

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

NEW LEADER

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

VOL. VII—No. 24

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1928

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

Price Five Cents

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President

SEVENTY-FIVE per cent. of what President Coolidge had to say in condemnation of the McNary-Haugen bill would have come with good grace from a militant free trader. It sounds like amazing hypocrisy coming from a staunch defender of high tariffs who has just signed a bill subsidizing the American merchant marine. Yet the President is not consciously hypocritical. Subsidies and special favors to business men do not look to him like subsidies and he is not aware that he has provided sharp arguments against his own closest political friends and supporters.

It is not, however, my task to psychoanalyze the President or to dwell on his inconsistencies. Rather must I state what seems to me should be the Socialist position on what has become the burning issue of this stage of the campaign. When men's passions are stirred as deeply as seems to be the case with our farmer friends of the Middle West they demand a plain yes or no on the controversial issue and are impatient with explanations and qualifications. Well, I shall begin with a yes and no answer. As I wrote in this column after my return from the Middle West last winter, I was enough of a convert to the bill to approve Victor Berger's support of it. That is still my position. But because it is the business of the Socialist Party to conduct an honest educational campaign and not merely to angle for votes I am obliged to add that the McNary-Haugen bill is certainly no panacea for the economic ills under which the farmers groan and may contain dangers against which we must guard.

The McNary-Haugen Bill
There is one argument, and one argument only, for the McNary-Haugen bill. But that is a strong one. In a country where even the workers, or the majority of them, still believe in the virtue of tariff subsidies, where railroad rates are fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission by direction of Congress so as to insure a minimum return to the stockholders on valuation, where public utilities stockholders by fiat of the courts are getting at least 8 per cent. on swollen valuations, it is right that an attempt should be made to give an equivalent subsidy to the farmers. No such subsidy can be given in the big staple crops of America by tariff protection because we still export cotton, wheat, corn, etc., so that the prices tend to be fixed in the world market. The farmer has been buying in a protective market and selling in a free trade market. And that's not fair. Perhaps the best way to get rid of the subsidy idea in American politics and economics is by trying to subsidize everybody. Which is, of course, like making a living by taking in each other's washing.

Granting that the farmers are entitled to their subsidy, temporarily, at least, it is still a question whether the McNary-Haugen bill is the best form of subsidy which could be devised. But unless in conference we city folks can persuade the farmers that better machinery can be found I doubt the educational or political wisdom of saying to men in sore distress: "We positively refuse to let you try your pet remedy." The chief dangers in the machinery of the McNary-Haugen act are these: (1) Increased prices for the first year or two may stimulate a calamitous overproduction which in the end will swamp the market. The equalization fee to which the President objects so vehemently is the chief bulwark against such a danger. It is a question whether it will be enough. (2) The benefits of the bill, if any, are likely to accrue to middlemen, millers, and other processors, and to big landlords rather than to the working farmers. If so, the very experience may educate the mass of agricultural workers to the necessity for a more fundamental remedy.

The Proposed Control Board
These and other dangers may be avoided or lessened by the wisdom of the Board that must direct the whole machinery. Indeed in the power given to this Board we Socialists are entitled to find a little unexpected encouragement. Here are our farmer friends rigged and uncompromising individualists—how often have we been told it—who in their hour of trouble give over to a Board the planning for an industry on as extensive a scale as any Socialist ever thought of proposing. This is good in a world which must learn how to plan for industry since the boasted autocratic control of the older economies have so largely broken down. Unfortunately neither the McNary-Haugen bill itself nor the attitude of its backers gives one confidence that

(Continued on Page 3)

Radio Board Orders Closing of WEVD

Baltimore Transit Co. Under Fire

Socialist Party Institutes Court Action to Restore Lower Fare

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
BALTIMORE.—A fight to prevent the local transit company from continuing to gouge the car-riders through the exaction of 10 cent fares is being waged by the Socialist party of Baltimore.

Argument in the triangular dine carfare battle before Judge Ullman in Circuit Court No. 2 has been concluded.

At the hearings, William A. Toole, counsel for the Socialist party, attacked the \$5,000,000 easement valuation allowed by the Commission. The party instituted the present action against the company.

The Socialist counsel also contended that if it were true the Company's business has been adversely affected by increasing use of the automobile, the Commission has no right to protect the United against "improved methods of transportation."

An increase in fare is especially inopportune at present, when so many people are out of employment, Mr. Toole asserted.

Gives Both Sides
He was preceded by Eli Baer, counsel for the People's Committee Against Increased Carfares, who asserted that the United is overcapitalized and argued that if the company is not able to produce a fair rate of return upon its capital, the public should not be called upon to bear the burden.

Mr. Baer said:
"The question of confiscation has two sides to it—one the company's and the other the people's."

"So far as the company is concerned, there is no confiscation because the United is still making a higher return than other railways over the country."

"The real interest of the courts should be with the public."

"A public utility is bound to give service, no matter whether at its own expense or not; and the excuse that business is falling off is not valid."

The fare case has been threatened. On one side was the Company, on another side the Commission, while on the third side, opposing both United and Public Service Commission, were the People's Corporation and the Socialist party.

Arguments for the People's Corporation which, like the Socialist party and the People's Committee, is seeking return of the 8-cent fare, were presented by Linwood L. Clark its counsel.

How It Started
The Company started the court battle by filing petition for an injunction, asking that the Commission be restrained from keeping in effect its order of last February, which set the car fare at 9 cents (three for a quarter), whereas the Company had asked the Utilities Board for a 10-cent rate.

Then the People's Corporation and the Socialists filed suits, the purpose of which was to compel the Commission to restore the former rate.

On the question of easements, Mr. Toole said:

"The method by which the Commission

(Continued on Page 3)

Fanny Hurst Praises Emergency Committee For Strikers Relief

"Only a miracle has averted a pestilence and epidemic catastrophe before this" in the coal fields of Western Pennsylvania, declared Miss Fanny Hurst, noted American novelist, on sailing for Europe this week.

Miss Hurst said: "It is my conviction that only a miracle has averted pestilence and epidemic catastrophe before this. The health of these regions is a matter of concern for the entire country....These women and children are going to show the effects of malnutrition and shocking hygienic living conditions."

"The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief is to be commended for the way in which it has come forward in this emergency."

The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief is a national, non-partisan organization having its headquarters in the Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The Committee is sending a travelling doctor and medical aid into the districts of Pennsylvania most in need of this sort of attention.

Volunteers Needed to Get Signatures

Gerber Issues Call for Assistants in Filing Nominating Petitions

THE work of placing the Socialist candidates for President and Vice-President, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, on the ballot in the 48 states is now well under way.

Julius Gerber, of New York, is in charge of this work. Gerber has just returned from a trip to Chicago where he canvassed the situation with the National office of the party. On his return to New York, he issued the following appeal to all New Leader readers and Socialist Party members and supporters:

"To all Socialists and those interested in having the Socialist party candidates appear on the ballot so they may be voted for on Election Day:

"In order to place the Socialist candidates on the ballot, we must secure signatures in many states. Comrades and friends willing to help secure the signatures should write immediately to Julius Gerber, 31 Union Square, New York City, giving their names and addresses. This must be done at once. Do not delay in this matter as the time for the filing of signatures and petitions is short. Send your name and address to the campaign office, 31 Union Square, at once."

ASSORTED GRAFT

The new Tammany has provided us with milk graft, street cleaning graft, and sewer graft, with more to come. Thus you can have your graft internally, or on the streets, or underground in the sewers. Certainly a Tammany that is "new" and we suggest the slogan "New Graft" instead of New Tammany.

Tammany Is Assailed By Thomas

Smith's Organization More Corrupt Than It Has Been in Twenty Years, Socialist Candidate Declares

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
DUNKIRK, N. Y.—In more than two decades during which he has been observing New York politics, never has Tammany Hall been so corrupt, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, declared in an address here on Memorial Day at the annual field day of the Evangelical Synod of Buffalo and Western New York.

"Liberty cannot be inherited," Thomas declared. "Each generation must win it for itself. From the past we can receive the rich heritage of a noble tradition and the inspiration of great deeds. We shall not honor Lincoln and the brave men of his time this day by lip service to their memory. We have our own work to do if government of the people, by the people, for the people is not to perish from the earth. Briefly let me indicate some of the enemies we must fight."

"1. The first that will occur to you is dishonesty and corruption. No foreign foe can so easily destroy democracy as the cancer of graft and fraud. The oil scandals and the general apathy of the public in the face of the oil scandals are a challenge to you as citizens. It would be absurd to suppose that we can remedy this state of corruption by flaying from the party of the oil scandals to the party of Tammany Hall, from the smell of the oil of Teapot Dome to the smell of the sewer gas of Queens."

The "New" Tammany
There is no propaganda of our time more misleading than that which insists upon the virtues of the 'new' Tammany. Whether Tammany is better or worse than the Republican machine of Philadelphia or the political gangsters of Chicago or similar organizations in smaller towns and cities is not the question. The question is Tammany's character as a possible saviour of the nation from corruption. Never in the twenty years or more that I have lived in New York have such terrible conditions been revealed. I have time only to indicate the high spots in the record. The milk scandals, the Queensborough sewer and paving scandals, the one hundred and fifty million dollars defective school buildings scandal, the transit scandal of which the seven-cent fare is only one aspect, the Equitable Bus franchise which Jimmie Walker jammed through the Board of Estimate, the street cleaning graft, the gross and deliberate election frauds connived in by Tammany magistrates and judges which robbed Judge Panken of his reelection, police brutality and the failure of the city administration to do anything for the housing problem except to make it a football in politics. Not one of these scandals has been uncovered by Tammany or properly punished by Tammany.

"These things are not mere local issues in the year 1928. They happened (Continued on Page 3)

MUST THEY SUFFER?



Children of New Bedford textile strikers eating a lunch supplied by one of the relief agencies. Sympathizers with the strike can help feed these children and their parents by rushing donations at once to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, or direct to New Bedford—address New Bedford Textile Council Strike Fund, P. O. Box 57, New Bedford, Mass.

\$3 A Week Is Budget Of Strikers' Families In New Bedford Fight

Men Firmly Refuse Efforts To Bring About Acceptance of Wage Cut

By Paul Blanshard

NEW BEDFORD strikers have come to the seventh week of their great fight against a 10 per cent. cut in cotton mill wages with practically every strikebreaker eliminated from the mills and a spirit of remarkable courage pervading the strikers. A mediation committee of citizens has been chosen and has discussed settlement with workers and manufacturers. To all overtures the workers have replied that under no circumstances will they accept a settlement unless the 10 per cent. cut is withdrawn.

A careful review of the strike relief situation has led me to conclude that every penny of relief is administered with the utmost care and impartiality. At least 1,000 families are receiving regular grocery allotments from the Citizens' Relief Committee which has been chosen by the New Bedford Textile Council Relief Fund for the proper distribution of all funds. The amount of money given to each family is miserably small, a minimum of \$3 a week and a maximum of \$5 a week.

(Continued on Page 2)

Chicago Will Greet Thomas On June 10th

Picnic, Followed by Dinner, Arranged For Presidential Candidate

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—In anticipation of the coming of Norman Thomas, the Socialist presidential candidate, to the annual picnic of the Socialist Party, the party organizations in Cook County expect the largest gathering that has been held in ten years. The picnic will be held in River View Park on June 10 which for many years has been the place for the annual June reunion of Illinois Socialists.

"Weather permitting, the picnic should be a huge success," declared William R. Snow, County Secretary. In the days before the World War Chicago Socialists always broke the record for attendance at River View and this year they have an ambition to come up to the old record in attendance and enthusiasm. Committees are busy with preparations for the big event which will be followed by a big dinner the following evening.

Chicago Socialists also have their sleeves rolled up for a big drive at the picnic for subscriptions to the New Leader. They expect to follow this work up after the picnic as Illinois at one time headed the list of states in subscriptions to the American Appeal.

At the dinner the local organization expects to have the most active men and women in the movement together with representatives of sympathetic organizations who are interested in a large vote for Thomas and Maurer. The two affairs coming early in the campaign will give Illinois a good start in campaign agitation and be a marked aid in rebuilding the party organization.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU TO MEET

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
Zurich.—The Bureau of the Socialist International will meet Monday, June 4, in Brussels to prepare for the International Congress, which is to meet August 5 to 11 in Brussels. In addition the Bureau will take up a number of current political questions. Prior to the session of the Bureau, the Colonial Commission of the I. S. I. will sit in Brussels on July 2 and 3.

Socialist Station To Fight Edict

Sympathetic Organizations Called on To Demand Reversal of Arbitrary Order

NOTICE has been served on WEVD, the station owned and operated by Socialist, labor and progressive organizations, that its broadcasting license will be terminated by August 1st.

The order has been issued by the Federal Radio Commission, which has thus raised again and with greater point than ever before the issue of free speech as far as its most conspicuous channel—the radio—is concerned.

The Debs Memorial Radio Fund, 31 Union Square, New York City, has operated WEVD for almost a year as a memorial to the late Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader. It has been a "free speech" station giving time and the use of its apparatus to radical organizations of various kinds who found it impossible to obtain a hearing through any of the other stations.

The radio commission's order comes at a time when such a station is particularly necessary. With the presidential campaign practically at hand, the old parties are making plans for extensive use of the radio facilities. Of all the stations in the country, WEVD is the only one which has given the Socialist party its rights under the Federal radio law.

The Debs memorial radio fund will not give up its station without a fight. Predating its claim on the broad basis of free speech, the fund will carry on a vigorous campaign to bring about revocation of the order. Organizations all over the country are urged immediately to adopt resolutions of protest and forward them to the Federal Radio Commission in Washington, D.C. Copies should be sent to The Debs Memorial Fund, 31 Union Square, N. Y. C. Individuals must do likewise.

Urged to Send Spokesmen
As many organizations as can possibly do so should arrange to send spokesmen to the public hearings to be held beginning July 8th, in Washington, to demand that WEVD be permitted to continue operating.

In announcing discontinuance of WEVD's license after August 1st, the commission issued the following order: "The Commission, after an examination of the applications for renewal of station-license of the below-named station, has not been satisfied that public interest, convenience or necessity will be served by granting these applications."

WEVD has broadcast addresses by Clarence Darrow, Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Carl D. Thompson, Senator Lynn Frazier, and many other leaders of progressive thought. It has given time to the Socialist Party, the Society of Friends, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's Peace Society, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National Consumers' League and organizations of similar type.

The Question Raised
The question thus remains to be answered:

Does the broadcasting of addresses by individuals and organizations such as these serve "public interest" and "necessity"? The radio commission, without previous hearing, has answered "no." It remains to be seen whether popular demonstration before the Commission on July 8th can bring about a reversal of this answer. Resentment against the action of the Radio Commission was high today at the office of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund. Norman Thomas, chairman of the fund, and G. August Gerber, its secretary, announced a vigorous effort would be made to bring about recall of the order which takes effect August 1. Both Mr. Thomas and Mr. Gerber declared that the issue of free speech is at stake.

Thomas Raps Order
Mr. Gerber said that an immediate meeting of the executive council of the fund would be convoked to discuss means of obtaining recall of the radio commission's order. Mr. Thomas said:
"As chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund operating Station WEVD, I can assure the public that we shall make the most vigorous representations to the Radio Commission."

(Continued on Page 3)

An Open Letter to Readers of The New Leader

To the Readers of The New Leader:

For four years we have kept The New Leader as a going enterprise of the Socialist Party. We have seen it increase in circulation from a few thousand to over twenty thousand. There were times when the Board of Directors faced dark prospects, times when it seemed that we had exhausted every expedient to bring the paper out.

Were it not for a small army of devoted readers and supporters we would not have pulled through those dark days. We are confident that those days belong to the past. We do not expect them to return.

But we are not satisfied. First let us state that it is generally agreed that The New Leader is the best Socialist weekly ever published in this country. Its typographical appearance, its editorial standard, its special features, its general news, and party news certainly warrant a greater circulation than it has now.

There are tens of thousands of people who need The New Leader. You know them. We do not. You must reach them and you never had a better opportunity to serve The New Leader than now.

It seems that all the economic and political forces of capitalism conspire to aid us. The two parties of capitalism are smeared with graft and guilty of chicanery. We do not have to particularize. You know the details as well as we do. The masses also know but they need The New Leader to intelligently interpret the facts into logical thinking and action.

Unemployment is widespread. The profiteering of the exploiters for years has been enormous. The bituminous miners have faced the most tragic year in the history of the industry. Textile workers and other workers find it difficult to make income balance outgo. As this is written western farmers hold mass meetings which recall the political rebellions of the eighties and nineties.

Meantime our ruling classes are fat with satisfaction and drunk with power. Their agents at Washington sustain military and naval adventures for the conquest of other peoples but not a cent is appropriated for the relief of the unemployed.

Then the political situation. Hoover is the choice of one wing of capitalism and Smith of the other. Their parties have no issues. Each carries a load of huge graft and corruption into the campaign. The difference between them is their names. They are kept by the same interests, the interests that live on the toll of useful workers.

Fortunately, the Socialist Party is awakening all over the country. We have splendid men for our standard bearers and an opportunity such as we have not had since the end of the World War. We are working hard here. We want you to do your part out there.

Here is our proposal. Why not double the circulation of The New Leader? It can be done. You can do it. In fact, we can have fifty thousand and even a hundred thousand readers when the campaign ends in November. Why not?

Take The New Leader with you. Show it to your friends and sympathizers. Display it in your union hall and get a sub. Show it on the street and get another sub. No matter where you are, in the home of a neighbor, on the street, in a hall, anywhere, get every subscription you can.

If you cannot get a yearly subscription take a trial subscription for one dollar. You will not have to bother about that man's renewal if he thinks at all. He will be unable to do without The New Leader after he has read it a few months. We want this cooperation. You owe it to the cause. Get that new subscriber now! Today! Then another one tomorrow!

Fire in the subscriptions. We know you can do it. A new subscription from every reader will double our circulation and double the influence of The New Leader.

We are waiting to hear from you. Let's put it over. Double the circulation and do it soon!

THE NEW LEADER BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Socialist Station To Fight Edict

Sympathetic Organizations Called on To Demand Reversal of Arbitrary Order

(Continued from Page 1)

ation at the public hearing in support of our present license. WEVD is not one of the small and comparatively weak stations that clutter the air. It is the only station of its kind in the East and has been the mouthpiece not only or chiefly for the Socialist Party but in general for labor, liberal and pacifist organizations which without it can neither pay the price nor find the time to broadcast from other stations. We are convinced that with assurance of a license and of the right to increase our power and make other improvements we can win financial support sufficient to build up the station into an increasingly serviceable instrument of public instruction on a side of many questions that otherwise will be unheard.

"It is particularly significant, we think, that Station WEVD should be threatened with loss of license on the very eve of a campaign in which the question of the power trust will play so notable a part. Notoriously the owners of the National Broadcasting Co. are connected with the electric power interests. Mr. Aylesworth, the efficient president of the company, was formerly a propaganda chief for the National Electric Light Association whose extraordinary methods of propaganda have recently been revealed in startling light before the Federal Trade Commission. What sort of public policy is it on the part of the Radio Commission which at this juncture proposes to shut down the one station in the East which is the mouthpiece of those groups most opposed to the dominance of the power trust and the social theory of which it is at the moment the most conspicuous exponent. So strong is our case that we find it impossible to believe that the Radio Commission will care to go on record as denying even a semblance of free speech on the air by refusing us a license."

Gerber Promises Fight

Mr. Gerber declared: "It would be interesting to learn by what process of reasoning the Federal Radio Commission came to the conclusion upon which its decision is based. Up to the present moment we have had no official communication or complaint from the Commission which suggested the action contemplated in the orders subscribed to the Commission. "Particularly is it important to note that the Federal Radio Commission threatens to discontinue the license of WEVD on the eve of the presidential campaign. Is it determined that the Socialist Party, the liberal progressive and working-class viewpoints are to be throttled and not permitted to come to the attention of the American people? Does it mean that the inadequate time, wave length and power allocated to WEVD in the past has not been sufficient handicap, and that the only answer is the axe? "WEVD is the only civil liberties, peace, trade union and radical broadcasting forum in the Eastern part of the country."

Spring Has Come To - - CAMP TAMIMENT

For Adults
at FOREST PARK, PA.
(Near Delaware Water Gap)

Now open for the season, most beautiful time in June! Mountain lake, fine sport equipment, evening entertainment, good fellowship, famous for excellent food.

Special June Rate: \$32 per week.
New York Headquarters
7 East 15th Street, New York City.
Phone, ALgonquin 3994

134 Miners Killed In April, U. S. Says

Accidents at coal mines during the month of April caused the death of 134 men. Of these, 95 occurred in bituminous mines and 39 in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania. During the first four months of 1928, 603 men lost their lives from accidents in coal mines.

Labriola To Be Guest of Honor at Dinner Friday, June 15th

Beethoven Hall will be the scene of a great reception and testimonial to Professor Arturo Labriola Friday evening, June 15th, when many friends, comrades and admirers of the famous exponent of Italian Democracy will convene to dine and to greet him.

A Committee, known as the Honorable Arturo Labriola Dinner Committee, headed by Norman Thomas, Chairman; Algonquin Lee, Treasurer; Girolamo Valentini, Secretary, is arranging this affair. A large number of liberal, labor and Socialist leaders, such as Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party; Jacob Panken, August Claessens, Secretary, Greater New York Socialist Party; James O'Neal, editor of the New Leader; Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation; Arturo Giovannitti, Secretary, Italian Chamber of Labor; Roger Baldwin, Civil Liberties Union; Roger Morris Lovett of the New Republic; Dr. Harry W. Laidler, League for Industrial Democracy; Adolph Heide of the Amalgamated Bank; B. C. Vladeck, Jewish Daily Forward; Charles Erwin of the Italian Committee for Political Prisoners; Dr. Siragusa of Nuovo Mondo; Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Abraham Baroff, Secretary of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; A. I. Shipiloff, Pocketbook Maker Union; Morris Fishbein of the United Hebrew Trades; Commander Ralph Rosetti, League for Man's Rights; Dr. Fien of the Italian Republican Party; Bruno Wagner of the Painters Union; Vancra, Rugieri and Sardino of the Italian Socialist Federation; Wilho Hedman of the Finnish Socialist Federation; C. Kantorovich of the Jewish Socialist Federation; Bela Low of the German Socialists; Dr. Ingemann of the Russian Socialists; Joseph Sugar of the Hungarian Socialists and others form the Committee.

