....	305,326,000	
Central Illinois Public Service Co.....	301,548,000	
Wisconsin Power and Light.....	275,376,000	
Interstate Public Service Company.....	237,227,000	
Central Maine Power.....	220,72,000	
Kentucky Utilities Company.....	185,904,000	
Gulf States Utilities Company.....	155,783,000	
Public Service of Oklahoma.....	135,199,000	
Central Power and Light.....	120,521,000	
Des Moines Electric Light (half).....	67,208,000	
Kansas City Power and Light.....	468,156,000	
Penn Central Light and Power.....	226,892,000	
Cumberland City Power and Light.....	831,242,000	

8,214,251,000 10.9%

3. NORTHEASTERN AFFILIATES		
Buffalo, Niagara and Eastern Power.....	4,636,341,000	
Mohawk Hudson system.....	1,249,808,000	
New England Power Association.....	1,104,515,000	

6,990,664,000 9.3%

4. NORTH AMERICAN GROUP		
Missouri, Illinois and Iowa system.....	1,449,881,000	
Western Power Corporation subsidiaries.....	1,351,590,000	
Cleveland Electric Illuminating.....	1,138,838,000	
Wisconsin-Michigan system.....	1,026,886,000	
Des Moines Electric Light (half).....	67,208,000	

5,034,403,000 6.71%

5. STANDARD GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY (Byllesby)		
Duquesne Light Company.....	1,328,528,000	
Northern States Power Co. and subsidiaries.....	838,375,000	
Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company.....	399,543,000	
California Oregon Power Company.....	374,724,000	
Louisville Gas and Electric.....	234,238,000	
Wisconsin Public Service Corp.....	153,364,000	
San Diego Consolidated Gas and Electric.....	126,801,000	

3,456,571,000 4.60%

6. ALLIED LIGHT AND POWER (Hodenpyle-Mardy)		
Consumers Power Company.....	930,285,000	
Tennessee Electric Power Company.....	651,397,000	
Pennsylvania-Ohio Power and Light.....	574,290,000	
Northern Ohio Power and Light.....	379,630,000	
Illinois Electric Power.....	213,752,000	
Central Illinois Light.....	135,692,000	

2,885,046,000 3.7%



# A PICTURE OF AN OPEN-SHOP TOWN

By Isabel Westervelt

NO UNION men had better go poking their noses into this burg. When we find an organizer hanging around, we run him out quick. We're Endicott, Johnson and Company here. If you want anything done in this town, go see George F. Johnson. He's the Big Boss around these parts. He's Binghamton and Binghamton is Open-Shop, pretty near one hundred per cent.

The above being so and Binghamton and the Endicott, Johnson company and the Endicott, Johnson company (which makes thousands of Boy Scouts) having been so frequently pointed out as models by "liberal" boosters for "The New Capitalism," it might be worth our while to look at industrial conditions in this up-State New York town through the impartial eyes of a State bureau. Especially as all throughout New York State much the same conditions of Open Shop Utopianism prevail.

**The State Investigation**

There has just come to hand a report of 113 pages prepared under the supervision of Nelle Swartz, Director of the Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor, giving a realistic picture of the way the workers live in a one-hundred per cent unorganized city.

In the preface of the report, the state investigators say:

"Binghamton, as typifying one of the smaller, thriving industrial communities in the State, presents a particularly interesting field for study. It is a city not yet so large as to be overburdened with problems of overcrowding and congestion. Its population is predominantly native born. Four-fifths of the citizens own their own homes. It is peculiarly well situated with regard to industrial activity. Located at the juncture of two rivers, served by three main trunk lines, less than a hundred miles from hard and soft coal fields, within three hundred miles of a third of the population of the United States—these are some of the advantages listed by the Chamber of Commerce as giving Binghamton a particularly favorable position as regards industrial activity and commercial prosperity."

The factories in Binghamton and the neighboring towns of Endicott and Johnson, set up by the big shoe works employ about 22,500 workers, of whom more than one-fourth are women.

**Married Women Preferred**

And out of all the detailed mass of carefully collected information in this brilliant report, this one fact stands out: There are more married women working in factories, stores and offices in this Open Shop Heaven than in any other city in New York State.

The report shows that one out of every five married women in Binghamton is forced to seek employment. Of the number of women in gainful occupations working in Binghamton 31 per cent are married.

Here is a table taken from the report which shows the comparison between Binghamton and other New York State cities:

City	No. of Mar. Wom. Emp.	No. of Fem. Wom. Emp.	Per Cent Mar. Wom. Emp.
Albany	94,470	1,311	9.1
Binghamton	9,352	2,978	31.8
Buffalo	49,796	5,166	10.4
Elmira	4,947	828	16.8
Niagara Falls	3,883	599	15.4
New York	689,251	107,315	15.6
Rochester	87,505	7,587	20.2
Schenectady	8,327	1,553	18.7
Syracuse	18,674	3,369	18.0
Troy	12,037	1,501	12.5
Utica	12,273	2,392	23.6

Now even the Associated Industries headed by that notorious union-buster Mark Daly, yes even the Woman's Party which is so concerned with breaking down all safeguards for women in industry, will admit that married women do not go to work when there is sufficient income from the men workers of the family to maintain a decent standard of living. Of course there are exceptions in the cases of college graduates where women are anxious to make careers for themselves, or find hanging around the house irksome. But you don't do much carousing in a shoe factory or getting up at dawn to make cigars. And the tremendous contrast between Binghamton and the surrounding cities in regard to married women at work indicates

## Married Women Workers at \$16.50 Weekly—\$1,000 a Year The Top Figure in Binghamton, Endicott, Johnson Heaven

to the merest economics novice that the men workers are not paid enough to support their families.

**\$16.50 Average Weekly Wages**

The report does not deal with the wages paid men. But it does state that the median wage paid the unorganized women workers studied was sixteen and one-half dollars per week. That is, half of all the women working in and about Binghamton received more than this wage and one-half less. The median wage for laundry workers for example, was \$12.57, for mercantile workers \$13.40, while for factory workers it was \$17.40. This average wage may be contrasted with the average for women in the state of \$12.92.

The report continues:

"Figures on a year's earnings show that workers can actually count on in the long run to meet the cost of living. Median earnings of industrial women in Binghamton were \$881 in the year studied. Ten per cent received less than \$600; 3 per cent less than \$800; 60 per cent less than \$1,000; 12 per cent earned \$1,200 or more; 2 per cent \$1,500 or more. These figures are based on 1,299 women who had been employed a year or more by their firms and who had worked at least 44 weeks out of the year. For the majority of plants, the year studied ended in the week in which September 15th, 1926, fell.

"The highest paid industry in Binghamton on the basis of a year's earnings was textiles, with a median of almost \$1,000 and with 5 per cent of its workers making \$1,500 or more. Chemicals, shoes, and metals and machinery followed with median earnings of more than \$900. Chemicals had 4 per cent of its workers earning \$1,500 or more, the shoe industry 2 per cent, while metals and machinery had no workers reaching this level.

"Lowest paid workers in Binghamton. Their median year's earnings were \$659, and no worker made as much as \$1,000 during the course of one year's employment. Food workers were the next lowest paid, with a median of \$696, followed by workers in the wood products and cigar industries with medians of \$775 and \$92, respectively. Clothing, printing and paper goods, and the mercantile industry fall between the relatively low and the relatively high paid industries with median earnings between \$800 and \$900.

In Binghamton is the large printing plant of Vall-Ballou, the soap plant where are ironically printed so many books by liberal and radical authors. Like so many large printing concerns which have run away from paying a decent wage in organized New York City, this outfit is noted for the close to starvation wages it pays its workers.

Let every organized member of the printing trades who reads this, ponder carefully the following:

The median wages of all women employed in the printing industries of Binghamton are according to this report \$664 a year. The median annual wage of machine workers such as linotypers, setting and stapling book sewing and printing presses is \$985, for non-machine workers \$788.

So here then is one of our widely touted open shop towns, very much under the domination of one man, where as a whole wages are so low that the women are compelled to work alongside the men.

Is it any wonder that Binghamton has for long been the headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan for that part of the State? That Binghamton is a strong Republican stamping-ground, the apple of the eye of the State's manufacturers, that during the last Presidential campaign, no speaker on behalf of La Follette or the Socialist ticket was allowed to appear in town?

They will tell you, the Binghamton boosters, the Rotarians, the worshippers of George F. Johnson what a great philanthropist good old "G. F." is. How when there is any deficit in any charity drive, "G. F." makes it up out of his own pocket. Good old "G. F." Pretty smart business that. Especially when the Y. W. C. A. arranges to have all the candidates appear to present their political causes and you can get on the telephone and call off the meeting if the La Follette speaker is allowed to talk.

Good old "G. F." Good old Binghamton where they print scab books, make those lovely time clocks, the shrines of the modern workers before which so many worship every morning, turn out shoes for working men and women made so largely by their underpaid fellows.

Good old Open Shop, the ideal of The New Capitalists.

Some time ago former Congressman Richard Barthold called attention to the fact that in 1918 during the dark days of famine and starvation in Germany immediately after the signing of the armistice, the German Republican Government delegated Dr. M. Rieth and Baron von der Lancken to visit Mr. Hoover and appeal to him in behalf of the millions of starving women and children of the country. In order to reach Hoover the German delegates had to write to Walter Lyman Brown in Rotterdam, director of the Belgian Relief Commission, and to inform Mr. Brown of the desire to confer with Mr. Hoover. Mr. Hoover told Director Brown to notify the two German delegates, Rieth and von der Lancken, that with his compliments they could go to hell.

The details of this occurrence were reported to a semi-official dispatch under date of December 27, 1918, i. e., during the Christmas holidays. Instead of "Peace on Earth and Good Will toward Men" Hoover issued his "With my compliments they could go to hell!"

When during the last few months Mr. Barthold reminded the public of Mr. Hoover's humanitarian expression of Dec. 1918, the German language newspapers gave the matter some attention, and the result was that under date of April 29, 1928, the New York boosters of Mr. Hoover issued the following campaign statement:

**"HOOVER'S ANCESTRY TRACED TO GERMANY"**

Commerce Secretary's Kin Totals 947,356, Says Genealogist

"New York, April 29.—Secretary Hoover would have the support of many hundreds of thousands for the presidency if all his relatives voted for him, according to a statement issued today by the Hoover-for-President New York State Committee.

"The statement is based on a letter from a Richmond (Ind.) genealogist, who wrote the committee that Wayne County, Indiana, alone, could contribute 1000 distant cousins, while nearly a thousand in Indiana and Ohio would furnish many thousands more. The Richmond genealogist estimated the total number of descendants of Andrew Hoover, who came from Baden, Germany, in 1740, would reach 947,356 if they could be found.

"Andrew Hoover settled first in Pennsylvania, then in Maryland, and then in North Carolina, read a telegram to the committee from the Richmond Palladium, which was asked to check the statements of the genealogist. He was the father of all the Hoover families, who have been residents of Richmond since it was settled in 1806. The original Andrew had six sons. The present secretary's descent may be traced in biblical style as follows:

"Herbert, Secretary of Commerce, was the son of Jesse, who went to Iowa, who was the son of Jesse, who was the son of John, buried at West Milton, Ohio, who was the son of Andrew, who came from Germany in 1740."

Ten years after the armistice, and in the midst of a presidential campaign, Mr. Hoover prides himself on being of "Hun" stock. That's going some. Among our fellow-citizens of German ancestry, there is considerable doubt as to the Hoover origin. That one plain Swabian peasant by the name of Andrew Hoover should have been the original ("originator") of 947,356 Hoovers within less than two centuries sounds like the biblical story of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. We think Hoover have fared much better if he had selected Adam as his grand-grandfather and Eve as his grand-grandmother—this would cover the whole ground, because when it comes to the primaries in August and to the general election in November all votes are welcome—Hun, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, white, yellow, brown, red or black. The ancestry of all leads back to Paradise, whence Adam and Eve came from.—St. Louis Labor.

Subscribe for THE NEW LEADER

Imperialism On The Stock Market

By Louis Stanley

HOW the New York Stock Exchange has come to reflect the expanding financial imperialism of the United States is made abundantly clear by the annual report of the Exchange president, E. H. H. Simmons, for the year ending May 1, 1928, issued last week. His words are the smooth ones of Wall Street but behind them we can discern the grasping might of American capitalism.

He tells us that one highly significant aspect of our national economy, has been the ease and amplitude of our aggregate supplies of capital. In plain words, American capitalists are enjoying a surplus of funds. War profits and the commission and interest on foreign loans have resulted in an excess of money in the coffers of American businessmen. The economies effected by technological improvements and mergers have added to the pile of idle gold. Now, the United States Government by its rapid paying off of our national debt has thrown one billion dollars more upon the heap.

This surplus capital has had American capitalists sitting up nights worrying as to what should be done with all the money at their disposal. They have invested liberally in American enterprises. Recent consolidations have facilitated this process. They have sought new securities of speculative as well as safe corporations. They have bought foreign stocks and bonds. But the more they invest the more money they make and the more serious grows the problem of disposing of extra cash. The recent history of the New York Stock Exchange shows the effects of these economic changes.

