

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Price of Milk Goes Up—N. Y. Transit Problem and Re-Capture—How to Make Electricity Work For Our Happiness

THREE PROBLEMS FOR NEW YORK

THE steadily mounting evidence of graft, corruption and inefficiency in most New York city departments, the sale of judicial appointments and nominations, and other scandals reaching straight into Tammany Hall, and the McCooey gang, confirms what was said by Socialists in the last Municipal campaign. We must not, however, blind the public to other matters discussed by Socialists in 1925 and 1929, to which recent events give emphasis.

1.—Milk. The price of milk concerns every family in New York, and the prospect of its increase in price at a time when men are walking the streets looking for jobs, is a calamity. It will result in a decrease in consumption of a food which is most vital to health and growth. Unquestionably the farmers need the increase they are to get from the milk companies but that increase makes it more imperative than ever to find out why there is such a tremendous spread between the price paid to the farmer and the price paid by the consumer, though distribution costs are admittedly high. There is strong reason to believe that the milk companies are making money to be able to grant this much needed increase to the farmer, without passing it on to the consumer. For example, the Borden Company, a holding company, which owns all the stock of the Borden Farm Products Company which distributes milk in the metropolitan area, pays a return of 22 per cent. on its common stock. It is impossible to ascertain exactly how much the subsidiary company earns, because it is a policy of the parent company not to disclose the profit and loss statement of its subsidiaries. It is notorious that holding companies are very successful in concealing the profits of subsidiaries. These facts may well indicate that the price now charged for milk is excessive.

Furthermore, do we not have all the wastes of competition between companies whose milk wagons clutter over the same streets plus the evils of private monopolistic agreement on prices. We should, therefore, renew our demands for inquiry into the milk situation and the treatment of milk as a public utility, looking to the establishment of public milk companies.

2.—Transit. Since 1925 we have demanded notice of recapture of subways as a condition of unification for satisfactory negotiations to that end. Mr. Samuel Untermyer, the city's own special counsel, has been advocating vainly the same thing for three years. The present complete deadlock between the city and the company again calls attention to the mayor's irresponsible policy of drift and a steady refusal to keep his promises to the city. The mayor and city administration, and the McCooey and Tammany machines, which own them, cannot now put on the B. M. T. the whole blame for the failure of negotiations, which they never took pains to make succeed.

3.—Electric charges. Mr. Sloan's proposed reduction of rates, at last admits the outrageous overcharges for electricity to private consumers and to the city of New York, concerning which we have insistently complained, and against which neither the city nor state has taken effective action. The proposed schedule is not an adequate bona fide reduction. It bears most heavily on the poor by reason of an unjustified service charge, that illustrates the price we pay for private ownership, and for yielding political government to a Tammany McCooey ring which costs us not only what it steals from us, but also what it permits private corporations to take from us.

THE GIANT, ELECTRICITY

ELECTRICITY is a giant worth all the slaves who ever lived, a giant who turns darkness into light, sets the wheels of industry spinning, and lifts the burdens off the back of the house wife and the farmer.

Our complaint is that this giant is not working for us as he ought. That is not the fault of scientists and engineers. It is our fault because we let him work for the profit of a lot of stockholders who do not know a dynamo from an ampere but do know the size of their dividend checks and the state of public utility stocks on the stock market.

Consider these facts: New York is a far more populous state than is the Province of Ontario, Canada. Farmers in Ontario are better supplied than in New York and at lower prices so are domestic users generally. We pay on an average three times more for electricity in our homes than our neighbors in Ontario. The Great City of New York, where the demand for electricity is most concentrated, is a city wherein the municipal government and domestic consumers pay one of the highest rates in the country. Nobody at all can give a decent reason why we pay in New York City an average of seven cents per kilowatt hour. While domestic consumers in Jamestown, New York, with its municipally owned system, pay on a scale that slides downward starting at four cents per kilowatt hour for the first fifty. Sixteen municipalities in Southern California charge five cents per kilowatt hour for distributing electricity and pay a large cost of running the municipality in the bargain. Ownership of its own public utilities makes a town, I think called South River, New Jersey, "a taxless town."

I said there was no decent reason for the price we pay. There is a reason. It is private profit. The same reason puts the electric companies, like other public utilities, in politics. It debauches democracy by public utility propaganda sent out as disinterested truth. Indeed it is a question how much democracy there is in a country where the owners of electric power have a control over the lives of all of us through this most necessary utility which ancient kings and emperors lacked. If we paid the rates which the government has to pay on money it borrows for a ten billion dollar investment in the electrical industry we should, according to Mr. H. S. Raushenbush, pay a quarter of a billion dollars less than we pay in order to permit private companies to pay the dividends they pay to stockholders.

Let us go back a little into history. Public utilities were such a corrupt racket that finally regulation was forced on them. Not even the staunchest friends of private ownership of public utilities dare to suggest that we could safely abolish regulation of them. By general confession these private companies have to be watched in the public interest.

But regulation has all but broken down due to causes beyond the power of any legislature properly to remedy. For one thing most public utilities and especially the electric industry are in the hands of holding companies, four or five of which control between them the great majority of the power of the country. These holding companies cross state lines. By their charges for expert service, by their contracts with allied companies and by their system of capitalization they frustrate effective state regulation. In this they are powerfully aided by the Supreme Court of the United States which fixes a fair value of a public utility property, on which it has ruled a return of less than 7 or 8 per cent. to be confiscatory, at a figure and on a basis that no man understands except that it is always high. The fact that experts could not come within almost \$500,000,000 of agreeing on the value of the New York Telephone Company illustrates the futility of trying to find a fair value for rate-making purposes.

To go back to holding companies. The Knight Commission found a case in which two men dominated from two to three hundred corporations in the Associated Gas and Electric Company by owning 51 per cent. of the 300,000 shares of voting stock. In 1929 the operating companies of this system paid in New York State alone over one and a quarter million dollars for management, construction and purchasing services which escaped all effective control by the Public Service Commission.

For these reasons the Socialist Party stands for an integrated system of nation, state and municipal power producing and distributing plants. We are not at all content simply to hang on to what power is left which water power can only supply a small part of our electricity. By all means we want Government operation of Muscle Shoals and the St. Lawrence River plant but it is absurd to think that they are more than a drop in the bucket. Besides to develop electric power by state money will do us consumers little good if distribution is left to private monopolies for it is in distribution that the big profits are made. Governor Roosevelt's power plan for the St. Lawrence breaks down here because it does not take account of distribution. We urge that New York catch up with progressive states of the union by permitting municipalities to produce and distribute electricity and by authorizing the formation of power districts which may be larger than one municipality.

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Census Data Is Falsified; Aid Resigns

Prof. Persons Charges Republican Regime Attempts to Conceal Wide Unemployment

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Republican administration has knowingly juggled figures of unemployment to conceal the distress that faces millions of jobless workers. This is the charge made by Prof. Charles E. Persons of Iowa, who resigned his post in the Bureau of the Census because he would not be an accomplice in this deception. Prof. Persons engaged in this work from November to April and then resigned. The national office of the Socialist Party was the first to question the figures of the Census Bureau. "Instead of enumerating all of the unemployed, the Bureau of Census," Prof. Persons said, "decided to confine the count to the jobs, which results in a much smaller total."

"Using the system or method employed by the Census Bureau I can show that instead of the 2,000,000 announced by the Secretary of Commerce there were 2,576,700 jobless men and women in this country in April, when the enumeration was made," said he. "The number of unemployed is very much larger than that."

"I quit the service when I found that efforts were being made to reduce the number of unemployed to the number of jobless workers. The bureau estimate 2,000,000, or mine, 2,576,700, were reduced from picked areas where there are no large industrial centers, and are not representative."

Announcement by Lamont June 26 Secretary Lamont announced that the number of unemployed will be in the "neighborhood of two million."

Mr. Persons contends that Mr. Lamont had in mind the jobs and not the unemployed.

"This statement of Mr. Lamont," he said, "caused a mild sensation, but it was soon realized that the result did not properly denote the total unemployed. The figure included only a part of those out of work. It only covered those having no jobs although able to work and looking for employment. Workmen laid off or working part time—perhaps equally numerous—made no part of the administration report. They have jobs but no employment. The inconvenient part—that the jobs yielded neither work nor incomes at the time of the census enumerator's visit—did not impede the efforts of the administration's statisticians to relieve us of concern over unemployment."

A Technical Definition "Wage earners, whether entirely jobless or simply laid off indefinitely, are inclined to be victims of despair, hardships and starvation. Social leaders and others of philanthropic sympathies are moved to action and to the issuing of public appeals when the breadlines lengthen. Thoughtful economists, bankers and business men of insight, capacity and human sympathies were prone to view the industrial situation developing in June with anxiety."

"But our administration statisticians preserved their attitude of detached calm. 'This is purely a matter of definition,' said they. 'We can cut the volume of unemployment squarely in half by adopting a properly phrased definition. We need only confine our report to the jobs. There for us shall be the full tale of the unemployed.'"

"It would be quite as easy, though obviously not so convenient in months of political activity, to count the number laid off and report the full tale, as it was to give wide currency to a partial result."

"The Census Bureau's data were specific: 374,647 wage earners were jobless in an area inhabited by 28,264,450 persons, 2 per cent of the population covered. These are the data from which Secretary Lamont's total of 2,000,000 was derived. The assumption is that this report represents one-fourth the total population. But four times 374,647 makes exactly 2,298,588. To anyone not schooled in the gentle art of administration statistics this makes in the neighborhood of 2,300,000, not 2,000,000."

And this is the tale of the jobless, not of the total unemployed. We must add 300,000 or 15 per cent to the government total and correct the designation from the unemployed to the jobless."

"The figures for a quarter of our population are given as 29,264,480. Four times this makes 117,057,920."

"Figures released by the census bureau August 8 show 122,700,000."

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Dabbling Droolidge Says:

SOUTHAMPTON, Mass.—To some there may seem to be a slight business depression. However this is a large country and while the natives of one part of it are depressed, it does not follow that the natives of another part of it are depressed. The natives of one part of the country may be depressed without the natives of another part of the country being depressed. Or on the other hand the natives of another part of the country may be depressed without the natives of that part of the country being depressed, or vice versa. What we need now is faith. Now, what we need is faith. Faith is what we need now. We may seem to be suffering from a drought. Drought means lack of rain. This may depress a good many farmers in one part of the country where it is not raining. It does not depress the farmers in that part of the country where it is raining. They are depressed because it is raining, whereas those farmers who live in that part of the country where it is not raining are depressed because it is droughty. But there is no need for alarm. Our exports of manganese to foreign countries have risen correspondingly to our imports of manganese from abroad. Foreign countries are dumping manganese on us. We are dumping manganese on foreign countries. This is what is called a trade balance. A trade balance is a balance where both dumps are balanced. It is only when trade balances become unbalanced that there is any danger. Have faith in the Federal Treasury, Massachusetts and the integrity and thrift of the New York, New Haven and Hartford on which my son is now employed.

DABELING DROOLIDGE.

Thomas Accepts Fight For B'klyn Congress Seat

Socialist Leader Will Focus Eyes of City on 6th District—Unemployment His Issue

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist leader, has announced his acceptance of his party's nomination to stand for Congress in the 6th Congressional District, Brooklyn. With definite announcement of Mr. Thomas' acceptance of the nomination being regarded as one of John McCooey's (the Brooklyn Democratic boss) strongholds. The district is McCooey's home district. In his statement of acceptance, Mr. Thomas made it clear that he would make McCooey domination of Brooklyn politics as well as unemployment, relief, an issue in his campaign.

"I am particularly glad to run in the 6th Congressional District," Mr. Thomas said. "It is one of the most populous Congressional districts in the country, and it represents a cross section of Greater New York. Yet it represents in Congress one man, and that man John McCooey, politically the owner of Brooklyn. He gave to Brooklyn ex-Judge Vause, he names all candidates from City Magistrate to Supreme Court Judge, from corporation inspectors to borough president. To the 6th District he gives a Congressman whose record is as colorless as that of the rest of the delegation he selects. To the thousands of citizens who have asked me to run and to the other thousands who will support me I give my assurance that I will represent no political boss but the people; that I will, if elected, report regularly and publicly in the district concerning my work in Congress, and that I will stand by Socialist principles and a program good not only for Brooklyn or Greater New York but for the country."

To insure a vigorous contest not only in the Congressional district, but also in the Senatorial and Assembly districts comprising the Congressional district, the Socialists have named Charles Solomon, former Assemblyman and last year Mr. Thomas' running mate on the city ticket for Comptroller, to be the Senatorial candidate, Jacob Axelrad to be the Assembly nominee in the 18th A. D., and Joseph Viola and Simon Wolfe to be the Assembly candidates in the 17th and 21st districts, respectively.

5,900 Sign Petitions Mr. Thomas was led to accept the nomination after considering a number of factors, among them the receipt by his party of a petition circulated in the district by the League for Independent Political Action, of which Professor John Dewey is the head. Approximately 5,900 enrolled voters in the district signed the petition asking the Socialists to run Mr. Thomas in their district. When Mr. Thomas ran for Mayor last year he polled almost 20 per cent of the total vote in the district.

Mr. Thomas' statement follows: "It is a satisfaction to me to find that I can so arrange my affairs that I can accept the invitation of the Socialist Party, the League for Independent Political Action and about 6,000 citizens of the 6th Congressional District in Brooklyn to run in that district as candidate for Congress on the Socialist ticket. It goes without saying that my campaign will not be personal but part of the vigorous campaign which the Socialist Party is waging in New York State and in various Congressional districts."

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Waldman Urges Rejection Of N. Y. Electric Rate "Cut"; Reveals It As "Gold Brick"

Solomon And Neibuhr On Strong Senate Slate

Lee and Coleman Also Nominated In N. Y.—Complete Ticket Made Public

IN an effort to break into the State Senate again, after an absence dating since 1919, the New York Socialists this week made public their selections for the various Senatorial districts. Leading the list in districts where the Socialists expect to center their campaign are Charles Solomon, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, William M. Feigenbaum, and Algernon Lee, former legislators whose strong personal followings in the past enabled them to wage successful campaigns. McAllister Coleman and Esther Friedman.

In each instance, the leading Senatorial candidates will run in the districts for which the strongest candidates have been named by the Socialists to make the Congressional race. Solomon will run with Norman Thomas, who has accepted the nomination for Congress in the 6th Congressional District. Feigenbaum will be associated with B. C. Vladek, who has been named for Congress in the 8th Congressional District. Algernon Lee will run in the 14th Senatorial District, in which it is expected that former Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken will make the Congressional race; McAllister Coleman will run in the 17th Senatorial District, which includes the district in which Heywood Brown will be the Socialist Congressional nominee; Reinhold Niebuhr will run in the 19th Senatorial District, in which G. A. Gerber is the Socialist Congressional nominee.

A special Senatorial campaign committee will be named by the Socialists to direct the fight for Solomon, Feigenbaum, Lee, Coleman, Niebuhr, and Friedman. Non-partisan committees composed of representatives of labor, civic and fraternal organizations that have in the past supported these candidates will be formed on the initiative of prominent citizens. Solomon, who ran for comptroller last year on the ticket headed by Thomas for Mayor, and who polled close to 100,000 votes in the city, running invariably ahead of local Socialist candidates, is regarded by the Socialists as their most powerful orator with a record of legislative experience that included national, state and city affairs. He began his legislative career in Washington as secretary to the late Congressman Meyer London. He was elected four successive terms to the State Assembly from the 23rd A. D., Kings County, and became one of the outstanding Socialist spokesmen in the state. In 1917, he was in charge of the research department organized by the Socialist delegation in the New York City Board of Aldermen, and furnished the material on city problems to the Socialist members of the board. He is now an attorney for numerous labor organizations.

On the two occasions that Thomas ran for Mayor of New York City, Solomon was his running mate. In the 8th Senatorial District, where he will now run (Continued on Page Three)

Broun Among Speakers At Sacco-Vanzetti Meet On Friday, August 22nd

The Sacco-Vanzetti National League will hold a memorial meeting on the third anniversary of the death of the two men, Friday evening, August 22, at 8:30 at the Town Hall, 123 West 43rd street, New York City.

Heywood Brown, distinguished journalist and Socialist, who came out courageously for Sacco and Vanzetti when many others were side stepping, W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, Henry T. Hunt, former mayor of Cincinnati, and chairman of the National Mooney Billings Committee, will speak. A film of the funeral procession will be shown for the first time. Robert Morris Lovett, chairman of the Sacco-Vanzetti National League, will preside.

This is an open meeting and all those who wish to honor and keep alive the memory of "the good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler" are invited to attend.

Brotherhoods Endorse Quick and Sheehan In Congressional Race—New Weekly Out

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The state legislative boards of the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Locomotive Engineers and Railroad Trainmen, in joint session have condemned Congressman John C. Schaefer of the Fourth district and unanimously endorsed William F. Quick, Socialist candidate for congress. James P. Sheehan, Socialist candidate for congress in the Fifth district was also endorsed.

The proposal of Quick's name created great enthusiasm among the delegates and his unanimous endorsement followed immediately, according to Ray Empey, secretary of the legislative board of the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers.

Resolutions Criticize Schaefer The sentiment against Schaefer, who is a member of both the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, was shown by the introduction of condemnatory resolutions and by scathing denunciations by a number of delegates.

The conference decided, however, that its resentment against the past actions of Schaefer could not be shown sufficiently by the passage of resolutions but that it could most effectively be shown by ignoring him and actively and vigorously supporting the candidacy of former Judge Quick.

Despite Schaefer's membership in the two railroad unions his obligations to his capitalist party made him support some of the most reactionary legislation affecting the railroad unions, including two vicious amendments to the railroad labor bill offered by Blanton of Texas, the most reactionary man in Congress.

Wisconsin Socialists now have their automobile van at work in the campaign. It is the first of what is expected to be a number of propaganda vans to be used in this state. Both on the sides and in the rear of the van are Socialist slogans with the announcement of Metcalf for Governor standing out in large bold letters.

The van will hum along the highways of the state and stop at important points to distribute literature and hold open air meetings. Some of the best Socialist workers and speakers will go with the van for their vacation weeks, to speak and help in the campaign. In Green Bay and Sheboygan the van, or Socialist truck, whichever you care to call it, was used to advertise mass meetings for Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee as well as for noon factory speeches.

Meantime the Milwaukee Socialists are also issuing a special four-page campaign weekly.

Socialist Candidate For Gov. Urges Rejection of Sloan Schedule—Reveals Huge Profits

WHEN the New York Public Commission met Tuesday it had before it the request of Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, and the Socialist candidate for Governor, that a proposed new rate schedule filed by Matthew Sloan, president of the New York Edison Company, be rejected. Mr. Waldman, on behalf of his party, urged that the commission proceed with vigor to prosecute a fight for rate reduction.

Mr. Waldman, in a letter to the commission, declared the Edison proposal a "gold brick." He asserted that the New York City electric utilities are earning over 8 per cent although greatly over-capitalized, that the annual profits for the New York and Queens Electric Light and Power Co. is 13.63 per cent, and for the Bronx Gas and Electric Co. as high as 25.73 per cent.

In 1928, the Socialist candidate for Governor said, stockholders' profits in the Consolidated Gas system were \$59,592,552, an increase of 400 per cent since 1915.

Roosevelt Criticized There was a note of criticism of Governor Roosevelt's position in Mr. Waldman's letter. "As I understand it," the letter said, "Mr. Sloan's offer is the result of several months negotiation with you, with which the Governor kept closely in touch. There is, of course, strong temptation to get 'something' rather than risk all in a rate case. I strongly urge against such a policy."

In another paragraph, Mr. Waldman also referred to the Governor. He said: "The Governor's exuberant praise crediting the utility companies with a new spirit of cooperation is clearly undeserved. If a proposal resulting in an actual increase in the annual electric bill to 57 per cent of the domestic and commercial users is public cooperation, what is public hostility?"

Mr. Waldman's letter to the commission follows:

August 11, 1930.
Hon. M. R. Malbie, Chairman, Public Service Commission, 120 Broadway, N. Y. C.
"Dear Chairman Malbie:
"Because of a short vacation I am taking with my family, I shall regretfully be prevented from appearing at your hearings on the proposed New York City electric rate changes. I, therefore, beg leave to submit, by letter, for the consideration of your honorable body the views and conclusions I would have presented on behalf of the Socialist Party and its allied labor and progressive organizations, were I present."

"The more the schedules submitted to you, on August 2, by Mr. Sloan for the Edison and Associated Companies, under the guise of a reduction in rates to New York City consumers, are studied and analyzed, the more the conclusion becomes irresistible that the proposal of these companies is a piece of impudence. The Governor's exuberant praise crediting the utility companies with a new spirit of cooperation is clearly undeserved. If a proposal resulting in an actual increase in the annual electric bill to 57 per cent of the domestic and commercial consumers is public cooperation, what is public hostility?"