Professor Labriola who fled Italy to avoid assassination by Mussolini's henchmen, has been living in exile in Paris for some time, together with Filippo Turati and other anti-Fascist leaders, who likewise were forced into exile by the black shirts. He has come to this country for a lecture tour and to make a study of the political situation for labor publications in Europe.

Prof. Labriola will speak at the Mass-petit Memorial Meeting that will take place Sunday, June 10 at 2 p.m. at the Cooper Union.

Effort To Stifle Attacks on Fascism Brings the Opposite

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ZURICH.—The Swiss Federal authorities on May Day informed the Cantonal Police Headquarters that "in certain circles" it had been suggested that at the May Day celebrations protests should also be raised against the activities of the Fascist regime. It pointed out that the Cantonal Police Headquarters have power to interfere where necessary against occurrences which might be regarded as "offensive to foreign states or their governments," and might create complications for the Swiss Confederation.

In his May Day speech Comrade Grimm made answer to this provision in the following words: "Free speech cannot be denied us. We are not speaking of the Minister Mussolini of today, but of the renegade and traitor to his ideal who once delivered May Day speeches in Zurich. We oppose to the Minister Mussolini who in Italy has created the peace of a cemetery, the martyr Matteotti. We do not sympathize with the country of Mussolini, we love the Italy of Matteotti."

WANT TARIFF BOOST

Boston.—Central Labor Union has approved a resolution from the Boot and Shoe Workers Union calling for a higher tariff to keep out foreign made shoes.

Power Trust Work in N. Y. Is Revealed

Schools Flooded With Pamphlets—Movies and Radio Put to Use

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—Two pamphlets issued by the New York State Committee on Public Utility Information and circulated among the high schools and parochial and private schools of high school grade, in New York State, came into the evidence taken in its power trust propaganda probe, May 28, by the Federal Trade Commission. Fred W. Crone, director of the Committee, testified as to how the power trust argument had been put into the hands of teachers and pupils.

Sixty thousand copies of "Know New York State" were first sent out, the power trust publicity bureau circulating all school principals with sample copies. Like the "state pride" pamphlets used by the trust in other parts of the country, this one recited the industries, resources and possible development of New York capital, and emphasized the public utilities as the great triumph of human genius and faith, based upon the right of private profit. Then another pamphlet was issued, to follow the first, entitled "Servants of Progress." This was devoted to the utilities, and contained the same false statements regarding the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission's achievements in government ownership and operation of giant power that are found in the S. S. Weyer report printed by the Smithsonian Institution and in the report of Prof. Stewart of the University of Minnesota. Crone's bulletin for May, 1928, noted that 44,000 copies of this pamphlet had been placed in the hands of classes in 490 high schools in the state.

Busy With Older Ones, Too

Besides poisoning the minds of young people toward public ownership of the electric industry, Crone's Committee was busy with adults. Speakers were trained by the use of handbook prepared. A year and a half ago task of talking the voters of New York state over to an eager support of the power trust was formally organized in a speakers' bureau. The state was divided into ten districts, and in each district a director, who was a utility executive, formed a subcommittee whose duty it was to place speakers upon every possible program. Kiwanis clubs, Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, schools, clergymen's associations, clerks' picnics, labor union meetings—all were included in the systematic canvass for gullible listeners.

The big idea was—and is, for the machine is now running at full speed in every county of the state—to make voters and future voters hate the idea of public competition with the power companies and task of companies. If a prejudice and hatred could be built up, the trust would not need to furnish a real argument against any experiments with state operation in New York. It would not be compelled to cut rates to a level approaching those charged under government ownership in Ontario. Millions in annual revenue for the power combine are at stake in the game of bluff.

Movies and Radio Used

So it comes about that Crone issues a speakers' handbook and keeps a record of the number of speeches made in each of the 10 districts, month by month. Women employees of the companies are given special training as speakers before women's clubs. Men and women employees are sent to talk before schools. Executives of the companies direct this school-speaking campaign, and report the number of column-inches of newspaper publicity given these propaganda talks. As the papers increase the space devoted to the propaganda, the companies increase steadily their expenditures on paid advertising. Of course they do not wish to influence the good-will of the press!

Moving pictures are used as propaganda by many of the companies, and series of radio talks are given, under the pretext of household science and cooking hints. This system catches the women who do not read the newspapers, or who would never read newspaper articles dealing directly with the issue of private versus public ownership.

So the network of lines of suggestion has been woven over the people of New York in the past few years, until it is so perfect that any discovery on their part that they are being robbed of hundreds of millions of dollars annually through the private power combine will be made only by merest chance or through political earthquake.

GRAND PICNIC

Saturday, June 9, 1928, at PILSEN PARK

26th ST. and ALBANY AVE.
One Block East of Keadle Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

Under the auspices of
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

for the benefit of the press
JAMES P. THOMPSON
Veteran Labor Organizer and Organizer
will speak at 2:00 p.m.

JOSEPH KOBYLAK
of Cleveland, Ohio, will also speak
Grounds will be open at 3:00 p.m.

DANCING, GAMES AND
ENTERTAINMENT
Refreshments Served Admission 50 cents

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

this experiment is being undertaken under auspices most favorable to the social good. Here also, time and experience may bring improvement.

But we are less concerned with possible flaws in the machinery of the McNary-Haugen bill than in the notion that it or any other subsidy can be a panacea. Instead of passing out more special privileges and subsidies it is time to end them. Under the profit system no subsidy to the farmers can ever make up for the subsidies we give to those who have acquired private rights to oil, coal, and all minerals, and exploit them for profit. No subsidy to farmers can compensate them for what they lose by the tribute they pay or will pay to the railroads, the power trust and other public utilities now in the hands of private owners under the regulation of courts peculiarly tender to the profits of stockholders. In the long run the farmers have more to gain from an intelligent program for the nationalization of coal mines, the power industry and the railroads—to cite only three particular and pressing cases—than from any subsidy, direct or indirect, of which McNary and Haugen ever dreamed.

Moreover it is time that all of us, the farmers and city workers alike, should do some straight thinking on the tariff question. High protective tariffs have no meaning apart from nationalism, and in a world where prosperity and peace depend upon developing internationalism our whole protective system needs reexamination. How long shall we American consumers pay a special tax most of which does not go to the government, to protect such infants as the steel and aluminum trusts? How long shall we wear poor and expensive clothes to protect so scandalously mismanaged an industry as the textile mills of America? How long shall we ignore the plain lesson that American prosperity has not been due primarily to its high tariffs—every tiny struggling country of Europe has them—but to the size of its free trade area at home?

Land Ownership

To ask these questions does not mean that we Socialists are simply old fashioned free traders. We know that laissez faire free trade cannot save the world. We know that a Socialist country might legitimately use a tariff to protect itself from the economic assaults of capitalist nations. We know that even in a capitalist nation you cannot destroy or lower tariff walls at once. We may be on the wrong track now but we cannot safely jump to the right track without a wreck. Indeed only a nation which recognizes its responsibility to unemployed workers as ours does not in a position to undertake even the most necessary immediate readjustments in tariff without unnecessary suffering. But when all these things have been said, it is still true that the hope for American agriculture and American industry is in the prosperity and purchasing power of other nations, not in their poverty. Prosperity and purchasing power in an interdependent world are not promoted by tariffs. What the thirteen colonies found out to their advantage near the close of the Eighteenth century all the nations of the world must learn and apply under Twentieth century conditions. Then in a hungry world there will be markets for what our farmers grow.

Bigger even than the problem of the tariff is the problem of land ownership. Connecticut farmers get a fairly high degree of protection for the particular kind of leaf tobacco that they raise. The lion's share of this benefit for which all American cigar smokers are taxed has gone not to the patient workers, native and foreign born, who raise Connecticut tobacco, but to landowners through increased rents and selling price on land. Herbert Quick is authority for the statement that the United States is the only civilized nation where rack renting is still the rule. In other countries tenant farmers have rights of tenure due to improvements fixed by law and custom, not dependent wholly on short leases. The German emperor before the war could not do with one of his farm tenants what any of the farm land owners can do in the United States. The increase on the one hand of tenantry which now amounts to about 40 per cent in America and on the other of inflated land values puts a burden on American farming which no McNary-Haugen bill can relieve. The increase in land values in the country as in the city is a social creation and belongs to society. Today many farmers are sorely overtaxed while others get the benefit of fortunes in land increment. Farm taxes should fall on land value rather than on improvements. In the country as in the city the principle which we state in our Platform should be applied: "The annual rental value of all land held for speculation should be appropriated by taxation." This may not be immediately popular, it is true. And in this campaign we are concerned with truth more than with popularity. Add to this principle of taxation the other specific remedies which we have suggested in our Platform and you have a more effective program for farm relief than the McNary-Haugen bill of itself can give.

To Sum Up

To sum the matter up. For their own sake and the Nation's, American farmers are entitled to relief. For no long period of time can industrial workers profit at the expense of farmers or farmers at the expense of industrial workers. Since the United States at present is so heavily committed to tariffs and subsidies it is not just to deny farmers some sort of an equivalent such as the McNary-Haugen bill seeks to provide. More is to be learned by trying to work out the McNary-Haugen bill if the farmers are behind it. No fundamental ill, however, can be cured by subsidies. The prosper-

Claessens Gives Strikers Instruction On Carrying Their Case to the People

Socialist Leader Also Makes Public Address to New Bedford Workers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—In another large mass meeting of the textile strikers Monday afternoon in Buttonwood Park, August Claessens, organizer of the Socialist Party of New York City, spoke to over 1,500 strikers, encouraging them in their resistance to the exactions of the textile lords of New Bedford.

This was one of a series of weekly mass meetings which have been held since the beginning of the strike and they will continue as long as the struggle is on. Other speakers were William E. C. Bailey, secretary of the Textile Council, Frank J. Manning, Michael Flaherty of the Boston Painters' Union, and Horace A. Riviere, general organizer of the United Textile Workers.

Claessens arrived at the Labor Temple at 10 a. m., and attended the public speaking class which has been organized to train members of the union to speak to trade unions throughout the eastern states and obtain active support for the strikers. For nearly an hour he outlined to the members of the class the essentials of effective public speaking.

Claessens was much impressed by the arrangements that have been made to feed many of the strikers and their families. The Washington Club, largely

composed of Englishmen and former members of the British Labor Party, provides soup, stew, and bread to 2,500 families two or three times a week. A Workmen's Club in the north end of the city is doing similar relief work.

With assurance that the strikers and their families will not want for necessities, the ranks remain unbroken and the workers are confident that they will compel the textile masters to abandon their order for a reduction in wages.

ARRESTS ARE MADE

New Bedford, Mass.—Under the charge of disturbing the peace, Fred E. Beal and William T. Murdock, "textile mill committee" leaders, have been jailed in New Bedford. Both have been active in attempts at more sensational strike methods. They styled themselves "left-wing" trade unionists. The committee leaders were arrested as they entered their headquarters the day after their presence on the Hathaway mill picket lines. Four strikers were arrested with them.

"All persons in the demonstration," announced Chief of Police McLeod, "were equally guilty of disturbing the peace and we would have filled the station with them if we had had the policemen." The cops were guarding a circus. He denounced the committee leaders as "outsiders."

The official strike committee has had no relations with the "mill committee." Relations between the police and strikers have been satisfactory.

\$3 Is Strikers' Weekly Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

sum of \$5, but upon this amount the 30,000 who are involved in the strike are still managing to maintain their bodies and courage. Appeals have gone out to the entire country for economic support for this critical struggle.

The weekly grocery bills being paid by the union offer an indication of the sacrifices being made by the strikers. Here is a bill for a week's supply of groceries, vegetables and meat used by a family of three:

Butter	.....\$ .49
Lard	......15
Flour	......30
Potatoes	......25
Milk	......13
Bacon	......25
Fig Bars	......13
Turnips	......08
Peas	......15
Rhubarb	......10
Unedas	......10
Roast	......91
Total	.....\$3.06

Paid 26 cents each.

And here is what a striker's family of four lived on for a whole week:

Butter	.....\$ .49
Cabbage	......20
Snap	......10
Apples	......25
Eggs	......42
Jam	......25
Prunes	......12
Spread	......25
Soup	......80
Fish cakes	......25
Buns	......12
Total	.....\$3.60

Committees of strikers are being trained in public speaking and sent to unions throughout the Eastern part of the country, and the response has been generous. At least \$10,000 a week, however, is needed to support the workers properly. Living on wages of \$19 a week their cash reserve has already vanished.

Twenty-five hundred people a day are being given soup and bread by the Washington Club in the New Bedford South End and another large group of strikers in the North End of the city is being fed by the Workmen's Club. New Bedford firemen are contributing \$150 a week from their salaries and even the school custodians of the city or contributing \$40 a week. Thousands of loaves of bread every day are being donated by the community.

"We may win in two weeks but we can easily fight till Labor Day"—that is the slogan which the strikers are repeating. At their mass meetings held every Monday and their four-language meetings for Portuguese and French strikers the spirit is better than ever.

ity of the farmers no less than of all workers everywhere must rest upon the application of Socialist principles of co-operation, taxation, and public ownership of basic industries.

This long discourse on the McNary-Haugen bill muzzles me for this issue on everything else. I cannot, however, close without correcting some of our esteemed dailies in New York. They reported that Mayor Walker was about an hour late in coming to the meeting at which he told his department heads that graft must go. The Mayor was not an hour late but two years, four months and twenty-five days in trying to get his own Administration to do its duty. Even now does he mean it or is he talking for election purposes

SANTAL MIDY
CAPSULES
For Annoying or Painful Bladder Evacuation
Get the genuine Santal Midy Effective-Harmless Sold by All Druggists

Labor Spy Is Hired By Pullman Co.

MacDonald, Notorious As Undercover Agent, Finds New Retainers

A. R. MacDonald, specialist in labor espionage and strikebreaking, has been hired by Pullman to "stop" the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which is on the eve of electing a strike vote showing 100 to 1 sentiment among porters for a walkout, if necessary, to obtain union recognition.

MacDonald, self described "industrial engineer," refused to deny to a Federated Press correspondent that his services had been engaged by Pullman. "For certain business reasons," he responded, "I would rather not say anything right now about that particular matter."

Pullman, fighting desperately against the porters' union and its strike vote, has fallen back now on labor espionage. First it organized a company union to stem its workers' desire to join a real trade union. When the imitation union failed to supplant the Brotherhood, Pullman began firing union leaders and disciplining members. That, too, failed to dent the young brotherhood.

Later Pullman resorted to corruption of Negro editors, cowed colored pastors into spreading anti-union propaganda and even browbeat southern colleges to keep the union organizers from addressing students.

But Pullman leans on a weak reed if he expects A. R. MacDonald to break up the Porters' Union through espionage. MacDonald is none too clever himself. He is remembered in labor circles chiefly for his amusing effort to prove that Louis Budenz is a Communist. Budenz is editor of Labor Age and an organizer for the Hostory Workers.

Blackguard Budenz
MacDonald wrote lengthy letters to President Gustave Geiges of the Full Fashioned Hostory Workers Federation, expressing pained astonishment that Geiges should have Budenz serve as organizer in Indianapolis in the union's controversy with the Real Silk Hostory Co., a non-union concern. Budenz was causing too much grief to Real Silk by getting an overwhelming number of its workers into the union. So MacDonald was hired to "get" Budenz.

How, asked MacDonald, could the Hostory Workers possibly employ as an organizer the editor of the notorious Labor Age? Didn't President Geiges know that on Labor Age's board of directors sat one Joshua Lieberman, sinister leader of the even more notorious Pioneer Youth movement in America, "branch of the world-wide Communist movement." MacDonald, in his ignorance, got his wires crossed between Pioneer Youth, indorsed by organized labor and the Young Pioneers, a competing organization which is avowedly Communist.

James H. Maurer, retiring president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Robert W. Dunn, labor publicist; John Brophy, former mine leader, were also connected with Communism by the labor spy. All serve on Labor Age's board. President Geiges appraised MacDonald's fantastic effusions as a boost for Budenz and not only approved his activities but joined the board as a director of Labor Age. Later Budenz has been sent to Kenosha, Wis., as organizer in the Allen A. walkout.

Socialist Party Picnic

SPEAKERS:

NORMAN THOMAS

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

AUTHOR OF "WAR WHAT FOR?"

WM. H. HENRY

CHAIRMAN

WM. A. CUNNEA

NATIONAL SECRETARY

Riverview Park SUNDAY, JUNE 10th, 1928

WESTERN, BEACON, ROSCOE, CHICAGO, ILL.

DANCING MUSIC BY AL HENKES BAND

BOOZER GAME BY MEYER LONDON CLUB & RIVAL TEAM

Children under 12 Years Admitted Free

ADMISSION 30 CENTS

For Your Children's Sake

Don't torture your child by making him swallow something that he does not like. When your child needs a physic, give him

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

EX-LAX is as delicious as the choicest confection, and cleanses the bowels in a most natural, pleasant and painless manner. It is absolutely harmless, and children love it.

10, 25 and 50c a box, at all drug stores.

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office: 227 EAST 84TH STREET

(Bet. 2nd and 3rd Ave.)

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership on June 30, 1927, 49,000. Assets \$650,000. Insurance in force, \$61,000,000. No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 Insurance covers all expenses.

A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of withdrawal.

Workmen and women protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.

For Further Information apply at 227 East 84th Street

FOURTH SEASON
Opens Friday, June 29th
COME! REST! PLAY!
at
CAMP EDEN
(FORMERLY CAMP GANEDEN)
COLD SPRING, NEW YORK
FOR GLORIOUS VACATION DAYS
Everything is here to make your stay Delightful and Replete with Pleasant Memories
ENJOY ALL OUTDOOR SPORTS
in a marvelous setting. A wonderland of scenic beauty and charm. Private Lake—wholesome food, fishing, boating, bathing, tennis, etc.
Easy Access from New York
By BOAT - TRAIN - MOTOR
RATES—\$22 per week—Write for Booklet
Special Rates for Union and Socialist Party Members
Sponsored by
HARLEM EDUCATIONAL CENTER
New York Office
62 EAST 106th STREET LEHigh 1734

GRAND PICNIC
Saturday, June 9, 1928, at
PILSEN PARK
26th ST. and ALBANY AVE.
One Block East of Keadle Ave.
Chicago, Ill.
Under the auspices of
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD
for the benefit of the press
JAMES P. THOMPSON
Veteran Labor Organizer and Organizer
will speak at 2:00 p.m.
JOSEPH KOBYLAK
of Cleveland, Ohio, will also speak
Grounds will be open at 3:00 p.m.
DANCING, GAMES AND
ENTERTAINMENT
Refreshments Served Admission 50 cents

Tammany Is Assailed By Thomas

(Continued from Page 1)

When Governor Smith was the unquestioned leader of his party, the pet and darling of Tammany Hall, who himself gave us Mayor Walker and our blundering Transit Commission. Not only as political leader but as Governor has Mr. Smith failed in his duty to his city. He refused to accede to the reasonable request of the Citizens' Union for the effective prosecution of the milk scandal. He vetoed most of the laws designed to make election frauds more difficult. There is not the slightest sign that he so much as desires to find a way to hold Mayor Walker to the same sort of accountability for the administration of his office as very properly he required in the case of Mrs. Knapp. In view of the plain facts he will be no true foe of corruption who seeks to put Tammany in national office in punishment of the flagrant misdeeds of Republican chieftains and business men.

The Power Trust

"2. A second enemy of government of the people, for the people and by the people is the systematic effort of the holders of special privileges to make government serve their pocketbooks rather than the needs of the people. Indeed this is a primary source of corruption. The attempt to use our marvelous technical skill by private owners for the sake of profit is broken down. We who might banish poverty know better want. We who boast of our freedom live in constant terror of our jobs and subservience to the owners of the jobs. Out of many illustrations I cite the coal and power industry to illustrate my point.

"A second illustration of peculiar interest to citizens of this part of New York State is the power trust. You are now paying three or four times more than the people of the neighboring province of Canada for your electricity. In the United States generally the rate is 7 cents per kilowatt hour to domestic users against 2 cents in Ontario. Even so, electricity is scarcely available at all to lighten the lot of the farmer in the United States although it is generally available in Ontario. It is ridiculous to suppose that we can have a democracy which really means government of the people, by the people and for the people while giant power which is the master of the future is left in the hands of a private power trust. Even our political democracy is being degraded by this industrial autocracy. Witness the shocking way in which the \$17,500,000,000 power lobby has subsidized universities by endowments and newspapers by advertising, has bought up politicians and professors and even invaded the school system with its propaganda. Neither of the old parties has added up in dealing with this power trust any more than in dealing with coal. Such champions as we have had have been individuals. Senator Norris is the hero of the House. Shows fight. Governor Smith has fought unsuccessfully for a water power authority in New York State which is something, although his plan is subject to great criticism because it does not look after the distributing end which is of the most importance to us consumers. Really to get effective action to bring about a public giant power system requires not occasional champions but an organized party. And this is true of old age and unemployment insurance, farm relief, a proper system of taxation and every other vital issue which would make the government the servant of the people. When is there a better time to build such a party than this year?

The Menace of War

"3. The final enemy to democracy to which I shall refer is war. Under modern conditions war is no longer only of democracy but of civilization and the very life of the race. War is the supreme negation of Christianity and of every decent ethical code. Modern war arose out of imperialism; that is, out of the rival efforts of strong nations to exploit weaker nations. The American government which today is trying to outlaw war is guilty of the hideous inconsistency because it is waging a cruel and futile war in Nicaragua. The nation which boasts Chicago as its second city is engaged, forsooth, in hunting alleged bandits in the jungles of Nicaragua and trying to enforce honest elections. Of course, sons of farmers and workers die in Nicaragua jungles for no such reason but rather to carry out a policy of dollar diplomacy. They shed their blood for the prestige of our State Department and the profits of Wall Street bankers. And Nicaragua is only the most flagrant illustration of our growing imperialism—an imperialism which leads straight to the abyss of new world war."

LONDON.—On May 7 the Equal Franchise bill passed its third reading without a division in the House of Commons, which means that the measure is sure to become law later this summer, although it still has to go before the Lords. An amendment moved by Mr. Snowden on behalf of the Labor Party to abolish plural voting, which the bill also extends to women, was defeated.

THE Workmen's Circle
The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence
85,000 MEMBERS
\$3,200,000 ASSETS
200 Branches All Over the United States and Canada
Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$5 per week. Many branches pay additional benefits from \$5 to \$25 per week. Compensation benefit, \$200 or nine months in our own sanatorium. Located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.
For information, apply to
THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
175 East Broadway, N. Y. City
Telephone Orchard 9212-9217

Campaign Prospects Enthuse Socialist Leaders



Leaders of the Socialist Party stopped during a recess of the recent sessions of the National Executive Committee in Newark, New Jersey. In the center is Norman Thomas, candidate for President; at the right, James H. Maurer, nominee for Vice-President, and to the left Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the party.

