

Timely Topics By Norman Thomas

The Drought Victims and Industry's Victims—Insull
Advocates Concentration—Liberty Fares Poorly
—The Campaign Needs—Tired of Re-
spectability—A Letter to Roy Howard

THE VICTIMS OF NATURE

ON MY WAY to and from the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, I had a chance to see some of the lovely country most tragically affected by the drought. The seriousness of the situation has not been exaggerated and while the welcome rains are doing the pasture land much good they are too late to save the corn crop on which the farmers are largely dependent to carry their cattle over the winter. Faced with a natural calamity President Hoover has shown a skill in organizing immediate relief machinery which he does not show when faced with the breakdown of the capitalist system in which he believes through business depression and unemployment. The victims of the drought will get far greater help than the victims of capitalism.



A PROPOSAL FOR FARM RELIEF

FROM CHRISTOPHER EASTON, candidate for the State Senate on the Farmer Labor ticket in Minnesota, I have received a letter and campaign material which among other things makes an exceedingly interesting suggestion for farm relief. It is that the Federal government buy up at the present low prices a belt of farm land running from the North to the South on which wheat in the North and cotton in the South are marginal crops; that is, crops which can only be profitably raised in exceptional years. The government could then lease this land for grain or cotton raising purposes as the demand would warrant. I am not clear what the government would do with this land in ordinary years. Some of it, as our Socialist platforms suggest, could and should be put back into forests. Other parts of it might be used for pastures. I should be glad to get further comment on this idea from our farmer friends.

MARTIN INSULL, COLLECTIVIST

AT THE INSTITUTE OF VIRGINIA, which is a liberal force of great value in the South, I discussed public ownership and operation of public utilities with Mr. Martin Insull. He did not even bother to try to contradict my statement that the Insull interests in Chicago had been the allies of the rotten Thompson machine. He calmly said that his company would continue the kind of propaganda they had made, which propaganda he claimed was wholly legitimate. He argued at night in an address on holding companies that this form of collectivism was necessary since the age of small units had passed. In the morning, against my argument for ownership and operation, he talked or tried to talk like Adam Smith or some other old fashioned economic individualist. Now the plain truth is that Adam Smith would have feared or hated holding companies at least as much as public ownership. Never has any man made clearer to me the truth that the choice is not between individualism and collectivism today but between Socialism and collectivism for private power and private profit than did Mr. Martin Insull speaking on the very day when his companies announced a new merger in Chicago.

HARD TIMES FOR LIBERTY

THESE ARE BAD DAYS for civil liberties. The New York Police Department whitewashes police brutality in handling a Communist meeting. The patriots around Van Etten, New York proved their bravery and understanding of Americanism, stirred up we suppose by the antics of the Fish fishing committee, by attacking a Communist camp for children. And a judge no better than the mob sentences two women to jail for the desecration of a flag which under mob conditions it appears they had refused to accept. The State Department still excludes August Kosulch, the Croatian patriot. And this is the country which claims Thomas Jefferson as one of its heroes.

HOW TO HELP THE CAMPAIGN

IN OUR STATE, Congressional and local campaigns here in New York City we can use an indefinite number of canvassers and watchers. Waldman, Broun, Vladeck, Panken, Shipplough and I will welcome these helpers individually. But what we want is workers in our various districts who will canvass and watch for the whole ticket. Ours is a fight for a party and a cause. Turn in your name at the Party headquarters, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Since the Party has persuaded me that I ought to run in the Sixth Congressional District in Brooklyn, I have necessarily had to cancel or postpone some speaking dates for the L.D. and I will not be able to give the help to the Socialist Party in other states, or to certain Farmer Labor candidates in Minnesota, for which I have been asked. I may make a few speeches in other states but mostly I shall have to stick to my own district. I want to assure readers of the New Leader that I regret this necessity.

MY "MERCERIZED" SOCIALISM

SOME OF MY FRIENDS may be tired as I am of hearing how respectable I am and what a harmless sort of Socialist I am in the eyes of certain editorial writers. It is true that I don't wear whiskers or carry bombs. I appreciate friendship and good will but I don't want it under false pretenses. The last straw was when Mr. Roy Howard, editor of the New York Telegram and head of the Scripps-Howard chain, in the course of his comments on Heywood Broun's candidacy, called Broun and me "mercercized" Socialists. I have written the Telegram as follows:

Editor, New York Telegram.