"There is a feeling in some quarters that the electric companies are acting the rich and generous uncle who has presented us with a handsome gift, but that we, greedy and ungrateful poor relatives, are for some strange reason unsatisfied. This notion must be dispelled at once. Production and sale of electricity is not a private business. Even though for a long time they had it all their own way, charging rates to suit themselves, these companies and their spokesmen must be reminded that they are operating public utilities subject to public control. It can be made so, in more ways than one."

Schedule Would Mean Increase "I urge upon you the rejection of the offer made by Mr. Sloan on the ground that to the preponderant majority of consumers it would not be a reduction but an increase in rates. By reason of their capacity to compete, many large commercial consumers will receive reductions any way. It is the small consumers, the great mass of householders using electric current, most of whom are poor people, who need the protection of

(Continued on Page Two)

1,500 in L.A. Urge Release For Mooney

Sinclair, Tully Among Speakers—Busick Discharged in Famous Parade

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LOS ANGELES. — Over 1,500 persons attended the Mooney-Billing protest meeting held at Trinity Auditorium last Saturday evening under the auspices of the Socialist Party. A telegram with the entire audience as signatories was sent to Governor Young demanding the immediate and unconditional pardon of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

A brilliant array of speakers addressed the meeting. Among them were Upton Sinclair, internationally famous novelist and Socialist candidate for Governor of California; Robert Wagner, editor of the Beverly Hills "Script"; Chaim Shapiro, Socialist candidate for Lieutenant-Governor; Jim Tully, celebrated author and dramatist; Ethelwyn Mills of the World Peace League; George R. Kirkpatrick, author of "War—What For?"; Kate Crane Gartz, wealthy Altadena liberal; Dr. E. P. Ryland, secretary of the Church Federation; Fred Moore, the attorney who defended Sacco and Vanzetti; and John Packard, local attorney.

William W. Busick, county organizer for the Socialist Party and locally famous as the "Mooney Hearse Man," acted as chairman. George Kirkpatrick, speaking with the dynamic vigor which has given him a reputation locally, said, "Massachusetts murdered Sacco and Vanzetti; California is murdering Mooney and Billings by degrees. It is not a question of whether Mooney and Billings are guilty of crime, for the whole world knows that they are not; the question is, are we of the proud and strutting state of California guilty of crime? We must demand the unconditional release of Mooney and Billings at once!"

Kate Crane Gartz, recently fined for contempt by a San Bernardino judge when she wrote him a letter protesting a verdict of his under the Criminal Syndicalism Law, read a copy of a letter she had just sent to the Supreme Court of California about the Mooney case. Part of her letter read, "Under the infamous Criminal Syndicalism Law, the police can snatch up any innocent by-stander who looks as though he might have an ideal."

Jim Tully, intimate with prison conditions and class war prisoners, told of his long friendship with Tom Mooney. "I thought he would be a free man by now," Tully said. "Fremont Older told me a long time ago that he had Governor Young's personal word of honor that Mooney and Billings would be pardoned." Referring to the political situation in California the tramp writer said, "You can take your choice of the three men running for Governor against Upton Sinclair. If those three men were strong men, or honest men, they could never have gotten this far in California politics."

Sinclair Hits Courts
Upton Sinclair's address was marked as a departure from the usual speech of a gubernatorial candidate as the man himself is different from the politicians he opposes in the coming elections. In simple terms he stated the essential points of the Socialist platform and plan of action, to the strict obedience of which every Socialist candidate is pledged. He told of his inside knowledge, through Judge James Dill, an eastern jurist, of the corruption of the courts. He characterized the Mooney case as the worst of a multitude of flagrant abuses of the law of the land.

Interrupted by a gentleman in the gallery, who inquired what stand he took on the Wright Act, Sinclair replied: "I have been a prohibitionist ever since I was old enough to know what the word meant. I am for strict enforcement of the Wright Act, especially when it is violated by the rich, who at present are immune."

Chairman Busick prefaced his introduction of Chaim Shapiro by a description of his experience when he applied for a permit to drive through the streets in a hearse bearing banners, "California Justice is Dead." Refused the permit, Busick drove the hearse, was arrested, and found not guilty by Judge Egan in Municipal Court Division Five. Chaim Shapiro defended Busick.

"When I asked them for the permit, the commissioners pushed their spectacles back upon their brainless heads and announced that they were not willing to admit that California justice was dead. When I offered to do the truth-telling myself, they were horrified."

Gov. Young Attacked
Willard Thorpe, president of the commission, explained to me that they were trying to respect the rights of all the people. "In Los Angeles," Thorpe said, "there are many good citizens who firmly believe that if a hearse passes their home, a member of their family will die. We should respect the beliefs of these folks."

Fred Moore, the attorney who made the Sacco-Vanzetti case an international issue, compared it to the Mooney case, pointing out the significant similarity; the same type of stool pigeon for witnesses, the same powerful corporate interests at work crushing men whose political beliefs they considered dangerous.

Before and during the meeting, the now famous "Mooney Hearse," containing a skeleton symbolizing California justice, was parked in front of the auditorium, and attracted a curious crowd.

"Tamiment Calling"

WHIP OF WAVES AGAINST CANOE BOW,
TANG OF MOUNTAIN AIR. YES, TAMIMENT
IS CALLING YOU TO HILL TRAILS,
TO LAKE WATERS. FAR FROM HEAT AND
WORRIES, SWIM, RIDE, PLAY, DANCE, AND
BE MERRY IN QUIET TAMIMENT.

CAMP TAMIMENT FORREST PARK, PA.

New York Headquarters
7 East 15th St., New York City

N. Y. Newspapers Admit Great Strength of Thomas And Broun Candidacies

"World," "Tribune," "Times" Pay Party Recognition as Candidates are Announced

IT is impossible to read one of the metropolitan dailies these days without coming across at least two or three stories and frequently editorial comment, or comment by columnists or special writers, on the Socialist Party and its work. Occasionally the comment is frivolous, often unfriendly, but always the editorials indicate a healthy respect for the Socialist Party and its leaders.

The nomination of Norman Thomas and Heywood Broun for Congress on the Socialist ticket brought a flood of editorials. The *Herald-Tribune* called Thomas "Tammany's most effective opposition"—a large-sized concession for a Republican paper. In doing this it was following the line taken a few weeks ago by the *Evening Telegram* which declared the Socialist Party has displaced the Republican organization as the opposition party in New York City. Here is a collection of editorials taken from the New York dailies of the last ten days:

NORMAN THOMAS FOR CONGRESS

(N. Y. World, August 12)
The announcement by Norman Thomas that he will accept the Socialist nomination for Congress to represent the 6th district in Brooklyn is welcome news. By character, ability and experience Mr. Thomas is admirably fitted for the post, and New York City certainly needs a man of his type in Washington. A representative of his fearlessness and independence will shine by contrast with the many rubber-stamp Congressmen whom the local bosses select to sit in the House and obey orders.

It is particularly gratifying that the district in which Mr. Thomas is to make his race is also the one in which John H. McCooey, the calm and phlegmatic boss of Brooklyn, has his domicile. This gives Mr. Thomas an excellent opportunity to pay his respects to that powerful dispenser of patronage and to enlighten the Brooklynites with regard to the nature of the political despotism under which they live, move and have their being. Even if he accomplishes nothing more than to shake the Brooklyn boss out of his smug complacency he will have done the community a good turn.

The eyes of all New York are to be focused on the race in the 6th district. As in the mayoralty election last year, Mr. Thomas may be expected to obtain a large vote from citizens who have no interest in his Socialist platform but who respect him as a man and wish to administer a telling rebuke to the obtuse and myopic leaders of both the major political parties in New York City.

THE CANDIDACY OF NORMAN

(Herald-Tribune, August 12)
There will be a widespread welcome in the 6th District of Brooklyn for the entrance of Norman Thomas into the Congressional race. The candidacy of so able and respected a citizen cannot fail to lift the level of the campaign.

If there were any danger of a large Socialist block in Congress the possibility of Mr. Thomas' election would be a different matter. A little party, with one man or two in Congress, suffers none of the temptations of power which beset the larger groups and perforce puts its feet foot forward. Mr. Thomas, if elected, might himself regret that, in a minority of one, such addresses as he might make

nicipal Court Division Five. Chaim Shapiro defended Busick.

"When I asked them for the permit, the commissioners pushed their spectacles back upon their brainless heads and announced that they were not willing to admit that California justice was dead. When I offered to do the truth-telling myself, they were horrified."

Gov. Young Attacked
Willard Thorpe, president of the commission, explained to me that they were trying to respect the rights of all the people. "In Los Angeles," Thorpe said, "there are many good citizens who firmly believe that if a hearse passes their home, a member of their family will die. We should respect the beliefs of these folks."

Fred Moore, the attorney who made the Sacco-Vanzetti case an international issue, compared it to the Mooney case, pointing out the significant similarity; the same type of stool pigeon for witnesses, the same powerful corporate interests at work crushing men whose political beliefs they considered dangerous.

Before and during the meeting, the now famous "Mooney Hearse," containing a skeleton symbolizing California justice, was parked in front of the auditorium, and attracted a curious crowd.

in behalf of his Socialist principles would be futile gestures. But the stand which he would take for honesty and decency in administration, for generous principles of humanity, would echo in the nation as the stand he has taken in this city has echoed. By study and by sheer sincerity and force of character he has made himself, without ever filling public office, a distinguished public servant of the city.

MR. THOMAS TO RUN

(N. Y. Times, August 11)
Announcement this morning that Mr. Norman Thomas will accept the Socialist nomination for Representative in Congress from the Sixth District in Brooklyn assures an enlivened campaign. This will not be a jesting candidacy. Mr. Thomas is not a mere dilettante dabbling in Socialism for the fun he and his friends can get out of it. He is a capable man of high character, really in earnest, and a most effective political debater. He knows perfectly well that he is attacking a stronghold of the Democratic boss in Brooklyn. In the election of 1928, the Sixth District was carried by Mr. Somers, a Democrat, who had a vote of 71,131. The Republican candidate, Mr. Loeck, even in the most landslide, polled only 53,362. The Socialist nominee, Mr. Smith, had a vote of 2,261. But already a petition signed by nearly 6,000 qualified voters of the district has been presented to Mr. Thomas urging him to stand, as he has now consented to do.

Probably he has no hope of being elected, but is willing to throw himself into a campaign for the sake of the new battleground from which he can direct his attacks upon machine politics in this city. He promises that this will be the burden of his speech-making, and before he gets through Boss McCooey's Brooklyn will hear things to make his ears tingle. Citizens outside the Sixth District will watch the contest there with uncommon interest. Remembering the large vote which Mr. Thomas polled in the mayoralty election last year, not because he was a Socialist and running on the Socialist ticket, but because he was a man of winning personal qualities, unblemished character and demonstrated ability, it will be of great public importance to find out whether residents of the Sixth District will also respond to this high form of political appeal. If they do, it will be one more lesson for those dull and obstinate scholars—the managers of both political parties in this city.

HEYWOOD BROUN ON THE SOAPBOX

(Herald-Tribune, August 5)
It is a pity Heywood Broun is not to run against Jimmy Walker for Mayor instead of against Mrs. Pratt for Congress. For Heywood Broun would meet the Mayor on his own ground; the Honorable James, outwitted, might have to look for sounder methods of argument.

Instead, Mr. Broun announces that, as candidate of the Socialist Party, he intends to invade the bluecocking district, and discuss the issues of the day. We are for that. But when it comes to election day we shall doubtless feel, along with the majority of the 17th district, that Mrs. Pratt will make a better Congressman; but as a candidate, for any office, Heywood Broun is sure to be both entertaining and useful.

In these sad days when the millennial dream of revolution has faded and when Socialists do not, in fact, get elected even as aldermen, the Socialist Party is performing a more useful public service than ever before in its history. Norman Thomas, candidate sometimes for Mayor, sometimes for Governor, President or Alderman, is by himself an energetic Association for the Education of the New York Public mind. His candidacies are effective opposition, a watchdog if the city ever had one. With Heywood Broun as his ally he might actually arouse New York City into taking an interest in its politics. It is a fine omen when men like Thomas and Broun consent to undertake the drudgery of a political campaign; men of all parties must welcome it.

AN ALL-STAR CONGRESS CAST

(N. Y. Times, August 6)

New Yorkers usually not only don't know who are running for Congress; they don't even know the names of existing Congressmen. But this year, if the plans of the Socialist Party materialize, several districts will be fully aware of identities. One is Heywood Broun, who has agreed to make the race against Representative Ruth Pratt and her Democratic opponent, Magistrate Brodsky, in the Seventeenth (Manhattan) District. Another, if sufficient petitions appear in the Sixth (Brooklyn) District, is the party's leader, Norman Thomas. A third eminent Socialist for whom there are Congressional plans is former Municipal Judge Panken of the Fourteenth (Manhattan). Already, according to Socialist spokesmen, he has received offers of Republican support if he will seek to oust Representative Sirovich. With the humorous and literary McAllister Coleman and Morris Hillquit to have a Congressional nomination, the Socialists are in a position to make themselves heard if not felt.

The great vote given Mr. Thomas for Mayor proved that many New York citizens who have no interest in Socialism and repudiate its doctrines will readily support a high-grade candidate of that party. Perhaps it was this which prompts Mr. Broun to prophesy that he is certain to win sometime and it might as well be now. Political analysts would not be inclined to share his optimism. The last time Mrs. Pratt ran she polled 36,665 votes to the Socialist candidate's 1,800, and had a majority of 2,200 over her Democratic opponent. While the Socialists expect to draw from both parties, the Democratic section of this "silk-stocking" district will probably not produce much of the "rayon" which Mr. Broun thinks is to be found there. It is loyalty Tammany, and unemployment—the Socialist issue—which Mr. Broun charges in part to Mayor Walker, will be loaded upon President Hoover by the Democratic nominee. From some fellow-members of the Raquet Club and from the penthouse-keeping intelligentsia, Mr. Broun may gain votes which ordinarily would go to Mrs. Pratt. But this would tend more to elect Mr. Brodsky than Mr. Broun.

Waldman Denounces Electric Rate "Cut"

(Continued from Page One)

your commission most. Under the proposed schedules whatever benefits may inure to the large commercial customers will be at the cost of losses and sacrifices of about a million domestic consumers, the very people who can least afford to bear such sacrifice.

"The proposal of the companies to reduce the rates from 7 to 5 cents per kilowatt hour on the express condition that they be permitted to make a meter charge of \$7.20 a year is to take back from the public with the left hand what the right is giving. Talding all domestic consumers, the larger as well as the smaller ones, we find that the average reduction is only 1-3 of a cent per kilowatt hour instead of the much heralded 2 cents. The cardinal vice of the proposal is that it carries the illusion of a substantial reduction when, in fact, it is nothing of the kind.

"Moreover, it introduces the vicious principle of meter charges and demand charges, a favorite utility company method of faking the consumer, which sound public regulation seeks to do away with wherever it exists.

Urges Suit Go On

"In his guileless letter to you Mr. Sloan suggests that you accept his proposed schedules, permitting the termination of the present New York Edison rate case, and avoiding the delay, expense and loss of time involved in further formal rate proceedings. Since the very object of instituting the rate case was to relieve the domestic consumers from the exorbitant rates charged by the companies, an object not even partially accomplished by the Sloan proposal, there can be only one answer to Mr. Sloan, that is: On with the proceeding! The public interest demands prompt and vigorous prosecution of that proceeding.

"Viewed as a financial or economic proposition there is no justification for the companies' demand for a meter charge and demand charge as a condition of reducing rates. A flat maximum 5 cent rate per kilowatt hour is high enough to yield the companies a fair profit.

"Considering the amount of reduction in rates, I desire to call to your attention the fact that notwithstanding the many economies in production, transmission and distribution of electrical energy and the general progress of the industry, New Yorkers have not had their rates reduced for the past 13 years. Unchecked by your commission, prior to your advent as its chairman, the companies did pretty much as they pleased with this public utility. They indulged in a riot of profiteering, while spending over \$5,000,000 in fighting rate reductions on the plea of poverty.

Cites Huge Profits

"The evidence adduced before the Commission on Revision of the Public Service Commission Law showed that the electric properties serving New York City are earning over 8 per cent, even though they are very much over capitalized. The profits for New York and Queens Electric Light and Power Co. is 13.83 per cent and that of the Bronx Gas and Electric Co. as high as 25.73 per cent. The profits for all the companies since 1915 have increased enormously. In 1928, the profits for the stockholders for the Consolidated Gas system, including the electric companies involved in the present rate controversy, were \$59,592,552, an increase since 1915 of over 400 per cent.

"Commissioner Frank P. Walsh, Prof. James C. Bonbright and Mr. David C. Adio, in their minority report to the Legislature, state: 'The evidence shows that the establishment of electric rates on an economically sound basis in New York City would furnish household current for a maximum rate of 5 cents a kilowatt hour.'

"The majority report nowhere questioned this finding, yet, the companies' proposal that in addition to a 5 cent rate the consumers pay annually a sum estimated to be over \$21,000,000 consisting of approximately \$14,000,000 from the monthly 'meter charge' of 60 cents, and over \$7,000,000 from the 'demand charge' of \$1 a kilowatt a month from commercial customers. To grant them that would amount to a grab. The public interest requires your rejection of the electric companies' 'gold brick'.

"As I understand it, Mr. Sloan's offer is the result of several months' negotiation with you, with the Governor kept closely in touch. There is, of course, strong temptation to get 'something' rather than risk it all in a rate case. I strongly urge against such a policy. Now, as well as throughout their entire history, these electric companies are running true to form. They charge what the traffic will bear. Vigorous action to the limit of the law will alone bring real rate reductions, while the elimination of the anomaly of having private agents do the public economic function of owning and operating the electric business and the establishment instead of responsible public agencies to do this important public work in the interest of the community will bring complete relief.

"Respectfully yours,
"LOUIS WALDMAN,
"State Chairman,
"Socialist Party of N. Y."

Philadelphia Textile Union Accepts James H. Maurer, Spurning Gifford Pinchot

Northeast Progressive League Refuses to Follow Lead of State Federation of Labor

By David S. Schick

PHILADELPHIA. — James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Governor, has been endorsed by the Northeastern Progressive League, militant political organization of this city's textile unions. The league's action makes its militancy more than a polite acknowledgment of its politicality. But a few weeks ago, the leaders of the league were striving for Republican nominations to office through motley-colored alliances with the Pinchot, Vane and "Wet" machines.

The endorsement of the former president of the State Federation of Labor is cheering in that it represents concession to the risk and file by the union leaders in control of the league.

The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, mov-

ing spirit behind the League, recently effected a national agreement with the union manufacturers taking a five to twenty percent wage cut.

The fate of the agreement hinged on a membership referendum with the Philadelphia local, numbering 10,000, holding the balance of power.

These Ballots On Cut

A group of Socialist members of the federation battled vigorously against ratification of the agreement. They made their fight on economic grounds divorcing the conflict from the usual inter-union personalities found in such struggles.

So telling were Ryan's arguments against an administration policy that accepted a 20 percent wage cut with outward equality, that it was found necessary to take three ballots at as many meetings before the agreement was ratified.

The administration, expecting little protest, now found itself faced with a strong opposition group.

The significance of the discovery

may be gauged from the fact that before the new pact was under consideration, the Socialist party here had abandoned all hope of swerving the Northeastern Progressive League from the Leaders' desire to affiliate with the Labor Party of Pennsylvania.

The Labor Party is guided politically by the State Federation of Labor and has placed Pinchot and Davis, the Republican nominees for Governor and Senator on its ticket, following their endorsement by the state federation.

The League will not abandon its intention to affiliate with the Labor Party, but will attempt the well known political trick of "sapping it." The endorsement of Maurer is now bruited about the mill-workers' tenements in Kensington as the first step in the process of capture.

Local Candidates Put Up
Edmund Ryan, Sr., a hosiery worker, has been nominated for the state assembly in the Northeast. This will further tend to consolidate the Socialist tendencies of the Northeastern Progressive League's members.

Another Socialist nominee in that territory is George Creech, a prominent textile worker and leader in the Pioneer Youth movement. Much of the Socialist campaign activity apart from the drive for Maurer votes will be centered in the Northeast.

Some indication of the North-

eastern Progressive League's sphere of influence may be gained from a listing of its leaders and most active members.