Holmes Supports Norman Thomas And Maurer

Likes Party, Platform and Candidates, Noted Liberal Leader Declares

AN endorsement of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, Socialist candidates for president and vice-president, has been issued by the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church, New York City. Dr. Holmes' endorsement was made public at the National Campaign Headquarters of the Socialist Party, 31 Union Square.

"I am supporting the Socialist ticket in the present Presidential Campaign," Dr. Holmes declared, "first, because the Socialist Party is now the only political party in this country that is pledged to constructive principles of political reform and social idealism for the betterment of all the people. The Republican and Democratic parties represent nothing but their own selfish partisan interests which in every fundamental sense are identical as to make any distinction between these two hoary and decrepit organizations flatly ridiculous. Anybody who thinks that he is voting for or against anything of important public concern in voting for either the Republican or Democratic tickets in this campaign, is either grossly ignorant or grossly deceived. The Socialist party in contrast stands as an organization which has ideas, principles, and a purpose. It represents a cause which any man interested in the permanent welfare of America should not only be proud but find it actually necessary to support.

"I am voting for the Socialist ticket in this campaign, secondly, because the Socialist party has written and is now presenting a platform which should command the support of all men who are interested in the real and immediate evils, and defines those drastic changes in public policy at home and abroad which must be made if this country is to survive as a free democracy. Nothing short of this platform can be regarded as adequate to meet the political and economic emergencies of our time. It is a platform which should command the same allegiance in this country that the platform of the British Labor Party has commanded in England.

"I am supporting the Socialist ticket in this campaign, thirdly, because I believe in Norman Thomas and James Maurer. These two men in intelligence, character, and experience, can meet comparison with any candidates for the two highest offices in this country. Whatever political record they may lack is more than made up for by a record of heroic service at bitter cost of the great masses of the common people of this country. They know the meaning of liberty, they have fought a good fight for democracy, they have stopped at no sacrifice for emancipation of the downtrodden and oppressed. Thomas and Maurer enter worthily upon the great tradition of Eugene V. Debs, which is the noblest praise that can be bestowed upon any leaders in our American life."

Maurer and Vladeck In Trenton June 10

James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for vice-president, and Commissioner of Finance in Reading, Pa., will be the guest of honor at a dinner to be given in Trenton, New Jersey, Sunday evening, June 10th. B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward of New York, will also speak. George H. Goebel will be the toastmaster.

The dinner, which will inaugurate the Socialist campaign in Trenton, is being arranged by a local committee headed by Reuben McDewitt and Lewis Williams. The dinner is to be held at the Workmen's Circle Labor Lyceum, 189 Mercer street. Reservations at \$1.25 per plate may be made at the Labor Lyceum.

Communists' Tin Horns Proclaim Revolution; Class Struggle Banned

Last Remains of "Leftism" Buried Again - Unemployment Eludes Bimba

By Louis Stanley

CONFOUNDED by the dialectical process, the first national nominating convention of the Workers' (Communist) Party solved its internal contradictions by tooting tin horns, rattling cow-bells, shattering tables, parading in collegiate style, and sprinkling confetti to marry off Foster and Giffow. It was like a sublimated scene on the barracks morning after the "red crimson banner of revolutionary communism" had been unfurled.

Though this was a convention, nobody discussed anything. The hand of the Central Executive Committee lay heavy. Chairman, vice chairman and honorary chairmen there were a plenty, but William W. Weinstein, New York Secretary, pulled the puppet strings. The proceedings dragged along listlessly until the tin horns freed the suppressed delegates. The C. E. C. presented a long platform—so long, indeed, that a scholar like Anthony Bimba read it twice and could not find the reference to unemployment. The Platform Committee was dominated by C. E. C. members, who after discussing the platform again, presented unanimously a report suggesting several revolutionary amendments. Under the parliamentary guise of dealing with the platform the delegates took turns in discussing "good and welfare." Then, when everybody supposed that the platform had been adopted long ago, it was accepted with amendments—except those that involved fundamental points which was for the C. E. C. to decide, and sent back to the Central Executive Committee for final scrutiny. That John Pepper, the envoy of the Communist International, had already outlined the platform which was put on sale the first day of the convention, did not seem to stimulate discussion.

Boosting Trade

The platform expunged the last remnants of leftism once more. "Nothing was done to bolster up the capitalist system except the 'promotion of trade' with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by the granting of sufficient credits by the Federal Government, as a means of stimulating American industry and absorbing the unemployed." There were immediate demands but not such as would foster the illusion that the lot of the worker could be improved under capitalism. They were immediate, ultimate demands, impossible possibilities, illusionless illusions. The workers must understand that the Communists' immediate demands cannot be granted under capitalism but must work hard to have them achieved.

Several unswerving principles of the party were changed. The demands of the 1924 campaign for nationalization of industry, industrial democracy, and workers' control of production were dropped as futile without a Soviet government. The army and navy were to be reduced; they were to be replaced by "a fifties militia." The liquor business was not to be nationalized but the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act were to be repealed and the explanation thereof besprinkled with "phrases denoting the class relationship." The "united front" was scrapped, but a labor party urged with the explanation that it is useless because only the Communist Party can emancipate the workers.

The convention spent half its time rilling off the "dead" Socialist Party. With true Christian evangelism it sent the S. P. to Hell. It condemned the Socialist Party for eliminating the words "class struggle" from its application blank but failed to insert them in its own. It discovered two or three "lost" Socialists in the West and brought them East to identify them in order to place the convention upon a national scale. It scolded Norman Thomas for being a Presbyterian, a socialist, which he is not, and it scolded William Montgomery

Brown, an ex-Episcopalian Bishop, in whose title the Communists glory. But then the latter donated \$500 to the Workers' Party campaign fund and Episcopal money is better than Presbyterian.

Half of the delegates were as innocent as little girls seduced by ruses. They mouthed the slogans of what they called "com-MEW-nism." Some were miners convinced by the ideology of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Relief Committee (now the National Miners' Relief). Others hailed from New Bedford, stirred by the Workers' International Relief. Above all were the Negroes, though those from Harlem should know better. They were the pampered children of the convention. They were promised everything but Jesus. For them the Solid South was going to be "blown up" right away, now that the industrial north was in the Communist column. The Negro's "blue" spirituals were to be abolished and the "red" materials put in their place.

That this was a revolutionary convention there was no doubt. The revolution was there—in the hall, on the platform, in the red flag. The International Soviet ruled the earth. There was only one party, the Communist Party, led by the frustrated Foster, the garrulous Giffow and the elusive Lovestone, Secretary of the C. E. C. The property of the capitalists was expropriated. In fact, two purses with contents amounting to some six hundred dollars started the process. It was a glorious "red" convention, one that the Third International will relish when it gets the report cooked up by its chiefs in America. As Lovestone said in his address at the mass meeting, which opened the convention after the example of the Socialists: "We must with revolutionary enthusiasm, communist devotion, Leninistic realism, and Marxian understanding." He forgot to say, with tomfoolery.

Dartmouth Men To Tour Connecticut In Car For Party

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
NEW HAVEN, Conn.—At a recent session of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party plans for a campaign expanded into an ambitious program that will bring Connecticut forward with an effective state campaign. By way of a starter the city of Waterbury, one of the most reactionary open shop towns in the country, has been organized with a local of thirteen members. Jasper McLevey and State Secretary Plunkett organized the local last week. A number of other towns in the Naugatuck valley will also join the Socialist fold with local organizations within the next few weeks.

The State Executive Committee has decided to tie up with the Massachusetts party organization in routing speakers. Two Dartmouth College students will soon take the field in a speaking and organizing tour of the two states. A Ford car will be purchased for their use during the summer. Every available city and town will be reached, the more promising ones being first on the list with the view of getting as many Socialists into the party organization as possible.

A general conference of radical and sympathetic organizations is also on the campaign agenda for the city of Hartford which is a very promising field for the party. The date has not been fixed but it will probably be held on June 10. It is expected to tie these organizations into an effective working machine for the Socialist Party campaign.

Communist Split Talked Of In France

Moscow Election Order, Flouted by Supporters, Draws Anger of Cechin

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—The 25th Congress of the French Socialist Party met from May 26 to 30 at Toulouse. The political situation which has emerged from the elections for the French Chambers was in the foreground of the proceedings. The report of the National Council contains a review of party events since the Congress at Lyons in 1926. The membership of the party is at present about 98,000. The local sections number 3,398, as against 3,323 in 1926. The Federation of the North of France comes first, followed by the Federation of the Seine. The "Populaire" deficit has diminished to a very large extent. The number of subscribers is advancing steadily.

Approximately 10 million votes were cast in the election. There were cast for the Socialists roughly 1,660,000, for the Communists 1,070,000. The "Socialist-Communist" total exceeds 10,000. Thus at the first ballot the working-class parties secured 2,742,000. Accordingly, they represent substantially more than one-quarter of the total electorate, over 27 1/2 per cent of all votes cast. This considerable strength ought also to have been able to appear in the distribution of seats if the working class in France had been united, and despite the split it would have appeared much more effectively had not the watchword from Moscow to the Communists laid down that they had to consider the Socialists as their chief enemy.

The working class, according to their total poll, should have been entitled to 169 seats in the new Chamber. However, they have collectively secured only 116 seats, whilst 53 have been forfeited to the bourgeoisie. That this loss falls almost entirely on the Communists is a very poor consolation when considered in connection with the tasks that the working class has to fulfill in the new Chamber. On a proportional system the Socialist Party should have obtained 162 seats. In spite of all the hazards of the second ballot tactics it has managed to ensure 100 Deputies for the next Chamber.

The Communists were not equal to securing by their own powers a seat on the first ballot in any constituency throughout France. On the second ballot they obtained 14 seats only by dint of help from the Socialists, who had seriously at heart to fight against reaction and who therefore did not pay them back in their own coin. But, to the honor of the Communist workers, it must be noted that in many of them class-consciousness was stronger than the senseless Moscow watchword. This further away from Paris the less did this watchword prove efficient, and in many constituencies Communists voted contrary to it in favor of Socialists for the sake of preventing the election of a reactionary.

The decision was taken in Moscow against the judgment of the most active French Communist chiefs, including Marcel Cachin and Vaillant-Couturier, who protested bitterly, through the medium of Renaud-Jean and Jacques Doriot, to Manuisky, a representative of the Communist International, at a conference held in the Berlin Embassy of the Russian Government.

According to an account of this conference turned in La Lumiere, Renaud-Jean, found by Manuisky, tried to go to Moscow to present his case, but was informed in the Embassy that he would receive no permission to enter Russia. When he attempted to convince the mouthpiece of the International of the advantages to Moscow of a strong "Left Bloc" in the Chamber, he was told that the Russians knew better what was to their interest, whereupon he replied that this might be true, but that the French Communists knew more about the interests of the French labor movement than the Muscovites and that a split in the Communist Party might result from the latter's intransigence.

When M. Cachin and Vaillant-Couturier learned that their plea had been in vain they are reported to have called on M. Semard, the secretary of the French Communist Party, to the jail where they were serving their sentences for anti-governmental agitation, and told him that they would found a new Communist Party in case the Moscow order resulted in their defeat on the second ballot. Vaillant-Couturier did lose his seat in the Chamber, but Cachin was re-elected.

In the analysis of the election returns showing the disregard of Moscow's orders displayed by tens of thousands of the some 1,100,000 citizens who voted Communist on the first ballot, special attention is given to the case of Paul Faure, secretary of the Socialist Party, who was elected in the industrial city of Creusot on the second ballot by a vote of 8,158 over M. Bataille, the candidate of the iron and steel interests, who got 7,815 votes, and M. Bros, a Communist, who polled 215 votes. On the first ballot M. Faure had only 6,976 votes, against 7,287 for Bataille, 1,240 for Bros and 958 for a minor bourgeois candidate. Four-fifths of the Communist workers of Creusot thus defied the ukase and helped return Faure to the Chamber. The same thing happened in three other electoral divisions of the same department, with the result of saving three Socialist seats.

In the neighboring department of Nievre, the independence of the Communist voters was still more in evidence. In the districts of Nevers II, Chateauroux, Cosne and Cosne and Clamecy, the Communist vote on April 22 was 2,105, 1,641, 3,072 and 937, respectively. On the second ballot the corresponding figures were 126, 134, 278 and 86. Thanks to this attitude on the part of the nominal Communist voters, the reactionary candidates were defeated in all four districts; in the first three by Socialists and in the fourth by a bourgeois Radical, who

THE ELECTION to the French Chamber of Paul Faure, Socialist secretary, was brought about in part by the votes of Communists in revolt against Moscow's domination.



PAUL FAURE

received not only the Socialist vote on the second ballot but also most of the Communist.

Even in the "red belt" of Paris many thousands of Communists deserted the party on the second ballot and voted for the Socialist candidates.

Workers Health Bureau Will Wind Up Affairs Lays Failure to A.F. of L.

The Workers' Health Bureau of America will be discontinued July 1st, is the announcement made by the Executive Committee of the Bureau. The discontinuance," states the Bureau, "takes place in spite of important accomplishments in the field of health and safety, such as the completion of National Trade Union Standards for Health Protection in Garages, Building Trades, Bakeries, the Painting Industry and scientific studies of Painters, Textile Workers, Automobile Refinishers, which laid the basis for the control of hazardous conditions in these trades.

"The reason for the decision is the failure of the American Federation of Labor to give the Bureau the direct support which its activities on behalf of the entire labor movement warranted with the result that trade union income is not sufficient to maintain the Bureau," it is said.

It seems to The New Leader unfortunate that the Bureau must close up. A number of A. F. of L. unions have given support and it appears to us that the blame cannot be placed at the door of the A. F. of L. The Workers' Health Center has managed to carry on under perhaps more trying circumstances. Perhaps the fact that one of the Health Bureau's leading executives has turned Communist, may be responsible for the charge against the A. F. of L.

Thompson to Speak At Chicago W.W. Picnic

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

Chicago.—James P. Thompson, veteran labor organizer and orator, will speak Saturday, June 9, at Pilsen Park, 26th Street and Albany Avenue, Chicago, at a picnic held by the Industrial Workers of the World for the benefit of their press fund.

Thompson is now on his sixteenth nationwide speaking tour. Backed by nearly thirty years' active experience in the American labor movement and universal recognition at one of the foremost contemporary labor orators, his audience can be assured of a lecture well worth their time and attention.

He is one of the ninety-four sent to the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1918 as an "obstructionist" to the war program, and received a ten year sentence from Judge Landis, which was commuted by President Coolidge Christmas, 1923.

I. C. C. Again Reports More Rail Layoffs

Washington.—The downward trend of railroad employment continued in February, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Its monthly report shows railroad forces reduced to 1,608,371, compared with 1,720,530 in February, 1927 and 1,783,555 in February, 1923. In one year more than 112,000 railroad workers lost their jobs and 175,184 who were on the payrolls in 1923 have been forced to look elsewhere for a livelihood.

Women Took Major Part In Reich Poll

Socialist Women Carried On Special Propaganda With Literature and Meetings

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

BERLIN.—The 21 million women of voting age in Germany brought a great responsibility to the party which gave women the vote in 1919. Women Socialists were quite conscious of this. The literature which the party issued in the form of leaflets, pamphlets and newspapers, was addressed simultaneously to women and men electors. In addition, special pamphlets were published for women. A small pamphlet, entitled "Frauen Unterwegs" ("Women on the March") was very attractive and presentable. Individual constituencies also arranged activities of their own. In Berlin a special women's newspaper, "The Woman Elector," was published in great numbers. In other constituencies women comrades provided "letters" for circulation to acquaintances, friends and relatives. A very fine special number of "Frauenwelt" was made available by the Executive of the party for individual propaganda.

Material for speeches was also specially collected for women. Where it was expedient special women's meetings were held, but in most districts women were already used to attending meetings jointly with the men. In addition to propaganda meetings the utmost emphasis was attached to workshop and house-to-house canvassing.

Some of the Issues

For the Reichstag the Socialist Party put forward 63 women among its candidates. About 24 of these had absolutely safe seats. Also in the Prussian Landtag there were probably 19 re-elected. The dissolved Reichstag had roused the indignation of women by its various decisions of special interest to women; for example, the questions of customs and provisions, including the restriction of the import of cheap frozen meat, the abolition of the feeding of needy children, and, on the other hand, its approval of a new armored cruiser, the introduction of a law of a more reactionary character, entitled "Protection of Children Against Pornographic Literature." An attempt to pass a similar law with the title, "Protection of Children at Recreation," failed. It had already been accepted, but the Reichstag, which has the right of objection, refused it. The law for the campaign against sexual diseases certainly fulfills two of women's demands, but it also contains reactionary provisions. The question of the citizenship of women who marry foreigners is now unsolved. Divorce reform has similarly been shelved with the dissolution of the Reichstag. A bill for the legal equality of illegitimate children, with legitimate children did not come up to any full sitting of Parliament. The new Reichstag is to consider and decide upon the extensive bill on the penal code, which contains much that is important for women.

Czech Women Celebrate

PRAGUE.—"Women's Day" among Czech Socialist women was organized with the utmost diligence. The women's demonstrations were part of the campaign against political, social and cultural reaction, and formed one of the joint parliamentary activities of the Socialist Parties of all nationalities in Czechoslovakia. A joint program was arranged between the Bohemian and German women, and it was decided this year to demonstrate in favor of protection of mothers and children and for world peace. The women's secretariats in Bohemia sent out written instructions to all women's organizations emphasizing that where possible meetings should be arranged jointly with the German women. The capital, Prague, set the example. In a large meeting of women there were two Bohemian speakers and one German. In addition public meetings of women were held in 58 provincial towns. Nearly all the gatherings included recitations and tableaux by members of the labor gymnastic groups, as well as the speeches.

WEAVERS' WAGES CUT

Amsterdam, N. Y.—Two hundred unorganized weavers have suffered a 35 per cent wage cut at the Mohawk Carpet Mills Shuttlesworth branch.

SEE RUSSIA
Study the Soviet Social Experiment at First Hand
16 TOURS - SAILINGS WEEKLY
COST FROM \$350 UP
(Including All Vises)
SPECIAL THROUGH RATES enable you to attend the International Convention in Brussels, either going to or returning from Russia, at a very small cost.
AMERICAN-EUROPEAN TRAVEL BUREAU
(DR. FREDERICK C. HOWE and ALBERT F. COYLE, Directors)
100 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY
CHELSEA 4477
Steamer Tickets and Tours to all European Ports

HARD TIMES IN OLD VIRGINIA

ART SHIELDS and his wife, Esther Lowell, have started on a six month tour of the South to study and write about social, industrial and political problems for The New Leader and The Federated Press. Here is the first of many interesting articles by them, which we will publish during the coming months.

By Esther Lowell and Art Shields

DANVILLE, VIRGINIA.

I don't know what's a-going to happen if the mill keeps on short-time. Lots of folks have left town already—some gone back to the farms.

Our guide through the Dan River and Riverside Cotton Mills at Danville, Va., was very friendly. All his life until three years ago he had farmed, raised tobacco and a little corn and wheat. "But farming's been mighty poor the last five years." Too hard for the old man after his sons went off on their own. So he and his wife came into the mill, where an old friend in the employment office found them work—the wife in the dormitory, the old farmer in the shipping room.

Dan River mill managers are proud of their plant. It is called second largest cotton mill in America—second to Ansonia in New Hampshire. It is on the fringe of the Carolina Piedmont around which most southern mills cluster. The managers are local people and so are most of the stockholders. This \$18,000,000 company boasts that it keeps its equipment modern and spends much on welfare. With its welfare goes the "industrial democracy" or company union plan (congress, cabinet and president, who heads the company too).

Four Days of Work a Week

With the mill working only four days a week, the already low wages have been considerably reduced. Reading of northern mill wage cuts and the New Bedford strike, these southern workers are "mighty scared." The day is 10 hours, the week 55. There are few 14-16 year olds in the mill because the law limits their day to eight hours. But there are many young men and women in the mill—about half the women married. Colored workers who truck cotton bales and do factory cleaning are about a tenth of the mill's 6,000 workers in full season.

Working conditions in the mill are supposed to be better than in other southern mills. The spinning rooms are full of light catching in the workers' hair and going up their nostrils. Weave rooms have humidifiers constantly spraying water into the air—making the atmosphere oppressive in hot weather. Workers find more satisfactory a recent ventilating system installed in the new concrete weave shed. Steel lockers are provided in some rooms but in others workers hang their coats and hats on nails and hooks unshielded from the work room. Visitors are not taken into the dye house "because there's quite a bad smell in there," as our guide said.

Welfare work is well developed at Schenckfield, the mill village at Danville's edge. The downtown mill has less of it. The company provides besides several hundred wood frame houses, a dormitory with gym and swimming pool shared by school girls and mill women, a nursery, a kindergarten, grade schools, Junior high, a store, a Y. M. C. A. with movies in the auditorium, and small libraries. Most of this welfare program was begun during the last ten years.

Loomfixers are the only organized group. They have an independent union with a measure of recognition from the company, although all had to sign up under industrial democracy to hold their jobs. Last year when a cloth checker began organizing weavers, he was soon discovered and fired, with most of the 40 he had reached.

"The mills dominate the town in every way," say the Danville people. "They keep out other firms when they want to, and tell them what to pay when they do come."

A Brookwood Graduate at Work

ORGANIZING Southern workers, especially girls and women in her community, is the chief interest of one Brookwood graduate. Margaret Wall, of Danville, Va., is one of the labor college's few Southern graduates.

When Margaret Wall graduated from Brookwood in 1925 she returned to her work in the Morotock garment factory in Danville. This shop has been organized for 27 years. The United Garment Workers. Originally the factory made overalls almost exclusively. Now it makes few, but manufactures many pairs of men's woolen pants, women's suits and dresses of both wool and cotton goods, khaki and other sport clothes and little boys' wash suits. In full seasons the shop employs 70 workers, almost all

women and girls. Now only half are working.

The union shop has many advantages for workers over its non-union competitor in Danville. Morotock has an 8-hour day—one of the few Southern factories on less than a 10-hour basis. It has a higher pay scale. But for all that, Margaret Wall and the local United Garment Workers' president, Mary Mannocks, have a hard time convincing the non-union girls to organize.