Dear Sir:

In one sense I suppose your scrap with Heywood Broun is a private affair. Certainly he has proved that he needs no assistance from any of his backers. Nevertheless your use of my name is a half way invitation to me to come in on one aspect of the controversy.

It appears that you consider Broun and me "mercercized" Socialists—whatever that is—as opposed to Marxian Socialists—and I wonder if you know what that is? It happens that while expressing my sense of the world's indebtedness to Karl Marx, he himself expressed satisfaction that he did not have to be a Marxist. Like modern Socialists in general, I think our present blundering economic and political system has created too complicated a social organization for us to operate on it with an axe. I believe in discussing issues constructively in the American language. Fortunately or unfortunately I am that wondrous thing a Nordic and my name is Thomas and not Thomashofsky. I was born in Marion, Ohio and I was graduated from Princeton University, a circumstance which both the town and the college have at times looked on with mixed emotions.

But let me assure you I am a Socialist. I believe that we shall not have plenty, peace and freedom in the world until we have brought about public ownership and democratic management of land, natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution. I want to see an end of private property for power, of that ownership and operation for profit of things necessary to our common life out of which arise the waste, the tyranny and the wars of our time. I want to see an end of this kind of private property in order that there may be more of the right kind of property for workers who now lead cramped and starved lives in the midst of potential plenty. There is no hope for us unless we can manage our machinery so that production and distribution are for use of the many and not for the profits of the few. I realize that progress toward this goal must be gradual, but to make my position more definite let me assure you that in general I agree with the criticisms of the Independent Labor Party in England of the over caution and conservatism of the MacDonald government.

This is Socialism whether "mercercized" or not and if you agree with it you are a Socialist and not a liberal. But if you face this fundamental issue you may find it harder to persuade yourself and your readers that lack of any basic philosophy is somehow or other equivalent to liberalism or independence.

All of which is said with no lack of appreciation of the service the Scripps Howard papers are rendering and of their good sense in taking their famous columnist as they find him.

(Signed) NORMAN THOMAS

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"They Dare Not Touch Our Lightning"

WITHOUT a single representative of the party in any executive administrative or legislative position, the Socialist Party nevertheless takes the lead in shaping important public policy and in bringing about actual significant changes.

A CITY JOB BUREAU OPENS

It took the New York City administration six months to realize that there was an unemployment crisis in the city. It was not until the Socialist Party through its spokesman, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman, appeared at City Hall and demanded action to aid the jobless that the Walker administration appeared to discover the unemployed. As a direct result of the Socialists' demand a free employment bureau was opened by the city this week.

A POWER CRAB HALTED

TWO weeks ago the N. Y. Edison Company proposed a rate "cut" by it and associated companies. The Governor of state had been kept fully informed of the negotiations leading up to the so-called "reduction" and his Public Service Commission was apparently prepared to o. k. it. The governor himself hailed the "cut" as evidence of a change for the better in the policies of the electric companies. Then came an analysis of the "cut" by Louis Waldman, on behalf of the Socialist Party. He revealed it as a "gold brick" which would actually increase electric charges to 57 per cent. of the consumers. The press gave due recognition to the Socialist criticism. Gov. Roosevelt, his Public Service Commission and the Tammany Corporation Counsel saw a light. They have changed their minds about the fraudulent "cut" in rates. It appears to be blocked for the present.

CLEANING UP THE COURTS

TOWARDS the end of his campaign for Mayor last year, Norman Thomas, Socialist, tore the veil from around the magistrates courts. He described them as centers of corruption, agencies where justice is denied except for a price. He charged magistrates pay for their jobs. Then came the removal of magistrates and judges, —Vitale, Vause, Ewald. The list will grow longer. The Socialists were the first who demanded a full probe of the magistrates' courts. For months the request was denied by Gov. Roosevelt. But the Socialists kept up their demand, Waldman joining Thomas in arguing the public necessity and the legal possibility of a thorough probe by the state. At long last, Governor Roosevelt has been forced to order an investigation. Score another for the Socialist Party.

THE PRICE OF FOOD ROCKETS

A WEEK AGO the milk companies announced a boost in the price of milk of one cent a quart. With facts and figures, the Socialist party pointed to the exorbitant profits being coined by the milk companies and demanded action by the public authorities. The district attorney of Kings County went to work on an investigation of charges made by Norman Thomas. His inquiry has been broadened by other public agencies into a wider field. Another investigation begun by the Socialists.