Its chairman is Joseph Steiner, business agent and organizer of the Upholstery Weavers. The secretary is Edward Callaghan, national organizer for the hosiery workers. Among the charter members and most open participants in discussions are Emil Rieve, national president of the hosiery workers; Alexander McKeown, president of the Philadelphia branch of the hosiery workers; William F. Kelly, international vice-president of the United Textile Workers; Fred Lauterwasser, vice-president of the State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and president of the Textile Workers District Council and John Edelman, research secretary of the hosiery workers.

Hall Johnson Choir On Unity House Program

Unity House is eager to live up to its reputation and provide an extraordinarily fine social, dramatic and educational program before the summer season ends. This will include Johnson's Negro Choir of thirty voices for Sunday evening, August 24th. A fine program is scheduled for this week-end, August 16.

The JIMMIE HIGGINS CONTEST

A competition to discover who is the best worker for Socialism—the best JIMMIE HIGGINS—in the United States will be held by the Socialist Party of America from Sept. 1, 1930, to March 1, 1931.

53 Awards Every Socialist Will Treasure Will Be Given The Winners

FIRST AWARD A TRIP TO "RED VIENNA" AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS

En route to the congress days in London with the leaders of the Labor Party, a visit to Paris and the scenes of the Paris Commune, thence to Germany with its great cooperatives and Social-Democracy, and finally to the cradle of Socialist inspiration—Vienna—A glimpse of the future Socialist state and a seat as a fraternal delegate in the World Congress of the Workers—All traveling and living expenses paid.

SECOND AWARD A Year at Brooklyn Labor College or Term at the Rand School

THIRD AWARD A Trip to the Summer Conference of the L. I. D.

FIFTY ADDITIONAL AWARDS

Ten copies of "Eugene V. Debs, A Man Unafraid," by McAllister Coleman, with original signatures of Debs and autographed by the author.

Ten copies of the famous novel, "Jimmie Higgins," autographed by the author, Upton Sinclair. An epic of war-time Socialism.

Ten copies of "History of Socialist Thought," personally autographed by the author, Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

Ten copies of "Is Conscience a Crime?" personally autographed by the author, Norman Thomas.

Ten copies of "Meyer London, An East Side Epic," personally autographed by the author, Harry Rogoff.

Awards will be made on the following basis, most importance being given to the items near the top of the list.

- 1—Number of new members of the Socialist Party obtained.
- 2—Number of new members of the Young Peoples Socialist League obtained.
- 3—Number of new subscribers to the following Socialist papers: New Leader, Reading Labor Advocate, New Era, Schenectady Citizen, Labor World, American Labor News, Der Worker, Proletar, Rainsja and Spravdelnost.

The following members of the party will act as judges of the contest:

Mrs. Meta L. Berger, William W. Busick, James D. Graham, Morris Hillquit, Daniel W. Hoan, Alfred Baker Lewis, James H. Maurer, Ralph McAllister, James Onal, Charles Pogorelec, Clarence Senior, Joseph W. Sharts, William Stone, Emanuel Swirles, Norman Thomas, Lilith Wilson.

A Contest Open to All

Any member of the Socialist Party, old or new, any person who joins at once, may enter the contest and be eligible for a prize. There is no length of party membership requirement, no age, sex, or territorial limitation. No more than two main prizes can go to persons in any one state.

The worker in the ranks will have no competition from comrades in paid organization positions. No one who is now working full time for the Socialist Party, the Y. P. S. L. or any party paper mentioned above is eligible for a prize.

Members wishing to enter the contest must notify the National Office, fill out and return the entrance blank countersigned by the secretary of his local organization. Progress reports must be sent in every week to the national office. At regular intervals, the National Office will make reports on the standing of the contestants.

Application for membership blanks (1928 blanks must be used) must be sent to the National Office after persons have been elected by the local. Only those blanks showing that the applicant was proposed by the contestant will be credited him. Name and address of the local secretary must be shown on each card. The cards will be returned to the local secretary for filing, immediately after the National Office has recorded them.

Subscriptions to papers must be sent in to the National Office with cash or money order for them to be credited. They will then be forwarded to the proper paper.

JIMMIE HIGGINS CONTEST

September 1, 1930—March 1, 1931

NOTICE OF ENTRY

to be filled out and mailed at once

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA,

2633 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

I am going to double my efforts for the Socialist movement in the next six months and continue them thereafter. I wish to be considered eligible for the trip to Red Vienna, or one of the other Jimmie Higgins contest awards. I agree to send to the National Office every week reports of my progress, and to abide by all the published rules.

Name

Street

City

Name of Local

Signature of secretary of local

Fill Out and Mail This Blank

Socialist Party of America

2633 WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

Muste Raps Green For Hoover Bid

Invitation to Address A.F.L. Convention Insults Workers, C. P. L. A. Chief Declares

William Green's invitation to President Hoover to attend the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor in October is an "insult" that will be resented by the rank and file of labor, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, declared yesterday.

Hoover's fight to put Yellow Dog Parker on the supreme court and the administration's ineffectiveness during the industrial depression were urged by Muste as main reasons why Hoover should not be invited to speak at Boston.

He recalled the wave of wage cuts in recent months to convert Pres. Green's claim that Hoover's industrial conference last November averted general wage reductions. His statement follows:

"President Hoover, who fought to the last ditch to have yellow-dog contract Judge Parker placed on the Supreme Court bench is handsomely rewarded for his friendliness to labor by being invited to speak at the American Federation of Labor Convention in Boston in October.

"Of course in extending this invitation to Mr. Hoover, President Green of the A. F. of L. does not cite the Parker incident as the reason for the honor conferred upon the President by the Labor Movement. He is honored because of the 'great service' he rendered by means of the White House Conference on November 21 in stabilizing wages and working standards, in face of the present depression. The effect of this conference, we are told, is becoming 'more and more apparent'.

Unemployment Rampant
"We are utterly unable to understand such logic. It is true that in certain trades the wage-level has nominally at least, been maintained, though it is exceedingly doubtful whether Mr. Hoover's conference had much to do with this result. Even in these trades, however, unemployment is rampant, and the total wages received by the workers attached to them have been greatly reduced.

"On the other hand, all over the country wages are being directly or indirectly slashed. A recent report of the U. S. Department of Labor cites 74 cases of wage reductions.

"Several months ago the Dan River Mills in Virginia, one of the largest cotton textile firms, put a ten per cent cut into effect. Fifty history mills in the U. S., according to a recent statement of the Labor Bureau, have abolished extra rates for continuous operation services. More recently still, 13,000 organized hosiery workers were compelled to sign a national agreement providing for a vicious wage-cut of 20 per cent. The unions in the steel industry have taken a cut. The same is true for copper miners in Arizona. Instances could be multiplied a thousand-fold.

Green's Act Degrading
"Mr. Hoover failed to call any conference a year ago when it might have helped, but instead permitted his administration to keep up the silly ballyhoo of Republican prosperity and this encouraged the orgy of speculation on the Stock Exchange.

"To place all the blame for the present depression on him or his party is absurd, but for Labor to shower honors upon the man who did nothing when action might have meant less unemployment, is degrading. It will be resented by the millions of toilers among whom stalk the spectres of insecurity, poverty and distress.

"The A. F. of L. itself becomes a party to this policy of wage cutting when it follows the supine course which it pursued in making the Hoover-Green pact in which workers were advised not to ask for wage increases. Now it again commends labor organizations and the representatives of labor who prevented interruptions and strikes. The workers are being robbed because the Labor Move-

HERE THEY COME—

HERE at the office of THE NEW LEADER we are walking around with our chests stuck out. We strut a bit. And for good reason.

For out there where the going is hard, where the firing is hot, you have heard our call for help in making your paper the big, national publication that it should be. And you have answered. And we are proud to have for readers such loyal, true-red Socialists as you have proved to be.

From our very first call we received a regular shower of letters enclosing subs. They came in time to help break a long, long drought. But of course that doesn't mean that the dry spell is over. Not by a long sight.

This is just the beginning, auspicious as it is of happy days ahead.

THE first response is an omen, if you like, of that nation-wide response from individuals and unions and other organizations fighting for a better world here and now which we must have if THE NEW LEADER is to keep on telling the truth about this cockeyed world. To do that and do it well, we have to depend upon you and your loyalty. We can't go to the big boys and ask for the sort of advertisements that make such Babbitt books as THE SATURDAY EVENING POST and TRUE STORIES possible. To get that advertising you have to run the kind of boloney that these publications run. And you wouldn't read it if we did run it.

Now here it's the HEBREW BUTCHERS WORKERS UNION of New York City coming in with five subs and A. Branfman of The Bronx with four more and six from over in Brooklyn and AL BENSON of Milwaukee keeping up a steady fire of new subs and a letter and sub from Oakland, Cal., with the comment: "It

ment fails to give any inspiring and militant leadership, but instead becomes the mouthpiece of big business."

The Labor Bureau's prosperity index, that of reported wage increases and decreases, supports Mr. Muste.

Total Wage April May June July
Increases 32 41 50 44
Decreases 25 33 57 68

The bureau's compilation is unusually favorable to increases because union industries make far more comprehensive reports on wage changes than non-union industries. It is only in the union industries that wage boosts are reported.

Basic Industries Depressed
In the bureau's compilation, wages have tumbled another 2% in the latest month and show a total decline of 5% between June, 1929, and June, 1930. Textiles earnings are down an even 10% in the twelve-month period, iron steel and their products 8% and autos 6%.

Jobs dropped 3% in the last month. Only 87 jobs existed in June where 100 furnished employment last year.

No fewer than 231 wage reductions in violation of Pres. Hoover's wage truce have been discovered by Labor Bureau, although it admits the list is far from complete. Such firms as General Motors, Fisher Body, Anaconda Copper, Chrysler, Consolidation Coal (Rockefeller), Union Pacific and Union Hosiery mills are included in the list, with slashes as high as 38%, although the average is 10%.

Most of the workers affected are in non-union industries and in many cases have struck.

"July will show the worst record of any month in the current depression, so far as wage earners are concerned," the bureau summarized.

Thomas Accepts Fight For Congressional Seat
(Continued from Page One)

districts in the Greater New York. "Never was the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of both old parties in city, state and nation so evident as now. Unnumbered millions of the unemployed walk the streets. In no sense are they their children responsible for their suffering. Victims of a social tragedy for which capitalism which was going to make everybody rich is directly responsible, a

is pretty hard to raise the money but I thought I'd go without breakfast for a few mornings rather than lose my companion, THE NEW LEADER."

Do you wonder we're proud to be associated in a comradely quest with men and women of such fine spirit?

Now we're off to a grand start. Keep them coming in.

CUT out that coupon. Go out among your comrades and shopmates and office-mates and get those blanks filled in with the names of new subscribers. You can't send us too many. THE NEW LEADER wants and deserves ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND READERS. An idle dream? Not if you take off your coat, right now and help us make it come true.

COUPON
(Rates \$2 a Year, \$1 for 6 Months)
THE NEW LEADER,
7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which you will enter the following subscriptions to our paper:

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Socialist M. P. Tells of Vienna's Great Progress

Frau Proft Talks at Meeting Sponsored by N.Y. Women's Section

By Samuel H. Friedman
THE part played by the Socialist Democratic women of Vienna in helping build up a strong Socialist movement in that city, and the work done by the Socialist administration of the Austrian capital in acting for the social welfare of the workers there, were described by Gabriella Proft, Socialist member of the Austrian Parliament, before a small informal gathering of party members and friends at the Civic Club, Comrade Paul Richter, secretary of the Socialist Democratic Party of Vienna, also addressed the dinner-meeting, which was arranged on short notice by the women's committee of the Socialist Party.

Esther Friedman acted as chairman and toastmaster, and welcomed the comrades from across the seas as an inspiration to both men and women in this country. She told of her own experiences while visiting the continent during the International Socialist Youth Congress last year.

The two visitors spoke in German, but so warm was the feeling of comradeship and the sense of mutual idealism that little difficulty was experienced, even by the non-German speaking auditors, in understanding what was said. Comrade Richter spoke of the general economic situation abroad and in America, so far as the Austrian delegation had been able to observe them. In Europe, he declared, the workers had been given to understand that every worker in America had a house, a radio, and an automobile; and he commented on the irony of the actuality as contrasted with the picture usually conjured up in the minds of Europeans.

Gabriella Proft, who is also chairman of the Austrian Child Welfare Committee, a leader in the Austrian Socialist women's movement, and a writer for Die Unzufriedene, the Socialist women's weekly, dealt particularly with matters of interest to women not only in Austria but all over the world. She told of the handicaps in the way of organization of women under the old regime—"women and idiots are not allowed to participate in political discussions"—and of the strides made by women since in organizing themselves and in helping build up a strong Socialist and labor movement. She described the social welfare work of the administration and the steps being taken to safeguard workers' rights and to bring about industrial democracy within the limits of the powers granted the city.

Her story of the Socialist-labor children's extension schools attracted considerable attention, in view of the interest expressed by those present in the establishment of Socialist Sunday schools in New York City.

Comrade Proft ended by expressing and reiterating the hope that Socialist women in New York and the United States would try to emulate the example of Vienna's women comrades, and especially would attempt to send delegates

New Capitalism In Food Marts Brings Grief

Entry of Big Business Into 'Happy Families' Grieves Trade Journalist

The commission business in the distribution of fruits, vegetables, butter, eggs, cheese, poultry, etc., is revealing the impact of the "new capitalism." The development from small business to large business and mergers is wiping out the old personal relationship between boss and underling and is fostering the policies of speeding up and discharge of workers at the age of fifty. The following comment by Seymour H. Neumann from "The Produce News" of New York issue of July 19. It shows that the "new capitalism" is affecting many phases of economic life that are not so generally known.

"We must be getting old of late, or at least mellow, because some of the serious aspects of the changing conditions in the produce trade interest us a great deal more than they formerly did. The change from little business to big business and from a personal business to a machine business has taken out of our work many of the more pleasant and more personal phases.

"The commission business of 20 years ago was an individual enterprise; the personality of the firm was one of the big assets of each going concern, and loyalty of employer to employee presented some of the finest and most laudable examples that could be had in any line of endeavor anywhere. It was really remarkable what a fine family the produce business was then, and how many cases of real close friendship there were between the members of various firms. Sentiment played a great part in the conducting of the business, and it was taken as a matter of course that a faithful employee would advance and become a member of the firm and that years of service would be rewarded with permanence of employment. And it was not unusual for firms to boast of the length of service of their employees.

"One of the big changes of recent years has been the tendency toward larger units, and mergers and combinations have taken out of the produce business, especially the dairy and poultry end of it, much, if not all, of the personal element. Men are no longer personalities, but merely cogs in the machine. Recently in some of the mergers it was found expedient to do away with certain positions and, in doing this, no consideration was given to the length of service of the person occupying the position nor to his past record of loyalty to the original organization.

In merging several concerns into these enormously large units, even the heads of the concern become automatons and part of a machine, and their value is not measured by past service, but entirely by what the efficiency expert terms their ability to "hit the ball." It is quite natural that underlings are given no consideration whatever, for years of service mean no more to the efficiency man than five minutes. His only measure is how much do they produce? Where, because of a merger, there are two men doing a job, approximately the same work, it is only natural that one of the two is dispensed with, and in the cold-blooded, unsentimental system of measuring, which is the yardstick of the efficiency expert, it is probable that the older man rather than the younger will be weeded out. Some of these older men have given years of loyal service and submerged their personality in the business, and at the age of 50 or more are left where their earning capacity is not even a major fraction of what their value was to one of the individual corporations prior to a merger.

"There have been several cases of this kind lately, and they present one of the truly sad features of the changing world and the lack of sentiment that attaches to big business. To silent Jim Wetz, erstwhile egg king and now laird of Lake Jem, Fla., we are indebted to the following quotation from Shakespeare, which he dug up from the storehouse of his prodigious memory as a near description of the situation. The quotation is from the play "Othello," in which Rodrigo urges Iago that he should supplant Othello as the big man of Venice, and Iago replied:

"We cannot all be masters, nor all masters cannot be truly followed. You shall mark Many a duteous and knee-crooking knave That, doting on his own obsequious bondage, Wears out his time, much like this."

to the next international congress of Socialist workers.

Comrades Julius Gerber and Beia Low helped clarify the talks by asking questions and leading discussion. The meeting closed with the singing of the international in four languages—English, German, French and Yiddish.

Solomon and Niebuhr On Strong Senate Slate

(Continued from Page One)
with Thomas, Solomon polled close to 10,000 votes last year, running thousands of votes ahead of the local candidate, and close to the Thomas vote, which was unprecedented. In the year that has passed Solomon has frequently appeared in and out of the district at civic organizations and public forums, and is believed to be stronger now than he has ever been.

One of the surprise features of the Socialist Senatorial slate was the announcement that Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, of Union Theological Seminary, is to be the party's candidate in the 19th Senatorial District, Manhattan. Dr. Niebuhr, the chairman of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Churches of Christ in America, is regarded as one of the outstanding religious leaders of the nation. He is professor of moral philosophy at Union Theological and visiting professor at Yale Divinity School. He came to New York three years ago from Detroit where he was pastor of the Bethel Evangelical Church. His social welfare work and his vigorous criticism of Henry Ford's industrial policies in Detroit attracted much attention. The editor of "The World Tomorrow," Dr. Niebuhr is also the author of several volumes dealing with social problems.

While Prof. Niebuhr's membership in the Socialist Party dates back almost a year, it was thought his support was largely academic. But at Socialist headquarters it was said that Prof. Niebuhr's acceptance of the Senatorial nomination is part of a decision he has taken to enter the local political arena in an active and continuous manner.

Feigenbaum, who, like Solomon, has had legislative experience, having represented the 6th A. D. Kings County, in the Assembly, is a journalist and an author. A Columbia graduate, he has served the Federal and municipal governments as a statistician. His record in the State Legislature was highly praised by civic bodies. As a candidate for Congress in the 8th District, where he is now running for Senator, Feigenbaum received two years ago close to 11,000 votes. He is regarded as one of the best campaigners, the Socialist Party has.

Lee, who is president of the Rand School of Social Science, has for years been regarded as the leading Socialist educator in the country. He has been the editor of numerous Socialist publications, and has contributed articles on Socialism and defended Socialist principles in leading magazines. He has represented the American Socialist Party at various international Socialist congresses, in Amsterdam in 1904, in Stuttgart in 1907, in The Hague in 1916, and in Frankfurt in 1922.

In 1918 he was elected to the Board of Aldermen from the district in which he is now a candidate for the Senate, and became the leader of the Socialist delegation in that body. He ran for reelection in 1919, was counted out, and after a court fight was given his seat two months before the expiration of his term. Various educational organizations are expected to take a hand in his present Senatorial fight. His district is one which Judge Panken carried when he ran for reelection three years ago, and is considered a Socialist stronghold.

Last year Lee was the Socialist candidate for president of the Board of Aldermen, and received close to 100,000 votes in the city. McAlister Coleman, running in the 17th Senatorial District, is a Columbia graduate, and known as an author of several well known works, a columnist, and a popular lecturer. He is a contributing editor of The New Leader and a popular Socialist publications. He is the author of "The Last Mile," a popular novel, and two books of biography, "Pioneers of Freedom" and "Eugene V. Debs—A Man Unafraid." Two years ago he was the Socialist candidate for United States Senator from New York.

Esther Friedman, running in the 23rd Senatorial District, in the Bronx, will make a fight to recapture the district, which was formerly represented in the State Senate by Edmund Seidel, a Socialist. She has frequently toured the nation on behalf of woman suffrage, trade unionism, and Socialism, and has led the fight in many industrial disputes affecting women in industry. Various groups with which she has been identified will cooperate to make her campaign successful.

The Senatorial slate, as announced by Marx Lewis, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, is as follows:

New York County: 12th district, Morris Goldowsky; 13th, Edward McNamee; 14th, Algernon Lee; 15th, Evelyn W. Hughan; 16th, Bernard Fenster; 17th, McAlister Coleman; 18th, Samuel E. Beardsley; 19th, Reinhold Niebuhr; 20th, Max Delson.

Kings County: 4th district, W. M. Feigenbaum; 5th, Jacob L. Afros; 6th, Arthur G. Breckenridge; 7th, Dr. Louis Sadoff; 8th, Charles Siomon; 9th, David Breslow; 10th, Louis Hollander; 11th, Harry Schachner.

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WOULD DISARMAMENT ENSURE PEACE?

An Anti-War Program That Calls For Vigorous Battle on Four Far-flung Frontiers of International Danger

To those who think that pacifism is merely a negative movement, the following article will provide food for new thought on the subject. Devere Allen enunciates a program of what might be called "militant pacifism" which seeks to sap the war machine at its psychological as well as its economic and political bases.

Devere Allen has written courageously and eloquently on militarism and on social problems. He is an editor of "The World Tomorrow" and the author of "Pacifism in the Modern World." He is one of the recent recruits which the Socialist Party has been proud to welcome to its ranks.