The "Y" Helps Unionism

Danville's dominant industry is the Dan River and Riverside mills, which employs about 2,000 or more women and girls in busy times and nearly twice as many men. Margaret Wall has sisters in the mills. Through the Y. W. C. A. groups, organized by Industrial Secretary Fay Judging, she encourages the cotton mill girls to study organization needs. In the "Y" also she has a chance to meet workers from the town's silk mill—the only Northern-owned plant in town—and the hosiery mill.

Last year the Brookwood girl, aided by other active union women, had discussion groups of working girls at the "Y." Now central labor union is one job Miss Wall and Miss Mannocks are pushing. The plumbers, bricklayers and newly-organized musicians' local are still outside. Besides the garment workers, the printers, carpenters, moving picture operators, plasterers, and machinists, are the backbone of Danville's labor body. President Cole used to work in the cotton mill, but has never been able to get back since he was active in the big strike of 25 years ago. He is a carpenter now.

Since Danville is geographically and industrially a part of the Southern Piedmont, Margaret Wall is eager to have the Piedmont Organizing Council include Danville. The council, started by Durham, Raleigh and Greensboro, is active in North Carolina.

Charity Is Scarce

TRAVELING through the red clay foothills of the Blue Ridge mountains, from Charlottesville to Danville, 150 miles, the visitor finds the general com-

plaint that times are harder than any that this region has seen in years. Low tobacco prices for the farmers, and unemployment and part time in the factories are the causes.

In Danville, near the North Carolina border, a cotton mill city of more than 30,000 if its industrial suburbs are included, the local charity agency, the Community Welfare Association, admits that only a fraction of the local distress is being relieved.

"The mill workers had nothing saved up: they were living from hand to mouth before the depression," a charity worker told us. "Now with so many laid off, and the rest on 4 days a week, there is much hunger. If the mill shuts down for 2 or 3 months this summer, as we fear, I don't know what the people will do."

The Riverside and Dan River mills is assuming no responsibility for the suffering of its people. It passes the buck, for administering relief, to the local charity agency supported by the Community Chest, to which the workers as well as the wealthy citizens contribute.

Farmers Are Gloomy

A byproduct of the drop in employment is the slump in the earnings of the local streetcar company, which gets most of its fares by hauling the workers from home to mill and return. In an effort to get business from a different class of customers the cars now carry this slogan in big letters: "Park Your Car At Home And Ride The Streetcars."

In Lynchburg, 65 miles to the north, times are nearly as bad for the employees of the shoe and garment factories, and the tobacco farmers who sell to the local warehouse owners.

Of all the farmers in the United States, these Virginia tobacco growers, who raise what is known as the "dark-fired" variety, are almost the worst-off. The bright leaf growers to the south, who produce for the cigarette plants, have their prices fixed by the Trust, it is true, but at least their product is in demand. But the "dark-fired" weed is a back number, not wanted much any more, though farmers

continue to grow it, not knowing what else to do.

This "dark-fired" tobacco, so named for its color and curing, was formerly exported in quantity to Italy, where it went into the strong cheap cigars of that country. Now that the Italians are raising much of their own smoke material they buy less here. Little of this leaf is used at home.

"During the war prices were high and folks rode in automobiles," said an old Negro tenant farmer. "But now prices are so low it ain't hardly worth growing." "This whole country," said another farmer, "is overidden with debt, both white and colored." The Negro tenants live in squalor in one or two-room log cabins, often with dirt floors. Many of the Negro farmers have given up the struggle on the soil and have gone into the northern industrial centers. There are more white than black growers. The white men, subject to the same economic laws, are little if any better off.

A Company Union Fails

THIS is the story of the decline of the company union in the biggest cotton mill in the south—the Riverside and Dan River Mills of Danville. The Danville company union is one of the few in the south, for textile heads in this region usually take the same attitude as the United States Steel Corp., that company unions are a waste of time.

A plan of industrial democracy, the company union is called, and for short it is usually named "the industrial democracy." Company heads say it is organized "just like our government." There is a president for the company union, Mr. H. R. Fitzgerald, who is also president of the company; there is a cabinet, consisting of the officers of the company; a senate of about 30 overseers or department heads, and a house of representatives, of more than 100 workers, or one representative to every 40 of the total force of employees, which numbers 6,200 in busy times.

A member of the house, a skilled worker, gave me the history of the plan. His statements were confirmed by a former member of that body.

"The people here believed the promises of the company when they introduced the plan. That's why they dropped their union," he said. "We had one to two thousand members of the American Federation of Labor. Then the boss men said they were putting in industrial democracy and there was no use in paying dues any more to the old union. They said the company would cooperate and improve conditions with the new plan. They distributed membership cards to sign, and a few of the boys who held out were told they'd be fired if they didn't sign."

The Company's Veto Power

"In three months unionism was dead among the loom fixers. Some of the loom fixers thought there was no use for their union with industrial democracy, but the others said they'd better wait and see how the plan worked. Well, for a while it went pretty well. There were meetings of the congress every week and a lot of bills passed improving sanitary conditions in the mill. That was when the new ventilating system was put into the new concrete weave shed."

"But that didn't last. After a while meetings were held only twice a month, and now only once a month. There were wage cuts in the mill. We found it was no use bringing in any bills about wages or hours. The 10-hour day stayed."

The company can veto any bill through the senate of overseers or the cabinet. This is the course the bill takes. It is introduced in the house of representatives, and the speaker refers it to a committee. Next month, if there are no objections, the bill goes to a vote on the floor. If it passes, without further delay, it goes next month to the senate of overseers where the bill is again shuffled from floor to committee and back again. If it gets by this upper house of bosses the cabinet accepts or rejects. If the bill is accepted it returns to both houses for final ratifications. Endless red tape. Only the house can introduce bills, but the senate of overseers can recommend and the boss' recommendations are persuasive.

"No bills passed this session," said my informant, "though there were a few amendments." The session began in the summer of 1927. So it goes: the congress sits, and nothing is done, and the average employee hardly knows that industrial democracy exists, except when the shop is notified of election day.

One Real Union

EXISTING side by side with the company union in the big Danville cotton mills is the sole independent labor union of consequence in any southern cotton manufacturing plant. This is the Southern Loomfixers Assn., whose one lodge is in the Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills. Its 247 members include 90 to 95 per cent of the loomfixers in the company's employ.

The loomfixers' local survived the industrial democracy scheme that wrecked the other union after the war, and this group of craftsmen is proud of its organization.

Unionism has paid. "Our wages run \$3 to \$7 over the highest weavers," said Robert Mosely, president of the local. "Ten years ago when the weavers were organized, their highest wages were as much as ours."

From another man we got the story of the posting of a 10 per cent wage cut notice four years ago. A committee of loomfixers waited on the boss and said the sign must come down or they would go out. It came down. Wages have fallen somewhat since the war, but not in proportion to the others workers.

But now the loomfixers are uneasy. Employment is slack. Wage cuts are spreading elsewhere. "That cut in New Bedford made us mighty scared," said one mechanic. There is talk of joining the American Federation of Labor for the sake of protection. Tentative negotiations were conducted with the machinists but there is a sentiment towards the United Textile Workers of America, which claims jurisdiction over all textile workers and which lately won over the independent loomfixers of New Bedford.

From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

THOSE COMMUNIST MINUTES

225 Broadway, New York

May 28, 1928.

Editor, The New Leader:

I note on the 8th page of the New Leader for May 25th, an alleged excerpt from minutes of the Communist Party.

I am particularly interested in the minute of January 27. Are you sure that minute is authentic? The minute refers to Jeanette Pearl. Some few months ago Miss Jeanette Pearl called at my home and invited me to accept membership on a committee for the protection of foreign born, and laid before me the purposes of that committee. She told me it was intended to carry on a campaign against the registration of foreign born in the United States, and for other purposes. I looked over the personnel of the membership of the committee then functioning and was not satisfied that it was a bona fide committee. I asked her whether this committee was not sponsored by the Communist Party, and she told me that it was not a Communist group. I then asked her point blank whether she was not a member of the Communist Party herself, and she emphatically asserted that she was not a member of the Communist Party and that the committee had nothing to do with the Communist organization. I informed her that my judgment was that while propaganda against a law requiring aliens to register in the United States is exceedingly important and desirable, a committee made up of Communists would destroy the purpose for which it worked, and I also informed her that there had been statements in the public press, which were not denied, that Communists organized these committees for the purpose of collecting funds and never accounting for the same, and that that would militate against the efficacy of such committee if it was Communist inspired. She assured me that it was not Communist inspired, that she was not a Communist, and that if there were a few members on that committee that were Communists, it was due to the fact that it was desired to have a committee embracing all groups; that as far as she personally was concerned, she had nothing to do with the Communists and that her entire interest in the movement was to carry on propaganda against the registration of aliens.

From the excerpt from the minute of January 27, it would seem that the lady is a member of the Communist Party, and was a member at the time she saw me, which was in January. I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the report in The New Leader. Although I did not accept membership on that committee because of the suspicions that I had at the time that the committee was not altogether kosher, I hoped that my interview at least was truthful when she told me that she was not connected with the Communist Party. There must be many people imposed upon by these folks. Decency seems to be not within their ken.

JACOB FANKEN.

N. Y. C.

Editor, New Leader:

I am a very new subscriber, but I would like to tell you how much I enjoy your paper. It is very interesting, and has a more scientific and unbiased viewpoint than the Republican or Democratic papers. Last week we used your paper as the foundation for a weekly meeting that we held.

JANET BRIGGS.

Stanford University, Calif.

Editor, New Leader:

Sans money, sans work, how long will the people vote—sans thought?

ALICE BOOTH.

N. Y. C.

Editor, New Leader:

... I also would like to take this occasion to say that the editorial page, the page of exclusive features and Thomas' column are especially fine. I greatly appreciate the fine work you are doing. Yours for a great Socialist movement.

LOUIS LEVINE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Editor, New Leader:

I think The New Leader is the best paper I have ever read. I think you are doing more good than all the churches, preachers and Billy Sundays this side of hell. I am 76 years old and can not do very much, but I would like to see a good Labor Party in this country.

F. N. CURTIS.

Great Valley, N. Y.

Regulation Versus Nationalization

The Lake Cargo Coal Case Reveals The Futility of Regulation

By Louis Stanley

THE announcement on May 12 that the northern railroads were going to cut their rates on lake cargo coal in order to meet a similar reduction by southern roads brings the whole situation to a head. Obscured by technicalities the lake cargo coal case is of immense importance. Immediately, to the United Mine Workers of America in their struggle for existence, and ultimately, to the whole movement for nationalization.

Lake cargo coal derives its name from the fact that it is sent by rail to Lake Erie ports from which it is transhipped by vessel to the other side of the Great Lakes—the Northwest and Canada. Its importance lies in two facts: (1) its quantity, and (2) its stabilizing effect on coal production. More than twenty-six million tons of coal were shipped across the lakes in 1925 and almost thirty million in 1926. Since the open navigation season on the Great Lakes lasts from late April to late November, the movement and production of lake cargo coal is concentrated during months which ordinarily would be slack.

This lake cargo is mined in certain Appalachian coal fields. Formerly the northern regions, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the upper portion of Western Virginia, provided practically the entire supply of lake cargo coal. During the last decade and a half and especially since the close of the war, after many new mines had been opened, the southern fields in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee have gained so rapidly that it is they which almost have the monopoly today. In this they have been aided by cheap non-union labor and a better grade of coal. The chief advantage, which the union fields of the north had, has been nearness to the market. This has made possible great economy in transportation. Hence, the vigorous fight which the northern operators are making to see that the southerners do not eliminate even this one advantage by obtaining still lower railroad rates on lake cargo coal.

The I. C. C.'s Many Decisions

The Interstate Commerce Commission has passed upon these transportation charges on several occasions. The rates from the southern fields have always been higher than those from the northern but

never as much as one would expect from the respective distances. If southern coal had to bear the cost of transportation to Lake Erie proportionate to distance and at the same rates as northern coal, it would be probably be eliminated completely from the field of competition. Under competitive conditions a differential of nine cents per ton arose between the rates charged for delivery from typical northern and southern fields. In 1912 the Interstate Commerce Commission made its first decision in the matter. It reduced the rates from the northern fields by ten cents per ton, thus establishing a differential of nineteen cents. Further increases were made by decision in 1917, 1918, and 1920, and a reduction went into effect. This left a differential of twenty-five cents. In 1925 the northern operators sought another reduction in vain. The case came up again 1927 and this time Commissioner Esch changed his mind upon the presentation of more convincing evidence. The northern fields received a further reduction of twenty cents, widening their differential to forty-five cents. For this the southern senators waged war upon Esch and when he came up for reappointment this spring they saw to it that he failed to receive the confirmation of the Senate.

The Southern roads and coal operators lost no time to correct the situation. They applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a twenty cents reduction. In a decision handed down last February, the I. C. C. rejected their request. Whereupon, undaunted, the Southerners applied to the Federal Courts for an injunction restraining the I. C. C. from enforcing its order, which cancelled the new schedules of the southern roads. The District Court for the Southern District of West Virginia granted this injunction on April 14, 1928. The Ohio coal operators and the northern railroads rushed to the United States Supreme Court to obtain a stay of the decree of the District Court but on April 17 the Supreme Court denied the petition, giving the southern roads leeway. On May 12 it was announced that the northern roads would put into

effect a twenty cents reduction in lake cargo coal, leaving the differential where it stood before the southern roads changed their schedules in April. The prospects for an old fashioned rate war are excellent.

The Human Side

These are the solid facts in the case. Behind them is the warm blood of life. The destinies of whole communities are involved in these various decisions; the prevailing governmental policy and philosophy are put to the test. Under the terms of the Transportation Act of 1920 the Interstate Commerce Commission has the power to fix minimum rates. Resorting to this authority, the I. C. C. has exercised its control over the transportation of lake cargo coal and, under the circumstances, necessarily over the whole business. The decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission have been made upon the theory that the lake cargo rates of the southern fields has the right to survive. Therefore, rates are determined in such a way that both the southern and northern operators can go on competing with each other. The Federal District Court for the Southern District of West Virginia has denied the validity of the principle that industrial conditions might be regulated by rate adjustments. The northern coal operators must sink or swim as best they can.

For us the lake cargo coal rate case has a double interest. It affects labor conditions in coal-mining, and it challenges the workability of private ownership even under the best of governmental regulation. The United Mine Workers have been conducting a strike in the bituminous coal fields for more than a year. The basic cause of this struggle is the encroachment of the new southern non-union soft coal fields upon the business of the old northern union fields. Cheap labor conditions and a plentiful, easily accessible supply of good coal makes it possible for the new mines of the south to underbid their rivals of the north. The northern operators have, therefore, demanded a reduction in wages. We have seen that the low freight rates,

low in proportion to distance, have enabled the southern mines to overcome the handicap of distance. Lake cargo coal constitutes such an important factor in the coal business of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, the Fairmont district of West Virginia, and the southern coal fields, that the life of the miner's union depends in no small part upon an item so indirect and undramatic as freight rates.

The larger bearings of the lake cargo coal rate case are even more significant. They demonstrate the inherent weakness of our industrial system based upon private property. Take for example, the line-up on this question. The economic interests which want a larger differential in favor of northern coal fields are the northern railroads which have connections with the southern roads, the northern coal operators and the organized miners. On the other side of the fence are the southern railroads originating in the soft coal fields, the operators of these areas, the businessmen of the Northwest, the railroads of this region because they are large users of lake cargo coal, and the non-union miners in the South. What a mess! Railroads fighting each other, operators cutting each other's throats, the union workers and their fellows in the non-union fields—pawns in the game—seeking to starve each other out.

Plentiful Production Absent

There is no plentiful production. New mines are needlessly opened in the south, while the old fields in the north are not yet exhausted and can still fill the demand. Coal is brought from afar that could more easily be obtained nearer home. Desirable grades of southern coal may be prevented from being brought north because of prohibitive freight rates.

Consider, too, the stupidity of the rate situation itself. Admittedly the railroads are able to transport the coal at lower rates than they do. Whatever is charged above the actual cost of transportation is stolen from the pockets of the consumer. In this case, it is not

enough that the road can make a neat profit, it must add thereto money given to it gratis so that competition may be maintained. Mind you, the reasonableness of the rates themselves are not in question. It is only the differential that counts. Both the northern and southern roads may be overcharging. That is immaterial for the ultimate consumer foots the bill. The important thing is the difference that exists between the excessive rates charged on lake cargo coal in the north and those in the south.

Thus we see that private ownership collapses miserably. No thought is taken of the morrow for conservation of natural resources has nothing to contribute to profits. No concern is felt for the consumer because he must pay what ever is demanded of him. No solution for the conflict of economic interests is found because the latter are irreconcilable, where private property is the criterion. No salvation for the worker is possible because his are only human interests and they are of no concern in a social order where personal gain is the only test of value.

With the downfall of private property and competition, as illustrated in the lake cargo case, goes the whole system of government regulation. Governmental control is negative, when conflicting economic interests of equal strength are at stake. Governmental supervision can only be positive when the rights of private property are in danger. In the present instance harmony must be preserved between the competitors in such a way that they will still clash. It cannot be done.

The problem solves itself through nationalization of the mines and the railroads. Production is planned to cause the least distress to the workers. New fields are not opened suddenly in order to take advantage of an increased demand for coal. The existing mines are merely worked more thoroughly. Coal is produced as close to the market as is economical. Railroad transportation costs help to determine the location of mines and the disposition of coal. The conflict of economic interests vanishes for private coal operators and private railroads are gone. The workers are no longer incidental! Industry, in fact, exists for them.

campaign, when our Presidential candidate, Norman Thomas, comes to town on June 10 for the picnic at Riverview Park where he will open his campaign in Chicago. On June 11 the Socialists will banquet, with Comrade Thomas as guest, at the Douglas Park Auditorium, where a big turnout is expected.

West Virginia

West Virginia Socialists are all ready for their big convention, taking in new members and planning for a big campaign. A full State ticket, as well as electors for the Presidential ticket will be selected. The convention will be held in Moose Hall, Morgantown, Sunday, June 3, 1:30 p. m. The State Secretary reports that the members are alive to the necessity of greater activity.

Ohio

State Secretary Willert informs the National Office that there is an awakening of interest and activity among the Socialists in Cincinnati, Athens and other points. Petitions for signatures, accompanied by platforms and leaflets, are being mailed to all locals and branches.

in the State. Willert will spend some time out in the State organizing and helping to collect signatures, as well as doing organization work. All of our readers in Ohio must understand this side of hell. I am 76 years old and can not do very much, but I would like to see a good Labor Party in this country.

F. N. CURTIS.

Great Valley, N. Y.

Editor, New Leader:

The State Convention Greater New York is to have 65 delegates at the Albany State Convention divided as follows: New York County, 36; Kings, 15; Bronx, 12; Queens, 1; Richmond, 1. State Secretary Merrill announces that National Campaign Manager G. August Gerber will meet with the Capital District committee on State Convention arrangements Sunday morning, June 3, and discuss with the committee ways and means of making the Albany convention surpass any that the party has previously held.

The State Secretary is engaged in canvassing unorganized counties for suitable representatives in the State Convention.

Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

National

Readers in unorganized communities seeking information on how to organize local divisions of the Socialist Party may obtain instructions, leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2633 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platform, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Campaign Managers at Work

as above. He will need the close cooperation of the members in the States where help is needed so that the work will be taken care of without any delay.

Missouri

W. L. Garver, State Secretary, has informed the National Headquarters that J. C. Hodges of Kansas City, State Chairman of the party, has filed for the office of Governor on the Socialist ticket. He also writes that a Comrade has filed in the 8th District at Kansas City. The primary in which candidates will be nominated will be held in August. There must be a party convention on September 15 to nominate and file Presidential electors.

Minnesota

The new Socialist local at Minneapolis has upward of fifty members already and is taking new members in at every meeting. The Socialists are arranging a "roger" picnic for June 24 and are expecting Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee as the principal speaker. Emil Herman is the State speaking upstate. Further information from Duluth is to the effect that a good,

healthy local will be organized there right away.

Emil Herman, national organizer of the party, had an excellent meeting in the town hall here. The total income of the meeting was \$16.30, of which \$6.30 was from literature sales. Herman spoke for an hour and answered questions for another hour. C. H. Buck will be in charge of the party's nomination petitions here.

Montana

State Secretary James D. Graham informs the National Office that the Socialists of Montana held their State Convention on May 15 and nominated electors and a full State ticket. Good for Montana!

Arkansas

Comrade Pennington, State Secretary, reports that a county convention of Socialists will be held on May 27 at West Fork. They will also nominate for the Legislature. The members will hold a State Convention some time in June to nominate State candidates and Presidential electors.

New Mexico

State Secretary Richardson at Roswell reports that the Socialists will hold a mass convention and with it a picnic and basket dinner. They will also nominate a full State ticket for the fall election. The mass convention will be held at Roswell, near L. F. D. School, three miles east of Roswell. Members in New Mexico should arrange to be there.

Colorado

C. A. Bushnell, State Secretary, in answer to a letter from the National Office, writes that they are planning for a State Convention in the Los Angeles headquarters, 129 N. St. Louis street, on June 17. The convention will be called to order at 10 a. m. All party members and all interested Socialists are urged to attend.

California

The Socialist Party of California will meet in State Convention in the Los Angeles headquarters, 129 N. St. Louis street, on June 17. The convention will be called to order at 10 a. m. All party members and all interested Socialists are urged to attend.

and State ticket will be nominated. All readers in California please make it a point to attend.

Texas

The Socialist State Convention of Texas will be held on July 8 at Dallas. They are very desirous that Norman Thomas, our Presidential candidate, visit Dallas on that date. Arrangements are already being made for a big affair, and we hope Comrade Thomas will be able to make that point.

Connecticut

National Executive Committee member McLevy of Bridgeport and State Secretary Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford organized a new local at Waterbury Friday evening, May 25, with 13 members—lucky number. The new local made plans for a large mass meeting, with Norman Thomas, the party's candidate for President, as the speaker.

Illinois

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES.

BEHIND THE SCENES IN A GREAT LIBERAL NEWSPAPER OFFICE

(The curtain goes up on an editorial conference in the offices of the New York World. Enter first editorial writer.)

F. E. W.: What day is this?
OTHER EDITORIAL WRITERS: Thursday.
F. E. W. (Brightly): Then tomorrow is Friday.
O. E. W.: Yes, yes.