SMOKE AND TENEMENTS

THREE weeks ago Norman Thomas went on the radio to discuss the state of affairs in New York City. He discussed in emphatic terms the danger to health in the unpunished violation of the tenement house laws and in the unabated smoke nuisance. Within a week the tenement house department and the health department

bestirred themselves. Investigation and some prosecution has begun.

STEALING SOCIALIST THUNDER

HEYWOOD BROUN has said: "The old parties will steal the Socialists' thunder but they dare not touch our lightning." Good jobs begun by the Socialists are often taken up by old party office-holders always and botched up.

ON UNEMPLOYMENT: The Socialists proposed not merely a single employment agency, but a chain of free agencies, curbing of the crooked private ones, new public works, outdoor relief to the destitute, old age pensions and unemployment insurance. The Tammany administration established a single agency—already overrun in a week by 15,000 applicants.

On the PUBLIC UTILITIES: The Socialists propose a public agency to own and operate the public utilities for the common good. Gov. Roosevelt is satisfied with an attempt at regulation by a commission which doesn't know the difference between a rate cut and a rate rise.

On the COURTS: The Socialists want a thorough, multi-partisan investigation to get to the bottom of the mess that indicts the entire system of justice. Gov. Roosevelt offers an investigation by the appellate division whose judges are themselves part of the vicious political system by which judgeships and justices are bought and sold.

OLD PARTIES AND SOCIALISTS

The Socialist Party outside of office is the greatest force for political health and public welfare. Its effectiveness could be increased hundred-fold if it was in office. Only the Socialists can be relied on to go through with their program which old party politicians occasionally steal in part but never with any serious intention of seeing it through.

Judges Find Billings Tame—Visit Prison

California Justices Place Laborite's Attorneys Under Fire—Frame-up Boast Revealed

SAN FRANCISCO. (FP)—In the unprecedented interview of the Supreme Court justices with Warren K. Billings at Folsom, everything relating to Billings' life and ideas was gone into thoroughly, with the trifling exception of his possible connection with the Preparedness Day bombing in 1916.

Justice Preston, with the occasional assistance of Cunha, put Billings through a third degree covering every detail of his union activities, his efforts as a labor spy in strikes, his career of sabotage, his hobo days, the two occasions when he met Alexander Berkman and the one occasion when he heard Emma Goldman lecture on "Modern Art." His reading, his religious views, his politics (he is a Democrat), even his health. But no one asked him if he did or did not deposit a suitcase containing a bomb at Stewart and market streets.

Attorney McKenzie did have a chance to secure Billings' flat denial that he was at 721 Market street on that day, that he ever told the "varnish remover" story to Estelle Smith, or wrote her a letter about anything, or that he told Cunha and Brennan, "You've got part of the story but you won't get the rest from me."

Billings described his actions on July 22 in detail, stating that he had concealed his sabotage on autos on that day, and refused to allow Maxwell McNutt to introduce it into his trial, in order to save Ed Nolan (acquitted Preparedness Day defendant, and then secretary of the Machinists' Union), who had been instrumental in selecting him for the "job," and also because he felt that in the then state of feeling such a confession would be damaging to him. He said he knew he was innocent of the bombing, and was confident at the time that he must be acquitted.

Billings No Radical

Billings told of how Swanson kept him under surveillance and tried to bribe him to frame Moon. He also went into the Sacramento dynamiting case, in consequence of which he served a previous term of a year in the penitentiary, and created a sensation by stating that he had carried dynamite to Sacramento at the request of John Wilson, then secretary of the Electrical Workers' Union, and Edgar Hurley, then a labor leader but now a State Senator. Hurley, who has long ago lost his union affiliations, has of course hotly denied Billings' charge, but San Francisco authorities have been informed that there are no records in Denver to confirm his statement that he was there in September, 1913, when Billings claimed he transported the dynamite for him.

Panken Predicts Victory In Race for Congress Seat

Former Socialist Judge Carried 14th Congressional District Three Years Ago

WITH a prediction of certain election, former Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken has announced his acceptance of the Socialist Party nomination to make the race for congress in the 14th, New York, Congressional District.

"Tammany must be punished and rebuked. Tammany must be driven from public office," Judge Panken declared in his statement, in which he indicated he will make Tammany domination of New York politics, unemployment and old age relief his principal issues. The 14th district is now represented by Representative Irving I. Sirovich and the Socialists consider him particularly vulnerable to the charges of Tammany affiliation and indifference to the plight of the unemployed.