**Number of Issues Increased**

Take the number of issues listed on the Exchange, for example. In 1920 there were 839 bonds and 377 stocks. In 1928 the corresponding figures were 1,093 and 521. At the opening of this year there were 1,491 bonds and 1,907 stocks. The American bourgeoisie is clamoring for even more securities.

The most remarkable thing about the growth is the part played in it by foreign securities. Of the 2,588 stocks and bonds listed on January 1, 1928, 310 or about 12 per cent were foreign. These consisted of 167 government issues, 116 company shares. Last year the foreign issues amounted to only 10 per cent of the total, and the year before 8 per cent. Of the new issues listed on the Exchange an even larger proportion is foreign. Thus in 1925 foreign securities comprised 16 per cent of the new listings. In 1926 46 per cent and in 1927 66 per cent—an accelerated progress that is significant.

Great interest is now being taken here in the movement of foreign stocks and bonds on their home exchanges, because of the large holdings of American capitalists. An indication of this is afforded by the elaborate discussion of this phase in the reports of President Simmons. It was only in 1927 that this exposition first

appeared in his annual statement. A detailed survey is made of the prices of securities and the underlying circumstances on the London, Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Vienna and Milan exchanges. Appropriate charts accompany the text. Such consideration of the European financial situation would have been inconceivable before the war.

**Even Russia Comes to Study!**

That the New York Stock Exchange has, indeed, become a world market is demonstrated by the recognition that it is given by foreign economists and financiers. Many financial authorities have visited the exchange to study methods of operation. Others have come to make arrangements for the listing of securities. Among recent visitors have been the President of the Berlin Stock Exchange, representatives of foreign central banks and—shades of Karl Marx!—a committee of inquiry representing Soviet Russia.

Let not anybody get the idea that foreign securities are monopolizing the activities of the New York Stock Exchange. That will never come to pass. After all the number of foreign issues listed as of the beginning of this year, constitutes 12 per cent of the total, while, measured by market value, it is even less, approximately 7 per cent. The latter is due to the inflation of the values of American securities. Nevertheless, the foreign shares and bonds are worth more than six billion dollars, which is no mean amount, even if the United States issues amount to eighty and a half billions.

The distribution of the new foreign bonds is significant. Those issues by governments have come chiefly from Latin America. They increased by 21 last year making a total of 61 on January 1, 1928. European governmental bonds increased by seven in 1927 as compared with 9 in 1926, making a total of 74. Africa has never contributed any issues, Asia is credited with five, Australasia with ten, and North America, exclusive of the United States with seventeen. Apparently, now that Europe is getting on its feet, American capital is shifting to its old standby, the countries of Central and South America.

**The Foreign Investments**

In the case of new private bond issues, Latin America is responsible for but five as compared with 12 German, 4 Italian, 1 Hungarian and 4 Canadian. An important consideration, however, is the fact that the Latin American companies are usually managed and frequently owned by Americans, whereas this is seldom ever true of European corporations.

When we turn to foreign internal securities we have a more complicated and for the future a more important situation. The stocks of foreign companies that are listed on the Exchange are only 27 in

number, merely 1.04 per cent of the total listed, and are valued at some \$780,000,000 or less than one per cent of the total listings. These figures, however, do not give us an adequate idea of the extent of American investments. There are American holding companies which own or manage foreign corporations. They issue new shares here which enable them to expand their holdings abroad. Little attention has been paid, also, to shares of foreign enterprises which have been issued as ordinary American dollar registered share certificates.

Certain governmental internal loans have also found a niche in the New York Stock Exchange. They are those which conform closely to American requirements. Last month, for example, there were put on the list the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland 4 per cent. Funding Loan of 1920-1929 and the 5 per cent. War Loan of 1929-1947. The latter amounted to ten billion dollars and was not only the largest foreign issue but also the largest of its kind ever listed on the New York Stock Exchange.

**Difficulties Are Attacked**

The chief obstacle to the growth of the New York Stock Exchange as a market for foreign securities has been the discrepancy between American and European practices. On the continent share certificates are issued to bearer. Here they are registered. During the war this was overcome in the case of the Royal Dutch company. The original foreign internal share certificates were deposited in this country and against them were issued certificates of deposit in the American form, which were then traded in on the Exchange. A similar procedure was later followed in the case of the Shell International Trading and Transport, the Rand Mines, and the De Beers Mines. These listings were only sanctioned temporarily. In 1925 the situation was improved by the establishment of a special set of listing requirements for foreign governmental dollar bonds. It was not until the passage by the New York State Legislature of the Hofstadter Law a year ago that the bearer share certificates were given clear legal recognition.

Other difficulties remained. A special committee was, therefore, sent abroad a year ago to make a study of the problem. Based upon the investigators' findings and recommendations several listing requirements were drawn up, which are now in force. Among the provisions are the following:

1. Foreign shares must be in the form of certificates issued by an approved American institution or by the American branch of an approved foreign institution based upon the deposit with a for-

sign correspondent of the original foreign shares.

2. Until further action certificates of deposit must be in registered form only.

3. The applications must state that there are no governmental restrictions against the payment of interest or dividends to American holders or against the payment of the proceeds of sale to an American holder who sells in the market of origin.

4. The share securities of small companies will not be listed.

5. The nominal value of the securities must be expressed in, and the income must be paid in a currency which is upon a gold basis.

6. Conditions of issuance of certificates of deposit must be such that certificates may be cancelled or issued upon cable advice.

**Caution and Arrogance**

These requirements illustrate the caution and arrogance of American investors. Capitalists here are still ignorant

of foreign conditions but they know that foreign businessmen need their funds. They will have nothing to do with small corporations, which are typical abroad. They insist upon payment in currency that is upon a gold basis. Foreigners may merely regret that Americans will only participate in large but simple undertakings but they have gone further and shown resentment that these American capitalists have taken it upon themselves to dictate a return to the gold standard.

The entrance of foreign internal shares into the New York market will probably proceed slowly but steadily, as American financial imperialism advances and capitalists in this country become more intimately acquainted with the details of foreign economic affairs. After all most countries have returned to the gold basis so that this is no longer an impediment. It is only as Europeans under financial pressure or inducement lose their reluctance in European corporations that American capital will plunge more heavily into the private investment field abroad. The New York Stock Exchange will increase its standing as the world market for stocks and bonds. It will become an invaluable instrument of American financial imperialism.

**Manumit, the "Labor School," To Hold Summer Classes To Train Teachers**

By Nellie M. Seeds

IN response to the widespread demand for teachers trained in the new experimental methods, the Manumit School of Fawling, New York, will run a Summer session from July 9th to August 25th, providing a training course for teachers, as well as a school for children. The staff will be chosen largely from present and former Manumit instructors, who will serve not only as group leaders and assistants for the three groups of 15 to 18 children each, but also as special instructors in creative music, science, building and carpentry, clay work, weaving and farming.

Sponsored as it is by a group of trade union leaders, workers and educators, Manumit makes a sincere effort to justify in its daily routine the name of "Labor School," conceiving of the whole of life as an educative process. Children and staff share alike in the simple necessary tasks of dormitory or tent care, dish washing, setting of tables, etc. Combined with the daily recreation and group projects, however, they form for the children a healthy, joyous and constructive environment peculiarly adapted to projects in gardening, care of animals, out-of-door construction and building, forestry. Many of these projects will be begun by the Winter School children and carried on by the incoming Summer group.

The completion of the dam, which is now being built, will provide an adequate and delightful swimming pool. Student Teachers will share in the activities and responsibilities of the community and the groups. In addition, they will meet daily with a staff instructor, who with them, as well as for them, will translate the practical daily problems into terms of an educational philosophy. The Summer School will offer no specific academic objective for the children, as does the Winter School. But considerable training in the knowledge and skills will enter incidentally into the working out of the various projects.

The health of the children will be a primary concern of the school. An adequate amount of sleep; a daily rest hour and opportunity for leisurely employment; a diet scientifically planned and careful supervision of eating; daily bathing, swimming, and other active exercise will be relied upon far more than medicines or drugs to keep the young bodies fit.

Summed up in a few words, the aim of the Summer School will be character building expressed in terms of ability to shoulder and carry out responsibilities manfully, joyously and sanely—and the development of a vision of the value and necessity in this world of cooperation and social justice.

**Where Hoover Comes From**

SOME time ago former Congressman Richard Barthold called attention to the fact that in 1918 during the dark days of famine and starvation in Germany immediately after the signing of the armistice, the German Republican Government delegated Dr. M. Rieth and Baron von der Lancken to visit Mr. Hoover and appeal to him in behalf of the millions of starving women and children of the country. In order to reach Hoover the German delegates had to write to Walter Lyman Brown in Rotterdam, director of the Belgian Relief Commission, and to inform Mr. Brown of the desire to confer with Mr. Hoover. Mr. Hoover told Director Brown to notify the two German delegates, Rieth and von der Lancken, that with his compliments they could go to hell.

The details of this occurrence were reported to a semi-official dispatch under date of December 27, 1918, i. e., during the Christmas holidays. Instead of "Peace on Earth and Good Will toward Men" Hoover issued his "With my compliments they could go to hell!"

When during the last few months Mr. Barthold reminded the public of Mr. Hoover's humanitarian expression of Dec. 1918, the German language newspapers gave the matter some attention, and the result was that under date of April 29, 1928, the New York boosters of Mr. Hoover issued the following campaign statement:

**"HOOVER'S ANCESTRY TRACED TO GERMANY"**

Commerce Secretary's Kin Totals 947,356, Says Genealogist

"New York, April 29.—Secretary Hoover would have the support of many hundreds of thousands for the presidency if all his relatives voted for him, according to a statement issued today by the Hoover-for-President New York State Committee.

"The statement is based on a letter from a Richmond (Ind.) genealogist, who wrote the committee that Wayne County, Indiana, alone, could contribute 1000 distant cousins, while nearly a thousand in Indiana and Ohio would furnish many thousands more. The Richmond genealogist estimated the total number of descendants of Andrew Hoover, who came from Baden, Germany, in 1740, would reach 947,356 if they could be found.

"Andrew Hoover settled first in Pennsylvania, then in Maryland, and then in North Carolina, read a telegram to the committee from the Richmond Palladium, which was asked to check the statements of the genealogist. He was the father of all the Hoover families, who have been residents of Richmond since it was settled in 1806. The original Andrew had six sons. The present secretary's descent may be traced in biblical style as follows:

"Herbert, Secretary of Commerce, was the son of Jesse, who went to Iowa, who was the son of Jesse, who was the son of John, buried at West Milton, Ohio, who was the son of Andrew, who came from Germany in 1740."

Ten years after the armistice, and in the midst of a presidential campaign, Mr. Hoover prides himself on being of "Hun" stock. That's going some. Among our fellow-citizens of German ancestry, there is considerable doubt as to the Hoover origin. That one plain Swabian peasant by the name of Andrew Hoover should have been the original ("originator") of 947,356 Hoovers within less than two centuries sounds like the biblical story of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. We think Hoover have fared much better if he had selected Adam as his grand-grandfather and Eve as his grand-grandmother—this would cover the whole ground, because when it comes to the primaries in August and to the general election in November all votes are welcome—Hun, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, white, yellow, brown, red or black. The ancestry of all leads back to Paradise, whence Adam and Eve came from.—St. Louis Labor.

Subscribe for THE NEW LEADER

Imperialism On The Stock Market

By Louis Stanley

HOW the New York Stock Exchange has come to reflect the expanding financial imperialism of the United States is made abundantly clear by the annual report of the Exchange president, E. H. H. Simmons, for the year ending May 1, 1928, issued last week. His words are the smooth ones of Wall Street but behind them we can discern the grasping might of American capitalism.

He tells us that one highly significant aspect of our national economy, has been the ease and amplitude of our aggregate supplies of capital. In plain words, American capitalists are enjoying a surplus of funds. War profits and the commission and interest on foreign loans have resulted in an excess of money in the coffers of American businessmen. The economies effected by technological improvements and mergers have added to the pile of idle gold. Now, the United States Government by its rapid paying off of our national debt has thrown one billion dollars more upon the heap.

This surplus capital has had American capitalists sitting up nights worrying as to what should be done with all the money at their disposal. They have invested liberally in American enterprises. Recent consolidations have facilitated this process. They have sought new securities of speculative as well as safe corporations. They have bought foreign stocks and bonds. But the more they invest the more money they make and the more serious grows the problem of disposing of extra cash. The recent history of the New York Stock Exchange shows the effects of these economic changes.

**Number of Issues Increased**

Take the number of issues listed on the Exchange, for example. In 1920 there were 839 bonds and 377 stocks. In 1928 the corresponding figures were 1,093 and 521. At the opening of this year there were 1,491 bonds and 1,907 stocks. The American bourgeoisie is clamoring for even more securities.

The most remarkable thing about the growth is the part played in it by foreign securities. Of the 2,588 stocks and bonds listed on January 1, 1928, 310 or about 12 per cent were foreign. These consisted of 167 government issues, 116 company shares. Last year the foreign issues amounted to only 10 per cent of the total, and the year before 8 per cent. Of the new issues listed on the Exchange an even larger proportion is foreign. Thus in 1925 foreign securities comprised 16 per cent of the new listings. In 1926 46 per cent and in 1927 66 per cent—an accelerated progress that is significant.