F. E. W.: Let's see, Friday we are Liberal. Who wants to write a nice Liberal editorial? (Silence)
F. E. W.: All right, then, I'll write one myself. What do you think of this idea, boys? An editorial saying that the World, in the tradition of the late Joseph Pulitzer, never intemperate, never intemperate, never intemperate, takes a firm and unequivocal stand against the rape of a ten-year-old girl near Scranton, Pennsylvania by sixty-five armed men guards and eighteen state troopers. This sort of thing must stop. It has been going on much too long, and if it happens again, the World will be forced to write another editorial on the subject. How's that?

O. E. W.: Very fine, but what about the editorial on the New Tammany?

F. E. W.: Oh, yes, I have that. (Reaches in his pocket and brings out mimeographed New Tammany Editorial No. 25. Reads.)

"When the history of our times comes to be written, one contemporaneous institution will loom above all others as the prime and precious conservator of everything that is best in the essential American tradition. We refer of course to the New Tammany, purged today of any suspicion of political partisanship which might have attached to it in the earlier and more boisterous days of Tweed, Croker and Murphy. Under the guidance of that rugged Jeffersonian Democrat, Judge Olvany, and with its standard-bearer, Al Smith, the knights of this holy order have gone out to one of the most gallant attacks upon special privilege in the history of our time.

Now the white plumes of Navarre have been transformed into the brown derby of Albany and the high hat of City Hall. One need demand no further evidence of the complete transformation of Tammany than the demolition of the burlesque show which the Hall once housed, and the fact that Shorty McAllister and the Six Shimmy Sisters have moved around the corner from Fourteenth Street to Irving Place.

It is a privilege for a liberal paper like the World to be able to acclaim the complete renaissance of a liberal institution such as Tammany Hall. There is some criticism among extremists over the fact that at least fifty per cent of the city's expenditures under Tammany's administration are devoted to pure graft. This of course does not include simple bribery and extortion. But we like our readers to consider what an advance has been made since the days when graft consumed 99 and 1-100 per cent of the city's expenditure. All progress is a matter of relativity. Your true liberal is never in a hurry. Believing that things will be somehow good, he is well content to observe the slow march of events towards the light of a better day. If the ratio of graft to honest expenditure is indeed now fifty per cent, the World finds every reason to rejoice in this fact, and calls upon all decent-minded citizens to support Al Smith and the entire Democratic ticket."

ONE SMALL RESPECTABLE EDITORIAL WRITER: Pretty good, but what do you think Heywood Brown will say about that?

F. E. W. (Angrily): What concern of ours is what a disloyal ex-member of the staff says about anything? Anyhow, haven't I said three or four times in that editorial that we are very liberal?

O. E. W.: Yes, yes, yes.

O. S. B. E. W. (Apologetically): Do you suppose our readers will get that about the "plumes of Navarre"? They'll all understand that part about the Six Shimmy Sisters, but isn't it a bit thick for our Yorkville circulation to talk about chevrons and such?

F. E. W. (Shortly): The editorial and circulation departments of the World are entirely separate. It has always been the policy of the World to destroy the business and opinionate marriage which is found so frequently in other papers. Now let us get back to business. Who will write the whimsical editorial about the girl in Dayton, Ohio, who won the freckles championship of the United States?

O. E. W. (Eagerly): I will.

F. E. W.: Well, you can't all write it. Someone has got to write a piece about the tariff and aviation. (Turning savagely on O. S. B. E. W.) And it looks as though that someone would be you.

O. S. B. E. W. (Retires resignedly, muttering): Disloyal, hell!

(Enter Herbert Swope noisily)

H. S.: We've got to crusade again. Who has an idea for a crusade? What about graft in the bonded squid market? I understand that conditions there are becoming intolerable. We've had at least four letters from bonded squid dealers, stating that they are being preyed upon by politicians.

F. E. W.: But to what party do these politicians belong?

H. S.: Tammany Hall, of course.

F. E. W.: How will this crusade jibe with our editorials on the new Tammany?

H. S. (Despondently): That's so. I never thought of that. Let's see. Can't we crusade about toothpaste, and suggest that every school-child be required to brush his or her teeth twice a day? That ought to bring in some good tooth-paste advertising, and certainly not even these damned radicals can object to that. Somebody write up a snappy lead editorial on the World's exclusive campaign for oral hygiene among school children. We'll offer prizes once a week for the child who uses the most tubes during that week. We can send someone up to the school to make a little talk and give a medal in the shape of a solid gold tooth, something like the Elks wear on their watch-chains. That will boost circulation among all the winners' relatives. And by the way, speaking of circulation, what's become of that front-page statement that the World has the largest circulation in greater New York of any standard-size newspaper? If it's necessary, we can change it to "The World has a greater city circulation weekdays than any other standard-size morning paper in New York which prints on its front page a picture of the statue of Liberty arising from the clouds between two continents." No question about that, is there? That will make a good advertising slogan, won't it? (Looks at watch.) Well, I must get along. I have lunch with Otto Kahn and afterwards Harry Sinclair is taking me in his private train to Havana-de-Grace, and later on we're going to Havana for a week. I know I can trust you boys to keep pounding away at that crusade.

O. E. W.: Yes, yes, yes.

H. S.: And by the way, beginning Monday, we're going to abolish the news-section. There have been too many complaints about it and it hardly seems worth while continuing it.

O. E. W.: Yes, yes, yes, yes. McAllister Coleman.

Book Review

Sound And Fury

By McAllister Coleman.

YOUNG men and women in fifty-five schools and departments in thirty-eight states, 5,526 students in all, are engaged today in the study of what is called Journalism. They go to lectures, read text-books, take notes, write theses. At the conclusion of their courses they are supposed to go out into the newspaper world, with a professional knowledge of that mysterious realm.

In the face of such a career as that described in Mr. Winkler's biography of William Randolph Hearst (Hearst: An American Phenomenon, by John K. Winkler. Published by Simon and Schuster, \$4.00), every school of journalism in the country seems no more than a gigantic joke. For here is a man who is unquestionably one of the great leaders of modern journalism, who owns newspapers and magazines from coast to coast, producing profits of fifteen million dollars net a year, who, after his fashion, has done more to mould the trend of journalistic manners and methods than any other single individual—and who by his every action sets at naught all the academic teachings and pious adjurations of all the professors of journalism.

The newspaper novice with any sense of realism will waste no time whatsoever inside the schools. He will get himself four dollars and a copy of Mr. Winkler's book and study the life history of Hearst with the closest attention. When he has done that he will realize that a success in journalism—that is, a big, he-man, national, wallowing success—means only one thing, and that is circulation. Get circulation and everything else is added unto you. Trim, lie, snivel, sneak, steal, pilfer, prostitute, rouse the rabble, first, last, and all the time—and, my son, you will be a great journalist just like Willie Hearst. Follow such a policy and some time you will find yourself backing the most surprisingly progressive measures. You may come out for municipal ownership of public utilities, if that is a better direction of effort than support of private ownership. You may take

cracks at the wicked Trusts, if that will get you more readers than the defence of monopoly. You may be against war if you figure that there are certain thousands to be added to the circulation list who are also opposed to war. And then overnight you may shift, and take a firm stand for big business monopoly, larger and natter navies, war with everybody, and to hell with the pacifists.

Mr. Winkler's instructive book is an expansion of a series of articles which he wrote on Hearst for the "New Yorker" magazine, and which were supposed to be critical in their nature. They turned out to be so enthusiastic in their adulation of the melancholy publisher, however, that a number of innocents called up the "New Yorker" to ask if it were true that Mr. Hearst had purchased that sheet. In this 318-page book, Mr. Winkler's adulation became shriller and funnier. He hitches up Hearst with Lucullus, Maecenas, Cagliostro, the Dalai Lama, Napoleon, and Lord Northcliffe. And the pot-pourri that results is as confusing a character delineation as we have come across in any of the recent short-order biographies. When he tells the actual facts about Hearst's life, there is enough color and go in them to hold your interest. But when he stops to analyze motives, or produce alibis for his hero, you have the same flat nauseating feeling of reading less than nothing which assails you after contact with one of Mr. Hearst's papers.

After all, Oswald Garrison Villard, in his informative book, "Some Newspapers and Newspapersmen," said in one sentence about all there is to be said about the career of William Randolph Hearst:—"He has done more to degrade the entire American press than anyone else in history—more than Pulitzer and both the Bennetts combined." But it has been a most profitable degradation. And as the making of profits is the chief end of man, in 1928, why bother our journalistic students with talk of ethics, decency, honesty, reporting, and the like? Give them this book and tell them to go out and get it.

Organization Education Solidarity

FREE YOUTH

Young People's Socialist League,
23 Townsend St.,
Fitchburg, Mass.



Published Every Week By The New Leader for the Young Peoples Socialist League

New England Yipsels Hold Big Convention

The Young People's Socialist League of New England held its successful convention at Fitchburg, on April 28 and 29, which was attended by 30 accredited and 200 unaffiliated delegates. The convention was called to order by district secretary Anita Ginsburg and was addressed by Alfred Baker Lewis, Aaron J. Parker, National Secretary of the Y. P. S. L., and Savelle Syrjala, a member of the Y. P. S. L. Executive Committee. After the addresses and the various committees had been elected, the convention adjourned and the delegates attended an entertainment arranged by the local circle.

Sunday was a busy day. The educational committee's report was explained by Louis Rabinowitz, chairman. An outline of educational work for the coming year was made after due deliberation. Special features of the program include the organization of public speaking classes to train speakers, the organization of study classes, and the establishing of a Yipsel speakers bureau.

Resolutions were passed against child labor, compulsory military training in public schools and colleges, and war. One resolution pledges both moral and financial assistance to the textile strikers of New Bedford. The Yipsels were particularly urged to support The New Leader by subscribing to it themselves and helping to get subscriptions for it.

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

The following officials were elected: District Secretary, Anita Ginsburg; District Organizer, Louis Rabinowitz; District Committee: Alice Hekkala, Louis Glad, Edgar Nimmer, Laila Wahter and Frank Manning. Edwin Hill, of Gardner, was elected athletic director, and Esther Levenberg and Laila Wahter were elected auditors.

Milwaukee Yipsels Very Much on the Job

The Yipsels of Milwaukee County (Wis., known as North Side Circle, meet first and third Fridays in Metropolitan Hall, 818 and Clark Street, at 8 p. m. Also have executive meetings in comrades' homes second and fourth Fridays, where the club's activities are planned. Elections of officers of the club are held semi-annually. The present officers are: secretary, Miss Arlene Peters; treasurer, Al. H. Baumann. The chairman is a different member at every meeting. This plan was devised to give all young comrades a chance to get experience in conducting meetings for the future. Sergeant-at-arms are Comrades John Strobel and John Borough.

The North Side Circle has a membership of 30 members. At present we are planning a membership drive and have offered prizes: 1st prize—a year's dues; 2nd prize—3 months' dues; 3rd prize—1 month's dues. Address communications to Al. H. Baumann, 959 4th Street, near. Watch this column for further announcements of Milwaukee County's North Side Circle.

FREE YOUTH is the publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It aims to present, in concise form, the doings of progressive youth. It invites contributions of news and views. Address Free Youth, c/o The New Leader, 7 E. 15th St., New York City.

25 Yipsels Are Ready To Take The Stamp

The D. E. C. Committee of New England received reports at its meeting from the Speakers Bureau. It was reported that the efforts of the Y. P. S. L. for the season of 1927-28 to advocate Socialism effectively with the spoken word and that these graduates of the B. E. League would be available for campaign speeches.

The Y. P. S. L. representative in the New Bedford strike, Frank J. Manning, reported to the committee and it was decided to instruct all Circle Secretaries and Field Organizers to secure funds and food for the 30,000 striking textile workers.

The Literature Committee reported that a new series of circulars would be printed explaining what the Y. P. S. L. can do for youth in factory, field, office and school. The Publicity committee was instructed to arrange for publicity to insure success in securing speakers sent out by the Bureau.

Yipsels To Publish Through New Leader

THE Board of Directors of the Y. P. S. L. Publishing Association met Saturday evening, May 12, at the Rand School. Its decisions, which are to be put up for ratification before the entire Association, as well as the Executive Committee of the New York League, are far-reaching 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 Y. P. S. L. column to be a Y. P. S. L. column, and should be assisted by Geo. Field.

2.—That it be compulsory for every member of the Y. P. S. L. 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.

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

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

5.—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.

Gangsterism

AS an American institution gangsterism has become conspicuous in the larger cities, especially in New York and Chicago. Paris and other large European cities also have their human misfits but it is doubtful whether the gang has achieved the luxurious growth abroad that it has in the fatherland of Freedom. Herbert Asbury has written the story of the New York gangs (The Gangs of New York. Alfred A. Knopf, \$4) beginning with the revolutionary period and concluding with the recent reign of Kid Dropper.

What stands out in this history is abysmal rackets, booting kens, frightful poverty, disease and abnormality spawned by the slums of New York City. Some of the chapters are revolting in their revelation of the beasthood to which human beings can sink under adverse conditions and yet these creatures retain something of their human traits. The crook and the prostitute, the burglar and the professional murderer, the pimp and the procurer, the professional thief and the professional politician, the wastrel, the inebriate and the dope fiend, all stalk in the shadows of New York's underground life, with gang wars and political wars providing a thrill or inciting disgust according to the mood of the reader.

Tammany Hall also runs like a red thread through the narrative. The thread disappears at times only to appear in some low dive or in a gang employed in elections, or in a grocery, or a bawdy house where some Madame disposes of her wares with the connivance of police officials. The raw material of the gangs is not always supplied by the working class. Men and women with pasts, some who had "known better days," are caught in the swirling cesspool and dragged into the slime and crime that oozes like a filthy sore.

The work is one long dreary account of the New York abyss and yet it is difficult to lay the book aside despite the uniformity of much of the life it depicts over a long period of time. Each chapter repeats the ferocity and brutality of its participants, the only difference being the details and the number of casualties. Mr. Asbury has attempted to give a history of each gang and its exploits and feuds and has drawn upon contemporary accounts, in newspapers and the few books that have carried some material on this phase of life.

Two chapters are devoted to the draft riots during the Civil War and it seems

to us that too large a role has been given to the criminal elements in this affair. Of course, the gangs undoubtedly participated, for it is in such upheavals that the slum proletariat and the criminal find an opportunity to pillage, but all accounts of the riots show that it was a revolt of large numbers of workingmen, especially the Irish, against conscription. Similar revolts occurred in the South against conscription and for once in their lives the degraded poor whites began to act for themselves. Unfortunately, their fury was mainly directed against the slaves.

The Irish workers led by their clergy were pro-slavery and New York City as a whole had voted a big majority against Lincoln in 1860. The fact that a Negro orphan asylum was burned and that hundreds of Negroes were tortured to death show that the opposition to the draft also took the form of an anti-Negro uprising with the Irish playing a conspicuous role. The author does not ignore this aspect of the riots, but more emphasis is placed upon leadership by the criminal elements of the population than the facts warrant.

On the whole it is a fascinating book and presents a phase of New York life that has been ignored by too many historians.

James Oneal.

HOME EDUCATION

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

The Value of Sympathy

LOU PRUITT ROBERTS

WE read and hear so much about the faults and general misconduct of children, but how many parents do you know who really measure up to standard?

A Sunday School worker started out one morning, trying to get mothers and their children more interested in Sunday School. It had been raining the day before, and little puddles were "standing everywhere."

Her knock at the door of a pretty little home was answered by a rather tired, nervous-looking woman. Before she had finished explaining her mission, a boy about ten years of age came in. His clothing, face, hands and feet showed very plainly he had been enjoying the rain and mud.

In a moment the mother completely lost her self-control; her temper flared, and Jimmy received a severe scolding. Tears came to his eyes, and he attempted a meek apology, but the words were hardly begun when his mother stormed, "Hush, go at once to your room. I'll see you later."

In a sullen, rebellious mood, Jimmy started away, but before he was out of hearing, his mother turned to her caller, and in a high-pitched, angry voice gave vent to her feelings. "He is the most careless child I have. He has no consideration for me whatever. I slave away from morning till night and he's forever making extra work for me, such as this. I'm sure he will come to some bad end, he's so reckless and hard to manage."

As the Sunday School worker listened to Jimmy's mother, she, too, was afraid that perhaps some day Jimmy might come to some bad end. She made several appeals to this mother with regard to the Sunday School but could not get her thoughts far enough away from her home and its immediate troubles to answer her interest.

As she walked toward the next home, she pondered over Jimmy, his playmates and general environment. When she knocked at this door, she heard a general rush and scurry of bare feet about the room, mingled with little giggles, but in a moment everything was quiet. Then a rather large but pleasant-looking woman opened the door. The merry twinkle in her eyes and her kindly smile radiated good cheer and sympathy.

In a matter-of-fact way she said, "Harry and the little boy next door have been enjoying themselves in the mud this morning." Then she seemed to dismiss the whole affair from her mind and gave her undivided attention to her caller.

We all love an understanding mother—one who can sympathize, and will kiss away the tears, or laugh and enjoy our pleasures with us! "Harry will surely come to some good end with such a mother," thought the visitor.

Strange, isn't it, that some parents fail to realize the importance of sympathy and often alienate their children's affections by being cross and unreasonable. These people seem to forget they once were children. Yet the end to which childish behavior leads generally depends much more upon the parent than upon the child.

Readers of the New Leader are Invited to the JUNE CONFERENCE

of the LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

to be held at CAMP TAMENT, FOREST PARK, PA. Thursday, June 28, to Sunday, July 1, 1938

Subject: "WHAT CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE IN SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY AND TACTICS?"

Among the participants will be: Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, Paul Blanchard, Louis B. Boudin, Stuart Chase, August Claessens, Solon DeLeon, Robert W. Dunn, Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser, J. B. S. Hardman, Arthur Garfield Hays, Dr. Jessie W. Hughan, Vladimir Karapetoff, William Karlin, Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Ivy Lee, Professor William M. Leiserson, Franz Lonville of Belgium, Professor Robert Morris Lovett, James H. Maurer, Jacob Panken, H. S. Raushenbush, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Benjamin Stolberg, Dr. N. I. Stone, Ernest Untermann, J. A. Woodworth, Labor Member, Canadian Parliament, Louis Waldman.

Those interested should write at once to LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City

THE CHATTER BOX

YESTERDAY, they passed my place on Lafayette Street. . . . Joe the Wop and the Law. Two bull-necked lads represented the State. Manacles to either wrist of Joe made for secure contact. Joe had "stuck up" a spaghetti joint on Spring Street, and had given a careless victim . . . "de woika."

Joe the Wop once spent a week working for me unloading a carload of hardware and emery wheels. During the intervals between truckloads, we had quite a few heart-to-heart confabs. The hardboiled boy seemed at home with me and without adding too much to an already impaired reputation, may I add that I felt at home with him. We had the whole East Side as a common birthplace, and what more can two wanderers have for companionship than memories of the old days. We confided much, and elaborated a great deal. But what sticks most in mind now is the story he told me of the Public School on Mott Street from whence he emerged into the profession of "gitting while the gittin's good."

He remembered me as "Frenchy" of the old Polo Athletic Club days when for five dollars a round bruising lumber jacks took pot-shots at your chin and ribs. And it was different in those years. . . . No fights . . . no money. . . . So he called me "Frenchy" as he went along on his rampage of reminiscence. Suppose for readability I hold down on the picturesque argot of the underworld, and just translate it into some sort of English.

"You know Frenchy, I guess that school made a bum out of me. We never had a decent teacher. We were always getting substitutes. We never had a chance to learn much. We hardly ever had a teacher long enough to learn to love or hate him. They used to send us down a lot of pie-eyed old maids, and we would just spit-ball them to death. . . . We were a tough lot of kids true. Sometimes a regular guy would come in, a fellow handy with his mits, and with a pleasant line of talk. We had a good time with him, and just as soon as we got used to him, he ups and goes. Honest we never were bad to the good teachers. I mean the ones who took an interest in us. But Christ, for some reason or other we never got any good teachers. All the pups and crippled ducks of the system kept crawling in on us season after season. . . ."

Before me sat Joe the Wop that afternoon some two years ago. Yesterday he went up the river for his last ride on earth. Twenty seven years old, a graduate from an American Public School, and one may say, a representative product of the Educational system of Tammanyized New York.

Of course there was a great deal more to this talk than just gushing. He told quite plainly of how he earned his hit before and during elections. . . . It wasn't a very pretty tale. Dope, and guns, and black-jacks sort of colored up the narration. He did lament his lack of capital for real booze running. But most of all I recall the teachers he told about. "And let me assert right here, that Tammany has never made the tiniest attempt to re-organize the teaching personnel along the lines of the greatest good for the greatest number. Along the upper and lower sides of the city, the millions teem and propagate. The schools are old and weary looking. Into these the tots and rickety ridgets of the workers are dragged and herded, for some sort of educational pretense. Any teacher with a pull at the Ward headquarters finds a way of steering clear of these schools. And the cruel selfishness that has barnacled itself on saint and demon alike in this world of ours, has found the salary-hounding pedagogues quite willing to forego even the semblance of idealistic notion in the matter."

The story goes about that the Wop kids and the Irish kids, and the Slovak kids are a murderous lot. And the young teachers are perfectly willing to listen and tremble, and keep away from the poor schools. And not a thing is ever done at Park Avenue to investigate the matter; to attempt a re-organization; to seriously go about the job of sending the best teachers in the system to where they are most needed. And the result is Joe the Wop, a short life and quite sordidly merry, and then the still house wherein a chair sputters death for a moment, now and again.

Tammany can steal all the sewer taxes, and milk boodle, and franchise easy dough it has a mind too. That's to be expected in a land like ours. They do it all the time. Snow falls and every flake is a bright new nickel of graft. And a lot of flakes make a lot of nickels and a lot of nickels makes five to seven million dollars a year. That however is just grand larceny. Except in Russia you wouldn't shoot a lad for such doings. But this teaching-the-poor business is murder in the Nth degree.

It is killing off little souls that might flower into a grasp of sunlight and brainlight. It is building into life thousands of thieves, and Joe the Wops.

But, pshaw! I'm waxing sentimental now. Not a line of what I have said above is even good prose. I have just ambled on, and allowed something unlettered inside of me to prechafy. . . .

I wonder what the teachers have to say about it. . . . It is too much to ask Jimmy Walker, or Brown Derby Al to cogitate upon. Education is out of their line. Reading and such truck ain't nuttin' compared to government. . . . get me! But with Joe the Wop going to the death house. . . . What's all the government for. . . . and the billions that go into it in taxes, and rents, and tickets for the Streetcleaners Ball. . . .

Good bye Joe. . . . I wish I could believe you that there is another world. Maybe you'll find a better educational system down there. . . . From the little hard chair in the Mott Street school room to the big grim chair in the little quiet house isn't such a long way. . . . Is it Joe. . . . ?