Judge Panken, as he pointed out in his statement, carried 39 of the 55 election districts in the 14th congressional district, in 1927, by vote of 8,490 as against 5,756 for his nearest opponent. Mr. Panken was then running for re-election to the Municipal Court bench. If he should poll the normal Socialist vote in the remaining 16 districts, the Socialist nominee would carry the district by 707 votes. Mr. Panken's election in 1927 was stolen by irregular procedure at the polls in other sections of the Municipal Court district.

"Many citizens, regardless of political affiliations, have urged me to accept the nomination for Congress in the Fourteenth Congressional District in Manhattan," Panken declared. "They remind me that repeatedly I have charged judicial officers with dishonesty and that lower courts were Tammany Hall club houses; that graft in all New York City Departments was rampant. Frankly, they told me that when these charges were made, they did not believe them. Now my charges have been proven and they want an opportunity to atone."

"In 1927 I was re-elected judge of the Municipal Court, then counted out. Criminals manned the polls and though proved to be such, were discharged by Tammany judges. An election inspector voted for herself, her mother and even attempted to vote for her sister. She made no denial of it; in fact, she admitted it. The proof was conclusive yet she was freed by a Tammany judge."

Defends the Unemployed

"Unemployment is the most serious problem confronting the world. There are almost three million men and women in our country jobless and almost three million more who are unemployed though affiliated. The morale and self-respect of these millions is being undermined; they are being beggared; they are accepting handouts on the bread line. Wages

(Continued on Page Two)

Thomas Charges Force Probe of N. Y. Courts

Dabbling Droolidge Says:

SOUTHAMPTON, Mass.—Much attention has been given the subject of rain. The lack of rain cannot be made a campaign issue. The Republican party would gladly be as generous in furnishing rain as it has been with commissions to investigate Mississippi flood control, the relation of radio ownership to unemployment, red control of the U. S. and discontent among high tariff advocates.

Bad as the record has been, (reference is made to the arid spell), this has been beyond human control and involves no moral issue. Look at the Gobi Desert, Afghanistan, Balochistan and Hindustan—these places are always dry. On the other hand, look at Guam, Tahiti and Timbuctoo where there are long rain spells. In Little America there is no rain or heat.

While the Republican party is not responsible for the conditions spoken of, it is alive to its moral responsibility and will eventually select a commission to investigate the rain phenomena. This is a day of change. A change of heart is needed if we are to prosper. Above all, faith is essential if prosperity is to continue under the beneficent guidance of the Republican party. Destiny knows when to snatch a Cincinnatus from his plow or a literary man from his pen.

DABBLING DROOLIDGE.

George Is First Entrant In Jimmie Higgins Contest

Two More Socialist Papers Enter Arrangement—Contest Questions Answered

(By a New Leader Correspondent) Chicago.—The honor of being the first to indicate his determination to go to Vienna for the next International Socialist Congress goes to David George. George formerly was secretary of the southern organization district, and for the past few months has been working at Camp Tammany.

The editor of the American Leader, the daily national edition of the Milwaukee Leader, has asked that both of these papers be included in those announced last week as participating in the contest.

Since the initial announcement of the Jimmie Higgins Contest, the office has been flooded with letters asking questions about one aspect or another. Some of the questions and the answers furnished by Secretary Senior follow:

Q. Are members of the Young People's Socialist League and the Junior circles of the League eligible?

A. Absolutely! There could be nothing we would like more than to see every member of both organizations actively in the field. They probably will have more time than many party members.

Q. Are members-at-large entitled to enter?

A. It is of great importance from an organization standpoint that such members get in. Their first endeavor should be to form a local. Enrollment blanks can be secured directly from the National Office.

Q. Do those contestants in states with a dollar a year dues have an advantage over those where the dues are larger?

A. Since the larger amounts are paid by the month, it is only a matter of the collection of one dollar or so in either case—thus the conditions are more equal than it would seem.

Q. Do not those members where

Roosevelt Finally Accedes to Growing Demand—Crain Whitewash Falls Through

THE naive citizens who take political events in New York City at their face value—if any such are left—must be bewildered by the Ewald case. Here, surely, is one of the strangest phenomena in the history of American municipal government.

It bristles with inconsistencies. So intricate, moreover, is the political situation which the case has created that not even the political wisecracks can predict what will happen next.