Great interest is now being taken here in the movement of foreign stocks and bonds on their home exchanges, because of the large holdings of American capitalists. An indication of this is afforded by the elaborate discussion of this phase in the reports of President Simmons. It was only in 1927 that this exposition first

appeared in his annual statement. A detailed survey is made of the prices of securities and the underlying circumstances on the London, Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Vienna and Milan exchanges. Appropriate charts accompany the text. Such consideration of the European financial situation would have been inconceivable before the war.

**Even Russia Comes to Study!**

That the New York Stock Exchange has, indeed, become a world market is demonstrated by the recognition that it is given by foreign economists and financiers. Many financial authorities have visited the exchange to study methods of operation. Others have come to make arrangements for the listing of securities. Among recent visitors have been the President of the Berlin Stock Exchange, representatives of foreign central banks and—shades of Karl Marx!—a committee of inquiry representing Soviet Russia.

Let not anybody get the idea that foreign securities are monopolizing the activities of the New York Stock Exchange. That will never come to pass. After all the number of foreign issues listed as of the beginning of this year, constitutes 12 per cent of the total, while, measured by market value, it is even less, approximately 7 per cent. The latter is due to the inflation of the values of American securities. Nevertheless, the foreign shares and bonds are worth more than six billion dollars, which is no mean amount, even if the United States issues amount to eighty and a half billions.

The distribution of the new foreign bonds is significant. Those issues by governments have come chiefly from Latin America. They increased by 21 last year making a total of 61 on January 1, 1928. European governmental bonds increased by seven in 1927 as compared with 9 in 1926, making a total of 74. Africa has never contributed any issues, Asia is credited with five, Australasia with ten, and North America, exclusive of the United States with seventeen. Apparently, now that Europe is getting on its feet, American capital is shifting to its old standby, the countries of Central and South America.

**The Foreign Investments**

In the case of new private bond issues, Latin America is responsible for but five as compared with 12 German, 4 Italian, 1 Hungarian and 4 Canadian. An important consideration, however, is the fact that the Latin American companies are usually managed and frequently owned by Americans, whereas this is seldom ever true of European corporations.

When we turn to foreign internal securities we have a more complicated and for the future a more important situation. The stocks of foreign companies that are listed on the Exchange are only 27 in

number, merely 1.04 per cent of the total listed, and are valued at some \$780,000,000 or less than one per cent of the total listings. These figures, however, do not give us an adequate idea of the extent of American investments. There are American holding companies which own or manage foreign corporations. They issue new shares here which enable them to expand their holdings abroad. Little attention has been paid, also, to shares of foreign enterprises which have been issued as ordinary American dollar registered share certificates.

Certain governmental internal loans have also found a niche in the New York Stock Exchange. They are those which conform closely to American requirements. Last month, for example, there were put on the list the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland 4 per cent. Funding Loan of 1920-1929 and the 5 per cent. War Loan of 1929-1947. The latter amounted to ten billion dollars and was not only the largest foreign issue but also the largest of its kind ever listed on the New York Stock Exchange.

**Difficulties Are Attacked**

The chief obstacle to the growth of the New York Stock Exchange as a market for foreign securities has been the discrepancy between American and European practices. On the continent share certificates are issued to bearer. Here they are registered. During the war this was overcome in the case of the Royal Dutch company. The original foreign internal share certificates were deposited in this country and against them were issued certificates of deposit in the American form, which were then traded in on the Exchange. A similar procedure was later followed in the case of the Shell International Trading and Transport, the Rand Mines, and the De Beers Mines. These listings were only sanctioned temporarily. In 1925 the situation was improved by the establishment of a special set of listing requirements for foreign governmental dollar bonds. It was not until the passage by the New York State Legislature of the Hofstadter Law a year ago that the bearer share certificates were given clear legal recognition.

Other difficulties remained. A special committee was, therefore, sent abroad a year ago to make a study of the problem. Based upon the investigators' findings and recommendations several listing requirements were drawn up, which are now in force. Among the provisions are the following:

1. Foreign shares must be in the form of certificates issued by an approved American institution or by the American branch of an approved foreign institution based upon the deposit with a for-

sign correspondent of the original foreign shares.

2. Until further action certificates of deposit must be in registered form only.

3. The applications must state that there are no governmental restrictions against the payment of interest or dividends to American holders or against the payment of the proceeds of sale to an American holder who sells in the market of origin.

4. The share securities of small companies will not be listed.



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## ONE GREAT LITTLE MAN

FOR nearly a month now, I have been in the presence of one of the greatest of latter-day souls.

As the concluding biography of a series of "Pioneers of Freedom," which I hope soon will come out in book form under the auspices of Pioneer Youth, it seemed most appropriate to choose the life of Charles Proteus Steinmetz.

We begin with Thomas Paine, then the struggle between Jefferson and Hamilton, then Frances Wright and the beginnings of the labor movement, Wendell Phillips and the Abolitionists, the rise of the miners, Altlund and the Western movement, Henry George and 'Gene Debs and end with Steinmetz.

For very definitely indeed this great little man stood between two worlds—the world of the Industrial Revolution brought about by steam and the revolution into which we have come today, the Electrical Revolution.

In this latter turnover he was both pioneer and prophet. He died five short years ago, but already there have come to pass developments at which he hinted then and which men thought would be decades in arriving.

For most newspaper readers, Steinmetz remains a gnome-like "wizard" with a misshapen body and a huge head, throwing thunder-bolts around the laboratories of the General Electric up at Schenectady. He has become a brooding magician in their minds, one set apart from the run of common men, a great scientist, if you please, but hardly a human being.

And nothing could be further from the truth. For no matter how greatly men might marvel at the intellect that was functioning within that noble head, they never came away from Steinmetz without exclaiming at the mighty love for his fellows that was evident in his every action.

Steinmetz was not studying the behavior of electricity over long distance transmission lines because he wanted his company to outdistance some rival or thought to find personal fame or fortune in the performance.

He had always before him the vision of a world more spacious and beautiful, more leisurely and wise than ours.

In his book, "America and the New Epoch," he wrote: "Our nation is the only large democratic nation, thus we have no example which we can follow, and the problem of our industrial reorganization thus is a far vaster one than it appears at first; we have to find new ways and means, accomplish a thing which has never been accomplished before—co-operative organization of a democratic nation. Democracy itself thus is on trial before the judgment of history; if we fail, democratic America ends as a world power, in an unsuccessful experiment in the world's history, and the world goes back to monarchical forms of organization—even if they should call their ruler 'President' and play at elections."

"The problem of industrial reorganization," That was what constantly absorbed Steinmetz. And in that problem he saw the tremendous part which cheap and abundant electrical power would play. Reorganization, he repeated again and again, meant co-operation. Return to individualistic, cut-throat competition meant ruin. When man could have free and unhindered access to the titan forces of electricity, he could be rid of the drudgery that keeps him half dead half the time, and comes alive for achievements beyond our wildest dreams.

He declared once that within one hundred years the working day of industry would be only four hours long. "He looked forward to an era of such quickened mental development," says J. W. Hammond, his official biographer, "such advanced and universal education, that people would spend much of their twelve hours of leisure in cultivating their higher natures, in acquiring uplifting knowledge, in seeking soul-awakening recreation, as well as in the upbuilding of physical health."

"Work," Steinmetz said once to Charles W. Wood, "is a curse. The chief aim of society should be to abolish work."

And by work he meant, of course, the drudgery to which the huge majority of us are doomed under a system of society which makes profits, not service nor self-expression the chief end of man.

Now Steinmetz was a Socialist. He did not "just happen" to be a Socialist. He was driven from Germany by Bismarck's police because of his Socialist activities. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was able to get to this country.

Over here he numbered among his dearest friends the Socialists in his community. He took a most active interest in the affairs of his party. He was elected to office in Schenectady on a Socialist ticket and made a magnificent run for State Engineer on the party ticket in 1923. To the day of his death he was a dues-paying member of the party.

If I had children who were casting about for some great American hero, as children will, I would give them Charles Proteus Steinmetz. I can think of no more fitting ideal for and coming American youth than the life of this man.

Modern-minded, civilized, widely cultured in other fields than that in which he was master, acutely concerned with human suffering and injustice, lover of all living things from the children of his Socialist activities. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was able to get to this country.

It is up to us who remain to see to it that we do our part in bringing about that co-operative reorganization of society which was Steinmetz's stirring vision. Of course, there is no such thing as mass production of Steinmetzes.

We are not suffering under any delusions of grandeur as to what we can accomplish as individuals. But we can resolve that before they are done with us, each in his own way will have done something to make that vision of a world of mastered forces, working for the service of all, come true.

McAlister Coleman.

## Two Liberals And One Fighter

By McAlister Coleman

TWO lawyers, each of them leaders in the embattled "liberal" ranks, have written books on what is happening to that rather misty something which we like to call "American Freedom." And both reach the conclusion that plenty is happening.

They go about in strikingly different manner. In his book, "The Inquiring Mind" (published by Harcourt, Brace and Company), Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, who has long defended our rather pitiful remnants of free speech, wants the reader distinctly to understand that while he thinks "that there has been insufficient toleration for the expression of arguments against private property, I remain sufficiently convinced of the value of property to spend most of my time studying how the law can adequately protect it. My sympathies and all my interests and associations are with people who save, who manage and produce. But I want my side to fight fairly and wisely, and I regard some of the methods hereafter discussed for safeguarding the existing political and economic system as distinctly short-sighted or unfair fighting."

With such a typical new republican attitude you will not expect to find much fire in Dr. Chaffee's book—and will get what you expect. This is a collection of rather academic papers beginning with an able exposition of the postulate that "knowledge is not a series of propositions to be absorbed, but a series of problems to be absorbed" and discussing such problems as The Rand School case, the Bimba case, the injunctions against the Wobblies in California from the cool heights of an ivory tower in Cambridge.

But if you want fire, go to Arthur Garfield Hays' new book, "Let Freedom Ring" (published by Boni and Liveright). Here in direct contrast to the calm of Chaffee you have the indignant writing of a fighter who is boiling mad about the way our civil liberties are being booted about. And about this booting no one is in a better position to write than Arthur Garfield Hays. This reviewer has been with Arthur full many a time when the alarm was sounded and there was

"LET FREEDOM RING" is the slogan of Arthur Garfield Hays as well as the name of his new book reviewed here by McAlister Coleman.



Arthur Garfield Hays

the necessity for an excursion into a mining camp where injunctions against meetings were falling like snow flakes, into a textile town where the cops had taken to riot clubs, into any old place where the rights of a minority were being assailed. And always Arthur was there in the heat and dust and sweat of the scuffling, arguing fiercely with injunction judges, telling State troopers to go where they belonged, patiently explaining their rights to the workers. A fighter for the underdog, first, last and all the way from the defence of harassed Boston book-clerks to the shielding of the Negro Dr. Sweet from the blood-thirsty mobs of Detroit.

Now he sits down and tells the reader something of what he has seen during those crowded days of the Great Reaction since the War. To some the stories may well sound incredible. We Socialists know how true they are. They range from the colorful, sometimes wistfully humorous story of the famous Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, to the black tragedy of Sacco and Vanzetti. They are touched with fine satire here, the strength of deadly earnestness there. They give a cross-section view of America under fear. Always in the background we sense the prowling of terrible panic. Fear of ideas and their expression, fear of the new and the unconventional, fear of anything which may undermine the institution of private property about which Prof. Chaffee professes such concern. And when this panic finds its release in mob expression, we have these atrocious assaults on all fundamental American rights which Mr. Hays so masterfully describes.

Why a man who has seen so much of the cruel world behind the capitalist veil can still remain a "Liberal" is past my comprehension. But "God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." If He would send us a few more "Liberals" like Hays we might get religion all over again.

## 'A Most Superior Person'

By Henry W. Nevins

HIS name was the pride of Lord Curzon's life, and also his greatest misfortune. It rhymed, however poorly, with "person," and the moment one saw him that line, "A most superior person," came into one's mind.

There was no helping it. The look, the bearing, and the speech of the man inevitably suggested it. He was one of

those people who seem to be born mature. As we watched him stalking about in Oxford, his hair so sleek, his face so virginal, his expression so faultless, the white flower in his buttonhole so symbolic of a blameless life, and his sentences so perfect in rhetorical form, we all nodded to each other, and remarked: "There goes the model of the Young Statesman!"

All through his life he retained the same aspect, the same manner, the same rhetoric and the same self-esteem. His qualities laid him open to easy satire. When, at an early age, he was appointed Under-Secretary for India, Labouchere, in "Truth," remarked: "When I say that Mr. Curzon is about one-tenth as clever as he thinks himself, I am paying him a very high compliment indeed." And again, "He should carefully eschew his present mode of speaking and realize that he is not a divinity addressing 'black beetles' when he has to explain the Indian policy of the Government."

When first he entered the House of Commons, well before he was 30, he seemed, and indeed, was, conscious of his own great destiny. He wore the look of ineffable superiority. "He had always the appearance of being a distinguished historical personage sitting for his portrait," wrote an observer in 1887. "He was a man after old Dr. Jowett's own heart—he was the distinguished

successor of Asquith and Milner at Balliol.