By Devere Allen

FOR three hundred years following the invention of military weapons using gunpowder, in the 16th century, the development of armaments was comparatively slow. The machine age had not yet dawned; war was still the game of kings; the levee en masse had not yet fastened its claws on mankind; such euphemistic terms as "selective service" were beyond the intellectual attainments of the human species, and the concept of warfare in love had not yet titillated the cerebellum of the theologians.

From the time when Napoleon, that self confessed advocate of peace, unleashed his armies, the 19th century became in twenty years the 3,000-ton submersible of the United States Navy's VS type. The so-called long-range guns of the Civil War were made fun of by cartoonists, who drew pictures showing artillery officers using field glasses, a commonplace of these days when Big Bertha hurls a projectile 60 miles.

Interestingly enough, the same period of something more than a century has been the period which witnessed the organization and growth of the world's peace societies. When the Italian engineer, Giannibelli, blew up a bridge at Antwerp in 1855 by a torpedo-like device, it was not until almost two centuries later that Desaguliers, a Frenchman, developed the idea into a practicable rocket-type torpedo. On the other hand, the little 74-ton submarine Holland of 1863. The peace groups, of course, are hardly responsible for the militarization of modern life, but their impotence in the face of it can now be denied.

The American peace movement has revealed a great deal of sacrifice and heroism. But no movement in history, I imagine, ever exhibited a greater capacity for confusing cause and effect. Continually throughout its hundred years or more, the movement has fought a defensive struggle, spending the greatest portion of its time and energy in combating arms races proposed wholesale by navalists and militarists, and in promoting disarmament by retail—unfortunately failing in both efforts.

The proponents of world peace have shown an utterly extravagant preoccupation with disarmament, meaning of course disarmament of combat weapons. Few observers of international relations will refuse to concede the contribution of large armies and navies to international fear, and fear is a potent cause of war.

Psychologically the elimination of combat weapons would certainly have pacific values; but the accomplishment of such an end is all but inconceivable until we have first achieved a disarmament of what might be called the weapons of peacetime warfare. It may require two years to make the largest kind of big gun properly, and it may take several months to train a soldier, in spite of the fact that Commander John Philip Sousa, testifying for a bill to commission army bandmasters, declared that he could "take any man who is not an absolute idiot and teach him the trade of a soldier in three months." But as we draw nearer the conversion of combat almost completely into a struggle of chemicals and aircraft, the more

rapidly could a disarmed nation rebuild its arms and spring once more into the arena.

After all, armies and navies are only the combat weapons of a continuous warfare which goes on perpetually in peace. It is important, of course, to disarm the nations in respect to combat weapons; it is still more important and realistic, as a prerequisite, to disarm in peacetime and eradicate our non-military and non-naval weapons of peacetime warfare.

Economic Disarmament

Our present economic structure, despite the rosy glow with which chambers of commerce speak of trade as an aid to peace, is basically adapted to economic warfare. We still talk of economic "penetration," boards of directors plan for commercial "offense" and "defense," and trade rivalries are being developed today that are free from any essential redeeming differences from those which flamed up into combat in past periods. How can there be world peace

when a supposedly pacific British Government of Labor drops bombs on Indian natives in the far hills of Peshawar, and confines the leaders of the non-violent nationalist movement in prison? Or when, as everyone knows, more than one nation plans for a drastic readjustment of the African territories which were carved out in the last quarter of the nineteenth century? Or when the American people are betrayed by commercial interests or jingoes into intervention around the Caribbean and perpetual domination in the Philippines? Or when our government devotes its talents for miracle to the creation of tariff barriers, at the expense of the masses in our country, as well as other lands, for the benefit of a handful of men with shavelled skulls and inflated pocketbooks? Or when we attempt to stifle the foreign producer by branding his goods as "unsanitary," in many a case, really to keep his products out of the American market?

The most vital form of disarmament for peace today is economic disarmament; and yet hardly now have the peace societies, outside of the radical pacifist groups, shown any marked comprehension of the problem with which they are professionally organized to cope.

Psychological Disarmament

We shall never be able to disarm our combat weapons until we have succeeded in disarming our minds. On the shoulders of every American child rests the dead hand of traditionalism. Old attitudes of race relations prevail here as in many another uncivilized portion of this be-jungled planet. The yellow races have become articulate during the last half-century in their aspirations; the black peoples of Africa as well as Harlem will eventually demand their places in the sun-rays of the quartz lamp. More hangs on the race issue, possibly, than on the issue of economic rivalry, although the two are for the present as inseparable as a pair of trousers. Our peace forces are on this question more alert and effective than

in respect to economics; but even here they must recognize that the solution of the race question in the coming century will be found lying much deeper than a friendly handshake and an admiration for Negro spirituals.

We have renounced war as an instrument of national policy. It might be even more useful if we renounced nationalism as a policy of war. Nationalism is simply another term for patriotism that wise men use who want to keep their jobs. I am aware of the distinctions made before the rise of nations into the tribal loyalties of earlier days, I am inclined to regard the distinction as one without a difference. The peace of the world demands a psychological disarmament; and no small part of the change must be the dilution of patriotism. "Above all nations is humanity," is a sentiment not only to be carved over beautiful doorways in halls of learning; it is a sound principle of social advance.

Political Disarmament

The modern state reflects in its international relations both the influence of economic aggression and psychological defense-mechanisms. When we fight modern wars we do not fight to protect our hearths and homes; we fight to defend our national interest; and our national interest knows no bounds save those of interplanetary space. It is policy more than some specific gesture of aggression, that precipitates conflict. By policy as much cruelty may be inflicted as through actual warfare on the field of battle—as witness for example the Allied blockade of the Soviets in the immediate post-war period. (It is futile to talk about eradication even of battleships or catfishes, until we can bring about a condition of international behavior which is virtually a disarmament of policy.)

Furthermore, no disarmament of combat weapons can be permanent unless we can effect a reduction of sovereignty. Sovereignty is the legalized aspect of patri-

otism. According to Professor Sterling Edmunds, the term sovereignty was originated by Jean Bodin in his work *De la République* to furnish an alibi for the French absolutism which Louis the XI had inaugurated in the preceding century. It was defined as "Supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by the laws." Grotius worked it into the law of nations to designate the irresponsible and unlimited power of the State not only in national but international relations. Sooner or later every project for world peace runs up against the concept of sovereignty. Not least significant in the fight for peace is the relinquishment of sovereignty by a series of definite steps away from this wasted notion of fallacious self-sufficiency.

Disarmament of Man-Power

But even economic disarmament, psychological disarmament, political disarmament, will not suffice. When the legal barriers against open combat collapse as they often have; when pacific institutions crumble; when the sickle popular mind, weary of effete civilization and humdrum breadwinning, turns to the intoxicant of war; when governments decide on warfare and count on the unquestioning obedience of the soldier—that is to say, the "sold man"—something more is needed. There must be in this game of progress against destruction a trump card. And the trump card is disarmament of man-power, through organized and international resistance to conscription.

What I mean, of course, is that much-abused word pacifism. Pacifism as conceived by modern pacifists is no withdrawal from the contests of modern life; rather it is a grappling with current problems. Pacifism is not merely abstention from war. It is not merely the refusal to cooperate with the war system, the war method, and war preparations. It constitutes a means of defense; it works as a war preventive; and it develops ways of struggling valiantly for right and justice.

In non-violent resistance and attack lie the answers to the questions arising among both the oppressed nations of the world and the masses weary of war. Through the strike for peace, as more than a handful of instances have already demonstrated, it is possible for a comparatively small number of determined and fearless war resisters to paralyze the war-making power of an industrialized society. And in non-violent attack reposes the life of future revolts against injustice; the old military revolutions, outside of a few primitive places, are beaten before they start and function no better in practical affairs than in the realm of ethics.

Pacifism, focused as war resistance, not only can contribute to the reduction of international fear through the growth of war resisters in every land; not only can it supply for the warm blood of youth a dramatic equivalent for war; it strikes at man-power, the sine qua non of combat.

Thus there do abide these four: economic disarmament, psychological disarmament, political disarmament and the disarmament of man-power. And the greatest of these is no single one, but the relation of each to all the others. Working together, they might free the world from war in less time than sober men dare yet consider possible.

The Old Age Pension System in Canada

Five Out of Nine Provinces Take Advantage Of Act Passed by Dominion in 1927

By Dr. D. Jamieson

Chairman of Old Age Pensions Commission, Toronto, Canada

THE Dominion Government passed an Old Age Pension Act in 1927, under which any of the Provinces could take advantage of it by passing Legislation bringing it into force, and to which the Dominion agreed to contribute 50% of all pensions paid, the remaining 50% being provided from Provincial funds. The 50% with which the Province is charged may be in whole or in part collected by the Province from the municipality in which the pensioner resides, it being optional with the Provincial authorities to arrange in any manner they see fit to collect and pay their share of the pensions, and also to pay in full the cost of administration. This gives each Province considerable latitude in its methods of dealing with it, so long as they keep within the provisions of the Act.

Up to the present time, out of the nine Provinces of which the Dominion is constituted, five of them have adopted the Act and have passed enabling Legislation, bringing it into force, and I am placing in tabular form some information showing how each of these five Provinces have dealt with it:

In Ontario, the largest, wealthiest and most populous Province, having a population greater than all the other four Provinces which

have adopted the Act, and of which I am better able to speak, we charge the municipalities with 20% of the pensions, and the Province pays 30%, the remaining 50% coming from the Federal Government.

Municipality means a county, city or town separated from a county.

Each county and city appoints its own Local Board of five members and they receive all applications, fill out all necessary forms and investigate the circumstances of each applicant, obtaining satisfactory evidence as to age, residence, nationality and income, and then send it forward to the Provincial Commission, with their recommendation.

The qualifications under which an applicant may be eligible for a pension, under the Dominion Old Age Pension Act, are as follows:

- (a) is a British subject, or being a widow who is not a British subject, was such before her marriage;
- (b) has attained the age of seventy years;
- (c) has resided in the province in which the application for pensions is made for five years immediately preceding the date of application;
- (d) is not an Indian as defined by the Indian Act;
- (e) is not in receipt of an income of as much as \$365 a year, and
- (f) has not made any voluntary assignment or transfer of property for the purpose of qualifying for a pension.

The maximum pension payable is \$240 yearly, which shall be subject to reduction by the amount of the income of the pensioner in excess of \$125 a year. Where a man and wife can both qualify, each is entitled to a pension.

Some of the Provinces, notably Ontario, has a Parents Maintenance Act, by which a son or daughter having sufficient means is bound and can be legally forced to provide for the maintenance of a dependent parent. The Old Age Pension Act will not relieve a son or daughter from their obligation.

Regulations for the administration of the Act have been passed by the Dominion Government and each Provincial Government can also enact Regulations for its own Province, but such Regulations must be strictly in accord with the provisions of the Dominion Act.

If any amendments to the regulations are deemed advisable they must be passed by the Interprovincial Board which consists of representatives from each of the Provinces in which the Act is in force, and then agreed to by the Government in each Province and approved by the Dominion Government, before they become operative. This secures uniformity of administration in essential matters in all parts of the Dominion.

All applications for pensions must be made through the Local Board for the city or county in which the applicant resides and all expenses in connection with investigation of the claims must be paid by the municipality, except in unorganized districts as already stated.

Any pensioner or applicant who feels he has not been fairly dealt with has the privilege of appealing to the Commission, which may alter or amend the decision of the Local Board and the ruling of the Commission shall be final.

In event of death of pensioner any part of pension unpaid may be paid to such person as the Commission considers entitled thereto, on recommendation of Local Board.

AGE: To establish age regard may be had to any of the following methods:—Certificate of birth; Certificate of marriage dating back 50 years; Entries in a Family Bible; Returns of any census taken more than 30 years before application; Statutory declaration from any person, such as an older brother or sister who has knowledge of the facts; Failing all other evidence, a statutory declaration from the applicant, and also judgment from his or her personal appearance.

Residence: Twenty years in Canada and five years in the Province, immediately preceding the date of application, with reasonable allowance for temporary absence, but continuous absence for 731 consecutive days (2 years) disqualifies.

Income: From real estate the income is estimated as being 5% on the assessed value, in excess of any encumbrance thereon.

Personal earnings of applicant, taking into consideration the earnings for the past year and considering if he is still employed and may reasonably be expected to continue earning in the future.

The amount of liquid assets such as cash or marketable securities shall be estimated as giving an income equal to a life annuity which may be purchased according to the Dominion Annuity Tables which specify the amount of an annuity which may be secured for each \$1000.00 according to age.

Age last birthday

Age last birthday	Males	Females
70	\$135.50	\$121.20
71	141.00	126.30
72	146.00	131.75
73	153.20	137.60

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81	222.60	202.15
82	234.30	213.05
83	246.85	224.75
84	260.35	237.25
85	274.85	250.75

Manner pension payable: Where a pensioner lives with his or her wife or husband, his or her income shall be taken to be equal to one-half of the sum of the incomes, calculated as in the Act and these Regulations provided, received by each of them separately.

A pensioner may assign his pension or any part thereof, to any person who undertakes his care and maintenance, or to any charitable institution or hospital in which he is an inmate.

Refunds: The Commission is empowered to collect, as an ordinary creditor, from any estate of a deceased pensioner, the total amount he has received, with 5% interest added, but no claim shall be made where the estate passes by Will or Intestacy to another pensioner, or to any person who has, during the past three years, cared for the deceased.

Accounting: The sums due the Dominion for the 50% which they pay to the Provinces are settled quarterly on demand by furnishing each month a detailed statement giving the names and amounts of all cheques paid out, and also a complete summary of the particulars contained in the application of each pensioner.

Accounts between the various Provinces are also adjusted quarterly and this is one question which we have found rather difficult to satisfactorily adjust.

The short experience which we have had with the administration of the Act in the Province of Ontario, where it has been in effect

only since the 1st of November last, has been very satisfactory, and when it is considered we have had about 30,000 applications to deal with, and have already over 27,000 pensioners receiving monthly cheques, with practically no complaints or criticism from any source, we should certainly feel we have the machinery of the Act in smooth and satisfactory working order. The new outlook on life and the increased comfort and feeling of independence which it has given to many of our old indigents has already justified the enactment of this Legislation, and we feel amply repaid for the trouble and cost which it has entailed on the public funds.

When the Act was passed in Ontario it was estimated we would have about 20,000 pensioners, but the number is far exceeding our expectations, and I now believe we will find it increased ultimately to about 1% of the population, which would mean 32,000. The population of people over 70 years of age varies considerably in the different Provinces—for example—in the West, where the settlement has been of more recent date, it is considered more of a young man's country, and with a total population of 2,800,000 they have only 50,332 over 70, but have granted pensions to 16,154 or about 33% while we in Ontario with 125,000 over 70 have only considered 27,000 eligible, or about 22%. This may be accounted for by the fact that in the older and richer parts there is a larger proportion who have accumulated and laid away a competence for their old age, more have protected themselves by life insurance, and more are eligible under superannuation schemes operated by large employers of labor, railway companies and Government departments.

There has been considerable agitation and requests to the Government to lower the age limit to 65 years, and it is just possible at some future time, if the public finances will permit, although I would anticipate an increase of at least 30% to 40% in the number of pensioners.

Leon Trotsky, Self-Revealed

An Autobiography That Damages Its Writer

By B. C. Vladeck

ONE is loath to approach this book (Moya Zibian (My Life) by L. Trotsky. Granit, Berlin; Harpers, N. Y.) with a spirit of criticism. Trotsky today carries off the prize as the most wronged man in the world. One of the two recognized leaders of the great Russian revolution and organizer of the Red Army, his name is forever linked with that of Lenin in the history of the great upheaval. That only a few years after the height of his glory he should be an exile in a foreign and far away country, is a fact that moves every one to sympathy and contemplation. Surely, Napoleon at St. Helena wasn't a more pathetic figure than Trotsky at Prinkipo.

But with all our sympathy for his condition, we cannot help but note that this book uncovers the author's weakness to a greater degree than any book written by a foe possibly could. Unconsciously Trotsky reveals the real reasons for his downfall, not in the facts and incidents narrated in his book, but in their selection and order, as well as in the omissions which are as telling as the commissions.

The first chapters deal with his boyhood and adolescence. They are not particularly interesting for the reason that there is nothing in the history of those years to single Trotsky out from all other young men of that period. He was very bright at school, was considerably self-centered and had nothing in mind but his studies. He entered the revolutionary movement quite by accident as most others did, it having been natural for the young students of Russia at the turn of the Century to be contaminated with the Revolutionary ideas that filled the air of the country. But hardly out of school Trotsky became a revolutionary and begins a colorful and

immature student, he grows to become first one of the leaders of the underground revolutionary movement and then the leader of the revolution.

During this period he is compelled to live many years in exile in different countries of Europe and America, and in all these countries he identifies himself with the Socialist movement, but if one can forgive Trotsky for his failure to convince us of his understanding of conditions in foreign lands, one is amazed at the absolute lack of vision in him in all things pertaining to his own land—Russia. From one who marched at the head of one of the greatest and most tragic processions in history, we naturally expect an explanation and interpretation of the things that went on around him; but none of this enlightenment is to be found in the book. How did Russia look during the period of the Revolution? How did the people feel? How did they react to the crucial turn in their fate? What is the real background of Trotsky's activity and leadership? Surely the Russian people did not fight to prove that Trotsky is right and not Stalin. Surely the Civil War did not originate to prove that Trotsky understands Marxian economics more than his opponents. But if one should try to interpret the Revolution by what Trotsky tells of it, it will prove to be no longer a revolution but a gruesome debate over several theories of social development in which people die or conquer in order to prove that one formula is superior to another. It is very striking that in the biography of a man whose theory minimizes the role of the individual, the first personal pronoun should be so dominating. There is a self glorification in the book that becomes nauseous. One sees nothing but Trotsky. Trotsky leading the world in the midst of bloody battles to prove that his interpretation and understanding of history is correct. Lenin meets

him after one of his trips to the front and he asks him some questions which seem to be very pertinent: How do the soldiers in the trenches feel? Have they food; have they clothes? Trotsky tells of this meeting as proof of the fact that Lenin was interested in little things—considering these questions little. It is quite remarkable that trying to prove throughout the book his kinship with Lenin, he invariably proves his inferiority to him. Lenin always appears as a very striking combination of fanatic and comrade, one obstinate in his interpretation of events and pliable in his dealings with human beings, while Trotsky is always inflexible, immovable and distant.

From his Olympian heights he sees nothing but himself as an incarnation of his theory of the Permanent Revolution. He is a new kind of deity, sent by a wrathful god to correct the evils of human life. In the several chapters reciting of the Civil War, not a word is mentioned of General Budenny whose leadership of the Red Cavalry won many a decisive battle against the Whites. Neither does he mention anybody of the underground revolutionary movement with whom he was friendly in exile and who later became his opponents as Mensheviks.

He treats Stalin as a cheap sort of a demagogue, a sort of a Tammany district leader in New York and fails to mention that while he and Lenin were enjoying the freedom of Switzerland, Stalin was the man who organized the Bolshevik groups throughout Russia. One may disagree with Stalin and one may deny him some of the brilliant qualities possessed by Trotsky, but nobody can deny the present Russian leader great ability as organizer and executive.

On the whole, Trotsky has succeeded in writing a readable in places even brilliant document from which everything but his own person, his own views and his own grievances are totally excluded.

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Sacco And Vanzetti

Lines To President Lowell of Harvard on a Certain Anniversary

How are you sleeping these nights,
Lawrence Lowell?
Is it so that three years
Give you the balm of forgetfulness
Through these hot August nights,
So that no longer there rings through the room
Where you are lying, the broken words of those two
unbroken workers
Whom you hurried to their death?
Can it be that you have already forgotten what they
said
Before they went into that brightly lighted chamber
With the chair and the straps and the sweating
witnesses
On a hot night in August, three short years ago?
You remember so many things,
So many state and beautiful words of dead poets and
dreamers dead,
Have you no memory for the words of a shoemaker
and a fish peddler
Who were burned to death in that chair in that lighted
room?
If you have forgotten, there are those who have not
forgotten
Nor shall ever forget. Never, never shall they forget
how you and your kind
The elect, the elite, the anointed, the Mayflower men,
Custodians of our culture, preservers of our tradition,
legates of "all that is finest,"
First tortured and then died to death Bartolomeo
Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco.
You have forgotten!

"Hear then, how outcasts, 'anarchist bastards,'
Not elite, not elect, not anointed
Go to the doom that you gentlemen dictate:—
If it had not been for these things, I might have lived
out my life, talking at street corners to scornful
men. I might have died. Now we are not a failure.
This is our career and our triumph. Never in our
full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance,
for justice, for man's understanding of man, as we
do now by accident. Our words, our lives, our
pains—nothing! The lives of a good shoemaker
and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment
belongs to us—that agony our triumph."