Spring Poems

I met you in a dusty hall—
A quite prosaic, dirty place
And yet—on every blossomed bough
I see the image of your face.

Grey clouds scudding thru a greyer sky
We walls gleaming with dirt and mud—
Soft grey mist and sad raindrops
And a splash of soft wet crimson
Where three poppies sway in the wind.

My songs are dusty, inarticulate mutterings
Against the windswept beauty
Of your stern steel lines.

How can we keep love clean and free
From lust and shame and fleshy sin—
We who walk thru the filth and dirt
Of the city we are prisoners in?

OLIVE S. O'NEAL

And Miss Olive O'Neal need not think that the spring poems of hers were included here just because she is "Only An Editor's Daughter". . . . They got in here on their own. . . .

S. A. DeWitt.

Central Trades Endorses Union Health Center

Nine New Unions Affiliated—Many More Considering The Move

READERS of The New Leader will be glad to learn that the Union Health Center is on the road to success. As will be remembered the financial position of this institution was rather strained during the last two years. The arrangements by which locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union would send their members to use the Health Center had to be abandoned—temporarily at least. That alone left the Union Health Center almost high and dry. It was chiefly because of these conditions that it was possible to open the doors of the Center to organized labor as a whole. It was a good move. It was the only move that could have saved the Health Center—and unless something unforeseen should happen, the life of the institution is assured.

"I am not one who wants to see the Central Trades and Labor Council endorse everything and everybody," said William Cohn, president of the International Upholstery Workers Union at the last meeting of the council, "but insofar as the Health Center is concerned we should be proud to endorse such an institution."

"In making the motion to have this body endorse the Union Health Center," said Philip Umlader, of the Printing Pressmen, "I want the delegates to know that my Union has already affiliated, and is paying the four hundred dollar affiliation fee, we feel that it is the best investment we have ever made." Mr. Umlader of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Fred Gna of the Painters, and others spoke in favor of the motion which received an unanimous vote.

The list of unions that have affiliated with the Health Center is growing. Here are only a few of those who have come in during the last week: Sheet Metal Workers Union, Hebrew-American Typographical Union, Amalgamated Lithographers Union, International Pocketbook Workers Union, Pressmen's Union No. 51, Paper Cutters No. 119, Waterproof Garmen Workers, Women's Auxiliary to Big Six National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

And the following unions are having the question of affiliation under consideration: Electrotypes, Electrical Workers No. 3, Carpenters Local 2090, Capmakers Council, Women's Upholstery Local, Paper Handlers No. 1. There is every reason to believe that these organizations will come in and will use the facilities of the Center. It is this sort of action on the part of the unions that is giving new life to the institution.

It remains now for the remaining organizations to take hold of the Union Health Center. For, after July 1, the members of unaffiliated locals will be required to pay a slightly higher fee for examinations and treatments. This rule will apply to locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union as well.

UNVEILING

MEMORIAL MEETING in memory of MARY DUBOW will be held on Sunday, June 3, 1:30 P.M. at Mt. Zion Cemetery. Section Owned By Bogotol Unterstutzungs Verein.

POLEN-MILLER
OPTICAL COMPANY
GOLDEN OPTOMETRIST
1800 LEXINGTON AVE. COR. 106th ST.
NEW YORK CITY

PARK PALACE
3-5 West 110th Street
Banquet Hall Rooms for Balls, Weddings, Birthdays and Meetings
ROSENBERG & HERTZ, Props.
Telephone: Monument 4254
Cathedral 5071

Typewriters
all makes
Sold, rented
and repaired

All Guaranteed Moderate Prices
International Typewriter Co.
1645 2nd Ave., Bet. 85th & 86th St.
Open 10 A. M. to 9 P. M. Tel. Regent 1900

George C. Heinicke
25 Union Square, New York, Room 506
Phone: Stuyvesant 1471
United States and Foreign Patents and Trade Marks; 22 Years' Experience. Moderate Prices; Registered United States and Canada.

FRESH CUT FLOWERS DAILY
FRED SPITZ
3 SECOND AVENUE
(Near Houston St.) - NEW YORK
Telephone Dry Dock 8880 8881

WOLFF
OPTOMETRIST and OPTICIAN
200 W. 125 St., Bet. 6th & St. Nicholas Ave.

Manumit Associates To Meet June 1st; Unions Cooperating

The Manumit Associates are holding their annual conference at Manumit School, Pawling, New York, June 1-3. The general topic to be discussed is "What Should the School Do for its Children, and How?" Three sessions will be held, which will take up successively the questions: (1) What the Child Should Know, (2) What the Child Should Be, (3) How to Accomplish this Result.

Among those who will participate in the discussion are Professor Wm. H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University; Miss Sara Patrick, also of Teachers College; Miss Elsie Clapp, of the Rosemary School at Greenwich, Conn.; Miss Theresa Wolfson of Hunter College; Alexia A. Perm, formerly of Stelton Camp; A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College; Dr. Henry R. Linville of the Teachers Union; and Abraham Lefkowitz, also of the Teachers Union; Miss Anna Cohn of the International Ladies Garment Workers; Miss Rose Schneiderman of the Women's Trade Union League; A. A. Shipiloff of the International Pocketbook Workers; J. Malmak and J. M. Budish of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Union; H. H. Bronch of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Mrs. Helen Fricks, and Jelle M. Seeds of the Manumit School.

On Saturday afternoon the Manumit children will give an international pageant and series of original plays. The Manumit Associates is a voluntary organization of trade union leaders and educators who aim to make of Manumit school a demonstration experimental school for the labor movement. Manumit conceives of the whole life as educational in value and uses as the basis of its educational process the community life which teachers and children share on equal terms.

Pekhanoff Memorial Meeting June 8th

Friday evening, June 8, at Rind School Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, a meeting will be held by all Socialist organizations to observe the tenth anniversary of the death of G. V. Pekhanoff, the famous founder of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and one of the distinguished figures of the Russian Revolution. The speakers will be Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, H. Kantorowich, Dr. S. Ingemann, A. Brailowsky, Villster and others.

Prof. Karapetoff To Give Piano Recital at L. I. D. Conference

Among the interesting features of the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, outside of the intellectual discussion, will be a piano recital by Professor Vladimir Karapetoff of Cornell University. Professor Karapetoff, is constantly assisting his friends by his varied interests. While professor of electrical engineering at Cornell University and one of the most prominent electrical engineers of the country, Professor Karapetoff delights Cornell students several times each year by piano, organ and cello recitals. He has a genius for electricity, for music and for constructive solution of social problems. This is the first time in years that he has been able to leave his scientific work and attend a June Conference of the L. I. D., although, as vice-president of the League he has operated closely in its affairs. The piano recital will probably be given on Sunday morning, July 1.

The conference itself which will be devoted to the discussion of "Changes in Modern Socialism," will be held in Camp Tamiment from Thursday afternoon, July 2 to Sunday afternoon, July 5. Among the speakers will be Harry Elmer Barnes, James O'Neal, Dr. Alexander Goldenweber, Franz Oppenheimer, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Solon DeLeon, Alphonse Lee, Dr. W. I. Stone, William M. Leiserson, Louis B. Boudin, Paul Blanchard, Robert W. Dunn, Benjamin Stolberg, H. S. Raushenbush, Roger Baldwin, Kurtz Welle, August W. Hughes, J. B. S. Hardman, McAllister Coleman, Benjamin C. Marsh, Robert Morris Lovett, Jacob Panken, William Karlin.

Those interested should apply at once to Harry W. Laidler, League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Camp Eden Ready To Give Visitors "Time of Their Life"

The pleasure seekers and vacationists who plan to be at Camp Eden, Cold Spring, N. Y., this season are going to have a whooping good time, according to the managing committee, who week after week can be seen rolling up their sleeves, working with limitless energy to make their vision of an ideal vacation place for their fellow workers a reality. It is their viewpoint that one need not pay high rates in order to enjoy one's vacation.

At Camp Eden there are unlimited facilities for wholesome sport and recreation. Delicacies and delectable food for the ravenous whose appetites are made keen by the bracing atmosphere.

From great distances come many tourists to see the beauty—the natural world—the magnificent awe-inspiring views Camp Eden affords. Here one is filled with the joy of living.

The easy access, moderate rates and fine transportation advantages by boat, train and motor make the camp favored as a desirable place for conventions, outings and other summer festivities usually planned by labor unions, Workmen's Circles and other groups.

When your doctor sends you to a truss maker for a truss bandage or stocking, go there and see what you can buy for your money.

Then go to **P. WOLF & CO., Inc.**
COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES
1490 Third Ave. 70 Avenue A
Bet. 84th & 85th St. Bet. 4th & 5th St.
New York City New York City
Open 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Open 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.
Special Ladies' Department

League Labor Head Under Hot Criticism

Albert Thomas' Praise of Fascist "Unions" Draws Fire of Friedrich Adler

By Friedrich Adler

MAY, 1928, has brought to the Fascists triumph. Albert Thomas, director of the League Labor Office, has gone to Rome, was received first by Mussolini himself in the Palazzo Chigi, and finally took part in the ceremonial opening session of the Congress of the Fascist trade unions, thus forming a link in the setting amid which the Dictator Mussolini honored ten thousand of his slaves with an address about the glorious achievements which Fascism has conferred upon workers.

So far we have only Fascist reports, and no reliable information as to the stay of Albert Thomas in Rome. Nevertheless what is already definitely established is sufficient as basis of judgment as to Albert Thomas' action. The reports of his speeches in the Fascist newspapers, such as the "Stampa" and the "Giornale d'Italia" are presented with superlative sensationalism. However distorted they may be, the assertion of his "scientific" interest in the Fascist counterfeit trade unions is established beyond doubt. It is also known that Thomas attended the Congress of the Fascist counterfeit trade unions.

We are far from failing to recognize the difficulties arising for Albert Thomas in consequence of his post as Director of the International Labor Office. Such posts lead necessarily to intercourse with enemies of the working-class, with capitalist exploiters. In certain circumstances one may feel doubtful whether a Socialist should assume such a post at all.

The problem is not so simple, as the Communist demagogues, who have seized the opportunity to attack every trade unionist who through the I. L. O. is championing the interests of the workers would like to have it. Albert Thomas spent a couple of days in Rome; but in the presence of the Soviet Union, there is a Communist permanently stationed. On the occasion of Fascist celebrations they fly flags on the Soviet Embassy just as much as on the Embassies of all the capitalist countries; and they pay their visits to the Fascist ministers in all the traditional forms of established courtesy. And at great festivities they sit next to the Fascist criminals, make invitations to them and accept such from them.

Soviet Russia is bound to carry on its interest in all its forms with the capitalist states, and her representatives are fulfilling their official duties when they enter into relations with the representatives of the worst enemies of the working-class. And what is right to the Ambassador of Soviet Russia in Rome is legitimate for the Director of the International Labor Office.

In itself the journey to Rome need be no reproach against Albert Thomas. But there is yet another point to which we must be clear, in order to gauge in its true significance the extent of the incident, which fills with indignation not only the martyrs of Italian Socialism, but every Socialist who is true to his convictions. The writer of these lines can speak of it all the more soberly and objectively, since he has never yielded to any illusions as to the role of Albert Thomas.

The once-celebrated expression about "parliamentary idiosyncrasy" finds its appropriate completion in the recognition of "anti-parliamentary idiosyncrasy." Today the same phenomena are springing up afresh in the sphere of international parliamentarism. There is a regular "League of Nations" idiosyncrasy and its equally regular counterpart, an "anti-League of Nations idiosyncrasy." It is necessary to steer clear of both. Whoever supposes that the institutions in Geneva are capable of taking the place of the struggle of the working-class, is just as far from the truth as anyone who supposes that everything in Geneva is worthy only to perish. The institutions in Geneva are an arena in the international sphere. The international parliamentary arena has points of advantage. We realized this distinctly a year ago when Jouxhaux in a public session flung his formidable charges at the representatives of Fascism. The Communists realized it likewise when they understood so well how to make use of the reparatory Conference of Disarmament for the purposes of unmasking imperialist hypocrisy in this respect. But yet more than these verbal battles, the creation of the International Labor Office has a lasting significance. In the domain of labor statistics and of comparative investigation into all questions of labor legislation, it can achieve work that would never be within the reach of international institutions, solely dependent on the modest means at the disposal of the working-class.

It is necessary to premise so much, in order to place clearly the limits of Albert Thomas' mission as Director of the International Labor Office. His intense industry with which he threw himself into every task have procured for the International Labor Office the imposing resources which no doubt far exceed the bounds of what the members of the Peace of Versailles may have had in mind when making their gesture of social good-will. Indeed it may be said with certainty that if instead of Albert Thomas some bureaucrat or other had become the Director of this institution, it would have degenerated as a tiny insignificant organism. Assuredly, the passion with which Thomas devoted himself to his task was derived from his Socialist past; and a psychological inquiry might disclose the fact that he regarded this work as a moral justification for Albert Thomas' mission as Minister of Munitions. But whatever his motives may have been, the more he became Director of the Office, the more he had of necessity to recede as a Socialist. That was no fault of his own, but a necessary consequence of his functions. The mistake was made by those who thought themselves entitled to regard the Director of the International Labor Office itself as a Socialist.

For everyone capable of clear insight, it was from the start a matter of course that Albert Thomas has become an official personage and accordingly could no longer be considered a Socialist. It was from this fact that the necessity arose of withdrawing him from his seat as deputy in the French Chamber of the Socialist Party, even if the pretext of difficulty as to the division of his time was then used. For many years passed Thomas has ceased to be active in any capacity in the Socialist movement, and since the foundation of the Socialist International has never attended any of its events. That is no reproach against him, but an inevitable implication of his post.

We have never made up our mind about Thomas since he has been Director of the I. L. O., any claim to satisfy himself would have had to profess himself a Socialist. Accordingly we were never disappointed when he kept within the sphere of his official duties. We are therefore truly unassuming in our claims, and realize only too well the limits imposed by public positions even on the keenest Socialists. But the conduct of Thomas in Rome lies outside the domain in which claims upon a Socialist in particular are concerned. It is not a problem of Socialist conviction, but a general principle of the trade union movement which is at issue. Thomas knows as well as anybody with what intensity the principle of trade union liberty has been championed by the workers' representatives against Fascist abuse at all the sessions of the Labor Office in Geneva. The events at the Labor Conference in June, 1927, will not have faded from his memory. Certainly there is as yet no international Convention on trade union freedom in force. The prospects of reaching an acceptable Convention, in view of the attitude of the employers, and of the government representatives, who give way to them, are so poor that the workers' representatives have demanded "and obtained that the question shall not figure for discussion at all at the Labor Conference of 1928." This certainly means abandoning the attempt to conduct any successful offensive against the Fascist trade union counterfeiters, in the arena of the Labor Office. But this tactical line of action neither can nor will be interpreted by any one to mean that the principle of trade union freedom is called in question. Far apart from all international Conventions trade union freedom is a condition of existence a priori not only for the entire labor movement but also for the Labor Office of Geneva as such. I. e., the recognition of the principle of trade union freedom was a pre-requisite for the creation of the Labor Office at all. Whoever calls in question the principle of trade union freedom undermines the foundations of the Labor Office itself. The free trade unions will never tolerate that the directing personalities of an institution which should serve the labor movement should question the fundamental rights which the working-class has secured through decades of struggle and sacrifice.

At the Labor Conference of 1927 the attitude of Thomas already gave occasion for all possible forms of misgiving within the ranks of the workers' representatives. What Thomas has now done in Rome has not merely confirmed but exceeded the worst premonitions. In the matter of trade union freedom not a single step off the straight road is permissible to the Director of the International Labor Office; for this question is fundamental, a question of life or death for the labor movement altogether.

With regard to the particulars of Albert Thomas' speeches in Rome there will be sufficient comment when their authentic content is known. But even today the aspect of the problem as regards principle is absolutely clear. We do not ask of Albert Thomas that he should take a positive part in the outlawry of Fascism which is a matter of course for all free spirit and even for a Director of the International Labor Office the obligations of his office can never justify its opposite, namely, hymns of eulogy in honor of the enemy; and indeed, especially for this Director it must be quite beyond all possibility that he should expose himself even to a suspicion of calling in question the principle of trade union freedom.

College Censorship Is Subject of Probe

In an effort to discover what censorship is exercised by college authorities on students' meetings and publications, the American Civil Liberties Union has sent questionnaires to several hundred college presidents, student papers and liberal organizations all over the country. The Union is seeking to get the facts of the situation during the current college year in order to be prepared for an active campaign next fall in institutions where students are restricted in hearing speakers on public questions.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee," and Pavlov's "Mechanics of the Brain" have just been acquired by Michael Mindlin for early presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group Theaters. A third film, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," is soon to be shown. "Mechanics of the Brain" was produced by the Russian film trust under the auspices of Dr. Pavlov, famous exponent of conditioned reflexes. The film is an exposition based on his theories, and has aroused the commendation of students in the field of psychological research.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee" was produced in Germany by Waldemar Bonsels, who was also the author of the story. It is a tale enacted completely by bees, hornets, grasshoppers and other insects. No human actors appear.

"The Bachelor Father," which is breaking its theatre attendance records, will continue through the summer and all next season at the Belasco Theatre.

There really is no need to put the brakes on "Skidding," a pleasant comedy at the Bijou, fresh from winning a Drama League Prize out in Pasadena. The author's name is given as Aurania Rouvrol; she (I suppose) has supplied a fresh study of the complication that can descend upon a family that contains an overabundance of females. And surely, since "The Madras House" there has not been such an excess as is formed by a laughter back west from an Eastern College, two married daughters back from quarrels with their husbands, and a maiden aunt whose great moment is her protest that time has left her unmarried. Smoothing away all these troubles would seem to be task enough for a playwright; yet Miss Rouvrol, nothing daunted, gives the girl a judge for a father, and provides him with campaign complications that must also be ironed out in a jiffy. Out of all this the judge and his intrepid wife (whom I should not have failed to mention, if only for the good character work of Clara Blandick in the part) win with the others to a comfortable close, that passes the evening pleasantly. Not to be overlooked, also, are the clever Charles Eaton, as the young brooder, and the always intelligent Walter Abel. "Skidding" runs as well as the season deserves.

"Skidding" is a pleasant comedy at the Bijou, fresh from winning a Drama League Prize out in Pasadena.

There really is no need to put the brakes on "Skidding," a pleasant comedy at the Bijou, fresh from winning a Drama League Prize out in Pasadena. The author's name is given as Aurania Rouvrol; she (I suppose) has supplied a fresh study of the complication that can descend upon a family that contains an overabundance of females. And surely, since "The Madras House" there has not been such an excess as is formed by a laughter back west from an Eastern College, two married daughters back from quarrels with their husbands, and a maiden aunt whose great moment is her protest that time has left her unmarried. Smoothing away all these troubles would seem to be task enough for a playwright; yet Miss Rouvrol, nothing daunted, gives the girl a judge for a father, and provides him with campaign complications that must also be ironed out in a jiffy. Out of all this the judge and his intrepid wife (whom I should not have failed to mention, if only for the good character work of Clara Blandick in the part) win with the others to a comfortable close, that passes the evening pleasantly. Not to be overlooked, also, are the clever Charles Eaton, as the young brooder, and the always intelligent Walter Abel. "Skidding" runs as well as the season deserves.

"The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," an English film directed by Alfred Hitchcock which John Grierson, the noted Scotch critic calls the best film ever made in England, will be shown shortly at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse where it will have its American premiere. This film is now undergoing editing and titling. It features Ivor Novello in the title role and an English actress known as June.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee," and Pavlov's "Mechanics of the Brain" have just been acquired by Michael Mindlin for early presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group Theaters. A third film, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," is soon to be shown.

"Mechanics of the Brain" was produced by the Russian film trust under the auspices of Dr. Pavlov, famous exponent of conditioned reflexes. The film is an exposition based on his theories, and has aroused the commendation of students in the field of psychological research.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee" was produced in Germany by Waldemar Bonsels, who was also the author of the story. It is a tale enacted completely by bees, hornets, grasshoppers and other insects. No human actors appear.

"The Bachelor Father," which is breaking its theatre attendance records, will continue through the summer and all next season at the Belasco Theatre.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee," and Pavlov's "Mechanics of the Brain" have just been acquired by Michael Mindlin for early presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group Theaters. A third film, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," is soon to be shown.

"Mechanics of the Brain" was produced by the Russian film trust under the auspices of Dr. Pavlov, famous exponent of conditioned reflexes. The film is an exposition based on his theories, and has aroused the commendation of students in the field of psychological research.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee" was produced in Germany by Waldemar Bonsels, who was also the author of the story. It is a tale enacted completely by bees, hornets, grasshoppers and other insects. No human actors appear.

"The Bachelor Father," which is breaking its theatre attendance records, will continue through the summer and all next season at the Belasco Theatre.

AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

Where All Roads Lead

By Joseph Shipley

THERE is an engaging duplicity in "The Road to Rome," which has come back, with Jane Cowl and the remainder of its competent cast, to the Playhouse. No play I have seen presents more lightly more radical a view. It was an Athenian woman, after whom Aristophanes named the play that tells the story, who gathers her sisters of Athens and Sparta into a conspiracy to withhold themselves from men until the males of the two cities agree to end the long war that has ravaged Greece. And it is an Athenian woman, in Mr. Sherwood's play, who looks with a cool contempt upon masculine methods of solving the affairs of the world—save that Anytis is a different Morna Vanna. A bored, flippant, pleasure-loving woman, she goes forth to find the ultimate adventure of Hannibal, and in his cent is revealed as fired not merely with love of the man who had brought elephants over the Alps to the gates of hostile Rome, but with zeal for a vision, with that concern for the future which is the true mark of the mothers-of-the-world. "I want you to believe that all lives lost in war are wasted" is her message to the Carthaginian conqueror... is it her body or her inflexible spirit that makes him bend?

All this, be it marked, is the substructure, the carefully subordinated motif of a play that seems deliberately written down to popularity. "The Road to Rome" deserves the long run that it has had; but it could easily have been a good play. Everywhere along the rapid current of its coursing there are opportunities evident for subtle eddying of thought, for swift sallies, always the playwright presses the tide of obvious motion. Jane Cowl, with the rich voice of culture and genuine humor, has to laugh at her part to endure it, we are led to believe, so marked is her laughter, and self-evident the remarks she must drive off, parodying Richie Ling, the perfect ass of a senator (either in Rome or in Washington) has also a part plainly pointed. What might have been deft satire becomes black-lined caricature. What might have been an enduring delight becomes an evening's entertainment... and a season's success. Our chief charge against the play, however, is that it seems to point the way to "Helen of Troy." It bears the germ of surety.