### His Three Mistakes

And that wise old Master warned him against giving the impression, "probably very undesired," of conceit and self-sufficiency. That self-sufficiency lay deep in his nature. He regarded himself as one of the few remaining aristocrats born to rule and guide the Empire. And indeed, he was one of them—perhaps the last.

The epigram fitted him as exactly as his coat. He was beyond question a most superior person. And yet the rhyme was his disaster. It inevitably suggested itself, no matter what he said or did, and so his other qualities were obscured.

Airs of superiority generally denote utter absence of humor, but Curzon was really something of a humorist (see his "Tales of Travel"), and a good deal of a wit. He had some insight into character, even including his own. He was kindly and well disposed, a genuine type of the "Tory Democrat," who took the Disraeli "Bybil" as his model. One of his chief aims was "the elevation of the lower classes." He possessed an appreciation of beauty—not only of feminine beauty—but of the noblest forms of art—very rare among British statesmen. And his personal industry had no limit. Indeed, if industry can be excessive, his exceeded all proportion.

But it was his spirit of adventure that most attracted me.

Just when he was becoming conspicuous as the rising young statesman in London, with every social advantage and the highest career lying open before him, he chose to disappear into the Middle East, to wander in Persia, Afghanistan, the Pamirs and the Indian frontier, simply with the object of making himself personally acquainted with the problems then confronting India in relation to the Russian advance.

He may have been wrong in his judgment: he was right in his purpose—and what other young statesman has risked all his future for so high an object? It may be said that he was already resolved to rule India as Viceroy, but what Viceroy now takes the trouble to become personally acquainted with the problems of such immense responsibility? Or what Prime Minister has taken the trouble, except the present Leader of the Opposition?

It is quite true that the three great mistakes of Curzon's life were committed while he was Viceroy, and they all came in one year (1905). They were his speech to Calcutta University (in February), hinting that Orientals were by nature incapable of truth—his quarrel with Lord Kitchener (in August)—and his Partition of Bengal (in October). Those errors were all due to a certain want of tact, springing from excessive self-sufficiency. But they were due also to his inconsiderate passion for "efficiency."

In his farewell speech to India he said: "If I were asked to sum up my work in a single word, I would say 'Efficiency.' That has been our gospel, the keynote of our administration."

But Lord Ronaldsday's present volume ("The Life of Lord Curzon") by the Earl of Ronaldsday, N. Y. Boni & Liveright) ends with the appointment to India, and two more are yet to come.

## HOME EDUCATION

"The Child's First School is the Family"—Froebel

### By the Pleasant Road of Praise

By Jessie L. Jackson

MRS. KINGSLAND looked up with a smile as Mrs. Matthews, worried of face, came around the corner of the house. Suspecting the cause of the frowns, she asked as she placed a chair. "How's Dorothy's ironing coming along?" "Oh, dear!" groaned Mrs. Matthews. "I made her rinse the things out and hang them on the line again. Now she's in her room crying. I don't know what to do. She's been six weeks doing a little sewing—had to rip two garments and do them over."

"Well, well, poor child! She's had a hard time from the start to finish. Maybe you're too particular, my dear." Mrs. Kingsland's kind old face was fairly tremulous in her desire to attack her neighbor's methods and yet give no offense. "I am particular. I want her to be superior in every way."

"But one must remember, you will agree, that superiority in a child is very different from superiority in you or me." "Yes, but—the essentials! Look at your Margaret! You trained her. I wish you'd give me your method."

"Yes, to slight the non-essentials. You asked for my method—"

"You begin with sewing."

"Almost from babyhood, Margaret wanted to run the sewing-machine."

"So did Dorothy; but, of course, hand-sewing comes first."

"I didn't insist upon it with Margaret. When she was twelve I let her make an apron. I cut it out and showed her how to run the machine. That was all, except that when she asked for help, I gave it, and I made the buttonholes. The result wasn't the superior work you insist upon; but I was well pleased."

"Yes—"

## THE CHATTER BOX

LAST week brought me to Northern Massachusetts and the more civilized part of New Hampshire. It also gave me the long postponed trout-fishing trip. The brooks were high, the air was cold, and something happened to the poor fish that seldom affects their human kin; they refused to bite for even the most glamorous bait. My total result had best remain untold. But the loneliness was delightful, the wind vigorously stimulating. My head cleared itself of all the old maze and disorder.

Even as I sat on a high bank, unmindful of the more unmindful trout in the eddy below, I did much musing on my environment. Here I, an avowed revolutionist, sat within the old garden where once a full sapped beet of a revolt shot its blood veined leaves into the sun overnight. Of course that miracle took place in 1775 and not a man is now alive to remember that famous day and year.

Off in the distance stood an inn. An old tavern of the Revolution. Washington must have slept there. By that universal New England motto, old boy George did nothing all his born days but hop from inn to farmhouse and just sleep and sleep and sleep. How he ever got into Jersey to cross the Delaware is one whopper of a cross-purpose puzzle.

I had managed to eat at the inn. By some queer quirk of stubborn purpose, the succeeding generations of revolutionary daughters had kept all material progress away from the hostelry. Kerosene lamps, water from the well, waste baskets hewn from tree stumps, terribly old furniture, hand-wrought haps and drawer pulls, flintlocks, tomahawks, powder horns, wall mirrors from France, and all that. The fireplace drew right well and threw four inches of heat. I sat two feet away, so I didn't sense the ancient glamor-glow that one reads about. And everything was broad and low-ceilinged. And a sort of quiet death floated over the living room. No one spoke above a whisper. I liked that. What with my roystering Ludlow Street self, my clamorous manner, and altogether careless irreverence, this was a fit setting to send me dinner-vetting through the roof. It was only when the gray-haired stiff-necked mistress came in to get my order that I sat back in mind and determined myself for befitting behavior. Her voice shoved or rather poked me back into gentle pose. The way she said "Cream cheese sandwiches only today; we're all out of chicken" will ring in my memory alongside of "Don't shoot until you see the whites of their eyes." Her forefathers must have ambushed the British at Bunker Hill. And until the now immortal cheese sandwiches came, I sat and was so lamb-like in thought.

So this was the resting place of a one-time red-blooded revolution. So to this curiosity shop of real and perhaps unreal knick-knack of antiquity, we Americans might come as to a votive shrine, to recall what the old revolutionary days were like. Mercy me! I cried within myself to the Spirit of 1776. . . Did it pay? To have lived so nobly, to have given so much, to have created such a hub-bub. . . and then to have died so sadly. . . and for such a cemetery?

Then and there, I almost decided to give up revolting, and grow a round paunch, get up a high blood pressure and die like a business man. If that Bunker Hill minute-man who popped musket balls into the whites of the British eyes would only have lived to see this three-time great-granddaughter of his hand out cream cheese tit-bits with such cultural gesture and aristocratic mien to a bow-wow of a rebel like myself? What would he have thought? What would he have done? Here, let some Eugene O'Neill or George M. Cohan get busy and rush the Theatre Guild into a startling drama. Forty-six scenes and eighteen hours of solid play would hardly suffice. And if the matter were just sprinkled over with a little sauce of sex-perversion and Oedipus Rex complexes, and with a few children polyandrous into the mince. . . how the critics would scream, and the suburbs shell out?

I thought up a number of last scenes. The best one I think might with some decency be borrowed from the Russian. The old boy lifts the trusty, rusty flintlock from the wall, goes over to the mirror, turns the barrel to his head. . . cries out "Yea, captain, I see the whites of my own eyes. . ." pulls the trigger. . . and expires to a sigh and the last few words. . . "pooh-pooh for the Revolution. . ."

In keeping with my lately proclaimed tenets of tolerance, let me assert here that I hold no ill-will against the lady of the inn. I confess to a little prejudice because of her membership in the D. A. R. and her playing the antique racket with such complete disregard for my own superior sake. I might have urgently wanted to grab some stuffed person by the scruff of the neck and so held, swing her above my head three times as some old Hebrew ritual has it. Only there a fine prayer is said and an old hen is used.

But, as I said before, my new born tolerance forbade then and forbids now any such contemplation or act. . . Let her rather remain there among her oil-lamps, and bits of mouldering junk, preserving an antiquity of wood and iron and glass, from whence all polish, and gloss and gloried story have vanished forever. Out of such the heritage of America's past remains a cold and forbidding symbol. Such as her keep New England barren and bleak and forbidding. Through them Sacco and Vanzetti burned in a chair of flame. Through them witches hung in Salem; and always there will be more martyrs and victims of America's feudalism.

That fellow who dug up the worms for me, the dirt farmer who still eeked a living out of the rocky soil. . . even in New England, God bless his kind. He had no inn. He had no antiquities. He paled an electric bill every month. Washington never slept at his house. He didn't remember if he ever had a great-grandfather at Lexington. He swore by his Chevrolet. He worked in the mill during winters. . . God ought to bless his kind. He didn't make a living at anything else but work. . . Christ. . . why doesn't God bless his kind? . . . And the antique lady of the Revolutionary tavern is so rich. . . makes oodles of money because so many tourists stop there. Such a historic place. . . and still using oil lamps, and high colonial beds, and a fire-place where you eat. . . and well water. . . flintlocks, and hand-made haps, and nails, and waste baskets hewn out of tree trunks, and an old spinning wheel. . . near the hearth. . .

Here, out by the brook, though the scene is still a bit bleak, and the air cold, I am touched with life and a joy for being part of it. Out there stands the tavern. A crypt, a sad mound in which the most inspiring part of my country's past lies buried. What a shameful place! What a shameful travesty!

Back here again at the typewriter. I am forgetting about the tavern, the lady, the antiques and Washington's long sleep. I am thinking of the man who dug my worms, who works in the mill in winter, and plugs and ploughs over his rockland spring and summer. In him lies my hope. For him I will be tolerant, and kind, and work and work within my all-liberating dream. . .

S. A. de Witt.



## 8 New Party Branches Being Started in N.Y.

### 147 More New Applications For Membership Received in Few Weeks

At the meeting of the City Executive Committee last Wednesday, 47 applications for membership were passed upon. These along with over a hundred other applicants sent to the Socialist Action Committee signed by Comrade Jacob Panken, showed the largest increase in membership during any one month for several years. There are also numerous calls coming into our office daily from sympathetic persons and scores of comrades who dropped out of the Party during the Communist troubles of 1919 are working to be reinstated. All this is evidence of the remarkable revival in our New York City Organization.

Eight new branches are in the process of organization. Some twenty or more applications are now on hand for the chartering of a branch in the 3rd A. D. Branch. At a meeting held last Thursday evening in Washington Heights a score of new members were obtained and the members of a former branch in this district were also present. After the meeting that evening our branch in the 22nd-23rd Assembly Districts reorganized. Comrade Max Delson was elected organizer; Dora Delson Financial Secretary; Zena Spector, Recording Secretary. After a short discussion it was apparent that our Washington Heights Branch will again function and that plans will soon be perfected for an aggressive membership drive and campaign in this part of the City.

On Monday evening, May 14th, a preliminary organization meeting was held in the Sunnyside and Woodside Sections at Long Island. Another branch is being organized in the Rockaway Beach Section of Queens County.

On Wednesday evening, May 16th, a branch was organized in the 12th Assembly District, Kings County. A meeting for this purpose has been called in the home of Comrade Frank Smith—78 East 7th Street, Bklyn. Comrades William Karlin, Louis P. Goldberg and Harry W. Laidler will be present and the enrolled Socialist voters, comrades who have recently joined and sympathizers are invited to this gathering and there is no doubt that a good branch will be organized.

On Thursday evening, May 24th, another branch will be organized in Brooklyn in the territory of the 10th-11th Assembly Districts in the home of Comrade Louis P. Goldberg. This is another section of the city where we have had no functioning branch for many years and sometime in the next couple of weeks another branch organization will be effected in the 21st Assembly District, Kings County and in Astoria, L. I.

### MURPHY TO LECTURE

We are informed that Timothy Murphy, the "firebrand," is going to speak on a subject called "The Future of the Nation" at the Ingersoll Forum (113 W. 57th Street) an economic interpretation, and the boys at the Forum tell him he can see things from one angle only. So he wants to show he can speak on other subjects as well. Hence, the selection of Beauty, Life, and Sex as his topic for Sunday evening, May 20th.

### THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

"Will Another War Benefit the Labor Movement?" will be the subject of Dr. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Sunday evening.

At the 9 o'clock open forum, Dr. Morris H. Kahn, M.D., will speak on "Sex: Its Newer Biological and Psychological Aspects." A musical program by Genevieve and Zelma Kaufman has been arranged. Questions and discussions from the floor will follow.

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## Arrival of Labriola Spurs Italian Socialists Here to Action; Matteotti Meeting Planned

Professor Arturo Labriola's arrival in this country has spurred the Italian Socialists to increased activity. Comrade Labriola, a well-known International figure in the Labor Movement has come to this country for a lecture tour and to help the Italian Labor Daily, Il Nuovo Mondo, get on its feet. He was professor of economy in the Naples University and Deputy to the Italian Chamber up to the time when Mussolini abolished representative government. He held the portfolio of the Labor Ministry in the Giolitti premiership in the Italian Government in 1920. He escaped the Fascist's persecution to a dramatic runaway from Italy that brought him to Paris, France, whence he has come to this country.