Three years ago I stood in the outer room of the
offices of the Governor of Massachusetts, watching
as did everyone else in that crowded place, the
hands of the clock creep round toward midnight.
Suddenly there came out of the inner office where
the harried automobile salesman sat at his executive
desk a uniformed man, in his hand a strip of
paper. He was an officer of the state police on his
way to the Charlestown jail with a reprieve of
twelve days for the two men in the death house
over there whose scalps had been shaved, whose
trousers slit, whose bodies had been made ready
for the official burning. I ran down with the rest
of the reporters under a night of stars, a singing in
my heart, to send the news that the reprieve had
been granted and that after all two innocent men
might not be murdered.

What a fool I was! What fools we all were to
think that there could be any tolerance or justice
or sense of ordinary decency in the blood-thirsty
gang already determined that Sacco and Vanzetti
must die, and now at the very time that I flashed
the news, simply giving the inquisition screws an-
other turn.

It made us hard and bitter men. We are hard and
bitter now whenever the thought of Sacco saying,
"I am a proletarian. I shall be no more. Let them
crucify me if they will," comes to us as we think
back three years.

Sometimes in these columns, sometimes in
speeches, we laid ourselves and our comrades under
the Socialist standard. It is not good to go through
life without danger. We radicals have too little of
it. It brings us closer to all humanity. But if we
can laugh, so also can we curse. We can hate, as
well as love. I have hated many things and many
persons in my time. Never in my life have I hated
the whole rotten system under which I live, as I
did the night Sacco and Vanzetti were executed.
Never have I hated any man so much as Fuller,
Thayer and Lowell, that loathsome trio, murderers
all. If love for my fellowmen in factories and fields
and workshops fails to keep alive the full fire of
my revolutionary faith, my hatred for my oppressors
will do the job. And as that bloody business
affected me, men affected me and women the
country over. Have we forgotten? I do not believe
it. We work and bide our time. The day of "toler-
ance, of justice, of man's understanding of man"
for which those two died in Charlestown will come.
And with its coming there will be no more of this
slaughter of innocents, no more of this gangling on
the weak by the strong. For in that day the workers
shall "rise like lions after slumber" and take into
their hands the making of another and a cleaner
world. May none of us fail in the mission of bring-
ing it about in our time.

Here in New York the papers are full of the
news of the candidacy of Heywood Brown for Con-
gress on our ticket. Some of the stories, some of
the editorials, affect a slightly patronizing, slightly
sneering tone, as though to say, "Oh yes, Brown.
A dilettante playing politics. In it, for the kick that
he and his friends can get out of it."

I wish that those who write in this manner
would go to the files in their offices and read once
more what Brown wrote at the time of the Sacco
and Vanzetti executions. Then I said, and see no
reason to change my verdict, that the columns of
Brown in "The New York World" which cost him
his lucrative job as fine specimens of philippic
writing as had appeared in our time. Nothing
dilettante about those fiery words written with full
appreciation of their consequences. Brown said
things that lashed out and cut and said them at
a time when it was dangerous to speak out. Far
more effective than the ravings of a thousand rabble-
rousers—these winged words of his brought
home to many a smug reader the awful thing that
was being perpetrated in Boston.

Pretty easy and pretty cheap to sit back in city-
room and editorial room and dash off a kidding
piece about Brown. Where were you boys when the
fighting was hot? What word from you when all
that you profess to revere—fair play, even-handed
justice, and the like—were at stake?

To be sure, Brown is no fanatic, no tight-lipped,
hair-shirted prophet of doom, yawning around about
violent revolution and barricades and the mumbo-
jumbo of "the Daily Worker" crowd. To be sure he
would rather chuckle than get mad. To be sure he
is a decent, sensitive human being who will
josh along about things that do not matter in an
inimitable style. But when it comes to the funda-
mentals, when it gets hot, Heywood Brown, like
Louis Waldman and Norman Thomas and Charney
Vladek and Jacob Panken, is sure to be out in front,
with his head up, taking and giving the lustiest of
blows. For my part I'd rather go into a fight with
him at my side than be ally to a hundred of the
bright young men of the sneering section.

McAlister Coleman.

From Our Foreign Correspondent

German Election Prospects

Poll on September 14th Drawing Various Parties Into Two General Groupings; Socialist And Communist Prospects; The Reparations Problem

By Reinhold Neibuhr

Köln, Germany, July 28th.

POLITICAL events have been moving with extraordinary rapidity in Germany. The crisis, previously reported, which resulted from the large treasury deficit, created by the growing unemployment has issued in even graver difficulties. Failing to secure a majority in the Reichstag for its fiscal program, the present government attempted to pass its tax law over the head of the Reichstag by presidential decree. The German constitution provides for such action but ordains that a presidential decree can be issued only in times of national emergency. The constitution also provides that parliament may annul such a decree. On the basis of this provision the Socialist Party moved its annulment. It was prompted to take this step because it felt that the government had not made a sufficient effort to secure a majority for its tax program by removing certain features most objectionable to the Socialist Party. Among these a new head tax falling with particular severity upon the poor, was the most objectionable provision. The Socialist motion was supported by the Communists, the Fascists and one half of the Nationalists, the arch enemies of the Socialists, and a bare majority was secured for the motion. President Hindenburg thereupon dissolved parliament and ordered new elections.

This new election which is to be held on September 14 is creating an entirely new situation in the constellation of German parties. First of all the old Nationalist Party has been split in two by the crisis. A good half of the party has disavowed the leader-

ship of Hugenberg, whose chief aim has been to enhance republican government and frustrate efforts at international conciliation. The more liberal wing of the party, which has left Hugenberg's leadership and will now unite with other smaller conservative groups to form a new conservative party, is interested not so much in romantic nationalism as in the economic interests of the farmer, particularly the farmer with rather large holdings. The formation of this new party, economically conservative, but politically willing to cooperate with the new democracy, will probably have the effect of strengthening conservatism in the German diet. From the standpoint of the stability of republicanism this development may therefore be counted as a gain while from the perspective of the economic interests of the working classes it will probably be a loss, except if there should be a large gain in the Socialist vote.

Hugenberg's loss of his left wing leaves him with only a handful of the once powerful Nationalist groups. This might be hailed as a real advance in German politics except for the fact that desperation will probably drive this Hugenberg remnant into the arms of Hitler and his crowd of Fascists, who have been gathering strength in Germany. Erefore of any clear political ideas this group of race fanatics lives chiefly on the strange idea that the problems of Germany could be solved if the Jews were eliminated from its political life. This creed, which will sound very strange to Americans, is a vestigial remnant of medieval anti-Semitism, which still flourishes in many parts of continental Europe and has recently led to grave outrages in Roumania, a

land where this particular disease has assumed epidemic proportions. Another development in the electoral campaign, made necessary by the dissolution of parliament, is the tendency toward union between the Peoples Party and the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party has been the most liberal of Germany's middle class parties. It has been more willing to cooperate with the Socialist Party than any of the bourgeois groups. The Peoples Party is on the other hand a party of big business which is liberal only in foreign policy. The combination of these two parties must inevitably lead to a suppression of the more liberal influence in these middle-class groups. It, together with the other developments, creates the possibility of a conservative bloc, including the new Conservative Party and the new middle party. All this presupposes, of course, that the various political elements will maintain their present strength. This assumption must not, however, be taken for granted. Both the anti-parliamentary parties, the Fascists and the Communists, will probably gain strength in the election. While the Socialists may lose some votes to the Communists, an eventuality which the desperate unemployment situation makes very probable, they will also gain some votes from the middle-class parties in all probability. In other words the election will tend to create a two-party system. There will be really five parties but the realities of a two-party system will emerge. Of the five parties two are anti-parliamentary groups who will maintain a destructive attitude toward all parliamentary tasks. Of the three remaining parties, one will be a large conservative group and

the other will be the large labor group and in between will be the Catholic Party, which has affinities with both groups and which may, as in the past, decide with which group it will govern. The affinity of the Catholic Party with the Socialists is created by the power of Catholic labor unions, separately organized and in the Center Party, but inclined to make common cause with the Socialists on all economic questions. Prussia, which represents two thirds of Germany, has been governed for years by a consolidation of Catholics and Socialists and the government there has achieved a measure of continuity and stability, evident nowhere else in Germany. An effort to destroy this combination was made by the Conservatives in the recent crisis. The Conservative leader, Hugenberg, promised the national government under a Catholic, prime minister his votes if the latter would withdraw Catholic support from the Prussian Socialist government. This offer was refused and the government lost the division. When one considers the arch-conservative of all clerical parties in Latin countries, the political orientation of German Catholicism is strange indeed. It is a detriment of course in as far as it prevents the political solidarity of the labor groups, but it has been of distinct advantage to labor at times in offering its aid where a labor majority was lacking.

In its contest with Communism German Socialism works under the disadvantage of having worked for international conciliation within the terms of the Versailles treaty which means that it has voted for the Dawes plan, the Young plan and the other arrangements which

have fastened an impossible reparations load upon the German people. This load is carried chiefly by the German worker and makes the argument of the Communist rather plausible that the Socialist has helped to make the German worker the slave of international capital. Political realism dictated the course of German Socialism. Failure to sign these pacts would have meant complete destruction of German industry. On the other hand one must hope that the Socialist strength will increase in the next elections so that it will be possible for the party to emancipate the worker from the undue portion of the reparations load which he is carrying.

There is no possibility of Germany turning Communist. It rejected that alternative in 1923 when desperation might have made such a step plausible. The German worker is radical but he sees no hope in a cataclysmic revolution. He is dependent upon an intricate industrial establishment and he sees no hope of making that industry serviceable to his needs except by growing political power. Revolution, he argues, may work in Russia, an agrarian nation where a decade of economic dislocation does not necessarily mean starvation. But in Germany, where millions of people are divorced from the soil and live off of an industry which depends upon international trade, violent dislocation would speak suicide for the worker.

Meanwhile one could wish that Socialism were strong enough in America to make a dent upon the reparations problem and destroy the present agreements, which will some day bring as much misery to American workers as they now bring to German laborers.

British Labor's Fortunes Rise

Antics of Tories And Lloyd George Strengthen Party in Commons—Security in Parliament Held Not to Be Clear Gain, However

By Fred Henderson

London, July 31.

THE month now under review lends much more favorably than it began for the Labor Government, from the point of view of its security in Parliament and its hope of continued office. How far these things are important compared with the vital movement of public opinion outside parliament is another matter; but for the moment it is indisputable that inside Parliament the Government has a firmer standing and is less in danger of being at any moment knocked out of office than at any previous time this year.

Great results from little causes spring; and this improved Parliamentary stability of the Government had its beginning in a piece of sheer comedy. To understand what happened you must keep on remembering—I am always harping on this point, because it is the key to any understanding of British events—that there is no Labor majority in Parliament, and that the MacDonald Government depends for its continued existence from one day to another upon getting a certain number of Liberal votes or upon the abstention of a sufficient number of our opponents from voting, whenever a critical division is taken in the House. As a matter of fact, the Government has always been more secure than it has believed itself to be. The bare fact that it is still a government is proof of that; for from the first day of its existence our opponents could have put an end to it at any moment by voting in their full strength against it. They have always been very careful not to do so. The Liberal group, knowing perfectly well that it has become merely a superfluous sort of fifth wheel to the British political coach, fears that it might be wiped out altogether on another appeal to the country; and has therefore no intention of provoking a General Election by turning the Labor Government out. On the other hand it is bound occasionally to make a display of its independence by voting against the Government. Without some little window-dressing of that kind for the electorate now and again the Parliamentary pretensions of Liberalism would be ridiculous indeed. But it has always carefully and shrewdly selected the opportunities for this when a sufficient number of conservatives have been absent from the House to make the manoeuvre safe.

When, therefore, a scrutiny of the House showed that a large number of conservatives were away on the July afternoon when a hostile Liberal amendment had been put down to Snowden's Finance Bill, it seemed perfectly safe for the Liberals to vote in full strength against the Government. But the Conservatives had duly noted the amendment and prepared a trap for the occasion. It was true that a large number of their men were not in the House; but the absent-

tees were waiting in ambush in a party clubhouse nearby; and on receiving the word from their whips this concealed army of about 70 members made a sudden dramatic appearance at the moment of the division. There was a horrible moment of Liberal consternation, followed by a gasp of relief when it was found that the Government had escaped defeat by a majority of two votes. Thus are the fates of governments and of peoples decided!

The Liberals were very badly scared. What was intended to be only a harmless piece of play-acting to display Liberal independence very neatly precipitated a General Election; and it was announced that after such an experience a large proportion of the Liberal group had determined to take no more such risks, and would not vote against the Government again on any issue on which the life of the Government was at stake. In fact, they never at any time have had such an intention, but there was always a danger in playing tricks with such a situation; and that danger appears to be removed for the present.

A second source of added Par-

liamentary strength to the Government is in the quarrel going on inside the Conservative party on the Empire Free Trade question. Lord Beaverbrook's revolt against the official conservative policy, which he denounces as too hesitating and limited, means that if a General Election were to take place now, the Conservatives would go into with divided and confused forces; and for the moment many of them are therefore as little anxious as the Liberals to precipitate it.

This, however, is not all clear gain even from the point of view of mere electoral expediency. You will see at a glance that the whole drive of such a situation as I have described is that any issue which does not promise some degree of Labor and Liberal cooperation is kept out of the arena as far as possible. Hence the almost complete disappearance of any Socialist ideology from our political discussions, and the concentration on things which will not endanger the very unstable balance of power in a Parliament constituted as this one is. Without any deliberate or purposeful movement on such lines, it is the direction in which

the tide necessarily sends everything drifting in such circumstances, so long as the continued retention of office regardless of results, is held to be the first duty of the party.

The raising of the Protectionist issue by the Conservatives, and the insistence by a strong section of them upon making it full-blooded Protection, including the taxation of food-stuffs, makes the most favorable opening imaginable for such Labor-Liberal cooperation. The Liberals, with no positive policy of their own, are at any rate fiercely anti-tariff; and a General Election fought on the Free Trade vs. Protection question would be an election in which the Liberals could not possibly work with the Conservatives against us. The great majority of them would be compelled by their Cobdenite traditions to vote for us if our zeal for Free Trade were sufficiently emphasized and our Socialist purposes not allowed to disturb the Liberal mind unduly.

It so happens in this connection, that the only bye-election during the month has been fought in a purely agricultural constituency,

North Norfolk. Only two such purely agricultural seats were won for Labor at the General Election, and this was one of them. We won it against both Liberal and Conservative opposition by a majority of just over 1800. On this occasion the Conservatives have fought on an out-and-out Protectionist policy; a challenge which Labor accepted by dropping everything distinctively Socialist, and making our side of the fight a raging and tearing affirmation of Free Trade principles. This had the expected result of rallying the Liberals to us. Not only did the put up no candidate of their own against us, but their leading men strongly urged a Liberal vote for Free Trade as the only real issue in the contest; and we got most of their votes accordingly. But our majority dropped to 187; a very narrow avoidance of losing the seat, notwithstanding the Liberal vote; the explanation being the abstention of numbers of our own people in dissatisfaction at the obliteration of the Socialist issue from the contest. It is obvious, therefore, that manoeuvring for Liberal support is, as I have said, not all clear gain even from the lowest point of view of electoral expediency.

What we gain in Liberal cooperation on these non-Socialist issues we lose in the revolt of our own advanced wing. But while, by all the available evidence we gain nothing from Liberal support in our voting strength in the country, it makes a great difference to the security of the Government against defeat inside the House of Commons.

For these reasons—trivial enough, no doubt, as all petty manipulations of Party or Parliamentary machinery are—the Government is now pretty well assured of a safe ending to its first full Parliamentary Session. By the time this letter is in print the session will have closed and the Government will have a period of freedom from Parliamentary worry in which to prepare for the autumn and winter difficulties which await it when the House assembles again after its holiday. India and unemployment are the two menacing problems; and nobody is venturing to forecast what may be their tragic developments by the time the Government has to face Parliament again. In regard to unemployment, the position steadily worsens from week to week, and what the winter will bring with it is incalculable.

Poet Jailed as Red

Robert Parsons, known in literary circles as Marcus Graham, editor of the Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry, has been arrested at Yuma, Ariz., charged with possessing a copy of his book, with being a communist and having been in Mexico. The American Civil Liberties Union, defending him, says he is not a Communist and that the arrest is a clumsy piece of federal immigration red tape.

"Why I Took the Mace"

Beckett Tells Why He Grabbed "The Bauble"

By John Beckett, M.P.

London, England.

IN A STRONG burst of indignation which had been brewing for twelve months and which was brought to a head by Mr. Clynes' calm assumption that birching a child of eight was no subject for his intervention and Mr. MacDonald's callous and rude treatment of India, I told the Speaker that Brockway's suspension was a damned disgrace and removed the mace before leaving the Chamber in indignation.

John R. Clynes is Labor's Home Secretary. Former Brockway, left wing Socialist, was suspended when he persisted in demanding a debate on India. This particular form of protest was quite unprecedented; the impulse came owing to my proximity to the sacred bauble while telling against the suspension. It seems to have been much more effective than I dreamt it would have been at the time. The press, usually blissfully oblivious of the sayings of dissatisfied Labor men, have been good enough to draw the attention of some millions of people to Parliament's disgraceful time-wasting, while no attempt is made to deal with, and no discussion permitted on, the tragedies of poverty, unemployment and imperialism in India.

"This Gross Sacrilege"

The most interesting feature of the whole of the hubbub has been the reaction inside the Parliamentary Labor Party against "this

gross sacrilege!" The capitalists only created a false row. If ever a real Labor Government challenges their dominance and moneybags there will be far worse scenes than anything Minton or I can make. The Labor men, on the other hand, were genuinely shocked. If you were visiting an ancestral home of the old school the squire would merely smile behind his hand at your unusual manners and would probably not notice your poor clothes—the funkeys would be really shocked, and, if they thought it would please their master, would be rude and boorish with you.

I have received countless letters and resolutions of support from the working class outside. Six of their representatives inside faced a howling House in my defence, and about eighty refrained from voting at all. There are also a number of comrades who are pointing out that if I had first laid the matter before a Party meeting, or picked the mace up in a different way, or worn a different suit of clothes when I did it—then they, too, would have resisted my suspension.

The personal side may be left there. If Members of the House paid one-thousandth part of the attention to the Duty of Parliament that they pay to its Dignity, the whole incident would never have arisen.

For fourteen months Parliament has been a grotesque and self-righteous orgy of useless point

scoring. Unemployment steadily grows, wages steadily fall. Armaments are increased and the intensification of British Imperialist tyranny goes on. At home and abroad the Labor Government's record is one of pitiful ineptitude.

"Office Without Dignity"

For six months we have had a great chance to bring in useful palliatives while the Opposition were still too badly shaken by their meeting with the country to risk another election. At the end of that time we should have brought forward a bold policy and if Parliament rejected it sought the opinion of the country. Instead we cling without dignity or decency to office barren of power or prestige.

The present Government, with the support of the Liberal and Tory leaders, deliberately prevents the Socialist viewpoint being put forward in the House. There is time for hours of back chat between Snowden and Churchill. Time for voting huge sums of money for war. Time for Lord Dundon and endless ceremonials and scraping and bowing. Time for a summer holiday nearly three months long. No time for Socialist motions or supplementaries on working class questions.

The moving of the mace seems to have been the blowing out of the safety valve. The Socialist Movement should see that it is the beginning of a real campaign for a tearing aside of worn-out veils and a return to simplicity and sincerity.

The Chatter Box

A Rhapsody in Red

RED is the stain of passion,
Red is the ancient fashion
For the garments of desire, . . .
But the color runs with the touch of tears,
And the tint wears off with the rub of years;
And what of the ashes, after the fire . . . ?

Blood is red for a long, long time,
Till the thud of the sod,
Till the tick of time . . .
Blood has fallen on seas and snows,
On fresh ploughed lands, on sapless sands,
But the color pales, and the color goes,
And where it vanishes, no one knows.

Red is a passion, red is a pose,

Hue for a pennon, blend for a rose,
Glow for the dawns and dye for the suns,
But the pigment melts and the color runs,
And will we say to them instead:
"The dawn can conquer the night with red,
The sun rides proud in a flash of fire,
While love only wears its painted trail
To cover the cheap little tricks of desire . . ."

But I want this poem to drip with red,
To sear, to burn, to scream with red
Into every man's heart,
Into every man's head.