There really is no need to put the brakes on "Skidding," a pleasant comedy at the Bijou, fresh from winning a Drama League Prize out in Pasadena. The author's name is given as Aurania Rouvrol; she (I suppose) has supplied a fresh study of the complication that can descend upon a family that contains an overabundance of females. And surely, since "The Madras House" there has not been such an excess as is formed by a laughter back west from an Eastern College, two married daughters back from quarrels with their husbands, and a maiden aunt whose great moment is her protest that time has left her unmarried. Smoothing away all these troubles would seem to be task enough for a playwright; yet Miss Rouvrol, nothing daunted, gives the girl a judge for a father, and provides him with campaign complications that must also be ironed out in a jiffy. Out of all this the judge and his intrepid wife (whom I should not have failed to mention, if only for the good character work of Clara Blandick in the part) win with the others to a comfortable close, that passes the evening pleasantly. Not to be overlooked, also, are the clever Charles Eaton, as the young brooder, and the always intelligent Walter Abel. "Skidding" runs as well as the season deserves.

"The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," an English film directed by Alfred Hitchcock which John Grierson, the noted Scotch critic calls the best film ever made in England, will be shown shortly at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse where it will have its American premiere. This film is now undergoing editing and titling. It features Ivor Novello in the title role and an English actress known as June.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee," and Pavlov's "Mechanics of the Brain" have just been acquired by Michael Mindlin for early presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group Theaters. A third film, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," is soon to be shown.

"Mechanics of the Brain" was produced by the Russian film trust under the auspices of Dr. Pavlov, famous exponent of conditioned reflexes. The film is an exposition based on his theories, and has aroused the commendation of students in the field of psychological research.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee" was produced in Germany by Waldemar Bonsels, who was also the author of the story. It is a tale enacted completely by bees, hornets, grasshoppers and other insects. No human actors appear.

"The Bachelor Father," which is breaking its theatre attendance records, will continue through the summer and all next season at the Belasco Theatre.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee," and Pavlov's "Mechanics of the Brain" have just been acquired by Michael Mindlin for early presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group Theaters. A third film, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," is soon to be shown.

"Mechanics of the Brain" was produced by the Russian film trust under the auspices of Dr. Pavlov, famous exponent of conditioned reflexes. The film is an exposition based on his theories, and has aroused the commendation of students in the field of psychological research.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee" was produced in Germany by Waldemar Bonsels, who was also the author of the story. It is a tale enacted completely by bees, hornets, grasshoppers and other insects. No human actors appear.

"The Bachelor Father," which is breaking its theatre attendance records, will continue through the summer and all next season at the Belasco Theatre.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee," and Pavlov's "Mechanics of the Brain" have just been acquired by Michael Mindlin for early presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group Theaters. A third film, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," is soon to be shown.

"Mechanics of the Brain" was produced by the Russian film trust under the auspices of Dr. Pavlov, famous exponent of conditioned reflexes. The film is an exposition based on his theories, and has aroused the commendation of students in the field of psychological research.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee" was produced in Germany by Waldemar Bonsels, who was also the author of the story. It is a tale enacted completely by bees, hornets, grasshoppers and other insects. No human actors appear.

"The Bachelor Father," which is breaking its theatre attendance records, will continue through the summer and all next season at the Belasco Theatre.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee," and Pavlov's "Mechanics of the Brain" have just been acquired by Michael Mindlin for early presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Group Theaters. A third film, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Drew," is soon to be shown.

"Mechanics of the Brain" was produced by the Russian film trust under the auspices of Dr. Pavlov, famous exponent of conditioned reflexes. The film is an exposition based on his theories, and has aroused the commendation of students in the field of psychological research.

"The Adventures of Maya, the Bee" was produced in Germany by Waldemar Bonsels, who was also the author of the story. It is a tale enacted completely by bees, hornets, grasshoppers and other insects. No human actors appear.

"The Bachelor Father," which is breaking its theatre attendance records, will continue through the summer and all next season at the Belasco Theatre.

THEATRES

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS
EUGENE O'NEILL'S

STRANGE INTERLUDE

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE
58th Street, East of Broadway
Evenings only at 8:30

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

PORGY

By DUBOSE and DOROTHY HEYWARD

Republic Theatre
WEST 42nd STREET
Even. 8:40; Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

'Volpone'

And Every Week Thereafter

Guild Theatre
WEST 42nd STREET
Mat. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

THE ACTOR MANAGERS Present Their Company

The Grand St. Folies

OF 1928

Book and Lyrics Settings and Costumes by
ALICE MORGAN ALICE BERNSTEIN
Music by
MAX EWING, LILY BYLAND and SERGE WALTER
BOOTH THEATRE W. 45th St. Mts. Wd. & Sat.

HAMMERSTEIN'S

American Premiere
Arthur Hammerstein presents

The Russian Film Classic "The End of St. Petersburg"

"Created a Sensation On Opening Night"

Music by Herbert Stothart
Symphony Orchestra
NIGHTS 8:40; 50c to \$1.50
MATS. DAILY 2:40 to 99c Tax Inc.

ROXY

Beginning Tomorrow
AMERICAN PREMIERE OF

"The Strange Case of Capt. Ramper"

with PAUL WEGENER Germany's Greatest Stage and Screen Star
A Definite Production
A First National Picture
And a dramatic prologue with Leslie Stowe and Leslie King
Another Typical Roxy Program with These Famous Features
Roxy Symphony Orchestra
Ballet Ensemble
Peer Gynt Suite
A Group of Brilliant Divertissements with Nicholas Daks
A Fabulous Bowmen - Von Grön
Sixteen Sensational Escapes

LUNA PARK

The Heart of Coney Island
Battle of Chateau-Thierry
MILE SIX CHASER
TILT-A-Whirl
Free Circus, Concessions, and Dancing
Luna's Great Swimming Pool

willing to assist in this worthy and patriotic effort, may we ask them to act at once, sending appropriate resolutions to Dr. Miguel Paz Barahona, President of Honduras, Tegucigalpa; Dr. Jose Maria Ochoa Velazquez, Comayagua, Honduras; General Tiburcio Carias, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and a copy to the American Press, the Honduran newspaper "El Cronista," Tegucigalpa, and a copy to this office.

LEAGUE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN HONDURAS.
322 Riverside Drive, N. Y. C.

THEY WEAR WELL TOGETHER

Joseph S. Freilinghuysen, one

Communists Soft Pedal Union Claims

Review of "Membership" Reveals Poor Showing—Grants Leadership To Amsterdam

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—The present silence of the Red International of Labor Unions is in singular contrast to its former habit. Reports of activity, affiliation fees of members, lists of memberships seem to be unknown to the Red Communist International. The reports published by the International Federation of Trades Unions make it possible to follow the whole history of international organization, but the R. I. L. U. issues only scanty notices from time to time.

On special occasions, however, even the R. I. L. U. finds it impossible to evade making some communications concerning membership. The March, 1928, number of the "Red Trade Union International" gives a survey of its membership which is interesting and instructive. It confesses frankly that outside Russia its only unions worth mentioning are those of Czechoslovakia and France, so that as an international organization it is of no importance. At the same time it makes a statement which sounds somewhat strange to outsiders: "The R. I. L. U." it says, "has always kept in the background in international actions affecting the interests of the workers, leaving the leadership to the I. P. T. U., concentrating its own activities solely upon the passing of numerous very 'far-reaching' resolutions and appeals (and, of course, upon the usual abuse of the wicked Amsterdammers)."

As given in the journal, the R. I. L. U. comprised in 1927 organizations in the following countries: Argentina, leather and metal workers, 3,000 members; Belgium, the "Knights of Labor," 8,000 members; Canada, lumber workers, 3,000 members; Chile, national center, 50,000 members; China, national center, 2,800,000 members; Colombia, national center, 1,400 members; Czechoslovakia, Communist national center, 196,509 members; France, C. G. T. U. (Communist national center), 525,000 members; Ireland, 18,000 members; Mongolia, national center, 5,000 members; Portugal, adherents of the R. I. L. U., 4,000 members; Spain, miners' union of Asturias, 1,000 members; Russia, national center, 10,248,000, making a total of 13,882,000.

If we cut out from this list the trades unions of Russia we shall not find much left. Everyone conversant with the international movement will see at once that most of the organizations specified exist only in name and their memberships only in imagination. The membership of the Chinese trades union center seems even to the writer himself a little too "Chinese," he observes in an aside that "the figures given are those quoted at the Trades Union Congress. Since then events have taken place which make it impossible to estimate the exact numbers." He might equally well have said the same of the 50,000 Chilean members. No organization is given either for Ireland or for Portugal; it is vaguely stated that there are so many "adherents of the R. I. L. U." We will not argue about the existence of the Colombia center, the Mongolian center or the 1,000 miners of Spain. We really do not grudge the R. I. L. U. these members! The information given by the R. I. L. U. itself therefore goes to prove that the organization has no just title to the name of an international. It is merely an enterprise financed by the Russian national center, which has, moreover, totally failed in its chief mission, which was to destroy the Amsterdam International.

The writer himself feels that the results are not very creditable for nine years of Communist "trades union" work, carried on with the help of enormous financial resources, hence he strives to minimize and explain a fact which in itself is undeniable. To this end he constructs groups of "revolutionary minor," "I. U."s, which he declares are under Communist leadership. The number of members thus allotted, according to the strength of the trades union membership of the country in question, Germany is said to have 1,000,000 trades unionists with Communist sympathies, this total being reached in the following way: "Against the 3,333,971 members of the German national center for manual workers and the 680,000 members of the Non-Manual Workers' Centre we put less than 25 per cent of the totals of the Manual and Non-Manual centres together, and this is obviously rather too low than too high an estimate." In this simple fashion the writer comes to the conclusion that in 29 countries there are 2,874,000 trades unionists under Communist influence. But even this result is not so very brilliant, and therefore the writer adds that there are also 368,230 "revolutionary trades unionists in countries where the R. I. L. U. is not affiliated with the R. I. L. U., but of whom it may be assumed with true Communist modesty (but quite without proof) that they sympathize with it.

Things are going very badly with the International Communist Trades Union movement. As has been often shown before, the failure of the R. I. L. U. is admitted, even by the leading Communist trades unionists. Hence the conclusions of the writer of the above survey are so much the more entertaining, for, either from sheer stupidity or with genuine Communist insolence, he makes the following astounding assertion: "Indeed, a comparison between the R. I. L. U. and Amsterdam is even numerically not very practicable, inasmuch as the R. I. L. U. is also supported by the minorities within Amsterdam and by many unions whose memberships, in view of their illegality, cannot be estimated even approximately. The following fact is worthy of note: the influence of the R. I. L. U. extends into 52 countries, 26 of which, or 50 per cent, are European, while only 26 countries

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

Delegates to State Convention

Ballots for the election of delegates to the State Convention will be sent to branches of the five counties on Monday, June 4. By decision of the State Executive Committee the following apportionment has been made: New York County, 36 delegates; Kings, 15; Bronx, 12; Queens, 1; Richmond, 1. At the meeting of the Executive Committee on May 23 the following decision was made: In New York County 24 delegates will be apportioned to the various branches and elected by the branches directly, the remaining 12 delegates will be elected by the City Central Committee. In Kings County a ballot will be sent to each branch and the members will elect 12 delegates. The Central Committee will elect the remaining 3. In Bronx County the members will elect 10 by general referendum ballot, the remaining 2 will be elected by the Central Committee. The vote on the referendum ballot will be closed on June 23 and at a special meeting of the City Central Committee, June 27, the remaining delegates will be elected.

MANHATTAN

Italian Branches

Italian Socialists are busy arranging a Matteotti memorial meeting. The anniversary of the martyrdom of the great Italian Socialist will fall on Sunday, June 10. The comrades hope to draw a large crowd to jam Cooper Union, where the meeting will take place at 2:30 p. m. Arturo Labriola, who recently arrived from Paris, will be the main speaker. Jacob Panken will be chairman. This meeting will be held by the Italian Socialists and the Italian Labor daily, Nuovo Mondo. Branch secretaries and party members are requested to keep the date open and co-operate toward its success.

Downtown Branches

A joint meeting of the Downtown Branches was held last Thursday evening at the East Side Social Club. Secretary Claessens was present. A lengthy discussion was held on the subject of amalgamating the two branches temporarily in order to facilitate organization work on the lower East Side. It was decided to inform the City Executive Committee that the members wish the amalgamation.

BRONX

Central Branch

Judge Jacob Panken and Samuel Orr will address a meeting of enrolled Socialists and independent voters on Tuesday evening, June 5, at 8:30 p. m. in the county headquarters, 1167 Boston road. This meeting will be held by the Central Branch. About 1,000 letters will be mailed to unaffiliated Socialists in the 4th Assembly District and they will be invited to attend. Panken and Orr will acquaint these people with the work of the Socialist Party and the coming campaign. The Central Branch will also have a short business session. All members are urged to attend and help make the meeting a success.

Austrian Socialism Making Inroads on Country Districts

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

VIENNA.—Municipal elections were held in the Austrian Federal Provinces of Karnten and Steiermark on April 22 and 29. Both these provinces are partially industrial, partially also purely agricultural. The result of the election indicates the development of the Socialist party both in the industrial proletariat and also within the class of small farmers.

In Karnten the Socialists in the 167 divisions which they were contesting with lists of their own, gained 147 seats and lost 54. The net gain is thus 93 seats. The increase in the poll secured by the Socialist lists was 5,572.

Not less satisfactory is the result in Steiermark, the main center of Austrian heavy industry. Here the Socialists won 253 and lost 62, so that the net gain is 191. Advance was made in all the divisions of the country without exception: new seats were obtained both in the West Styrian coal areas as in the blast furnace areas of Upper Steiermark, and finally in the agricultural parts, controlled by the Catholic priests, in the east of the province.

The bloody events of July 15, 1927, which, according to the plans of reaction, were to initiate the decline of Austrian Socialism, have become, on the contrary, a stimulus for new Socialist successes. Nine months after these events it can be clearly seen that the forward movement of Austrian Socialism is continuing unimpeded and even at a quickened pace.

What logic and what modesty! The writer makes the influence of the R. I. L. U. extend to only 52 countries when he might have given any number he liked! But we do hope that, in view of its own "colossal" influence as compared with Amsterdam, the R. I. L. U. will henceforth give up its bad habit of making the I. P. T. U. responsible for everything that goes wrong in the world of labor. Is it not time for it to get to work itself? Has it not been hiding its light (nearly 14,000,000 candle-power, too) under a bush?

When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps



WHEN YOU BUY Straw, Felt or Wool Hats

ALWAYS LOOK FOR THIS LABEL



Branch 7 East

A well attended meeting was held Thursday, May 24, at headquarters, 2005 Daily avenue. A committee was appointed to assist in the outdoor campaign to be started by I. George Dobson beginning this week. An interesting talk on current events was delivered by Samuel Orr and the members were highly pleased. Questions and general discussion followed. A welcome addition to our branch was the application for membership received from Julius Levine (Julius Artfield), actor. A growing interest in the work is indicated by the number of new applicants and subscriptions to The New Leader secured by our canvassers. Our next meeting will be held Thursday, June 14.

3rd A. D. Branch

This new branch will meet this Friday evening, June 1, at the Martinique Mansion, 16th and Beck streets. Esther Friedman will deliver a brief address. Sympathizers are invited to attend and become acquainted with the work of this new branch.

KINGS COUNTY

It seems as though Jack Afros started something when he announced his marriage to Flora Levine. Another Jack, this Jack Wolff, brother of the famous Simon, took the terrible plunge and is now the proud possessor of a wife. Jack and his beloved, the former Lillian Cohen, were quietly married Sunday, May 27, in the home of the bride. The members extend to these splendid comrades a long life and a happy one. The happy couple's words on the lips of every member now is: "Who is next?"

Street meetings will continue every Thursday evening, as the branch believes it has an excellent corner at Sutter avenue and Ralph avenue to hold outdoor meetings. Ethelred Brown will again hold forth on May 31.

16th Assembly District

This branch had a very excellently attended meeting last Friday evening. Although it is in existence only some five months, its membership is rapidly growing and is conducting activities such as have been missing in the Bensonhurst section for many years. Open air meetings are being held on 20th avenue and 64th street every Tuesday evening and in a very short time other meetings will be held in other sections of the district. On Saturday evening, June 16, another social gathering will be held in the nature of a strawberry festival. It is hoped that this affair will be even more successful than that one previously held. The guest of honor and entertainer for this event will be Samuel A. De Witt, our genial poet and editor of the Chatterbox.

Coney Island

A meeting of the Socialist enrolled voters was held on Thursday, May 24, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 2518 Mermaid avenue. The meeting was fairly well attended. Comrade William M. Feigenbaum and McAllister Coleman were present and both of them delivered stirring talks to those present and succeeded in getting a number of people to

Pennsylvania Given The Palm For Police Brutality in Strikes

More police violence, brutality, violations of civil rights, prosecutions for opinion, and corporation control of workers' lives exist in Pennsylvania today than in any other state of the Union. In these words "The Shame of Pennsylvania," Civil Liberties Union pamphlet, opens its report on State Police, Coal and Iron Police and Special Deputies vs. Striking Workers. Against eight reported police assaults and prosecutions for opinion in the rest of the country in the first quarter of 1928, Pennsylvania reported 23 cases.

"Today Pennsylvania is the only state in which a section or criminal syndicalism law is still actively used," continues the report. "It is the only state with so highly organized a state police force, conspicuous for its brutalities against strikers. It is the only state with thousands of private policemen doing public duty, as do the coal and iron police in the mining and steel districts. Added to them are hundreds of privately paid deputy sheriffs. It is the only state in which coal and steel companies so completely dominate so many communities."

Brookwood Graduates 22 Trade Unionists

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Katonah, N. Y.—Graduation exercises marking the close of the seventh year of Brookwood Labor College will be held June 1. The graduating class includes 14 men and 8 women. They are painters, garment workers, miners, upholstery weavers, bakery workers, railway carmen, tailors, sheeting operatives, machinists, cap makers, and hosiery workers. All of the graduates expect to return to industry and to union activities.

Speakers at the commencement exercises will include John Phillips of the Philadelphia Typographical Union; Robert Fechner, vice president of the International Association of Machinists; Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary; A. J. Muste, dean of Brookwood; and J. B. English, who will represent the graduating class.

Join this rejuvenated branch in Coney Island.

QUEENS COUNTY
Astoria
On Friday evening, June 1, a meeting will be held in the 1st A. D. at the Bohemian Hall, 2nd and Woolsey avenues. The enrolled Socialist voters and members of the Socialist Party in this section will be invited. An attempt will be made to organize Branch Astoria. Secretary Claessens will speak on behalf of the City Organization.

Elmhurst-Woodside
The enrolled Socialist voters in this section are invited to attend a meeting in the home of Comrades Palm, 41-51 71st street, Thursday, June 7, at 8:30 p. m. Secretary Claessens will speak in behalf of the City Organization. An attempt will be made to organize a branch.

Rockaway
A second meeting of our new branch will be held Friday evening, June 1, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 158 Beach 86th street, Hammels. Secretary Claessens will address the unaffiliated Socialists who are being invited to this meeting.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN
Saturday, June 1, 8:30 p. m., 137th street and 7th avenue—Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Frank Gosselweh.
Monday, June 4, 8:30 p. m., 137th street and 7th avenue—Speakers, Ethelred Brown and others.

Tuesday, June 5, 8:30 p. m., 114th street and 5th avenue—Speakers, Leonard Kaye and Louis Weil.
Friday, June 8, 8:30 p. m., 106th street and Madison avenue—Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Louis Weil.

Saturday, June 9, 8:30 p. m., 137th street and 7th avenue—Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Frank Gosselweh.

BROOKLYN
Friday, June 1, 8:30 p. m., Pitkin avenue and Bristol street—Speaker, Frank Gosselweh.
Friday, June 1, 8:30 p. m., Sutter avenue and Vermont street—Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

Tuesday, June 5, 8:30 p. m., 64th street and 20th avenue—Speaker, Ethelred Brown, Carl Cummings, William M. Feigenbaum.
Wednesday, June 6, 8:30 p. m., Sutter avenue and Hindsale street—Speaker, Ethelred Brown, William M. Feigenbaum.

Thursday, June 7, 8:30 p. m., Sutter and Ralph avenues—Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Simon Sarachon.
Friday, June 8, 8:30 p. m., Bristol street and 13th avenue—Speaker, Frank Gosselweh.

Friday, June 8, 8:30 p. m., Sutter avenue and Vermont street—Speakers, Bloch and others.

FALK DWORKIN & Company

Public Accountants

570 Seventh Avenue
Longacre 7214-7215
NEW YORK

Members of Accountants' Union

Embroidery Workers' Union

LOCAL 6, I. L. O. W. U.
Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 18th St.
MORRIS WEISS, President.
CARL GRABER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
LOCAL 29, I. L. O. W. U.
Board meets every Tuesday evening at the Office.
AL local meets every Wednesday evening at 7:30 p. m.
HYMAN NOVODOL, Secy-Treas.

LABOR LYCEUM

940 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.
STAGG 3243

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. O. W. U.

190 East 25th St., Madison Square 1904
Executive Board meets every Monday
D. GINGOLD, Secy-Treas.
MEYER POLINSKY, Secy-Treas.

United Hebrew Trades

173 E. 7 BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.
Executive Board meets every day, 5:30 P. M.
M. TIGEL, Chairman
M. WOLPER, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

Joint Executive Committee of THE VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
LOCAL 10, I. L. O. W. U.
Office 115 East Broadway
Phone: Orchard 4629
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 684, I. L. O. W. U.
Office 222 W. 11th St., City
Local 684 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Southview Hall, 219 East 51st St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at
NORTHVIEW HALL
219 East 51st St.
JOE HIRSHMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBER, Secy-Treas.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave., Phone 5011 Stage
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
WILLIAM WEINGART, President.
CHARLES WEBER, Vice-President
SAMUEL POTTER, Secy-Treas.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 4:30 East 19th Street
OFFICE: 201 EAST 19TH STREET
JOHN A. JOHNSON, President
HARRY F. KILPATRICK, Secy-Treas.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel
225 Broadway, Rooms 220-18, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 85th Street, New York City, 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 6843
LOUIS RUFFIN, President.
LOUIS RUFFIN, Secy-Treasurer.
Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Southview Hall, 219 East 51st St.