A Republican with a consuming ambition to be Governor of the state exposes a case of job buying whose trail leads to Tammany Hall. Tammany takes up the case and gives it a bath of whitewash. The Democratic Governor, whose political fate is in the hands of this same Tammany, picks up the case, apparently in open defiance of the Hall, and hands it over to a Republican who is his potential rival for the Governorship in an impending election.

So there are four protagonists in this drama, Governor Roosevelt, Federal Attorney Tuttle, Attorney General Ward and Tammany Hall.

As we go to press it appears that not only the Ewald case but the whole system of appointment of judicial officials in New York City is to undergo a searching investigation. This comes ten months after open charges by Norman Thomas that the Magistracy in New York was a disgrace and that it was for sale to the highest bidder, and under circumstances which, according to Thomas, do not invite confidence in its complete success.

The Ewald case has grown rapidly. Federal Attorney Charles Tuttle's discovery that Martin Healy, a Tammany leader, had banked \$10,000 immediately after the appointment of Magistrate Ewald, and a short time after the withdrawal of \$10,000 from the bank by Mrs. Ewald, led to the summons of the Ewalds, Healy and Thomas Tammany, the intermediary between the Ewalds and Healy, before a Federal Grand Jury. They refused to testify on the ground they might be incriminated under the law against buying office.

Last week District Attorney Thomas C. Crain, forced to take notice of this evidence, presented it to a county grand jury, with testimony by Mayor Walker and former Tammany leader George W. Olvany that they had not consulted Healy about Ewald's appointment. The Mayor said he had been guided solely by the recommendations of the Steuben Society and the editor of a German newspaper. According to his testimony, he obtained no expert evidence of the candidate's judicial fitness in appointing a man whom he did not even know.

District Attorney Crain failed

(Continued on Page Five)

Broun And Vladeck Open Up Campaign

Headquarters Are Opened in 17th District—Candidates Rally Their Party Branches

HEYWOOD BROUN opened his campaign for Congress on the Socialist ticket, in the 17th New York District this week, with a bang whose repercussions were heard far beyond the limits of Manhattan Island. For not only the New York newspapers, but dailies and weeklies the country over gave space in their news columns and editorial pages to the striking comments of the party's highly original candidate.

At first inclined to take the Broun campaign as more or less of a tour de force, Broun's thoroughgoing grasp of the economic situation and the wholehearted way in which he has gone into this campaign has changed the point of view of many who came to headquarters to sneer and remained to cheer.

The non-partisan Broun-for-Congress committee, of which Morris Ernst, famed defender of civil liberties and the rights of the under dog, is chairman, opened its headquarters on the second floor of the Hotel Algonquin, in the heart of Broun's district, on Monday. Newspaper photographers filled three rooms with the smoke of their flashlights. There were interviews galore; and best of all, a rush of eager youngsters, volunteering their services for the campaign in any capacity, from that of stuffing envelopes to house-to-house canvassing. Of course there were the usual number of "original thinkers," from one of whom there evolved the brilliant idea of having Broun ride down Broadway on Joe Cook's elephant, preceded by a band playing a campaign song to be written by Irving Berlin. Broun remarked that not only was he not indulging in any "circus stuff," but that he was an animal lover, and that this might be very tough on the elephant.

Broun's Opening Shot

For his opening shot, Broun said of his Republican and Democratic opponents:

"Sooner or later somebody is likely to say, 'Heywood Broun is a nice fellow, but why throw your vote away?' I want to get my form of this query in first. I can say in all sincerity, 'Louis B. Brodsky, although a New York City Magistrate, is an honest man. Mrs. Ruth Pratt is not only a woman of charm but a faithful Republican worker. Yet why throw away your vote?'"

"In a very real sense neither Mrs. Pratt nor Mr. Brodsky are running in this campaign. A vote for Louis Brodsky is a vote for the Tammany organization, a certificate of approval for Curry, a passing wink to Ewald, and a nod to Vitale, a smile for

Vanna. A vote for Mrs. Pratt is an affirmation of approval for Mr. Hoover's callous indifference to the unemployment problem, a cheer for Mr. Hoover's "noble experiment" in bone dry prohibition, a happy shout for Mr. Hoover's punishing tariff. I know that Mrs. Pratt has been very much more definite in identifying herself as a leader of the stand-by-the-President movement. And this indeed subjects its members to a fierce ordeal. Among recent Republican presidents from Harding up and down Herbert Hoover easily leads in the party practice of fence-sitting.