I want this to be the song of a dream
Shot full of flame . . .
A song for me in an ugly world,
A place of grief, all-sploshed with shame . . .
And mired so deep in its sodden sins,
That never a beautiful thing begins
To lift its head, but a buldging dim
Falls like a sledge and crushes it in.

Now the print that you read is dull and black,
As dark as the room with screw and wrack,
As dark as the holes
Where free men lie,
Where poor men die;
As black as the souls
Of the dried old men,
The grim strong men,
The fat cold men,
Who hang with a phrase,
And kill with a pen.

I want this poem to burn with red,
Till it sears its way
Into every man's head.

I want these words to scorch the ink,
Until men yearn, until men think,
Until they march to the ultimate war
With the only reason worth dying for.

Some thoughts are high and some are low,
Some are too mad; some are slow,
But of all the thoughts in a thinking head,
I pray for the ones that dance in red.

And let them shake with the ague of dread
The smug, and the soft, and the surfeited.
The stride will be red,
And the wall will be red,
And the boot will be red as it tramples through
That bloom for the Few . . .

While we will plan and plant anew,
Under a bright and thankful sun,
Such gardens as we may look upon
Without a word at the gate
To spring the latchbolt of estate . . .
And we will plough and we will seed,
And fear no clutch of sneaky greed,
And what will rise and wave full grown,
Will be our own, will be our own.

And if need be then let this song
Live with us ten lifetimes long,
Until its rhapsody in red
Sears and burns and screams with red.
Into every man's heart,
Into every man's head.

(A number of young folks interested in recitations at Yipsel meetings, and a gratifying sum of requests from good comrades force the reprinting of the above . . . I have revised it somewhat . . . mainly by deletion . . .)

My appeal in this column two weeks ago for subscriptions to take the place of those dropping off the mailing list on account of the depression, and also to maintain the embarrassed ones for at least six months gratis, has resulted in astonishing results.

First Benjamin Macmahon comes through with a resounding \$25, then a thundering \$100 shatters the gloom in the office all the way from Beverly, Mass. . . . The donor, whom we all know and love so much here prefers to remain unnamed . . . And how often he has saved us in times of despair . . . On top of this the Unity House . . . way up in the Poconos . . . playground of the needle workers . . . under the able management of Comrade Oliver, sends in a hurry call for me to come up to their Pine Grove and give a reading in exchange for a sub appeal . . . With the fine cooperation of Morris Novack, Jackie . . . the irrepressible Yipsel, and Sigmund Hayman . . . good comrade and worker . . . who himself adds \$3 to take care of at least six delinquents for a three-month period each, I came back with twenty full yearlies . . .

The mail is piling up here with help from numerous quarters . . . and happily will the contents find revelation here . . . And we've just started . . . Haven't we . . . ?

S. A. de Wit

Fore-n-aft

The curse of class distinctions from our shoulders shall be hurled,
An' the influence of woman revolutionize the world;
There'll be higher education for the toffin, starvin' clown,

An' the rich an' educated shall be educated down;
An' we'll all meet amidships on this stout old earthy craft,
An' there won't be any friction 'twixt the classes fore-n-aft,
We'll be brothers fore-n-aft,
Yes, an' sisters fore-n-aft,
When the people work together, and there ain't no fore-n-aft.

—HENRY LAWSON.

It is difficult to believe that millions of workers are in distress considering that many of them can afford the luxury of voting for the parties of capitalism.

We Socialists believe in economizing our voting power and using it for ourselves on the theory that if it is valuable for capitalist parties it is much valuable for our own.

Dancing Sweeties Starts New Season At Strand

The Stage

The Movies

Music

Popular Movie at Fox's Brooklyn



Constance Bennett, pictured in the scene above, is the star of "Common Clay," which begins a run at the Fox Theatre in Brooklyn. It is also in its third week at the Roxy. The picture has hit the public fancy throughout the country, and is part of a big program at both theatres.

Ed Wynn Negotiating With Ziegfeld to Take Over "Simple Simon"

Negotiations are now pending between Ed Wynn and Florenz Ziegfeld, whereby Wynn will take over the production of "Simple Simon" and sponsor its tour on the road next season, beginning in September, after Wynn has completed his talking picture version of "Manhattan Mary," on which he is now at work for the Paramount Company at its Long Island studios.

"I said that the largest salary paid in the past year to lure a stage star to the talking pictures is being received by Ed Wynn for making "Manhattan Mary," the musical comedy into celluloid form for the Paramount Company.

Following the completion of "Manhattan Mary," Ed Wynn will take a short vacation and then go on tour, beginning in September, in "Simple Simon" if present negotiations with Florenz Ziegfeld are consummated.

All-French Film Bill at 55th Street Playhouse

An all-French talking and singing film program will be presented at the 55th Street Playhouse commencing next Friday, August 15th. The feature picture is "La Grande Mare," the French version of "The Big Pond," with Maurice Chevalier and Claudette Colbert in the leading parts. In this production, the first bilingual effort of Paramount, Chevalier and Claudette Colbert were filmed in both editions, since each speaks English and French with equal ease. Spectacular

Back on Broadway



Gwyneth Paltrow is back in the Shubert play "Young Sinners," which is due back on Broadway this Monday evening.

Capitol Starts New Fall Season Today

The Capitol Theatre will inaugurate its new Fall Season today, with a program that promises to be its finest to date. Such an early seasonal program is only made possible through the cooperation of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer California Studios, and their promising an early release on several of next year's big productions.

William Haines, supported by America's laugh makers Polly Moran and Cliff Edwards, will be the feature attraction next week, in a rollicking cowboy story "Way Out West." This is the talkie from which the musical hit "Singin' to the Stars" originated.

"Girl Shock," Charley Chase's new hilarious comedy is slated to be a laugh riot.

Another unusual feature will be the first motion picture theatre appearance of Radaelli, renowned tenor and late sensation of Lew Leslie's "International Revue." A galaxy of entertainers have been assembled for the Fox Theatre's colorful stage offering "Navajo," produced under the personal supervision of Louis K. Sidney.

Yasha Bunchuk, fast becoming the musical toast of New York, will conduct the famous Capitol Grand Orchestra in a pretentious offering "Parade of Great Composers."

"China, the Imperial City," a Traveltalk offering of James Fitzpatrick, combines beauty, entertainment and educational features in the 1931 manner.

"Metrotone" has edited a special number of "World Sensations" for this inaugural program.

At the Little Carnegie

"For the Defense" starring William Powell will be the featured attraction at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse on West 57th Street for the four days starting Saturday, August 16th. The attractive Kay Francis plays opposite Powell.

For the latter half of the week—Wednesday through to Friday—Little Carnegie offers "Dangerous Nan McGrew," with Helen Kane starred. A special added attraction on the bill with "Dangerous Nan" will be Mrs. Benita Thorne, noted big game huntress and African explorer who presents her illustrated lecture on "A White Woman's Experiences in Africa."

"Dancing Partners" Realistically Filmed Drama at Strands

Dance Hall hostesses, working for a nickel or a dime a dance, and their sleek sheiks got a "break" when Warner Bros. filmed "Dancing Sweeties," the current attraction at the New York and Brooklyn Strand Theatres.

Ray Enright, who directed the picture, made up his mind to make the dance hall sequences absolutely true to fact, and during his off-hours for a week he toured dance halls in Los Angeles and vicinity, picking up four hundred girls—and young men—to act in the picture.

Many of the dance hall habitués were dubious about Enright and a chance actually to work in talking pictures, but all evinced great pleasure and excitement when finally convinced that it was true and not just a "rag" of some kind.

"Dancing Sweeties" is a melodrama of modern youth. The picture, originally titled "Three Flights Up," tries to answer the question: "Is a good dancer a good partner for life?"

Martin Mooney Forms Own Company

Martin Mooney, press impresario for John Golden for seven years, has joined Aaron Singer, seasoned newspaperman, in the formation of a publicity organization known as Martin Mooney, Inc., at 1776 Broadway.

Their slogan is "Preferred Publicity."

The Strand's First Picture of the New Season



In "Dancing Sweeties," which begins the new season at both Strands, Sue Carroll and Grant Withers seek an answer to the query: Is a good dancer a good partner for life?

"The Up and Up" to Open at the Biltmore Theatre On Labor Day

The new Martha Madison-Eva Kay Flint comedy "The Up and Up" which Blatt and Nicholas now have in rehearsal, will come to the Biltmore Theatre on Monday evening, (Labor Day night), September 1.

George Jessel, B'way's Busiest Show-Boy

George Jessel can claim to be one of Broadway's busiest; playing two a day at the Palace is the least of his labors. He is writing a book, which Liberty (the magazine) is reported to be interested in, under the title "Wish You Were Here." He is translating from the Viennese a play that the Shuberts intend to produce shortly and in which he might be starred. It is called "Wonderbar," which George tells us means just what it says, "Wonderful." He is bringing over a troupe of Czech players to play in Yiddish, a group of Jacob Adler's plays and plans to produce and play in a new play by James Creelman, "St. Louis Blues." Most evenings he gets a free meal in return for one of those after-dinner speeches, that men enjoy over their cigar and after-coffee. Last year he had over seventy of these free lunches and at thirty of them verbalized with "Hixsoner" the Mayor. In between times he is making movie shorts, which he writes himself. Otherwise he hasn't much to do and is always open for a game of golf or a hand of bridge.

"China Express" Revived at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse

"China Express," an outstanding Soviet production will be shown at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse for the week commencing Saturday, August 16.

Illa Trauberg, pupil of S. M. Eisenstein, directed this film, which was photographed by Boris Kremlov, Michael Gold, author of "Jews Without Money," prepared the American edition.

An entire Chinese cast enact the film.

Ron and Don Added to Stage Bill at Fox B'klyn

A new musical unit will be added Friday (August 15) to the show at the Fox Theatre, Brooklyn, in the persons of Ron and Don, organ cutups who replace the vacationing Bob West. This duo of young and likeable chaps come from the west where they have been hailed as entertainment sensations at every appearance. Not too many years ago they were better known as Renald Baggett and Donovan Moore at the University of Seattle where they met.

BROOKLYN

Biggest Show in Brooklyn
FOX 25c Exc. 50c Mat. 1.00
Flaibush and Nevins St.

Constance Bennett in "COMMON CLAY"

SAM JACK KAUFMAN

RON & DON

VINCE SILK
BARTON & YOUNG
MARY LOU
FANCHON and MARCO'S "SUNSHINE" Idea

Strand Theatre's List of New Pictures Are Announced

First bookings of the new season's pictures at the Strand Theatres, New York and Brooklyn, were announced today. The list includes the much-heralded "Three Faces East," with Eric Von Stroheim and Constance Bennett costarred, and "Top Speed," a Vitaphone production of last season's stage success, with a cast including Joe E. Brown, Bernice Claire, Laura Lee and Jack Whiting.

"Dancing Sweeties," with Sue Carroll and Grant Withers featured, heads the new list's "batting order," coming into the twin Strands next Friday. "The Matrimonial Bed" follows, with Lilian Tashman, Frank Fay, Florence Eldridge, James Gleason, Beryl Mercer and Marion Byron in featured roles. Then come "Top Speed" and "Three Faces East," in that order; "The Road to Paradise," with Loretta Young, Jack Muhlall and Raymond Hatton, and "The Way of All Men," with Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Dorothy Reiver and Noah Beery as principals.

Modesty to Mark Broadway Premiere Of "Hell's Angels"

"Hell's Angels" is to open at the Criterion and Gaiety theatres on Friday evening minus the \$100,000 Hollywood hullabaloo that attended the premiere of this talking picture several weeks ago. Other than four of the brightest electric signs on the street, photographing of notable first-nighters and bright new everything at both houses, modesty and dignity are the watchwords.

Although the local opening far exceeds the expense of the one in Hollywood, the tossing of cash about has gone into the signs and renovating the theatres rather than for spectacular ballyhoo features. Of course there are to be extravagant first-night tickets that the holders are to be permitted to keep, fussy souvenirs and prominent guests, but as for planes flying above, and noise and frenzy, there is to be none of that. Howard Hughes is in New York. In case you never heard of this young man from Houston, Texas, who devoted three years to the making of "Hell's Angels," it might be interesting to know that this is his first time on Broadway. He is an unassuming chap of 26 who, although his biggest picture—he produced three others—ran into several millions, he expects to get all his money back, and more, without the necessity of posing for news pictures and without interviews.

THEATRE GUILD Presents THE NEW

GARRICK GAIETIES

Guild Theatre
52nd Street, West of Broadway
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

Constance Bennett in "COMMON CLAY"

SAM JACK KAUFMAN

RON & DON

VINCE SILK
BARTON & YOUNG
MARY LOU
FANCHON and MARCO'S "SUNSHINE" Idea

Noted Comedian Who May Turn Producer



Ed Wynn, one of the best known comedians on the stage, who just closed a long run in "Simple Simon," is now making the talking picture version of "Manhattan Mary," his stage success of some seasons back. Wynn is negotiating with Ziegfeld to take "Simple Simon" on the road under his own management next season.

J. J. Shubert Purchases Four Pirandello Plays

J. J. Shubert, who returned from Europe on the Bremen, several weeks earlier than he usually comes back to this country in summer, brought with him many plays and musical comedies purchased abroad. Anticipating the busiest season his firm has ever known, the producer immediately began preparations for the Chicago presentation of "Artists and Models," and for a new musical production in New York, the name of which will be announced later.

Although Mr. Shubert bought a number of plays in London and on the continent, the most gratifying and notable contract he consummated was one with the great Italian playwright, Luigi Pirandello, who agreed to sell four new plays to the Shubert firm, two of them already completed, and two in the process of being written.

The two Pirandello plays already completed, and which will be seen on Broadway this season, are "Quarta Sera Si Racita A Soggetto" (Tonight We Improvise) and "Come Tu Mi Vuoi?" (As You Want Me). It is also proposed to obtain notable casts and a world famous director for the two plays.

The other Pirandello works bought by Mr. Shubert, which are to be written, are "I Giganti Della Montagna" (The Giants of the Mountain) and "Quando Si E Qualcuno" (When You Are Somebody).

After completing a survey of the English theatre, Mr. Shubert was very much impressed by the excellent business which continues there throughout the summer.

"I believe the legitimate theatre in America will have one of its best seasons in history during 1930-1931, and in preparation for this our firm will produce more plays and musical comedies than ever before."

He stated that the first English play to be done by his firm this season will be Ivor Novello's "A Symphony in Two Flats," with a cast including the author, Lillian Braithwaite and Benita Hume.

APOLLO THEATRE

WEST 42nd STREET, EVES. 8:30
Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30 to 3:30

George White
Presents The Age of Musical Comedies

Flying High

Hert Lehr—Oscar Shaw

NOTICE

If any ticket broker tells you he has 15 seats for this show, kindly phone 145-1456, 2400 Wisconsin, specify locations you desire, and we will serve these seats, or nearest locations to them, at regular box-office prices.

Mail orders filled as per locations requested

Earl Carroll Vanities

8th Edition All New
66 Glistening Scenes—1,000 Laughs
HERB WILLIAMS
JIMMY SAVO
JACK BENNY
Cast of 130 and
Highest Beautiful Girls in the World

Prices
Eves. 31 to 36 Mats. 31 to 33.50 & Tax
102 GOOD BALCONY SEATS at \$1.00
NEW AMSTERDAM
Theatre, W. 42nd Street
Highly & Pop. Mat. Wed. & Sat.
Theatre Delightfully Cool—Filtered Air

Only System in Operation
SPECIAL SUMMER PRICES

JOURNEY'S END
HENRY MILLER THEATRE, 124 West 43rd St.
Eves. 8:30. Matinees, Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

Soon To Appear In New Musical



King, King and King, who last appeared in the Shubert Musical, "Broadway Nights," are expected back from a European tour, and will appear in one of the new musicals planned for early Broadway presentation.

Life of Comedian Not One Grand Round of Fun, Says Bert Lehr

"Most playgoers labor under the popular misapprehension that a comedian's life offstage is a merry-go-round of fun and frivolity, when as a matter of fact it is austere and serious."

So declared Bert Lehr, the stellar comedian of George White's "Flying High," at the Apollo Theatre.

"I do not mean to imply by this," added Lehr, "that a comedian is more serious than the average man. He is not. He has his moments of comedy away from the footlights very much as the average working man has his moments of gaiety when away from his office. But all in all, the business of being a funmaker is a profession and as such he gives it serious thought from time to time."

"Of course, not every comedian lives a Pagliacci existence. Not every comedian has to come before the footlights, his heart filled with some tragedy, to make people laugh while inwardly his heart is breaking. But comedians are just as human as other people. They have their woes, their little heartaches, and their ups and downs. It is because of this that they remain funny. True comedy is born of the frailties of human existence. This gives them a mellow philosophy which brings to their comedy antics genuine humor."

COOL

Broadway and 51st Street
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

WAY OUT WEST

LEILA HYAMS, POLLY MORAN, CLIFF EDWARDS

Charlie Chase in Girl Shock

On the Stage
RADARELLI, Noted Tenor; CHIEF EAGLE FEATHER in "Navajo" revue with Chester Hale, Cliff; BUNCHUK and Orchestra, China Travel Film, Hearst Metrotone News.

Any Harding
Mary Astor—Robert Ames

Richard Barthelmess

The Dawn Patrol

with DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, Jr. and NEIL HAMILTON
Warner Bros. Refrigerated
WINTER GARDEN
Continued at Popular Prices

Is a Good Dancer a Good Partner for Life?

DANCING SWEETIES

with SUE CAROL and GRANT WITHERS

STRAND

Continuous at Popular Prices

The BIG HOUSE

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's Cosmopolitan Production
with CHESTER MORRIS, WALLACE BERRY, LEILA HYAMS, ROBY MONTGOMERY, LEWIS STONE, GEORGE F. MARION
REFRIGERATED
Broadway and 47th St.
Twice Daily, 2:15-8:30
Seats Selling in Advance
All Seats Reserved

Theatre Parties

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning to do so through the Theatre Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4622 or write to Barnett Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatre Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

ROXY

7th Ave. and 50th St.
Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAPPEL (ROXY)

3rd week of A Dramatic Masterpiece

"COMMON CLAY"

with CONSTANCE BENNETT LEW AYRES
Tully Marshall, Matty Kemp, Beryl Mercer

ON THE STAGE — LA "TICKET" Opera—BUT Opera, by and with Irving Secale, Emile, Roxy Ensemble and cast of principals. "SUMMER DOLL," with Wm. Robyn, Beatrice Baker, Patricia Bowman, Roxy Ballet Chorus—32 Roxyettes. Selections from The Fortune Teller, Roxy Symphony Orchestra.

CAMEO 42nd St. 2nd Week

"4 STAR HIT" "DAILY NEWS"

HOLIDAY

From Philip Barry's stage play The Perfect Talking Picture

Any Harding
Mary Astor—Robert Ames

Flying the air lines at dawn!—To adventure—battle—sacrifice! The story of the air heroes on the Western Front.