Pressers' Union

Local 4, A. C. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
JACOB KLEINMAN, Secy-Treas.
W. BLAKE, Secy.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & R. W. U. of N. A.
123 E. 87th St.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
I. KORN, Secy-Treas.
J. GRABER, Secy.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. O. & R. W. U. of N. A.
Office and Headquarters
Labor Temple, 243 E. 85th St., Room 12
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 8 P. M.
Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & F. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 251 E. 18th St.
Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
Night in the Office of the Union
President: KARL HATTA
Secy: GARRET BRISCOE, J. GREEN
Vice-Pres: JACOB RAFFAPORTAARON RAFFAPORTA
Bus. Agent

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7008
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
ED. GOTTERMAN, Secy-Treas.
D. BERGER, Manager
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union

LOCAL 68, I. L. O. W. U.
7 East 15th Street, Tel. Stuyvesant 1957
Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
E. L. FREEDMAN, President
LEON HATTA, NATHAN REISSEL, MADRAGE, Secretary-Treasurer

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 62 of I. L. O. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
Telephone ORCHARD 7106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager.

Hebrew Actor's Union

Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 10, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & CAPENHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Tuesday Eve. at Labor Temple, 243 East 85th St.
AUGUST ELZE, President
ALVIN BORTHEIMER, Secretary
1564 Ave. C.
FRANK WOLLENBROCK, Fin. Secy.
243 E. 85th St., N. Y. C.

Neckwear Cutters' Union

Union, Local 6959, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street, Stuyvesant 7008
Regular Meetings Every Tuesday of Every Month at 195 East 23rd Street
Fred Finkelstein, A. Ullman, President.
A. Weiner, J. Rosenbergs, Vice-Pres.
Wm. B. Chilling, Business Agent

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 3, International Fur Workers' Union
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, Phone 5011 Stage
Rec. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays
M. REISS, President.
JOSEPH KARASZ, Vice-President.
SAMUEL REISS, Secy-Treas.
ALBERT HILL, Fin. Secy.
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union
OFFICE: 210 EAST 85TH STREET
Phone Orchard 998-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
JACOB ROBERTS, Secy-Organizer
S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLES, Organizers.
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday
Executive Board meets every Monday All Meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Southview Hall)
210 East 51st Street

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel
225 Broadway, Rooms 220-18, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 85th Street, New York City, the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel
225 Broadway, Rooms 220-18, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 85th Street, New York City, the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel
225 Broadway, Rooms 220-18, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 85th Street, New York City, the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

1 West 10th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2118
MORRIS ROMAN, President
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

LOCAL NO. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street
Telephone ALgonquin 8292
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 219 Southview St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM ALAN, President
J. WEINER, Bus. Agent
E. GATTE, Vice-President
M. FEINSTEIN, Recording Secy. L. RADIKOWITZ, Treas.
M. A. ABEL, Financial Secy. 240 Jay Street, Brooklyn

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

11-15 UNION SQUARE, N.Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG., 2nd FLOOR
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-3-4-5
SYDNEY WILLMAN, Gen. President
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Secy-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
21-23 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: Spring 3009-1-3-4-5
ABRAHAM MILLER, Secy-Treas.

International Pocketbook Workers' Union

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 10TH STREET, N. Y.
Phone Chelsea 3684
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman
CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer
A. I. SHIFACOFF, Manager

Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office, 640 Broadway
Phone Spring 4149
Vice-Pres: 29 West 7th Street
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening
ABRAHAM ALAN, President
ALEX ROSS, Secy-Treas.
Organizers: L. R. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELLOWITZ

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.
Editor: James O'Neal
Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algonzo Lee, Harry W. Ladd, Joseph E. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAlister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.00

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. It is not a newspaper of opinion, but a newspaper of action. It is not a newspaper of the past, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the few, but a newspaper of the many. It is not a newspaper of the rich, but a newspaper of the poor. It is not a newspaper of the city, but a newspaper of the country. It is not a newspaper of the day, but a newspaper of the hour. It is not a newspaper of the moment, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the past, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the few, but a newspaper of the many. It is not a newspaper of the rich, but a newspaper of the poor. It is not a newspaper of the city, but a newspaper of the country. It is not a newspaper of the day, but a newspaper of the hour. It is not a newspaper of the moment, but a newspaper of the future.

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1928

Virtues of Gang Ownership

NEW YORK STATE has been blessed with the high power propaganda of super power, the new monarch of American industry. According to the admission of two agents of this crowd before the Federal Trade Commission, more than \$227,000 has been spent in this state in six years in the distribution of pamphlets, providing text books for use in the high schools, publishing a news bulletin, providing editorials for newspapers, furnishing utility speakers for schools, colleges and other institutions and organizations.

All of this work is intended to convince us that we will be miserable if super power is publicly owned and that we will be happy if the gang owns it. Gang ownership has been glorified in many states with a flood of literature and speakers which have cost millions of dollars. The large sums spent indicate the enormous prize at stake and the eagerness back of the drive of the gang to obtain the mastery of the power sites of the nation.

One phase of this propaganda should not be overlooked. It demonstrates that formal political democracy and civil rights, even when these rights are not molested by mobs or public officials, is largely nullified in a civilization where a class has enormous funds. It shows that complete political democracy cannot be rooted in economic inequality. Those who favor public ownership are at an enormous disadvantage because they do not have the vast funds to give them a hearing equal to the power gang. It is almost impossible to send powerful oil swindlers to jail and it is just as difficult for us to use the extensive agencies for propaganda which the gang enjoy.

There are enormous odds against us and it will be a remarkable achievement if we prevent the gang from eventually grabbing everything they want.

Passing of the Partisan Press

IN a recent number of *Editor & Publisher*, Claude G. Bowers, who is to deliver the keynote address at the Houston convention, deprecates the passing of the old partisan press. He believes that if we now had this partisan press "there would be a more general interest in politics and fewer stay-at-homes in elections."

Bowers is no doubt right but it is also true that the old time press was partisan because there were some genuine differences between the parties. There were hot issues and editors took sides, often fighting with a verve which expressed genuine sincerity. The issue of western lands, internal improvements, extension of slavery and recovery of fugitive slaves were genuine. They cut deep and ranged voters into partisan camps where no quarter was given.

But the issues have died and the two capitalist parties have moved into the same apartment as one family. The newspapers themselves have changed. The influential daily today is not the organ of the editor who profoundly believed in himself. That paper and that editor have passed from the scene. In their place have appeared the daily as a business enterprise and the editor as a routine employee. The paper is published mainly to make money, not to express ideas or to make people think.

In short, capitalism has transformed the old time editor and newspaper and the Republican and Democratic parties have become alike. There is nothing to become partisan about. A man does not pick a quarrel with his brother just for the fun of it, especially if there is no reason for them to quarrel. Men fight and parties fight when there is a genuine difference of opinion. For these reasons the fierce party struggles of an earlier era will not return till one party is on its death bed and the other is engaged in a real fight with a real opponent. We expect to make the Socialist Party that opponent and give the survivor a run for its money.

Trade Unions and Government

IT is a curious and, we believe, a disastrous theory which the A. F. of L. News Service presents in its issue of May 26 regarding the proper attitude of working people towards the state. It declares that "The policy of the European trade unionist accords with the Old World theory that the state is supreme; that working standards and wage rates are a function of the state."

This simply is not true. European workers would disband their trade unions if they accepted this view. Their view is that both the trade unions and their political organizations should be used to improve working standards and wage rates. They fight for these things through negotiations and strikes in industry and through their representatives in law-making bodies. They do not regard the state as supreme. They regard it as an agency which they can use for their welfare through their own labor parties just as the conservative classes regard it as an agency to use for their interests.

The News Service goes on to say that the American trade unionist "rejects state guardianship. He considers this a modern phase of the self concept." As a matter of fact, this "self concept" was employed as an argument against the establishment of public schools in this country when the early trade unions were fighting for such schools. Would the News Service have us repudiate that fine episode in early trade union history by urging the transfer of the public schools into the hands of private corporations? Do trade unionists who send their children to public schools believe that they are supporting a "self concept" by so doing? What of public health departments, fire departments, municipal ownership of gas, electric power, street railways and other public services? Is there one member of a trade union who believes that he is a "self" in any city because of these public enterprises? Do we not, as a rule, feel the "self concept" when a corporation owns these public enterprises? Are not the workers on the Interborough Rapid Transit lines in New York City actual serfs because of corporate operation and management of this public service?

We regard it as a solemn duty to question this fundamental approach to this issue as we are confident that the views expressed in the News Service unwittingly strengthen the growing corporatist servitude in this country. It is a renunciation of our claims upon government and the state as citizens and workers and leaving government and state in the hands of reactionaries to protect "state guardianship" of corporation serfdom itself.

Another Red Herring

WHAT appears to be a Coxy march of farmers to the Republican convention in Kansas City is announced in dispatches from the West late last week. This follows the veto by President Coolidge of the McNary-Haugen bill. They will demand that the delegates write into the platform adequate proposals for relief of the farmers.

Much as we sympathize with the farmers we cannot grow enthusiastic over their action. Their grievance is as much against Republican and Democratic members of Congress as against the Coolidge veto. Coolidge is not a candidate for re-election and it was known that he would veto the measure. Quite a number of members voted for the bill although opposed to it with the knowledge that it would be vetoed. This is the result of an "absurd" system which lodges the royal prerogative of veto with the executive. It permits deliberate deception and avoidance of responsibility by members of Congress.

Senator Nye of North Dakota discusses the antagonism between East and West and the privations of the farmers in the June number of *Plain Talk*, and notes that from colonial times to the present hour this antagonism has persisted. He declares that "there has been growing up a theory and practice that the resources of the United States were created by the Almighty for the benefit and profit of those who live in the great cities of the East."

This is correct except that Senator Nye does not particularize who in the eastern cities so profits. Certainly not the masses of exploited workers in shops, factories, mills and stores. It is the capitalist and banking classes he has in mind and he should say so. His only solution of the problem is the union of two sections in politics, the South and West, against the East. This is poor advice.

What is needed is not a combination of two or more sections against another but a union of the exploited and swindled in all sections against the upper class of exploiters and their political agents in office. Imagine a union of the South and West against the East when this East includes hundreds of thousands of textile workers, iron and steel workers, miners and factory workers! The enemy of human welfare and political freedom is not located in any particular section although the East has more than any other region. This enemy may be found in Chicago as well as in New York, in San Francisco as well as in Boston, in New Orleans as well as in Minneapolis. Section against section is only another red herring. As an issue it leads to sterility and more disappointment.

Increasing Internationalism

GLENN FRANK recently called attention to no less than 29 international conferences to be held this year which include various forms of industry, health, science and publicity, and there is no doubt that the United States will be represented at each of them. He regards these conferences as a "vivid picture of a real internationalism" which is growing despite all prejudices. It is certain that the more we come in contact with each other all over the world the more likely are old superstitions to dissolve.

It seems that nearly every form of international meeting is welcomed in this country except labor. The suggestion of international understanding and organization by the working class gives our ruling classes a fit of the blues. Iron and steel, coal, petroleum, and finance can ignore frontiers. Their masters can gather in their international conferences and arrange for the promotion of their respective interests. They may even have their branches in many other countries and all this is taken for granted.

But international union, understanding, cooperation, and solidarity of the workers of all countries are regarded by these same classes as an abomination. They fear it and they have reason to fear it. An extension of international labor solidarity all over the world means the end of war for the glory of the gentlemen organized in the iron and steel, the coal, the petroleum and the bankers' international. When cannon fodder is no longer available the ruling classes will have to do the fighting or there will be no fighting.

Jimmie Does His Stuff



Drawn by Harry Bresler for The New Leader.
(Mayor Walker, Tammany idol and protégé of Governor Smith, recently called a conference of New York City department heads, and told them that "from now on" grafting would have to quit. The newspapers ascribed Walker's "warning" to fear of the effect graft exposures would have on Governor Smith's chances for the presidency.)

"Women's Guide To Socialism", His Last Will, Shaw Declares

THAT the heart-break of today's world would be replaced by well-being and happiness under Socialism, is assured by George Bernard Shaw in his newest book, "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism," published this week by Brentano's.

The famous Irish wit, Socialist and playwright, has himself called the book, "my last will and testament to humanity." It is the result of six years of labor on his part. Shaw, he is assured by his own handwriting, which he says is responsible for "poverty, ignorance, wars, street, and concentration of wealth in the hands of the few 'idle rich'." Socialism will clear the earth of these and other social cancers, he asserts, through establishing equality of income for all and demanding that each do his or her equal share of work.

In the book he discusses with humanistic satire, brilliancy and clarity, such divergent topics as marriage and divorce, prohibition in America, nationalization of industries, eugenics and birth control.

The World of the Future

The entire work of the world in the future may be done in two or three hours a day, Shaw says, for under Socialism the government would compel, by force if need be, every able bodied man, and woman to do some productive work. Shaw asserts that Socialism has as its fundamental tenet that there must be an equal distribution of wealth among all. Shaw points out that the coming of Socialism will be "dangerously slow rather than dangerously quick," though he asserts that if it too long delayed, a violent revolution may take place. Otherwise, he believes the change is more likely to be a peaceful one, though he says he believes that capitalists may precipitate a civil war in an attempt to stave it off.

Discussing marriage, he says Socialism has nothing to do with it directly as an institution. But by making women economically independent, and permitting dissolution of unhappy marriages, women would stop being regarded as men's property. The myth about the Russian nationalization of women printed in England in 1917 he ascribes to the existing assumption that women are property.

The End of Poverty

Under the present system, Shaw argues, many women would imitate Ibsen's Nora except that they fear loss of support or social ostracism. If they felt free to walk out of their homes, however, fewer marriages might be wrecked. If equality of income were established, he says, no one would marry for money—a proceeding he calls unnatural—because there would be no different incomes and social standings as they exist today. All disappointments in marriage would be natural and inevitable. The nation must be made entirely intermarriageable, he claims, to permit natural selection of mates.

He opposes the general strike as being impossible, for he says any nationally stopping work would be committing national suicide. He asserts that the subsidy paid the coal-owners during the miners' strike in Britain was "bad business," and urges nationalization of coal mines.

Popular government has failed to check the abuses of capitalism, he says. Women, given the vote, merely proved themselves as badly fitted for it as men, Shaw declares.

Disposing of past and present systems of society as failures, Shaw asserts that Socialism by abolishing both poverty and wealth, would increase general wealth and distribute it equally among all. He denies that incentive to do or accomplish anything would be banished, for merit would produce reputations that were real as distinct from titles and honors that can now be obtained through money.

Here is a summary of a number of topics Shaw discusses:

EUGENICS

Humans cannot be bred as are thoroughbred horses, because no one can tell

"It (poverty) is a public nuisance as well as a private misfortune. Its toleration is a national crime."

"Nowadays a parlor maid as ignorant as Queen Victoria was when she came to the throne would be classed as mentally defective."

"A hearty dislike and disapproval of poor people as such is the first qualification of a good equalizer."

"Women are far too valuable to have their lives risked in battle as well as in childbearing."

From "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism" by George Bernard Shaw, copr. 1928 by Brentano's.

what kind of children are wanted. "You cannot mate men and women as you mate bulls and cows, stallions and mares, bears and sows, without giving them a choice in the matter," he writes. "The keeper of the human stud farm, if such a thing were established by a mad professor of eugenics, would not know what to aim at."

POPULATION AND BIRTH CONTROL

A high death rate, war and immigration now limit the population. Under Socialism, if all fruitful lands were filled, and population still increased, it may be essential to decide whether the State should establish compulsory birth control.

PROHIBITION

Shaw declares America discovered that when the saloons were shut up under prohibition, a good many prisons could also be closed. The benefits are so great, he asserts, that even those who now patronize bootleggers and bootleggers, of course, vote in favor of prohibition. He says that if the United States had been as weak militarily as China 80 or 90 years ago, certain British profiteers in whiskey would have forced Britain to go to war with America because of measures undertaken against illicit British trade in drink.

RELIGION

Socialism need not be hostile to any one's religion, unless it is opposed to equality of income, in which case it will be "ruthlessly persecuted out of existence," Shaw declares.

However, in Mr. Shaw's opinion, a Socialist State would not permit the Bible to be taught in schools except "as a collection of old chronicles, poems, oracles, and political fulminations, on the same

footing as the travels of Marco Polo and Goethe's Faust." Persecution for blasphemy and sedition would follow the teaching of the doctrine that life in this world is merely a preparation for an all important life to come.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Though it did not establish Socialism, the Russian revolution has not failed, says Shaw. The fact that idle ladies and gentlemen there are looked upon with contempt, whilst the worker's blouse is honored, has "placed the Soviet in the forefront of cultural civilization." But he adds Russia has not yet established as much Communism as England.

THE GREAT WAR

"That hideous war of 1914-1918 was at bottom a fight between the capitalists of England, France and Italy on one side, and those of Germany on the other, for control of the African markets," asserts Shaw. Commercial rivalry and not a popular desire to fight causes war, as was demonstrated by the fact that the people celebrated not the beginning but the end of the war.

DEMOCRACY

"The naked truth," says Shaw, "is that democracy, or government through votes for everybody, has never been a complete reality; and to the very limited extent to which it has been a reality, it has not been a success."

THE COURTS

Asserting that under a system of unequal incomes there can be no true trial of any one by a jury of his peers, he says that "We are fond of pointing to American cases of rich men at large who could have been hanged or electrocuted if they had been poor."

NATIONALIZATION

Nationalization exists today in the case of the army, navy, and post office, Shaw says, and under Socialism nationalized mines and banks and other services and industries, doing away with profits, would be able to give the consumers goods at cost.

REPUDIATION OF WAR DEBTS

Shaw favors repudiating that portion of the British War debt owing to English subjects. He points out that having borrowed money for the war from its own capitalists, England pays taxes all of them to pay the huge interest on it to some of them. "It is robbing Peter who did not lend, to pay Paul, who did."

MATING

Under a system of equal incomes, he says, marriage would improve because men and women would be able to seek their natural mates, not being deterred by class distinction. This would improve the race, he holds, adding that if it didn't, the race is unimprovable.

Sauer Kraut Sweetens Sunny South

THIRTY Negroes out in the clearing cutting brush briars and buck vines preparatory to extending my Louisiana Kraut Plantation. The ground is soggy from the tail end of the rainy season. A chilly wind blows over the clearing. The fire from the piles of brush, logs and stumps feels good to a well-fed, warmly clad Northerner.

The thirty Negroes are not warmly dressed. The ventilation in their ragged jeans is perfect. There isn't a sound pair of shoes in the whole crowd. Their mid-day lunch consists of cold sinkers and a few slivers of soy belly. But what a jolly care-free lot they are!

Here are eight of them dragging a water, sogged log to an ever-growing pile. It's about all that the boys can carry. But laughter comes from the dusky group. White teeth gleam between laughing lips. White eyeballs roll and twinkle.

There isn't a man among those thirty dandies who owns an inch of soil or a roof over his head. None of them ever voted or will vote if the local Jeffersons can prevent it, as they will. But landless, homeless and rightless, they are unquestionably much happier than the white superiors for whom they live, near children and slave.

Of course the boys have some reason for being unusually hilarious. The Coolidge prosperity has trickled even down to them. The big flood last year was a God-send to them. Not a lick of work for three months accompanied by three free feeds a day, furnished by the same Red Cross which refused to feed the starving children of striking white miners. Best of all, while these black boys were enjoying the happy life of refugees, there was no chance for them to get in debt.

Moreover, the boys are making good money just now. Working for old union men, they are pulling down 50 cents above the daily scale, making two dollars in all and they are only saving ten hours per day instead of the customary twelve. In addition, they have a rudimentary sort of union of their own. At any rate, neither love nor money will induce the poorest of them to work more than half a day on Saturday.

PERSONAL AFFAIRS

Jackson has been with us now for three years. He was a bachelor then. Later on he told me his wife had run away with another colored gentleman but that he was willing to get her back, kiss and make up and forget her dark and dark past. Up to now, I am still in the dark as to the whereabouts of bachelor Jackson's wayward better half.

Meanwhile, philanthropist Jackson turned philanthropist. He came to me one day with a sad tale concerning a poor worthy widow woman, the only support of her five orphans and would be kind enough to let her move into the dilapidated shack on the upper end of my kraut plantation? In return she and the aforesaid orphans could pick my cotton and hoe my cabbage. And, my heart ever bleeding for the widowed and fatherless, I consented. Soon after the widow and her flock had moved into the shack, I observed an ever-widening footpath leading from the main road through cabbage to widow. When questioned, Jackson confessed that he had made the path while carrying his washing to the widow. An awfully clean dandy, that Jackson, for he surely managed to make some path through my prospective sauer kraut.

PLENTY OF FATHERS

In the course of time, I met the worthy widow and her five fatherless orphans. It turned out, however, that I had given myself unnecessary anxiety concerning the lacking father for it seems there are at least three fathers to those five orphans. "That there big boy belongs to me," explained Sarah with a sweep of her calloused hand, "the baby is my husband's and the three between them are Jackson's—from a former marriage with myself."

Well, all's well that ends well. Jackson is a good worker. He has kept the lice out of my cabbage as Sarah kept them out of the woolly heads of her assorted orphans. Besides, why throw the first stone when there isn't even a pebble in this blessed soil? Sarah Marie Magdalene Jackson sinned much, therefore, much will be forgiven unto her. So Sarah, etc., will get her four-room screened, painted and shower-bathed cottage with water and sink in the kitchen and if those unheard-of comforts of civilization break up this happy family, blame it on economic determinism for cabbage is selling for \$80.00 a ton and for the life of me, I can't see how I can harvest my kraut crop without Sarah, Jackson and their five assorted orphans.

P. S.: Yesterday was pay day at the big barn. Jackson pulled down \$11 in one lump sum. His step-son, that is, Sarah's oldest by a forgotten ceremony, pulled down \$5.50 as full-fledged water boy and his father who is also working for us, took the whole Jackson family to town in his brand new second-hand Ford, father and step-father riding in the front seat with their proud wife, widow, children and orphans behind them.

Yes, prosperity has struck the old South at last. Flood, Coolidge and kraut done it. Thank God for all three.

ADAM COALDIGGER.

OIL PROPAGANDA IN SCHOOLS

By Federated Press
Responding to "hundreds of demands from schools," Standard Oil has obligingly put the "facts of the oil industry" into a booklet which refrains however from using oil as a title. "Petroleum" is mailed free for use in schools, following the example of National Electric Light Assn., which sees to it that pupils have desirable information on the power trust and its activities.