At no small sacrifice to himself, Broun is undertaking a heavy schedule in this campaign. He gets to headquarters before noon, sees newspaper men, admirers of his writings, volunteers, and campaign managers for more than two hours, and then comes back to headquarters before starting on his evening speaking dates, which even at this early date are piling up with staggering rapidity.

This last week he spoke for the talkies, had a family chat with the members of the upper West Side branch of the Socialist Party, at a well-attended meeting, at which Meyer Gillis made a rousing speech welcoming Broun's candidacy on behalf of Socialists throughout the district. George Ross presided.

At this meeting Broun made it evident that he is thoroughly familiar with Socialist policies and history; and at the conclusion of his informal speech, he received round after round of applause. The detail work of organization was taken up for a close cooperation between the many Socialist workers in the district, who will open headquarters on the upper West Side in the near future, and the nonpartisan group at the Algonquin.

Broun was to make his first open-air speech at a meeting held at 95th street and Broadway on Thursday night, and he was one of the principal speakers at the Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Meeting held in the Town Hall Friday.

The chief objective of both the Socialist committee for Broun, and the nonpartisan, is a dinner which will be held on the evening of September 21st next, at the Level Club, 253 West 73rd street, New York, at which Broun, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman, and other Socialist candidates will speak. A ratification meeting to be held at a place to be announced later, a rally in a theatre, where members of the Actors' Committee supporting Broun, will appear, street meetings all over the district, and the possibility of a portable talkie-tone, which will bring Broun's message of Socialism to the 17th District, are among the plans now formulating for one of the hottest campaigns that this so-called silk-stocking district (and incidentally, Broun has said that there is still plenty of rayon in the district) has ever known.

Vladeck Promises a Fight For Victory

THE opening gun in the 8th Congressional District campaign was fired when B. C. Vladeck, Socialist candidate for Congress, declared before a large and enthusiastic gathering of Socialists assembled at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum. "We are in this fight to win, and we are going to fight it out to a finish!"

The keynote of his campaign, Vladeck said, would be the dreadful insecurity which is the lot of the average American worker today. He declared that he would emphasize the fact that the United

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A New Wrinkle In Socialist Campaigning



Wisconsin Socialists Propaganda Truck Now Touring the State

States, the wealthiest nation in the world does not provide for workers during periods of unemployment and distress, as contrasted with many of the so-called backward nations of Europe. "The campaign is not going to be a Vladeck campaign," he announced amid a wave of applause, "but a Socialist campaign."

Vladeck briefly sketched the character of the district which is composed of a large immigrant and working class population, and pointed out what a fertile field for Socialist propaganda it was. Criticizing some of the tactics used in former campaigns, he emphasized the fact that more important even than street corner meetings was it necessary to reach the 160,000 voters by personal canvassing. "I shall expect the support and loyalty of everyone of you, not for myself, but for the common ideals in which we all believe."

Promising a vigorous campaign, Vladeck challenged the members present to join him in the fight, and his announcement that if necessary he would do it alone was greeted with enthusiastic applause.

Feigenbaum Is Speaker
The next speaker, William M. Feigenbaum, candidate for the State Senate, said that the campaign of 1930 was going to be a memorable one in the history of the Socialist Party.

"The people are in a more receptive mood today to listen to the Socialist message than they have been in many years, and we are going to take full advantage of it," Feigenbaum inveighed against the domination of the 16th A. D. District by Kenneth Sutherland whom he termed a "cheap Tammany boss" and completely subversive to the vicious McCooey machine.

The meeting was also addressed by Bobrick, candidate for Assembly in the 9th A. D. Kings, and by Rosenbaum, candidate for District Attorney in Kings County. The former urged that not only should the Socialist message be delivered from platforms, but that "Socialism, speaking through us and firing us with enthusiasm, will prove so contagious that everywhere in the district people will know that we are a live and vigorous organization and are waging a real and significant campaign."

A campaign committee was elected with power to add to its membership as many more as may be necessary and to proceed immediately to organize the campaign. The following members were appointed: Handler, Bloch, Chertoff, Polikoff, Shutz, David, Meyer, Shertskind, Shur (Bensonhurst Yipsel), Meyer Cohen, Sam Kantor, Butler, Ben Kantor, Philip Block, Katz, Weiss, Haskel Rafel, Shelnblum, Cummings, Kulkofsky, L. Zeitz, Zimmoff, Rothstein, Krutichow, S. Meringoff, H. Cohen, Parson, Fox, Weinberg, Sophie Zanger, Morrill, W. Sapkowitz, H. Mallis.