The Italian Socialists of Greater New York gave him a reception and dinner last Monday night, where he spoke for the first time, conveying a message of greetings from the exiled comrades living in Paris.

### Municipal Employees Start Cooperative; Camp First Project

Believing that cooperation is one of the best ways to meet the well-known high cost of living, a group of municipal employees have banded together and formed the Commonwealth Cooperative which has opened offices at 136 Liberty Street, New York.

Their first undertaking is to provide for a summer vacation at as low cost as possible, and building is already under way on a 350 acre campus which has been purchased on Lake Walton, Monroe, Orange County. This is one of the most beautiful sections of country near New York City, within easy reach by train and auto. The Commonwealth Cooperative camp, called "Woololona," is situated on a hill overlooking the lake, with a wonderful view of mountains for miles around. The property includes nearly two thousand feet of lake front, where there will be bathing and boating; and the camp plans such up-to-date equipment as is found in none but the most expensive summer resorts.

All the advantages of this cooperative venture will be explained at a meeting to be held in Labor Temple (14th Street and 2nd Avenue, Room 42) on Tuesday evening, May 22nd, at 8 P.M. There notion pictures of the camp will be shown and the plans and aims of the cooperative will be discussed. Cedric Long, secretary of the Eastern States Cooperative League will be the principal speaker.

Membership in the Commonwealth Cooperative is open to all who are not exploiters of labor. Through this cooperative organization a most beautiful vacation and week-end camp will be made available this year, and later various other co-operative enterprises will be started. All those interested in co-operation are invited to join.

### Co-operators Ready For Frolic Sunday at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn

Consumers' cooperative organizations in and about New York, doing a business amounting to \$3,500,000 a year, have planned an all-day festival to be held in Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, this Sunday on May 20. Included in the organization as members of the Eastern States Cooperative League are cooperative apartment enterprises, restaurants, bakeries food and clothing stores.

The program will be similar to the co-operative festivals held throughout Europe, where the cooperative movement is continually assuming a more important part in the economic structure.

The morning will be devoted entirely to sports. Dashes and long distance running, shotgun, discus throwing, broad jumping, will be open to all members of any of the allied cooperative organizations.

In the afternoon there will be singing by choral societies and individual entertainers, classical and novelty dancing, organized calisthenics, and stereopticon views of the establishments of the various societies. The Brooklyn Finnish Workers Club Band and the United Workers Cooperative Mandolin Orchestra will furnish instrumental music. Arrangements are being made to broadcast the musical numbers with loud speakers to all parts of the park, an innovation in out-of-door picnics.

There will be dancing in the evening. Food and refreshment service will be given throughout the day.

### THE Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road  
SUNDAY, May 20th  
8:00 P. M.  
"Will Another War Benefit the Labor Movement?"  
Rev. LEON R. LAND  
9:00 P. M.  
"Sex, Its Newer Biological and Psychological Aspects"  
MORRIS H. KAHN, M. D.  
Music-Discussion. - Admission Free

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Last Wednesday evening, Professor Labriola attended the Italian Branch meeting.

**Matteotti Memorial**  
The 10th of June, the anniversary of the Matteotti Martyrdom, the Italian Socialists will hold a memorial meeting with Professor Labriola as the principal speaker. Comrade Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, has also been invited to speak at this meeting which will take place at Cooper Union, Sunday, June 10th, at 2:30 p.m.

**Labriola's Banquet**  
The Italian Socialist Branches with the cooperation of the City Office of the Socialist Party are arranging a big banquet in honor of Prof. Labriola, for Friday evening, June 15th. Arrangements are being made to make this a grand affair. Socialist, labor and liberal elements will participate in it. More details will be announced in the next issue of the New Leader.

### City Engineers Will Put Up Fight For Wage Raises

"The City engineers will not be robbed of their increases without a fight for their interests by the Union of Technical Men." This is the gist of the decision of the Union of Technical Men, Local 37, when it went on record criticizing the unwarranted delay in distributing the \$500,000 salary increases voted the technical engineers of the City last October.

On March 8th these men met at City Hall in protest and were told that the Mayor and the Budget Director would take care of their interests. Over two months have elapsed since that date and the increases have not been granted. This has helped to aggravate the serious plight of the underpaid technical men; and has caused the feeling amongst these employees that they are not getting fair play from the executives of the City government. The Board of Estimate will meet for the last time on June 7th and then adjourn for the summer. Failure to give the increases out in the next few weeks means that the men will be deprived of their increases until some time in the Fall. That will mean that a year will have elapsed since the Board of Estimate voted the increases, and for some unknown reason the distribution has been stalled and the interests of efficient city government neglected.

In order to tell the city what has been going on and to make an appeal over the heads of the city officials who have neglected their interests, the technical men, through the Union of Technical Men, Local 37, have decided to print and circulate petitions amongst the citizens of our city. The slogan has been raised that for 4,000 technical men, a minimum of 400,000 signatures of voters will be gotten to protest against the treatment accorded these men.

The increases were voted for the year 1928 and should have been given out on January 1, 1928. The Union officials have not regularly with the Budget Director and other city officials and have urged action at all costs. They have asked that there be a FLAT PERCENTAGE INCREASE FOR ALL OF THE MEN AND THAT THE INCREASES BE MADE RETROACTIVE AS OF JANUARY FIRST. This would have eliminated piling up work on the Budget Director, afflicting individual increases. Besides, it has been the opinion of the men that a flat percentage increase for all the technical employees would do away with the usual favoritism that goes with individual increases, where one man is given a larger increase because of political favoritism.

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### Jewelers Called To Mass Meeting Thursday, May 29

A mass meeting for all jewelers, setters, engravers, polishers, tool makers, press hands and other workers employed in the making of gold and platinum jewelry in this city will be held on Thursday, May 24th, 1928 at 6 P.M. sharp in Bryant Hall, 725 Sixth Avenue, between 1st and 42nd Streets, New York City. All workers employed in the gold and platinum jewelry shops of this city are invited to attend this meeting and are urged to come direct from work to the hall. Prominent speakers, well known in the labor movement will address the meeting.

This meeting is the second of a series of mass meetings that are being held for the purpose of bringing back into the Union all the workers of the trade. The machine process which has developed very rapidly throughout the trade has created a problem of unemployment that has brought with it many evils never before known in the jewelry trade. The union is at present growing very rapidly and a spirit of revolt against the intolerable conditions in the shops is growing among the workers. This feeling has only recently manifested itself to any great extent as there were a great many of the workers who had not up until this year felt the pressure of conditions in the trade. The intense exploitation has now become general among all of the workers with a corresponding interest and membership in the Union. The trade has gone from a very highly paid one down to a level where the average wage is very low as compared to the organized trades throughout the city. At one time the trade enjoyed the distinction of being one of the most exclusive, highly paid and skilled trades in the country. Changed methods of production with the introduction of machinery and cheap unskilled labor has brought a great portion of the trade down to a level where low wages and uncertainty of employment prevail.

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THE NEW LEADER

## Central Trades Enthused By Health Center

### Committee That Investigated Institution Brings Back Enthusiastic Report

At the last meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council the Health Committee of that body rendered its report after having visited both the Medical and Dental Departments of the Union Health Center. The committee's enthusiasm impressed the delegates to such an extent that the Secretary was instructed to secure a representative of the Union Health Center to address the delegates at its next meeting. It is no longer doubted that the Central Trades and Labor Council will endorse the institution and recommend to the local unions their affiliation with that body. In that action, the C. T. and L. C. will find support from its affiliated unions whose members have been, and are being, treated in both departments of the Health Center.

The Health Committee consists of seven members, among whom are such old-timers in the labor movement as Fred Gaa, James Quinn, and E. Donnelly, who were pleasantly surprised when they saw the equipment and the establishment. I do not think they expected to find the place so fully equipped with x-rays, mechanical laboratories where urine, sputum and blood analyses are made. Fluoroscopic examinations. Physio-Therapeutic Departments, presided over by a specialist, and served by a nurse of long training and ability. Life extension examination. Special clinics for surgery, nose and throat, gynecological, eye, orthopedic and nerve diseases. Then they saw the Dental Department, a huge loft occupying almost a block in length. Twenty-four chair units with competent dentists in charge. A mechanical laboratory and an x-ray department.

"I never dreamed that I would find so well equipped a place," said one of the committee. "But that only shows what labor can do when it wants to," said another. There really was nothing else but enthusiasm for the Committee to report.

The following important unions have already affiliated with the Health Center: the Sheet Metal Workers Union, Printing Pressmen No. 51, Hebrew American Typographical Union, and many others are in the process of affiliation. This is encouraging. I am convinced that before long organized labor of New York will not only use the facilities of the Union Health Center, but in accordance with resolutions passed at previous conferences, it will also share in the management of the institution.

Perhaps the most pathetic feature of sickness is the inability of the average worker to cope with his health problems. As a rule, his faith in the doctor is boundless. He has no means of appraising the ability of the man who is his medical adviser. The influence which most doctors have over the average man and woman is appalling. Needless to say, there are exploiters and fakirs in the medical profession as there are in any other group or society. The desire on their part to make good is not always based on the merit of their work, but on how much money they can accumulate, and in this they are not an exception to most business groups. The unfortunate thing is that they have this tremendous power over people—a power against which one finds himself quite helpless. The following appeared in an article published in The Advance of April 27th. I am quoting the following cases because they illustrate what I have in mind. These are actual experiences of a number of workers, members of the Amalgamated. True that these cases occurred in Cincinnati, but we have reason to believe that in this instance New York is not an exception.

### Some Doctors' Shop Talk

Case No. 1.—"When I was for a physical examination the doctor told me that I looked all right now, but to come back if I ever got sick and then he would examine me."

Case No. 2.—"The doctor, he says, Yes, you have cancer all right, but I never believed in operations. I can cure you with drugs that you can take by mouth."

Case No. 3.—"Gonorrhea is no worse than a bad cold."

Case No. 4.—"He advertised that he could cure rupture 'without the use of the knife.' I found out from a friend who went there that indeed he didn't use a knife. He uses scissors."

Case No. 5.—"The doctor said my boy only had growing pains in his legs. Later, when he got worse, I found out at the hospital that it was rheumatism and a bad heart, both caused by abscessed tonsils."

Case No. 6.—"The other doctor scared me very badly. He told me that I would be totally deaf in two months, but that he could keep this from becoming permanent if I would pay him three hundred dollars at once. Later the union doctor removed some packed-in ear-wax and now I hear as well as I ever did."

In view of these quotations, is it any wonder that union men and women are beginning to depend more and more on their leaders to secure for them not only higher wages and shorter hours, but for health conservation as well?

I have always maintained that a union can and should do what any fraternal society does. The fight for better economic conditions does not necessarily include the preservation of the greatest asset labor has—its health. That is why organized men and women are beginning to use an institution where they get honest advice and information. Good service for nominal fees. Disinterested physicians who give to them the best they have—their knowledge and experience. This institution is the Union Health Center.

# AMUSEMENTS

## The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### A Season of Repertory

THE Civic Repertory Theatre, which Eva Le Gallienne closed recently to go on tour has, according to figures received, put in a season of strenuous work. Outside of such feats, almost superhuman to direct single handed, as playing three of Ibsen's masterpieces in one day, and of staging a drive for two hundred thousand members, Eva Le Gallienne, the theatre's doctory head, managed to snatch for herself such an honor as the winning of the Pictorial Review Award of \$5,000 for the most outstanding achievement of the year, and a place on the Nation's Honor Roll, as the woman who was outstanding in the Drama.

An analysis of the following figures which include the total number of performances this season at the Civic Repertory Theatre, seem to show that despite the great ballyhoo made over Ibsen, his plays have been given less while "The Cradle Song," last season's hit, continue to be the theatre's most popular offering. "The Good Hope," Hejlerman's grim tragedy of the Dutch seaboard, was runner-up, having been played thirty times less than the favorites. Continuing a summary of the season's events, in addition to the seven plays held over from last season's repertoire, five new plays were presented this season. Owing to the absence of Clara Eames, Miss Le Gallienne's promise that she would alternate in the title role of "Hedda Gabler" was not kept: Miss Eames' absence also prevented the presentation of Jean Jacques Bernard's "Invitation Au Voyage," which will be given next season.

The plays presented include "The Good Hope," "2 x 2 Equals 5" by Gustav Wied, "The First Stone," the American play by Walter Ferris, which was next in popularity to "The Good Hope," "Improvisations in June," from the German of Max Mohr, and "Hedda Gabler," the much discussed revival of Ibsen's masterpiece.

Including the repertoire of last year, there were 204 performances in all this season, seen by about 180,000 people. Although the second season did not include such outstanding presentations as the first with its "Three Sisters," "The Master Builder," "John Gabriel Borkman," and "The Cradle Song," it did much to uphold the dignity of Eva Le Gallienne's downtown theatre.

With the additions to her cast already announced, Alla Nazimova, Leo Bulgakov, well-known as a member of the Moscow Art Theatre, Mary Morris, and Miss Mooney, who was here with the Irish players, Miss Le Gallienne's next season, strengthened by the loyal support of the thirty thousand members she has already recruited for the theatre, and the new ones who will be added in the drive which continues till next fall, will undoubtedly mark another great advance in the growth of the Civic Repertory Theatre.