Richard Barthelmess

The Dawn Patrol

with DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, Jr. and NEIL HAMILTON
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On WEVD

250.6-WEVD—New York City—1,500 KC

Sunday, August 17, 1930

8:30 A.M.—5:30 A.M. Metropolitan Morning Group
9:30—Melodies of Today
10:30—Men About Town
11:30—Billboard Melodies
12:30—Beauty Hints
1:30—Dr. H. Lunsfeld, talk
2:30—The Cavaliers
3:30—Marquis de Mireville, soprano
4:30—Gilda D'Alerno, soprano
5:30—Juan de Sola, baritone
6:30—LeRoy Kent, tenor
7:30—Mrs. E. Knobel, "The Race Problem and Christianity"
8:30—LeRoy Kent, tenor
9:30—Jewish Hour

Monday, August 18, 1930

8 A.M.—9 A.M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
9:30—"Woman to Women"
10:30—Allen Wells, soprano
11:30—News Events
12:30—Lorenz Wilder, songs
1:30—Mrs. John Alden, "Sunshine"
2:30—Harrington Pearl, songs
3:30—Pearl Tinsler, "Thinking Thru"

Tuesday, August 19, 1930

8 A.M.—9 A.M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
9:30—Martha Croson, soprano
10:30—Dr. I. Clauserman, "Your Health"
11:30—Studio Program
12:30—Time Times
1:30—Winifred Harper, Cooly, "The Theatre"
2:30—Edmund Seidel, "Labor Policies and Tactics"
3:30—Studio Music
4:30—Jamaica Tabernacle
5:30—Jamaica Tabernacle
6:30—Howard E. Williams, League for Independent Political Action
7:30—Harry Gale, tenor
8:30—Wood's Public Singers—"Plantation Melodies"
9:30—WEVD Personalities
10:30—Ed Vesper's Forestillians
11:30—RKO Organ Recital

Wednesday, August 20, 1930

8 A.M.—9 A.M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
9:30—Lunch for Two
10:30—News Events
11:30—Marie Davis, novelty musician
12:30—Pan Wallack, songs
1:30—The Pinner, Women's Peace Union
2:30—Joe Fields, ballads
3:30—Dinner Music Hour
4:30—Weather Reports

2:30—Judith Schenberg, pianist
3:30—"Two Gentlemen in a Fix"
4:30—Isabel Sims, croonings
5:30—Leonore Tittan, monologues
6:30—Myra Morton, pianist
7:30—Mrs. Thomas A. Donohough
8:30—"Righting Industrial Slavery in Africa"
9:30—Louise Kraus, mezzo soprano
10:30—Audie Cleveland, "Contemporary Arts"
11:30—Hints from Suzanne
12:30—Tea Time Tunes
1:30—Weather Reports
2:30—Hints from Suzanne
3:30—School Hour
4:30—Dinner Music Hour
5:30—Sol Perrin, "Did you read the News?"
6:30—Studio Music
7:30—E. Edwards and her Peter Pan songs
8:30—Studio Program
9:30—Suzanne's House Party

Thursday, August 21, 1930

8 A.M.—9 A.M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
9:30—Versa Auden, dramatic reading
10:30—Sally Bickoff, songs
11:30—Harry Hyams, violinist
12:30—Socialism for Women
1:30—Bess Levick, soprano
2:30—Annie E. Gray, Secretary, Women's Peace Society
3:30—Hints from Suzanne
4:30—School Hour
5:30—Dinner Music Hour
6:30—Sol Perrin, "Did you read the News?"
7:30—Studio Music
8:30—E. Edwards and her Peter Pan songs
9:30—Studio Program
10:30—Suzanne's House Party

Friday, August 22, 1930

8 A.M.—9 A.M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
9:30—Studio Program
10:30—Isabel Sims, croonings
11:30—Henderson Maitre, "Literature, East and West"
12:30—"Let for Two"
1:30—Medieval Moments
2:30—The Circle League
3:30—Young Circle League
4:30—Joe Murray, Jr. and Marie Viola, songs
5:30—Don Stutched Brown, talk
6:30—Josephine Maggio, Italian Folk Songs
7:30—Samuel H. Friedman, "As I See It"
8:30—Kenneth Blatchett, American Association for the Advancement of Music
9:30—Joe Fields, ballads
10:30—Dinner Music Hour
11:30—Weather Reports

Saturday, August 23, 1930

8 A.M.—9 A.M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
9:30—"The King's Corner"
10:30—Uncle Arthur
11:30—Leon Jacobs, dramatic reader
12:30—Eve Evans, songs
1:30—Reba Puckhoff, Young People's Socialist League
2:30—Ethel Weyant, mezzo soprano
3:30—Eve Evans, songs
4:30—Chas. Bruton, baritone
5:30—Young Circle League
6:30—Joe Murray, Jr. and Marie Viola, songs
7:30—Don Stutched Brown, talk
8:30—Josephine Maggio, Italian Folk Songs
9:30—Samuel H. Friedman, "As I See It"
10:30—Kenneth Blatchett, American Association for the Advancement of Music
11:30—Joe Fields, ballads
12:30—Dinner Music Hour
1:30—Weather Reports

THE SOCIALIST PARTY WORK

UNION DIRECTORY

National
FINNISH FEDERATION
 More members and more activity is the goal of the monthly reports received regularly from W. N. Reivo, secretary of the Finns.
JUGOSLAV FEDERATION
 Two new branches of Jugoslavs are reported by Charles Popovitch. They are at Park Hill and Bridgeville, Pa., and are composed of young and enthusiastic people.

Connecticut
HAMDEN
 The basket picnic held by Locals Meriden, Wallingford, and Hamden at the state park last Sunday was attended by a large number of comrades, including Socialists from New Haven, Bridgeport and Hartford.
 The proposal of Local Boston that the national office be moved to Washington, D. C., was discussed at length. It was the opinion of most of them that it would be a good policy for the party to move headquarters to the national capital because of the publicity that the party would get.

NEW HAVEN
 The open air mass meeting on the Green at Hamden, Conn., held by the New Leader last Saturday was the most successful held this summer in point of attendance and interest shown in his talk. The comrades as usual tried to disrupt the meeting by their usual tactics, but were not matched for the editor of The New Leader.
 Former State Secretary Martin P. Plunkett of Wallingford, will be the speaker at the meeting on the Green Saturday evening, August 17. His subject will be "Old Time Comrades and Unemployment Insurance."

HARTFORD
 Hartford is arranging a ratification meeting in September. All state candidates will be present. A special meeting has been called to nominate a candidate for Congress, Monday, August 26, Labor Lyceum, 29 Lawrence street.
 Charles D. Madsen, secretary of the University of Chicago Socialist Club last year is now national organizer and is in charge of the campaign for members around Hartford.
 The next state executive committee meeting will be held Sunday, August 24, at Sleeping Giant Park, Mount Carmel, Hamden. Picnic lunches will be brought.

Kansas
STATE CONVENTION
 Clarence Senior will be the speaker at a mass meeting at the City Auditorium, Topeka, Monday, August 26. This meeting will be held at the conclusion of the state convention which will convene in the state house at 10 a. m. Monday. The official party council will meet at noon Tuesday. If enough work is brought on the floor of the convention, it will stay in session Tuesday morning. Letters have been sent to all members of Kansas asking them to notify the national office immediately if they can attend.

Pennsylvania
A NEW LOCAL
 State Secretary Limbach reports the organization of a new local at Luzerne, Pa., of which George L. Brookwood graduate, is the secretary. State Organizer McDowell helped in the work of organizing the new local. Comrade Limbach anticipates more such results under 1,000 applications, and an additional supply of leaflets from the national office.

Montana
STATE CONVENTION
 The state convention held last Saturday and Sunday was the best in years. One comrade traveled 582 miles to be present.
 A full ticket was nominated: Senator, John F. MacKay; Congress, First District, John F. MacKay.

FREE YOUTH
 Free Youth is publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It aims to present in concise form the main lines of progressive youth. It includes contributions of news and views.

Boston Yipels Organize Summer Conference
 Through the initiative of the Boston Young People's Socialist League, the Greater Boston Council of Youth groups has been organized. Plans are being made to hold semi-annual conferences representing radical youth of this district. The executive committee of this council is composed of three representatives of each of the following organizations: Fellowship of Youth for Peace, Young People's Socialist League, Young Circle League, Young People's Zion, and Community Youth. The first conference to be held by the Young Council will be at Community Youth Camp, Mills, Mass., August 16 and 17. The program as arranged follows:
 Sunday, 10-3-15 p. m.—"How Can Youth Secure Racial Equality?" by Carl Cartwright of Community Youth.
 Sunday, 2-3-15 p. m.—"How can Youth Reform Politics?" by Abe H. Kalish of Young People's Socialist League.
 Sunday, 3-15-4-30 p. m.—"The Attitude of Youth Towards War," by John P. Hall of Fellowship of Youth for Peace and the Young People's Socialist League. Talks by outside speakers, Alfred Baker, Jr. of the Young People's Socialist League, and candidate for Governor, Frank R. Crosswath, New York, and George T. Pickett of the Liano Colony, Louisiana.

Circle Reorganized in Newark, N. J.
 Symptomatic of the growing interest in the Socialist movement in New Jersey is the recent reorganization of the Newark Circle of the Young People's Socialist League. This organization, which has been inactive in Newark for some time, was brought to life at an enthusiastic meeting held at the Socialist Party headquarters, 105 Springfield avenue, last Friday night. Temporary officers elected were John Sochen of Newark, chairman; Helmut Suchocki of Belleville, organizer; and M. H. Walker of Orange, secretary and treasurer.
 The meeting made plans for future activities. On August 23 it will assist the Socialist Party in the unemployment demonstration in Military Park. One of the members, Anna Pomerantz of Newark, will be speaking at the meeting. Other plans include outdoor mass meetings to be held every Friday night on street corners, and a study course in public speaking and socialism to be arranged with the extension courses of either the Rand School or Brookwood Labor College.
 The first social activity of the organization will be a hike through the South Mountain Reservation on Sunday, August 24. The executive committee will be held every Friday night at 103 Springfield avenue, Newark.

New York Singing Group Growing
 The Young Socialist singing group under the supervision of Samuel H. Friedman, has been meeting regularly every Wednesday evening at the Rand School Studio, at 8:30 p. m. The class is growing by leaps and bounds. Songs are being written especially for the group and numbers of old-time working class songs are being revised. All you Yipels who can sing or would like to learn how to sing are requested to attend the next session of the class. Arrangements are being made for the group to conduct a workers' song in behalf of the country during the coming German elections. All those who have had any contact with Halle will miss his fine comradeship. At the farewells party 50 comrades met. The comrades held an open air meeting. A number of revolutionary songs were sung. The speaker, Comrade Phil Heller, the Senior Circle, acted as toastmaster. Comrade Reba Pushkoff presented the Biographical of Eugene Victor Debs to the Gunthe Halle as a token of our comradeship. Emanuel Switkes, national secretary of the Y. P. S. L., in a short address addressed our comrades to the Young Socialists of Germany.

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Institutes on Campaign
 The Socialist Party and the Rand School will conduct three institutes in preparation for the Fall campaign. All party workers, all speakers, all who are interested in the success of the campaign, are urged to attend.
 The first to be held on September 6th at two o'clock, will be devoted to Methods of Organization. Here is the program: General Aspects of Political Organization, G. August Gerber; Records, Marx Lewis; Meetings, Julius Gerber, the Technique of Street Speaking, August Claessens.
 The second institute will be devoted to Power and Public Utilities. There will be two sessions, the first on Saturday, Sept. 20th at two P. M., the other on Sunday Sept. 21st at the same hour. The third will be held on Saturday, the 27th, at two, and Sunday, the 28th at the same hour. It will be devoted to Unemployment, its Causes and Remedies. The whole series of meetings will culminate in a mass-meeting in the Rand School Auditorium on the evening of Sunday, September 28th at 8:30.

District, Wade Parks Second, J. R. Henderson Associate Justice, T. Harwick, Railroad Commissioner, William H. Field.
 The recent victory of the municipal ownership forces in Sheridan County has heartened the Socialists. For the first time in years, there will be twelve county judges. Ben Wilson will make an extensive speaking tour this month if he can give enough dates to cover the territory thoroughly.

Oklahoma
STATE ENCAMPMENT
 A state-wide encampment of members and sympathizers will be held Sunday, August 18, in Oklahoma City. National Secretary Senior will speak. Plans will be laid for reviving the Socialist organization in the state, since all reports show that this winter will be the hardest. Oklahoma has suffered for many years. Unless the party puts up its organization, the season of this winter will not be learned and other winters will be bound to repeat the same experiences. All members and sympathizers whose names are on file in the national office will be asked to notify the national office at once.

Utah
 The visit of the Goldstein brothers to Utah was exceedingly valuable. They addressed meetings and visited former members and sympathizers at Ogden, Duchesne, Orem, Salt Lake, Murray, Lehi, American Fork, Pleasant Grove, Spanish Fork, Springville, and Cedar City. A number of new members resulted. Comrade Cannon from Idaho is now covering Utah territory and doing good work.

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New York State
STATE EXECUTIVE
 The state executive committee will meet at the state office, Albany, Sunday morning at 9:30. The state executive committee consists of seven members: Morris Berman, Julius Gerber, G. August Gerber, Herman Kobbie, Charles W. Noeman, Rachel Panken and Theresa B. Wiley. The chairman of the state executive committee is Louis Waldman, is ex-officio member of the state executive committee.
UPSTATE CANDIDATES
 The informal convention held at Albany last week recommended Robert H. Richey of Binghamton for Representative in Congress from the 26th District; Allan DeLoach for State Senator Philip Lettier, Philip R. Ford and Alfred Lamarche for members of Assembly in the three legislative districts of Albany County; Nelson J. Belanger of Cohoes for Sheriff, and Felix Catman of Cohoes for Coroner.
 Stewart of Rensselaer is to be the Socialist candidate for county clerk in Rensselaer County, and Herman Kobbie of Nassau is to be the Socialist candidate for Assemblyman in the 2nd District of Rensselaer County, or else for State Senator from the 31st Senatorial District.
 The Socialists of Dutchess and Orange Counties will designate a party. W. Brower of Wapping Falls for Congressman from the 26th Congressional District. Timothy Cole of Poughkeepsie will be the Socialist candidate for State Senator from the 26th Senatorial District.
 The Socialists of Monroe County met in convention at Rochester on August 15 to select their candidates. Candidates were designated for the 38th and 39th Congressional Districts, and for the 45th and 46th for districts including parts of the Assembly and county offices.
PETITIONS
 State Secretary Merrill has advised all those handling designation petitions to bear in mind that August 15 is the last day for filing petitions, and to be sure that all are filed at the proper place. Designation petitions for districts including parts of more than one county, except those included wholly within the limits of the City of New York, must be filed with the State Secretary.
 According to the state secretary, the Socialist Party had candidates in 37 of the 43 Congressional Districts of the state in 1928, and candidates in 38 of the 43 Congressional Districts in 1930. The party has 99 and 150 Assembly Districts. It is hoped to better this showing this year.

New York City
3-5-16th A. D.
 A remarkably well attended meeting was held Saturday night at the studio of the Rand School. James O'Neil delivered an interesting lecture to the members and their guests. Organized Socialists also spoke. Organized Socialists also spoke. Organized Socialists also spoke.
 At the meeting Monday, Organizer Nathan Riese reported on various activities and plans for the campaign. A strong ticket has been nominated in the district headed by Jacob Perser for Congress. For the last two months street meetings have been held throughout the district. The number of these will be increased shortly.
Upper West Side
 A meeting will be held Tuesday, August 19, at 8:30 p. m. in the new meeting room, 2642 Broadway. It is expected that a fine record will be made by this branch. Foreman, member of this branch, will be present.
21st A. D.
 Branch meetings are held every Tuesday evening in room 4 of the building at 149 West 136th street, at 8:30 p. m.
BRONX
4th A. D.
 A meeting will be held Tuesday, August 19, at 8:30 p. m. in the headquarters, 1167 Boston road.
Amalgamated Cooperative Branch
 An important meeting will be held Monday, August 18, at 8:30 p. m. Preparations are being made for the coming campaign in this section of the 4th A. D. An active campaign committee will be formed. Distributing literature was discussed and acted upon and other plans will be perfected to increase the party strength and vote the district.
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discussed there. To follow up this, we had Louis Sadoff speak on the coming campaign and the importance of the meeting will be attended and the comrades showed a great deal of enthusiasm for the campaign. A meeting of the local campaign committee has been called for Friday and plans are to be held for a real old-time Brownsville light. Meetings are held every Friday night in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, at 8:30 p. m.
Midwood
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QUEENS COUNTY
Sunnyside
 Samuel Friedman made an eloquent speech in Woodside last Saturday night and a profound impression was made on the audience. George Field acted as chairman. Sunnyside members who have assisted in making these Saturday evening meetings successful are F. M. O'Connor, Leonard Bright, Ernest Shapiro, Tucker P. Rabin, Lawrence Rogin, William Rabin and George Field. Speakers Saturday evening, August 16, are Hyman Nemes and Lawrence Rogin, who will speak of his observations on his recent visit to Reading, Pa.
SUFFOLK COUNTY
 Daniel P. Hincley of Wading River, town of Riverhead, writes that he is confident that a full ticket will be in nomination in Suffolk County in spite of the fact that the Socialists have no active organization. This shows what one active Socialist can do in a community in spite of obstacles. For President, Thomas re-elected in Suffolk in 1928, and the field seems ripe for organization work.
NASSAU COUNTY
 The last party Saturday was a success, socially and financially. Those who attended came from a distance. Passerby stood around the place on the outside in large numbers. The speakers and the entertainers. We had 100 N. Leaders on hand and they went like hot cakes. We did not have enough to go around. This proved an excellent method of getting our neighbors to talk Socialism.
 The proceeds from this affair will be used to pay our pledge of \$25 to the party. The committee and the leasing of permanent headquarters is assured. In our next report we will be able to give the address.
 We have 25 copies of the Milwaukee Leader, containing the materials to our late Comrade Berg and we are distributing them. We are ready to wage a lively campaign. We are also getting ready for our educational and membership activity. We are considering some kind of an affair for Labor Day, so as to attract the attention of the non-Socialists. We are also getting ready for our educational and membership activity. We are considering some kind of an affair for Labor Day, so as to attract the attention of the non-Socialists.

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QUEENS COUNTY
Sunnyside
 Samuel Friedman made an eloquent speech in Woodside last Saturday night and a profound impression was made on the audience. George Field acted as chairman. Sunnyside members who have assisted in making these Saturday evening meetings successful are F. M. O'Connor, Leonard Bright, Ernest Shapiro, Tucker P. Rabin, Lawrence Rogin, William Rabin and George Field. Speakers Saturday evening, August 16, are Hyman Nemes and Lawrence Rogin, who will speak of his observations on his recent visit to Reading, Pa.
SUFFOLK COUNTY
 Daniel P. Hincley of Wading River, town of Riverhead, writes that he is confident that a full ticket will be in nomination in Suffolk County in spite of the fact that the Socialists have no active organization. This shows what one active Socialist can do in a community in spite of obstacles. For President, Thomas re-elected in Suffolk in 1928, and the field seems ripe for organization work.
NASSAU COUNTY
 The last party Saturday was a success, socially and financially. Those who attended came from a distance. Passerby stood around the place on the outside in large numbers. The speakers and the entertainers. We had 100 N. Leaders on hand and they went like hot cakes. We did not have enough to go around. This proved an excellent method of getting our neighbors to talk Socialism.
 The proceeds from this affair will be used to pay our pledge of \$25 to the party. The committee and the leasing of permanent headquarters is assured. In our next report we will be able to give the address.
 We have 25 copies of the Milwaukee Leader, containing the materials to our late Comrade Berg and we are distributing them. We are ready to wage a lively campaign. We are also getting ready for our educational and membership activity. We are considering some kind of an affair for Labor Day, so as to attract the attention of the non-Socialists. We are also getting ready for our educational and membership activity. We are considering some kind of an affair for Labor Day, so as to attract the attention of the non-Socialists.

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1930

The Great Mystery!

HEADQUARTERS of one of the largest corporations in the United States may be found in Union Square. Tammany Hall is a business enterprise. Its products include public offices, franchises, contracts, jobs, graft and other articles. The executives and large stockholders are enriched by their investments. Their commodities bear the label of the firm which is recognized by all intelligent men.

Like other corporations Tammany gets into trouble occasionally. The itch for loot tempts its servants. Many years ago the firm had a regular scale of rates in judicial appointments. It was like a department store. Jobs were exhibited with price tags attached. If you wanted one you paid the price and walked off with the article. It was a transaction between buyer and seller and in thorough accord with the economic law of the exchange of commodities.

All this was in the old days. Now we have a "New Tammany" and the case of Magistrate Ewald is in the headlines. He was appointed by Mayor Walker. About the time of the appointment Ewald's wife drew a check for \$5,000 payable to Tom Tommonney, chief clerk in the sheriff's office, and also drew cash to the amount of \$5,000 from her bank. Martin J. Healy, another Tammany job holder, made two deposits of \$5,000 each in his bank, one deposit in cash and the other by check. Shortly thereafter Healy drew a check payable to some one unknown. There is a deep mystery between the \$10,000 of Mrs. Ewald and the \$10,000 paid by Healy to an unknown.

Jimmie Walker doesn't know anything about it. Neither does the former head of the firm, Olvany. A number of persons who do know decline to tell all because of fear of incriminating themselves.

But don't be alarmed. This is the "New Tammany." The department store, the job exhibits, and price tags are no more. It is true that \$10,000 appeared at one end of a mysterious transaction and disappeared at the other. It appears that there was a buyer and a seller and an exchange of commodities. That's all. Now what is the explanation of this mystery?

"American Liberty"

WITH our censorships in various cities and states, anti-syndicalist laws, regular lynchings, and general imprisonment of the Bill of Rights, American Liberty is becoming an alien. Its fate in the hands of the G. O. P. makes interesting history.

In the last five years before the Civil War Republican orators drew a fearful indictment of the South on the score of civil rights. The slave regime suppressed all opinions dissenting with the ruling class. No dissenting book or pamphlet could be printed or circulated. No meeting could be held that questioned slave property as the basis of the oligarchy. The person who received a piece of proscribed literature from the North had to give a satisfactory explanation or invite mob action and deportation.

One may find all this denounced in the speeches and writings of Lincoln, Seward, Schurz, and other Republican orators. The G. O. P. would correct this. Expression of opinions would be as free as the air we breathe under the new dispensation. For a time into the eighties and nineties, with some notable exceptions, the shackles were removed.