Theatre Guild presented a few seasons ago. Herman Bernstein and Adolph E. Meyer are the translators.

"Husbands Or Lovers?" an Ufa film based on the Russian play, "Nijn" by Ossip Dymov, and featuring Emil Jennings and Ronald R. Kellum, will be seen at the 55th St. Playhouse during the week beginning Saturday, May 19th. In conjunction with this the Playhouse will also present Harry Langdon in "His Marriage Wow," "Berlin" remains at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse.

Michael Mindlin, managing director of the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group, announces that "The Light of Asia," dealing with the life and customs of early India, will be presented at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse.

Raymond Hitchcock and John Daly Murphy are announced as additional members of the Playhouse club which is to present "The Beau's Stratagem" at Hampden's Theatre the week of June 4.

Jane Cowd, who is this week completing a four months' tour of the principal cities on the eastern seaboard in Robert Emmet Sherwood's "The Road to Rome," returns next Monday night to the Playhouse, for a limited engagement in this satirical comedy. Miss Cowd has been appearing in this play without missing a single performance since January 17, 1927. Her original engagement at the Playhouse extended over a period of exactly one year. During the return engagement she will be supported by the original company, the only change in the cast being the substitution of St. Guy Standing in the role of Hannibal in place of Philip Merivale, who ones in that part in the London production of the play on Wednesday night of this week.

Members of the company include Richard Ling, Barry Jones, Jessie Ralph, Hale Norcross, Lionel Hogarth, Chas. Brokaw and Joyce Carey.

The Universal Pictures Corporation have loaned Barbara Kent to the British Canadian Pictures, Ltd., for their production of "Retribution." Neal Hart will direct the picture as well as play the male lead. Barbara will leave at once for the Prince of Wales ranch in Alberta where most of the picture will be filmed. Locations in picturesque Banff and Calgary have been selected to follow the scenes on the ranch.

An intimate opera based on incident in the life of Chopin, and fashioned along lines which made "Blossom Time" so popular, goes into rehearsal today under the direction of Messrs. Schubert. The opera, tentatively known as "Chopin's Romance," has been adapted by Harry B. Smith from the European work of Sigurd Johansen. The score, as one might be led to believe, is not made up of the music of Chopin, but is an original one by Karl Hajos, composer of "Nadia." Various compositions of Chopin, however, are used in the score.

Cedette Myrtil has been engaged for the role of George Sand, and George Baker, for Chopin.

The hundredth performance of the revival of W. Somerset Maugham's social comedy, "Our Betters," by Ina Claire and company, at the Henry Miller Theatre, took place Tuesday night, May 15th.

## THEATRES

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

EUGENE O'NEILL'S

### STRANGE INTERLUDE

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THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

Week of May 21

### "Volpone"

Week of May 28

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"The Enchanted Lake"  
Clyde Cullen and Nicholas Daks  
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OFF FAN-50

recently heard in "The Beggar's Opera" for Chopin. In addition to these two characters, other historical figures appear in the play, among them Meyerbeer, which role has been entrusted to Max Figan.

The hundredth performance of the revival of W. Somerset Maugham's social comedy, "Our Betters," by Ina Claire and company, at the Henry Miller Theatre, took place Tuesday night, May 15th.

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# SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## New York City

**MANHATTAN**  
6-8-12th A. D.  
The next meeting of this branch will be held on Monday, May 28 at the headquarters, 86 Avenue C.

**Harlem Branches**  
An enrolled meeting has been arranged for Friday evening, May 18th, in the East Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th street. Letters have been sent out inviting enrolled voters in part of the 15th and all of the 17-18-20th Assembly District. Speakers are William M. Feigenbaum and Louis Waldman.

**29-31st 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.

**BRONX**  
3rd A. D.  
This branch will hold its next enrolled voters meeting Friday, May 18th, at 8:30 p.m. at the Martineau Mansion, 156th and Beck streets. Esther Friedman will be the speaker.

**5th A. D.**  
This branch will hold its next meeting on Friday, May 18th at the County Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. The possibility and advisability of merging the 3rd and 5th A. D. Branches will be considered at this meeting.

**The Russian Piroshke party and entertainment** held last Saturday at the headquarters, 4215 Third Avenue was a great success. Money was raised for the relief of the miners which was turned over to the City Office. This money, a check for \$75.40 will be sent to its proper destination.

**BROOKLYN**  
2-9-16th A. D.  
A joint campaign committee elected at a recent joint meeting of the branches in the above named assembly districts met on Monday evening, May 14th at the Borough Labor Lyceum. Plans were perfected for a lively campaign in these districts. Within the next two weeks the enrolled Socialists in these districts will be invited to a special meeting for the purpose of obtaining their membership in the Party.

**16th A. D.**  
A well attended meeting was held by this branch on Friday, May 11th. Resolutions for State Convention were made and plans for the campaign discussed. The next meeting will be held on Friday, May 25th, at 7:15 20th Avenue. All comrades living in this neighborhood who are not yet members are invited to this meeting.

**18th A. D.**  
An invitation has been mailed to the enrolled voters of the 18th A. D. (of which there are some 937) to attend a meeting on May 18th, in the headquarters of the branch at the Rockaway Mansion, 695 Rockaway Avenue, to be addressed by A. I. Shipiloff and L. P. Goldberg. Included in the program is a special meeting for the purpose of obtaining their membership in the Party, a report on the recent National Convention and the selection of candidates for the 18th Assembly District, 8th Senatorial District, the 6th Congressional District. A big turnout is expected.

**In Comrade Gilbert R. Sackman, the 18th A. D., and the Socialist Party of Greater New York, have a most able comrade.** Comrade Sackman is at the same time, lawyer, teacher and engineer and is a master of engineering, social and otherwise, in every detail. The talk he delivered at Friday's meeting, May 11th, on "Labor Party Machinery as An Aid to Employment" was most illuminating, educational and gripping. Any branches of the great city desiring an excellent addition to their educational programs would not go far wrong in enlisting the services of this fine comrade.

**23rd A. D.**  
An exceptionally well attended meeting of this branch was held on Monday evening, May 14th. Comrade Louis Waldman spoke on the "Transit Question" and nominations were made for delegates to the state convention.

**Canvassers** visiting the enrolled Socialist voters in the district brought in very good results.

**On Friday evening, May 25th,** this branch will hold a Theatre Play at the Henry Miller Theatre. The play is "Our Betters". Proceeds will go to the Sunday School Fund.

**In the very near future a joint meeting** of the 5th Assembly District will be held at this meeting nominations will be made for Congress and Senate.

**Coney Island**  
An enrolled meeting of this branch will be held on May 23rd. Enrolled Socialist voters in the 16th Assembly District will be invited. Wm. Morris Feigenbaum, candidate for Senate in the 4th Senatorial District, will address the meeting.

**Williamsburg Branches**  
A well attended meeting of the Williamsburg Branches was held at the headquarters, 167 Tompkins Avenue last Thursday, May 10th. Candidates for the various offices were nominated.

**Another meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, May 22nd.** A get-together of all Williamsburg members and sympathizers is being arranged and campaign preparations will be started at this affair.

**4-14 A. D.**  
A very well attended and enthusiastic meeting of the 4-14th was held last Tuesday evening. A committee volunteered to go out and visit enrolled voters in this district with the purpose of urging them to become members of the branch.

**Emil Bromberg** did some very good work in the sale of quite a number of copies of the new edition of the Souvenir Convention Journal, "Socialism of Today." A committee to take charge of open air meetings was elected and the branch expects to start this work with in the next week or so.

## Street Meetings

**MANHATTAN**  
Saturday, May 19, 8 p.m.—137th St. and Seventh Avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown and others.

Friday, May 25th, 8 p.m.—106th street and Madison Avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown and others.

**BROOKLYN**  
Friday, May 18th, 8 p.m.—Pittkin and Bristol street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown and others.

Tuesday, May 22, 8 p.m.—64th street and 20th Avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown and others.

Wednesday, May 23, 8 p.m.—Sutter and Hindsdale street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown and others.

Thursday, May 24, 8 p.m.—Sutter and Ralph Avenue. Speakers to be announced.

Friday, May 25th, Pittkin and Bristol street. Speaker, August Claessens.

## The Young People's Department

### A Youth Paper

**THE** Board of Directors of the Y. P. S. L. Publishing Association met last Saturday evening, May 12, at the round school, 148 decisions, which are to come up for ratification before the annual association, as well as the Executive Committee of the New York League, are circulating in their significance to the radical youth of this country. They were:

1.—That the efforts of the Y. P. S. L. in establishing a medium for the expression of FREE YOUTH, be bound up with The New Leader. That we develop the present use of the space allotted to The Young People's Department, to the extent of two columns weekly.

2.—That Jack Wasserman of the Bronx Y. P. S. L. should be the Editor of this column, and should be assisted by Geo. Field.

3.—That it be compulsory for every member of the New York League to be a subscriber to The New Leader. To make it easier for members to pay the Special Y. P. S. L. subscription rate, the Y. P. S. L. Publishing Association will pay 50 per cent of the cost of each subscription.

4.—That this Association continue to function; to raise funds for the above purpose; and to bring its attention to the attention of youth including Y. P. S. L. members throughout the country.

5.—As far as possible, this Association will pay 50 per cent of the cost of subscription whenever application is made to the Association by a young man or young woman, of Y. P. S. L. members.

6.—By way of explanation: We feel that we can accomplish more, reach more young people and do a better job for Socialism, by cooperating with The New Leader in the ways outlined above, rather than, at this time, by proceeding along independent lines. We know that this action will meet with enthusiastic support wherever radical youth is gathered.

### YOUTH RALLY

One hundred and fifty young people rallied at the call of circle 5, Brooklyn, at a mass meeting held in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, Sunday evening. This was the largest group that has turned out at a Yipsel circle meeting in many years. The business part of the meeting was sacrificed for the interesting program. Jack Altman opened the meeting. He called on Emanuel Switkes, Chairman of the Organization Committee, to deliver the opening address on the general nature and history of the Y. P. S. L. S. L. William Thompson of Circle Twelve Juniors talked on the Juniors Movement. Then, the chairman introduced Louis P. Goldberg, the new Director of the circle. L. P. G. is a veteran of old circle 2 days and was welcomed by the new group.

The treat of the evening was an interesting talk by McAllister Coleman, who presented the latest developments in the transit muddle, in his own best manner.

### Baseball at Picnic

The Brownsville Yipsels and party members will represent the Brownsville Cooperative Bakery in their baseball meet with the Finnish Cooperative Bakery.

Next Sunday at Ulmer Park is the day and place. Admission 25 cents. Trucks will be lined in front of the Lyceum at 219 Sackman street, 9 a.m. to bring the comrades to Ulmer Park.

### Again Tennis

Some time ago, we mentioned the possibility of organizing a tennis group at the Central Park courts. So far, G. F. and Julie Umansky seem to be the only ones who have responded. Last Sunday at 8, when most good Yipsels were turning over the other side for another bit of sleep, these staunch supporters of the great outdoors banded away at three lively tennis balls. Why can't we get together a Y. P. S. L. tennis team this season? All interested write to your executive secretary at 7 East 15th street.

### A Good Idea

The Organization Committee met and made several arrangements which ought to bolster up interest in all the circles of the New York League.

One thing, a plan was made wherein active comrades will spend one month in a circle other than their own, to aid in the educational work and to bring new ideas to these meetings.

### Help Wanted

Norman Thomas sends this communication: "The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief is sending out a special appeal for New Bedford. There is no question in this strike that the Socialists are active in running it. It represents a great opportunity for us as a party as well as

for the Labor cause. I earnestly hope that you can get some Yipsels around to arrange envelopes. Arrive time with Miss Paxton, 155 5th Avenue."

**All Yipsels Attention!**  
The Emergency Committee has undertaken the responsibility of helping to supply 100,000 families in Pennsylvania and Ohio mining camps with food and to keep them alive until they have won this strike. The Committee must have not only cash contributions, but contributions of Personal Service. The Y. P. S. L. members have been called upon to give generously and consistently of their free time and to assist in office work. Every Tuesday and Thursday evening from 7 to 10:30 volunteer helpers assist in sending out the thousands of appeal letters that make the relief work possible. The office is at 155 5th Avenue, room 1067.

The Public Speaking Class that has already come to your notice continues Tuesday, May 22nd at 7:00 p.m. The rate of tuition has been reduced for Yipsels only. It is two dollars instead of four, one to be returned if eight percent of the sessions are attended. Register before the first class starts!

The Socialist Action Committee has printed Transit Leaflets which are of no use unless distributed. This Sunday the Yipsels, therefore, are to do the job. All circle reps will please come and get these leaflets at the office.

There will be another General League Hike on June 17th. The destination will be announced shortly. Watch the New Leader.

**Circle Six Manhattan.** Ettie Fraueglass presented an interesting treatise on the Elizabethan Poets, accompanied with readings. This Sunday Seymour Goodman will talk on the Life of Kropotkin and His Work. Mandel Freed has been elected as the new secretary.

**Circle Eight Manhattan.** Circle Eight's fifth anniversary was an overwhelming success. The whole League was represented. The circle is on the next lap for greater results.

**Circle Two Brooklyn.** Over 150 people were present at the Sunday Mass meeting arranged by circle two. McAllister Coleman addressed the people in his mirth provoking manner on the Transit Fare Increase. New applications for the Y. P. S. L. were obtained. On May 27th the circle will return to a visit to Circle 10. There will be a joint program. Meet at the Lyceum at 7 p.m.

**Circle 13.** The circle is going to join Circle Two to go to Ulmer Park and play baseball with the Finnish Cooperative Bakery, on Sunday, Saturday, June 2nd a banquet is being tendered. The circle is doing a remarkable work he has done for the circle. Comrade Sapkovitz has been its leading spirit for a very long time. Comrade Island Circle, Monday Switkes addressed this circle last Sunday on the need for the Young Socialist Organization. A rosy number particularly in the discussion, including Rose Wildstein, their correspondents and their director, Mrs. Brody. On May 26, the circle will hold its character dance, refreshments and everything.

**Circle 12.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 11.** The circle meets regularly on Friday nights at the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments in the Workers' Circle Schoolroom. Gailoff at the Mosholu Station on the Woodlawn Line (IRT) Circle 6—Lester Shulman has recently organized this Junior Circle. So far, members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 10.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 9.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 8.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 7.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 6.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 5.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 4.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 3.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 2.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 1.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle 0.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle -1.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

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**Circle -6.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

**Circle -7.** The circle meets regularly on Saturday afternoons at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Their Director, Comrade Shulman, announced that members and eight masochists about thirty of the former and some of the latter being present at the last meeting which was visited by the Executive Secretary who spoke to them.

## N. Y. Transit The Legal Side

(Continued from Page 1)

The company contends that adherence to its contract would amount to confiscation of its potential profits. The court upholds the contention. What a relief the extension of that doctrine would be to the great mass of business men who have made imprudent contracts and are losing money under them.

The total investment in the subway is about \$500,000,000. Of this the city furnished approximately one-half, while about \$210,000,000 was borrowed from the public. The investment of the stockholders is represented by the common stock of the company of a face value of \$35,000,000. The actual amount paid for it is reputed to be about \$20,000,000, and the dividends received by the stockholders are in excess of \$50,000,000.

The cash investment of the stockholders is thus equal to less than 10 percent of the city's investment and less than 5 percent of the total investment. Yet the "rights" of these stockholders are held paramount to the interests of the city and of the millions of subway users.

**\$50,000,000 Yearly May Be Tribute**  
The proposed two-cent increase in the fare would yield the company about \$25,000,000 additional profits per year, but the court seems to intimate that the company may increase the fare even beyond seven cents. It figures on a net return of 8 percent on the entire alleged value of the property, disregarding the fact that the greater part of the invested capital is and can be obtained on loans of 5 percent. On the basis of this computation the court figures that the earnings of the company are short by about \$50,000,000 annually. To supply this alleged shortage a fare of nine cents or even ten cents would be required.

For the purpose of this computation the court accepts the company's valuation of about \$600,000,000, of which about 10 percent is represented by the property of the city, which asks no increase, and more than 15 percent is represented by the elevated roads, an independent and losing enterprise, which the Interborough operates under a lease.

But even more puzzling than the theories and calculations of the court are its reasons for issuing a temporary injunction. The Interborough has operated rationally. On the other hand, if the seven cent fare is introduced immediately, but the final determination restores the five cent fare, what a job it will be to repay to each of the five million subway users he excess two cent fares with interest from the dates of such payments, as the court suggests.

**The Socialists Will Be There**  
Once more the people of New York have entrusted their vital interests to private corporate greed and once more they have been fooled.

As if to add insult to injury Mayor Walker already announces that he will run for re-election to vindicate himself and to continue the fight for the five cent fare, which he has so sorely neglected during his first term.

He is followed by former Mayor Hyman, who announces his candidacy and enounces the principle of city ownership of the transit system.

When the next Mayoralty election comes around the Socialist party will also be there. It will make its campaign on a platform of outright municipal ownership and operation of the whole transit system and of all public utilities. It will wage a vigorous and unrelenting fight for the right of the people to run their own city for their own benefit.

**BROOKLYN**  
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Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.  
STAGO 3843

**LABOR TEMPLE** 245-247 EAST 84TH ST. NEW YORK  
Workers' Educational Association  
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p.m.  
Balls for Meetings, Balls for Meetings and Balls. Telephone REgent 10038

**United Hebrew Trades**  
125 E. 7th Broadway  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.  
Executive Board meets 2nd, 5:30 P. M.  
M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman  
M. BEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
139 East 25th St., Madison Square 1934  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, Manager  
MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

**Joint Executive Committee**  
**VEST MAKERS' UNION**  
10 JEROME STREET, BROOKLYN  
M. GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.  
Office 175 East Broadway  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

**The Milk Drivers' Union**  
Local 684, I. U. of T.  
Office: 308 W. 14th St., City.  
Local 284 meets on 2nd and 4th Thursday at 8:30 p.m. at Berthoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursday at 8:30 p.m. at Berthoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Sec'y and Business Agent. MAX LIEMER, Sec'y-Treas.

**Joint Executive Committee**  
**BRICKLAYERS' UNION**  
LOCAL NO. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 849 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 4621 Stagg  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening 8:30 p.m.  
WILLIAM WEINER, President  
CHARLES WEBER, Vice-President  
SAMUEL POTTER, Sec'y

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America**  
LOCAL UNION 588  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING  
OFFICE: 361 EAST 115TH STREET.  
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President  
HARRY P. SILVER, Sec'y

**Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.**  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St. Madison 7899  
CARL GRABNER, President.  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

**PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
20th Ave. 12th St. 12th St. 12th St.  
Board meets every Tuesday evening at 8:30 p.m.  
All locals meet every Wednesday  
FORREST BLUMENFELD, Manager  
STANLEY ROYDORF, Sec'y-Treas.

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America**  
LOCAL UNION 588  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING  
OFFICE: 361 EAST 115TH STREET.  
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President  
HARRY P. SILVER, Sec'y

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## UNION DIRECTORY

**THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY**  
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.  
8, John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 Broadway, Room 2706-10, New York.  
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

**WORKERS! Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers.**  
Always Look WAITERS & For This LABEL  
LOCAL 1  
162 E. 23rd Street  
Tel. Gramercy 0843  
LOUIS RIFKIN, President.  
LOUIS RUBINOFF, Sec'y-Treasurer.  
Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Berthoven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

**Pressers' Union**  
Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arden Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
JACOB ANGLERMAN, Chairman  
JACOB ANGLERMAN, W. BLACK, Rec. Sec'y.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 125 E. 5th Ave.  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.  
L. KOEN, Manager.  
J. BLASKY, Secretary.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
Local 174, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10173.  
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.  
Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

**GLAZIERS' UNION**  
Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.  
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10173.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.  
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President.  
G. BRISCOE, Rec. Sec'y.  
JACOB RAPAPORT, Sec'y-Treas.

**United Neckwear Makers' Union**  
LOCAL 10106, A. F. of L.  
7 East 13th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7825  
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office of the President.  
ED. GOTTSMAN, Sec'y-Treas.  
L. D. BERGER, Manager  
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

**Bonnay Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.**  
7 East 14th Street, Tel. Stuyvesant 3437  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President  
LEON HATYAB, NATHAN REISEL, Manager Secretary-Treasurer

**WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION**  
Local 67 of I. L. G. W. U.  
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 1100-7  
A. SNYDER, Manager.

**Hebrew Actor's Union**  
Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.  
Phone Dry Dock 3960  
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

**German Painters' Union**  
Local 199, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday, 7 p.m. at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th St.  
AUGUST ELZE, President  
ALVIN BROSTING, Secretary  
164 Ave. A, N. Y. C.  
FRANK M. STEINBOCK, Sec'y-Treas.  
23 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

**Neckwear Cutters' Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.**  
7 East 12th Street, Stuyvesant 7879  
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 3rd Street  
Fred Fankelstein, President  
A. Weiss, Rec. Sec'y.  
Wm. H. Chisling, Business Agent

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION**  
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union  
Office and Headquarters, 249 W. 11th St., Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 0798  
Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays  
M



# NEW LEADER

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

Editor..... James Oneal  
Assistant Editor..... Edw. Levinson

## Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algeron Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph P. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Felgenbaum, John M. Work, Frank B. Rowland, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



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

SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1928

## A New Royal Heir

REJOICE all ye who live in the principality of Tammany for a new royal heir is born this week, born of a union of two princes of the realm. The magicians and soothsayers gathered in solemn conclave near holy Wall Street this week to deliver the royal child. Two princely houses, Consolidated Gas and Brooklyn Edison, celebrated the union of their regal estates and humble subjects and the heir is said to be the Consolidated-Edison Company.

This is some prince. His assets are estimated in excess of a billion dollars, second only to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. It is reported that George B. Cortelyou, head of the super-power lying brigade at Washington, will be chief nurse of the child. George is an expert in caring for these infants and we are assured that the royal revenue of the new princely house will be faithfully contributed by the subjects of gas and electricity.

We hope that there will be no rivalry between the new house and the old one, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. There are enough of us in New York City to guarantee a life of splendor and luxury to both houses. The I. R. T. is about to place an extra tax of two cents on our straps and if the new heir wants some extra revenue the Tammany nobles are here to render homage and to deliver the goods in good time.

But a word of caution. Don't skin us too much. We noble freemen as a whole are faithful to the princely houses that rule the republic. If I. R. T. wants \$16 or even \$32 more per annum from each of us we'll pay it. If the new heir wants an equal amount we'll pay that. But don't pile it on rapidly. Give us time to get used to each new levy otherwise we might get a little stubborn and take over these royal houses. Do it gradually. You have a vast field to plunder and we're good subjects and are used to being plundered. We even vote for it and yell all night when we return the Tammany nobles to office to see that we cough up as good citizens should.

The Socialists, of course, make a lot of noise, but the spats and cane we call Mayor will take care of them. Then a little stock judiciously distributed will work wonders. So we are all set for serving the new heir and doffing our hats to an anthem to freedom.

## Mississippi Surrenders

IT is an interesting fact that the capitalist who dominates the scene today in modern countries was at one time a disreputable citizen, a low fellow who was shunned by real gentlemen. This was in the period when landed property ruled society. Today the capitalist has leaped into the very boots of the landed aristocrat and the latter is merely a decorative ornament where he still survives.

This applies not only to Europe but to the United States. When planter property ruled in the South the merchant and capitalist were considered vulgar. In South Carolina, the classic home of planter aristocracy, if one politician wanted to insult his rival the latter was charged with having invested in some industrial enterprise. This was certain to provoke a fight as the charge was equal to attacking the "honor" of the accused. The same thing was true in New York State in the first decade of the nineteenth century as the great landed magnates along the Hudson River ruled the state. The first small manufacturers were regarded as coarse persons a little above mechanics and not acceptable in polite society.

It is therefore curious to find something like a survival of this to a recent date in Mississippi but the last session of the legislature shows a break with the old tradition. Invested capital and banking have been hampered by all sorts of legislative restrictions which have now been removed. A New York Times correspondent declares that Mississippi has abolished one of its "dragons." This monster was prejudice against capital. Capital is even encouraged by tax exemption of various forms of investments. It is expected that the politicians will have some trouble pacifying the inhabitants of the hills who for generations have been taught to fear capitalist enterprise.

With the emancipation of the Mississippi capital-

ist, capital will flow into this feudal province. The capitalist and banker will soon own the more important resources and agencies of production. The poor whites will be drawn into the factories and "civilized." The burlesque politicians of the old era will give way to the polished leader in the service of the capitalist class. Capitalism will bestow its "blessings" upon Mississippi. The state will surrender to the monarch who rules the world.

## Third Degree Tammany

THE Police Department under the rule of Tammany vulgarians has always been a source of medieval practices and brutalities. It is always tender to the rich and powerful but the unfortunate without "pull" or money have another experience. We do not have reference to the clerical brute associated with the bomb squad who satisfied his sadist lust for a number of years by brutal clubbing of suspected workmen. What we have in mind is the normal practice of the "third degree" which comes down from the Middle Ages.

Two recent cases make reference to this practice timely. Robert Weiner spent many months in the death house at Sing Sing after conviction of murder by a jury. He was finally released by Judge Mancuso on the ground that he was convicted on a confession extorted from him by the police. No other evidence whatever has been found that would justify a trial. Weiner declares that he was brutally beaten by officials of the department and in this way they obtained the confession.

The other case is that of Abraham Reles who escaped imprisonment for life as a second offender. He, too, had made a confession admitting his guilt after having been "entertained" by certain police officials. In this case the accused man convinced the jury that the confession had been extorted and he was acquitted after the jury had deliberated twenty minutes.

Our indictment of the Tammany Police Department does not extend to the patrolmen. There are a few of them who may play the game but it is the officialdom since the days of Devery who have resorted to the medieval practice of torture to send alleged offenders without "pull" or funds to imprisonment or death. The working people supply the victims of this shocking policy and the workman or woman who casts a vote for Tammany candidates should do so with full knowledge of the infamous thing for which they vote.

## "How Goes the Game?"

THE above words are taken from a letter written by Fred R. Marvin of the "Key Men of America" to a Montana open shopper in 1924. They are quoted in the report on "Patriotic Propaganda" by the Federal Council of Churches, an interesting survey of the ramifications of this industry in the United States. The sentence reads like the salutation of one footpad to another.