Then the fat boys began to arrive on the scene, the gentlemen who were gathering finance and capital into great organizations. They feared criticism of their form of property. Reaction set in. The old mouth gags were dusted and the shackles were oiled for service. Corporation lawyers promoted to the bench worked out the legal justification. Then the "war for democracy." Liberty went to jail. Today the

G. O. P. is as reactionary as the ruling class it displaced.

At the end of the World War Secretary of State Lansing and a few other stuffed shirts participated in a solemn ceremony. There were those who said that the Constitution was dead. Not so! Opening a case these gentlemen exhibited the sacred document and mumbled a few words of adoration. What more would you have?

Well, we are reminded of the feeble-minded chap who insisted that his father was not dead and to support this view exhumed the old gentleman's silver-headed cane.

To Jimmie Higgins

THE Jimmie Higgins contest within the party and the Young People's Socialist League begins September 1. The detailed plan of this important contest appears on another page of this issue and we are confident that it will prove one of the most effective plans of party building that has been outlined for many years.

The contest comes at a time when forces that ran against Socialist education and organization now run in our favor. This education and organization work does not depend upon the existence of widespread and chronic poverty but a considerable feeling of economic grievance is essential. The rosy prospects of the "new capitalism" have vanished and the world wide character of the industrial depression shows to thinking persons that capitalism is afflicted with a chronic economic disease.

It is these general changes in the situation that enforce the truth of Socialist criticism of modern civilization. It gives Jimmie Higgins and his brothers their opportunity. They find a fertile field for the work outlined by the national office of the party and at its end there is the distribution of awards to stimulate their efforts. We hope that within a week or two after the work begins the friendly rivalry of those who engage in the contest will be reported all over the country.

We urge each Jimmie Higgins to enroll in this contest. An application blank will be found on another page. Fill it out, mail to the national office, get ready for the start—then go!

Little Capital Doomed

WHILE chain store corporations slowly conquer the field of retail trade the possessors of small capital have their case against the Sherman Anti-Trust Act presented by the American Bar Association. It reports that unorganized merchants feel the "increasing power of great industrial units" while the "unorganized body of smaller producers" is "growing weaker and weaker" in the fierce struggle for survival. The weaker group wants some freedom of cooperation without being penalized by the law. And yet this law was ostensibly enacted four decades ago to help the weak and little against the big and strong in business!

While this drama is unfolding the Standard Oil kingdom issues a royal decree that throughout its imperial domain its companies will sell automobile tires at their service stations. Supplementing this comes the news that the number of independent tire dealers is decreasing. Mail order houses have been underselling them and now the Standard will join the drive against the little men.

A third drive has been in progress on another front. The tire manufacturing corporations have been establishing their own retail stores, the Firestone Company having already established 500 such stations. They retail not only tires but gasoline and oil, batteries and other accessories. The Goodyear Company is doing the same.

Here is quite a segment of the middle class that grew up within the past twenty years by the side of the big giants. Now the mother proceeds to eat her own offspring. The next children to be devoured will be the restaurants and refreshment stands along the highways and we understand that the Standard intends to gather them in by forcing them out.

So the economic revolution is preparing the way for Socialism. All trends forecast the doom of little capital. The Socialist program is the most practical thing in this world.

IN A NUTSHELL

A horse doctor grafting a few thousand dollars in Tammany politics must have acted on the assumption that he was dealing with cattle.

Machinery must amplify life, not profits; it must therefore be subject to social control, and not class control.—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Calvin Coolidge says: "We all have a personal obligation to keep well." Now then don't try to be sick; also avoid dying if you possibly can.

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community such as ours, having such a command over nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do.—William Morris.

Calvin Coolidge says: "People give altogether too little attention to their health." Right. Cal. Millions are sick just now from an over dose of Republican politics.

I would rather be a slave than a master, upon the principle that I would rather be the victim than the beneficiary of a crime.—Eugene V. Debs.

If the world-wide industrial depression could be traced to Socialist politics our enemies would say something like the following: "Socialism won't work."

The stock market revealed one stabilizing influence this week. Votes in a Republican primary in one Tennessee Congressional district brought exceptionally high prices.

MASSACHUSETTS "BLACK SPOT"
Sacco-Vanzetti Murder, After Three Years, Indicts
Legal And Social Structure of Bay State

By James Oneal

THREE years will have passed on August 22 since Sacco and Vanzetti were executed in the death house at Charlestown, Mass. A poor shoemaker and a fish peddler, two obscure Italian workmen, had been singled out by agents of Massachusetts capitalism for death. They were to be "examples" that would always be remembered by any others who ventured to criticize the reign of its capitalist and banking magnates.

It was dirty business, to be sure, but Massachusetts capitalism had low creatures to carry it through. It had a governor in the last stages of the judicial murder whose service for capitalism had been tested in Congress. In that body he voted to expel Congressman Berger on the ground that Berger did not merit the protection of the laws. With this precedent in mind, it was not likely that Sacco and Vanzetti would get any other treatment at the hands of the governor.

There was the trial judge, the gentleman whose "judicial poise" was expressed in the words, "these anarchistic hangers-on," who ruled on appeals from his own decisions. A little bit mind and a legal spiel of the reigning class, the shoemaker and fish peddler were doomed from the day they faced him in court. The soul of that Jeffrey of infamous memory in British history found refuge in the mind of this judge. Prosecutor not judge, avenger not arbitrator, executioner not judicial officer, he went through the ghastly farce to its hideous end.

And Mr. Lowell

Even the head of Harvard University was summoned to aid the conspiracy and "culture" came to the aid of judicial murder. Harvard in earlier days has been an institution for training young blades whose fathers accumulated their wealth from the slave trade, smug-



Nicola Sacco

gling, and commerce with the pirates on the high seas. But in the earlier period of Harvard not even the tie-wig aristocrats ever soiled their names with a frame-up or attempted judicial murder, yet Jacobinism was as fearful to them as modern radicalism is to the ruling class of Massachusetts.

So Harvard's executive nobly responded to the summons to participate in the lynching. Capitalism, as Brooks Adams years ago observed, had already purchased this and other institutions of its kind. With investments in great capitalist enterprises its executive was required to ally "culture" with the electric chair.

"From now on," wrote Heywood Brown in the New York World, "I want to know, will the institution of learning in Cambridge which once we called Harvard be known as Hangman's House?"

To Its Tragic End

So the ghastly farce proceeded to its tragic end. At midnight of the fateful day the shoemaker and fish peddler were led into the old death house in Charlestown. In a few moments the lynching

was consummated. Sacco and Vanzetti had been silenced. The reigning princes of capital and finance and their agents in office were satisfied. This was the end. Dead men could no longer speak.

But from their graves the dead shoemaker and fish peddler rose to point accusing fingers at their executioners. They spoke through the labor movement all over the world. Poets and novelists, scientists and statesmen, philosophers and humanists, added their voices in condemnation of the lynchers.

Sacco and Vanzetti no longer stood in the dock. In their places stood the governor, the judge, the Harvard executive, and others who had participated in the gruesome orgy. The spotlight played upon them as brightly as the light in the death chamber on the night of the execution. The accusers had become the accused. Sacco and Vanzetti spoke with more force from the grave than they ever did in life.

The storm of protest and criticism from all over the world subsided and the lynchers resumed their routine ways. "We want to forget." One year passed and Sacco and Vanzetti again appeared and pointed their accusing fingers. Shall a meeting be permitted in Boston in memory of the shoemaker and fish peddler? Official Boston said "No." Why? "We want to forget."

So this "consciousness of guilt" pursued the guilty. Sacco and Vanzetti were again on the front pages of Boston papers and other publications throughout the nation. Sacco and Vanzetti had been killed but they refused to die. They returned the second year.

They Would Forget

This is the third anniversary and we again greet the shoemaker and fish peddler. Their fingers are pointed to Massachusetts, to Hangman's House, to the execution chamber in Charlestown prison, to



Bartolomeo Vanzetti

the judge, to the former state executive, to the framers and their accomplices, to Massachusetts "justice" that may be purchased by those who have the price.

Again the spotlight glares and the executioners cannot forget. The crime will follow them to the end and eventually there will be a Massachusetts worthy of the fish peddler and the shoemaker who died three years ago in Charlestown prison. It will be a Massachusetts worthy of its nobler spirits of an earlier day, worthy of Channing and Thoreau, of Phillips and Parker, of Margaret Fuller and Garrison.

And in that day of an emancipated Massachusetts the Thayers and Lowells, the Grants and Fullers, will be only unpleasant memories. The shoemaker and the fish peddler will then walk out into the public parks of Massachusetts, mount pedestals and turn into statues, no longer accusing.

Free men and women will walk the streets. They will also want to forget. They will forget the lynching and the lynchers and remember the shoemaker and fish peddler who so nobly died as a sacrifice to the ruling cowards of an age of class rule.

Poor Fish, Red Herrings, Plain Suckers

By ADAM COALDIGGER

EVERY fish is not a sucker, and every sucker is not a fish, but if Hamilton Fish is honest, then he is both.

For the information of those who do not know Hamilton Fish, he it is said that he is the gentleman who recently jiggered \$25,000 out of Congress to investigate communist activities in the U. S. A.

Sitting in solemn convocation assembled in the city of New York, the congressional red snappers made the staggering discovery that out of some 6,000 schools in that city, some six or seven were infected by communism. Anyway, a few hundred of the 38,000 youngsters attending said six or seven schools had played hooky on May 1, which the congressional sleuths allowed was prima facie evidence that they were hooked up with Moscow.

Visiting a young communists' summer camp in the vicinity of Gotham, the committee was shocked by such blasphemous remarks as, "Damn you, pass the bread," and also by the short shorts worn by boys and girls. Whether the youngsters were shorts because they were hot after capitalism, or wore them just because it happened to be 103 in the shade, dependents did not depute.

In Detroit, the committee listened to a fairy tale by a clerical gentleman, according to whom Henry Ford is the chief go-getter of American communism.

It seems last winter, Henry advertised, or is said to have advertised for 30,000 men and then when the men reached the Ford plant, there were no jobs, which, I suppose, made them see so red that they swapped their empty dinner pails for membership cards in the Communist party.

In Chicago, the hearing wound up in an altercation between witnesses and hearers, during which the latter got their long ears full.

But of all the millions and millions—yes, all the ship-loads and ship-loads of gold Moscow had shipped over here to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, not even a Canadian dime was discovered. Well, I

knew they wouldn't find that gold. I've been scratching for it in the sand along the Atlantic seacoast myself, and the only thing I found was a broken clam shell on which I cut my finger.

What childish, what perfectly absurd behavior for supposed grown-up people. Here we are, the richest people on earth; the most intelligent people on earth, with the best government on earth. And yet we are invited to get scared stiff every time one of the communist brethren shoots off his bazoo.

There are perhaps not over 12,000 active communists in the whole of this country, or around one-hundredth of one percent of the total population. Most of them can't speak English. Many of them are unskilled laborers working in unorganized industries, suffering from exploitation, overwork, underpay, and insecurity. They feel hurt and they holler. They are entitled to holler. And that, by the way, is about all that we sovereign voting fodder are getting for our pains. Only most of us even haven't got guts enough left to raise a holler when hurt.

Few men have been more consistently abused by the communist brethren than myself. Yet if I owned a controlling interest in all the jails, penitentiaries, tear lumps, and night-sticks in the land of the free and the home of the brave, I wouldn't dream of shutting up the mouth of one of them. If they are telling the truth about me, and the truth hurts, I deserve to be hurt; and if they lie about me, the lies will hurt them. So why worry?

Moreover, the most precious and also the rarest jewels in this bone-headed world are ideas, and ideas that only can be kept down by knocking men's brains out are too valuable to suppress, while ideas that have no right to hang around will hang themselves if given rope and time.

If the great experiment in Russia (and let me tell you it's the greatest try-out ever made by the human race) succeeds, then all the king's horses and all the king's asses, and all the king's kale, will not prevent it from encircling the world. And if it fails, all the powers between heaven and hell will

not move communism three inches from its native laboratory.

Of all the fools that inhabit this mad-house, the biggest are the fellows who think they can create revolutions with words, and who believe they can stop a revolution by suppressing talk.

The framers of the American government were well aware of the value of free thought and freedom of expression. Hence, the numerous safeguards they threw around these blessings in the first ten amendments to the Constitution, guaranteeing the right of free speech, free press, and the right of peaceful assembly to petition the government for redress of grievances.

But what do the "by the grace of campaign hoodlums" elected guardians of our lives know or care about American history, tradition, and ideals. Nine out of every ten, if not 99 out of every 100 of them are in their present offices thanks to an unholy alliance between racketeers, corporation bribe-peddlers, and other criminal elements. They know in their craven hearts whose big dogs' little dogs they are, and hence their vociferous barking whenever a hungry pup comes near the bone commissary of their Lord and Master.

For my own part, I am convinced that a million communists are not as great a menace to American institutions as the insullated gentleman who some years ago tried to buy a seat in the U. S. Senate for a quarter of a million dollars, or the respectable conservative lady who since then has raised the ante to three hundred thousand.

Democracy, if it is to live, must be rooted in two prime essentials. These prime essentials are: first, free discussion of anything and everything concerning the weal or woe of a people; second, an unpolluted ballot. So between the suppression of ideas and the pollutionists of the ballot, give me the communist. He may be a nuisance. He may be a fool. But, by the eternal, he is not an assassin of the things for which Washington and his ragged continental rebels fought from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, and that is exactly what most of our professional red-baiters are.

Benjamin Feigenbaum Honored On 70th Birthday

SURROUNDED by the members of his immediate family, and by representatives of the Socialist Party, the Forward Association, the Workmen's Circle, and other organizations which he helped to build during the years he pioneered for Socialism in the United States, Benjamin Feigenbaum, for many years the acknowledged leader of the Jewish Socialist movement in the United States, commemorated his seventieth birthday last Tuesday.

About forty representatives of the various Socialist and labor groups with which he has been identified traveled out to the rest home in which he finds himself, at Amityville, L. I., to bring him the greetings of many thousands of Socialists who regard him affectionately, but who, because of his illness, were unable to join in making the celebration as elaborate and as all-inclusive as everyone should have liked it to have been.

In the group were Abraham Cahan, with whom, during the closing years of the last century, Feigenbaum laid the basis for the establishment of the Jewish Forward, B. C. Viadach, the present

business manager of the Forward, Joseph Weinberg, until recently president of the Workmen's Circle, one of the largest Jewish fraternal organizations, which Feigenbaum first conceived, members of the Forward Association, and of the various departments of the Forward, and others. Marx Lewis, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, and Celia Rotter represented the city committee of the Socialist Party. Meyer Weinstein represented the Jewish Socialist Verband.

In the group were also William Morris Feigenbaum, prominent Socialist, and son of Benjamin Feigenbaum. At Amityville, the children and grandchildren of Comrade Feigenbaum joined the delegation. Seated on a wheelchair on the spacious lawn, in the midst of the group of his admirers, friends, old-time associates, and relatives, Feigenbaum was presented with a bouquet of seventy beautiful roses. Viadach, master of the ceremony, also presented to him a scroll in which are recited the many services Feigenbaum has rendered the movement, as writer, organizer, as theoretician, as inspirer, and on several occasions as a campaigner

who worked districts to the point where they were later ripe for Socialist victories.

Viadach was followed by Cahan, who told of the early days of the movement, his association with Feigenbaum, the numerous trials through which they had both passed laying the foundation for the Forward and the Socialist movement among the Jewish masses of the United States.

"You have a good deal to be happy for," Cahan said. "The movement you have so well and so nobly served, after many ups and downs, is better today than it has been in many years. Everything is full of hope, of promise, of victory for the ideals you have held so dear. We hope to have you with us many years to share with us the joys that come from knowing that our labors, your labors, have borne fruit."

While speaking to the members of the delegation individually, and greeting them all, frequently with a smile which the suffering of the last few years has not removed, Feigenbaum was not well enough to respond with a speech to the speeches that had been made. He responded with a handshake, and

a greeting to each of the delegation.

Members of the delegation were favorably impressed with Feigenbaum's healthy appearance, which belied his seventy years. The traits which made him famous, the brilliant mind and perfect memory, were found to be unimpaired, in the interchange of thoughts which marked the event.

In addition to those who have been mentioned, the following were in the delegation: Harry Rogoff, B. Levitan, Meyer Gillis, Dr. B. Hoffman, Mrs. Schoenberg, Adele Kean Zmetkin, M. King, William Lipson, E. Jesurun, P. Dembitzer, Leon Gottlieb, Isidore Cohen, M. Pillot, M. Haskell, A. Shulman, B. Frishwasser, Louis Schafer, E. Frank, Dr. Russionoff, I. Natkins, S. Ballinson, Leon Chrystal and Mrs. Rebecca Zmetkin.

Work is only done well when it is done with a will, and no man has a thoroughly sound will unless he knows he is doing what he should and in his place.—Ruskin.

A consistent man believes in destiny, a suspicious man in chance.—Dersell.

Cole Blease
And A Bale
Of Hay

By Frank R. Crosswaith

SINCE Judge Parker was defeated in the Senate for a place upon the U. S. Supreme Court bench, lynchings in the South have increased with dramatic suddenness. The number of citizens who have forfeited their lives to mobs there is said to be more than eighteen, most of them Negroes.

Following rapidly upon the heels of Parker's defeat, the State of Texas came forward to claim public attention when a mob in Sherman dynamited the Court House in which George Hughes, a Negro, was being tried on a charge of having "raped a white woman"—the usual excuse the South offers for lynching a Negro. Hughes' body was baked in a steel vault, after which the mob tied his charred carcass to an automobile and dragged it through the streets of the town. When they arrived in the Negro section they immediately set fire to several Negro business establishments, after which they built a fire before a Negro drugstore and cremated what was left of the man's body, the while the mob sang: "Happy Days Are Here Again."

As if envious of the resurrections which had come to the Lone Star State, Alabama next staged a "lynching bee" of her own—no that Alabama as one of the states in the south where they know best how to treat the Negro was until then without fame, not for Alabama had been represented many years in the United States Senate by no less a person than Thomas J. Heflin, whose antics in Washington had long ago entitled him and Alabama to an honorable place in the hall of fame; but Alabama was jealous of Texas. And, besides, the home folks needed something to divert their attention from such problems as unemployment, old age pensions, and so forth.

Therefore, while the rest of the country was celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the white Christians of Alabama selected that day to stage a lynching which took a toll of five lives before the fundamentalists decided that they had done a good day's work for Christianity and tottering white supremacy.

Essau Robinson, a Negro, had purchased from Boyd—a white man—a second-hand automobile battery for \$2.50 plus \$1.50 for installation. Robinson believed that he had been overcharged and so refused to pay the bill. On the eve of Independence Day Robinson and Boyd met, and Boyd took back his battery. The next day, July 4th, Robinson with his brother and father went to Boyd's store and demanded the return of the battery; Boyd refused to return it, and a general scuffle followed. An uncle of Boyd, in the meantime, had secured from his automobile a pistol and opened fire on the fleeing Negroes who shot back, killing him. Two of the Negroes escaped to the woods, but Essau was caught. The mob hanged him, then ridged his body with bullets.

Evidently believing that one white and one Negro dead as the result of a modern lynching would not entitle Alabama to very much glory in the estimation of bourbon South; the mob therefore determined upon a course of action which netted them four more lives, all Negroes, including an innocent woman who was peacefully driving with her husband.

South Carolina next came forward to do her bit for "White supremacy and Negro subordination." And what would South Carolina be without a Cole Blease? The doctory Senator recognized at once his grave responsibility to his State, his race, and above all to the virtuous white womanhood of the South. "Not the white women who work long hours for a mere pittance in the textile mills of South Carolina," he journeyed to Union S. C., and harangued an audience there. What the Senator said to his hearers is important only as an index to the low moral and intellectual level attained by the average Southern politician.

Newspapers I have seen report the Senator as saying: "To hell with the Constitution whenever it comes between me and the virtue of the white women of South Carolina. White supremacy and the protection of the virtue of the white women of South Carolina comes first with me. When you catch the brute that assaults a white woman, wait until the next morning to tell me about it."

To attempt to characterize with words the type of mind that must be Cole Blease's would be to overstep the bounds of ordinary decency and offend the intelligent readers of this article. Suffice it to say, however, that what this pompous bully is, speaks with far more eloquence than what he says. For the good of the South and the nation—to say nothing about civilization—Cole Blease ought to be muzzled and confined to a barn with a sufficient supply of hay to insure him at least three meals a day for the rest of his political life. He might even be given a few gallons of Negro blood to quench his thirst.

Great is the victory which is obtained without blood.—Cervantes.