This survey establishes the general character of Marvin's work. First, there is the open shop enemies of labor organization. Then comes the oil grafters who are defended on the ground that their prosecution really has its origin in orders by Moscow. Next in order are the advocates of the Prussian chain gang who regard refusal to support conscription for bankers as a mortal sin. Finally there is the system of espionage and attempted terrorism of all persons and organizations who do not think that God created the world for capitalists and bankers and the rest of us as mudsills to labor for their happiness and glory. In this you have the essence of patriotism, the vintage of 1928.

Herbert Asbury should have included Marvin in his recent history of "The Gangs of New York." Perhaps the omission will be corrected in the next edition. "How Goes the Game" is certainly language fitting the gangster engaged in crooked work. The expression at least conveys the idea that its author is engaged in a game after the fashion of the New York crooks who used to work the panel game to relieve innocents of any surplus change they might have in their clothing.

However, Fred's industry isn't what it used to be. Down to a few years ago an honest crook handling Fred's wares made a handsome living but today only mamas of the revolution and a few other simpletons provide a market for his goods. Hence arises the inquiry in recent years, "How Goes the Game?" It's an ungenerous world when industrious cappers find it difficult to sell a product for which there was so much demand only a few years ago.

## Tammany and the Unions

THE exploiting soul of Tammany Hall is displayed by the attitude of its brokers in power towards workers in the employ of the city. The brokers are always taken care of with fat salaries but the many thousands in humble occupations are treated like factory serfs to the open shop dogma.

The Union of Technical Men have been treated like slaves. Last October a modest increase was voted these men to begin the first day of this year. The union has resorted to every expedient to get the increase but it is still withheld. The Board of Estimate will hold its last meeting for the summer on June 7 and then adjourn but even this session is not necessary. The increase has been due since January.

There is no such delay when the brokers vote themselves an increase. It is the useful workers who suffer. Moreover, the practice of making individual increases works out as favoritism to those who are faithful to the Tammany politicians. Here is a situation for members of the trade unions to consider, especially those who have any affection for Tammany Hall.

The New Leader again wishes to emphasize the importance of finances for the biggest Socialist campaign waged in this country since the end of the World War. Those who have pledged contributions should pay them without delay. Those who have not contributed should do so promptly. Not only that, but we must reach every sympathetic voter in the United States with our appeal for funds. Speakers, literature, meetings and publicity do not come free. Do your part!

## Buddies



# SOCIALISTS AND N. Y. TRANSIT

## Municipal Ownership as a Solution—The Legal Aspect

By Harry W. Laidler

THE Socialist Party believes that the only solution to the present subway muddle lies in public management. We favor municipal operation for several reasons:

1. We believe that only under municipal operation is there any likelihood of retaining the five cent fare. Under private management if they fall now in winning their point, the I. R. T. and the B. M. T. will try every conceivable device in law and publicity until they impose a seven, nine or ten cent fare on the people. We are now given to understand that the five cent fare does not meet running expenses. This is not true. On the subway lines, the I. R. T. last year showed a profit of over \$6,000,000, after paying about \$2,500,000 to the city for rental on its old city-owned subways. Unfortunately for the I. R. T. and for the people of the city, the I. R. T. some years ago made a contract with the Manhattan Elevated Lines guaranteeing to 95 percent of the stockholders of these lines dividends each year of 5 percent, and to five percent of the stockholders dividends of 7 percent, whether these elevated lines made a profit or a deficit. The city had nothing to do with this disastrous contract. Last year the I. R. T. had to turn over to these lifelines which it leased, in dividends and interest on bonds, nearly five-sixths of its surplus—nearly \$6,000,000, out of a surplus of \$6,380,000. No wonder that the Interborough is not in a position to pay dividends! Despite this transfer, it still had a surplus of over \$1,300,000, although, of course, it did not pay anything on the bonds issued by the city in the building of the subways. And, be it said, its old stockholders cannot be too much pitted for failure now to get dividends, for in the past they obtained from dividends no less than 187 percent of their stocks. Furthermore, during the year ended June 30, 1927, it must be said that the Interborough had had a strike because of its labor policy, which meant a loss to it in earning power of about \$2,000,000. In addition to that, the expenses of the Interborough before net profits is determined are somewhat high. It has, for instance, spent each year during the last number of years some tens of thousands of dollars in "educating" the public through the Subway Sun and other educational organs in the necessity for higher fares. In the last ten-year period, for instance, the bill rendered by one publicity agent or public relations counselor was \$257,000, more than a quarter of a million dollars. During 1927 it paid to its president a salary of \$75,000 and to its general counsel a salary of \$72,000. Last year it paid in legal fees the vast sum of \$685,000, of which over one-half (\$340,000) was given to defend the company against personal damage suits on the part of employees and the public. The board of directors recently voted two of the officers of the Interborough another quarter million dollars in royalties on certain patents, although the counsel of the company maintained that this payment was entirely illegal. And so the story goes. Of course, it is difficult under these conditions for the Interborough to meet expenses.

"The B. M. T., with its large expense, is able to make a surplus of over \$6,000,000 and to pay nearly 6 percent dividends on stock which, in the hands of its predecessor, sold for while at from \$1 to \$6 a share.

"Under municipal management such as the Socialists propose, most of these extraordinary expenses could be eliminated. When the city of Detroit, the fifth largest city of the United States, took over its rapid transit lines, the first thing that it did was radically to cut down on just such expenses. Under unified municipal operation, hundreds of thousands of dollars could be saved through combining several administrative staffs into one. Under municipal operation, the interest rates on bonds

New York transit is a problem of nation-wide significance, as well as a question of immediate vital interest to New York City's dwellers. There are few cities in the country which are not faced with the problem of transit corporations intent on raising fares,—except, perhaps, in those cities where increased fares have already been "put over."

New York transit is also important politically. The leader of Tammany Hall is now a candidate for the presidency. The transit situation in New York City, as handled by a Tammany regime, offers an eloquent illustration of what we may expect nationally from a Tammany president.

Dr. Laidler is one of the nation's foremost authorities on municipal ownership. Mr. Hillquit is well known as a leader in the legal world whose approach to public problems has always been from the point of view of the ordinary citizen.

issued by the city as contrasted with those issued by private corporations could be reduced. Under municipal operation, the subways would no longer need to pay dividends on watered stock. Under municipal operation, a definite policy could be launched, as in Detroit, of paying for new construction largely out of special assessments against the property owners, the value of whose lands increased as a result. When the subway was constructed in Upper Manhattan, the value of the land of adjoining property owners in that section increased more than seven times the cost of constructing this section of the subway, and so in the Bronx. With these economies and these policies of assessment, there is no reason in the world why New York City could not continue to retain that most convenient of all fares, the five cent fare, indefinitely. In fact, Mr. Undermyer is of the opinion that, under a unified subway control, with the retention of the five cent fare, with the new subways under construction, and with his very generous plan of purchase and recapture, it would be possible by, say, in twelve years' time, not only to pay all of the interest on all of the bonds issued by the city in the construction of the subways, a thing which is not now being done, but a surplus of nearly \$10,000,000 a year to boot.

2. But not only would municipal operation of the Socialist type make possible the indefinite continuance of the five cent fare. It would definitely break up the feudalism in industrial relations which now exists, with the kept unions, the yellow dog contracts, the spies and injunctions and strike-breakers, and bring no little improvement in labor conditions. During the seven years of municipal operation in Detroit wages have been raised seven times. In San Francisco, under municipal operation, hours have been reduced, wages increased, and unions favored.

3. Municipal operation such as the Socialists propose would improve the service. One cannot imagine the continuance by the owners—the strap-hangers of the city—of the indecent overcrowding that now prevails, and which is the source of so much discomfort and disease. Even should this involve, which I do not believe it would, a small subsidy from the city, as we subsidize our health and educational work, it would be well worth the price.

4. Municipal operation would make possible a co-ordination between plans for regional planning—for decentralizing the city population—and subway construction such as is not likely to be the case under private operation. And our subway problem will never be solved until we think in terms of getting rid of the horrible congestion in the heart of Manhattan and organizing small centers for industry and residence in the environs of New York.

5. Finally municipal operation is in line with the trends of the times. With the increasing complexity of our civilization it becomes increasingly necessary for society to take over services formerly regarded as private. Years ago our schools, our water supply, our fire protection and other services were almost wholly private. They are now

largely public. New York owns and operates one of the most extensive water supplies in the United States. It has invested in its property about \$400,000,000. That property is now valued at nearly a billion. We give ourselves water at cost, about three and one-half cents a ton. Imagine the charges and quality of the water under private ownership! We have built the subways. In the old subways we have put \$250,000,000. The cost was not excessive. We built nearly eighty-two miles of the old Interborough subway at \$107,000,000, about \$1,300,000 a mile. Under private ownership, the McAdoo tunnel with only 6.8 miles from 19th street to Hoboken—was built at \$101,000,000, or nearly \$15,000,000 a mile nearly eleven times as much. Why not go further and own the equipment and operate for the benefit of all? An increasing number of large cities—Detroit, San Francisco, Toronto among others on this continent, and hundreds upon hundreds abroad, are doing it and doing it successfully. Why not we?

Of course, in purchasing and capturing we must not pay an excessive amount. We must take the operation of the subways of the old political machine. We must organize a separate municipal corporation, and place on the board of directors representatives of various political factions, of the workers and technicians, and must put in charge experts who want municipal operation to succeed.

And, finally, we must do everything that in us lay to strengthen the labor movement on the industrial and political field, so as to create an ever more powerful group pledged to secure honest, efficient and democratic administration in the interest of the great mass of the people of the city.

## Dutch Socialists Quit Communist Inspired Anti-Imperialist League

Amsterdam.—As will be remembered, the Easter Congress of the Dutch Socialist Party passed a resolution in which any connection of private members with the "League Against Colonial Oppression" was described as undesirable, since the League constitutes one of the organizations misused by the Communists for united front manoeuvres.

The Socialist members of the League thereupon met and adopted a resolution in which the Socialist members of the League declare that the Party resolution has imposed on every individual the choice between Party or League; further, that they have become convinced of being able to find within the Party the best opportunity of fighting in the interest of oppressed nationalities in general and for the independence of the Dutch Indies in particular, and that they accordingly resolve, without abandoning their point of view towards the League, to leave it and to remain in the Party.

Henry Clay once said that he would rather be right than be president but he was neither President nor right. The only man who can fulfill the Clay requirement next year is Norman Thomas. Help him to qualify by your vote.

By Morris Hillquit

OF all important court decisions in recent times the opinion of the U. S. Statutory Court in the New York fare litigation is the most baffling. Hillquit declared. It establishes a new distance record between the Majesty of the Law and plebeian common sense and a new altitude record in the higher mathematics of corporate finance.

It leaves the helpless layman and the dazed lawyer to puzzle over the interesting conundrum of when is a law not a law, when is a contract not a contract, and when is the part greater than the whole.

The facts in the case are simple: The six million inhabitants of New York need facilities to transport them from one point of the city to the other with the greatest possible speed and comfort and at the lowest possible cost. Rapid transit is a matter of vital importance to them, involving their work, their housing and health.

"The Fatal Mistake" The city decided to meet the needs of the people by the construction of comprehensive subway transit lines. For that purpose it gave the use of its streets and dug and built the subways at its own cost, which runs in hundreds of millions of dollars.

Instead of operating this city-built system as a public enterprise for the benefit of the traveling public the city made the fatal mistake of turning it over to a private concern interested solely in the profits of its officers and stockholders.

The only excuse for bargaining away these vital rights and functions of the city was the agreement on the part of the company that it would never charge more than a five cent fare.

For a quarter of a century the Interborough Rapid Transit Company has operated the subways of New York. It has exploited, browbeaten, and enslaved its workers and maltreated its passengers. It has run its trains in scandalous disregard of the comfort and health of the millions of passengers daily delivered to its mercy. But at least it maintained the five cent fare.

The Court Obliges Then the company discovered that it did not make enough profits and coolly announced its determination to gouge the public to the tune of a 40 percent increase of the fare. It applied to a United States court for an order directing the city to submit to this exaction, and the court has granted the order.

At the time the city turned over its subway lines to the Interborough the law of the state provided that the terms of the franchise shall specify the maximum rate of fare. The Interborough accordingly in its contract with the city expressly agreed that it would charge "a single fare of 5 cents, but no more."

To the unsophisticated mind it would seem that a legislative direction that the franchise specify the maximum fare means that such a fare is established for the duration of the franchise, but the court holds that the limitation is valid only so long as it is profitable to the traction company, because another law relating to public service and transit corporations generally empowers the Rapid Transit Commission to regulate charges.

Lawyers have always assumed it to be the law that when a party in full possession of its mental faculties voluntarily enters into a definite agreement it is bound by the terms of such agreement, and that if it fails to provide for unforeseen contingencies, it takes the consequences of the omission; that the courts "will not relieve a party from a bad bargain." In the case of the Interborough the court interprets its solemn contract to charge five cents, "but no more," to mean that it would charge five cents and so much more as may be required to yield reasonable "compensation" to the company. (Continued on Page Seven)