A meeting of the campaign committee will take place on Monday evening, August 25, at 8:15 p. m. at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum.

Fascist Regime Blacklists Opponents in United States

"Il Nuovo Mondo" Publishes List of Americans Discovered in Switzerland Recently

THAT the Fascist regime in Italy has compiled a black list of all anti-Fascists and those suspected as such, has been discovered recently by anti-Fascists living in Switzerland. This list was found to have been deposited with the Fascist police corps acting on the borders in order that they should know "how to treat them on their crossing the frontiers."

Il Nuovo Mondo, Italian labor and anti-Fascist newspaper published in New York, has secured a copy of this blacklist and is publishing by installments all the names contained in it. From the first pages the names of a number of well known anti-Fascists residing in the United States have been discovered. Salvatore Ninfo and Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Dr. Matteo Siragusa, a Brooklyn Socialist and member of the board of directors of Il Nuovo Mondo; Armando Borghi, a well known libertarian; Pietro Allegra, former secretary of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America; Arturo Giovannetti, secretary of the Italian Chamber of Labor and co-editor of Il Nuovo Mondo; Girolamo Valentini, general manager of Il Nuovo Mondo, and others appear on the list.

Panken to Speak in Reading At Closing Picnic on Sunday

READING, Pa.—What is scheduled as the final Socialist picnic of the Summer will be held in the Socialist Grove at Sinking Spring next Sunday when Judge Jacob Panken of New York will be the principal speaker. Panken will speak at the camp of the Philadelphia Workmen's Circle at Pipersville early in the afternoon and will then go to the Socialist Grove by automobile where he will speak at 5 p. m. A number of local Socialists will also deliver brief addresses.

At the final picnic the usual features will be in evidence. In addition, there will be the awarding of a Ford automobile to some person yet unknown who has patronized the park and helped to make the picnic season a success. The auto has been on display at the park and will be given away at 6 o'clock in the afternoon in the grove.

Treasurer George M. Rhodes of the picnic committee believes that the final report will show that the success of this year's activities compares favorably with other years. "However," he adds, "much of the receipts have been plowed back into the venture, thus making the grove a better place for the workers of Reading and Berks."

"This," he points out, "was the purpose of the Socialist party in securing possession of the grove. We will not lose sight of our aim, but will continue to improve the grounds as rapidly as finances permit."

Although the party is centering its work on the legislative candidates of Edmund F. Krupa of Kulpmont and Lewis E. Welker of Shamokin, they are not by any means forgetting the state ticket. Plans are being made for the distribution of thousands of leaflets each of which carries an imprint of our state candidates. Arrangements are also being made for large meetings in Shamokin and Mt. Carmel to be held in October at which the party's candidate for governor, James H. Maurer, will be the speaker.

With a new and unsatisfactory long term contract signed by the miners' union and the coal operators, with the modernization program of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, and with thousands of miners becoming permanent members of the unemployed army, the Socialists feel that the time is ripe for Socialist agitation and campaigning throughout the entire anthracite region.

More Unions In Milwaukee Back Socialists

"Leader," Party's Daily, Also Wins Support of Organized Labor

(By a New Leader Correspondent) MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Following the decision of railroad brotherhoods to support William F. Quick and James Sheehan, Socialist candidates for Congress, the state legislative boards of the Firemen and Engineers, and the Railroad Trainmen, in joint session have voted to support the Milwaukee Leader, the trade union and Socialist daily of this city.

This decision adds these railroad organizations to other trade unions that are actively making the Leader the daily representative of labor opinion in Wisconsin. Milwaukee unions are active members of the publishing organization responsible for the Leader. In the resolution adopted by the railroad unions and which has been sent to every local lodge in the state, the members are urged to subscribe to the Leader and to build up its circulation.

The drift of opinion in labor circles is toward the Socialist candidates and there may be some surprises reported after the election in November. What happened in the Milwaukee local of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is evidence of the sentiment. With an attendance of nearly 300 members, a suggestion that Quick and Sheehan be supported for Congress emerged as a resolution to support the whole Socialist ticket!

The action followed a suggestion from Harold Steele that the candidates at least of William F. Quick and James Sheehan for Congress, and Al Benson for sheriff should be endorsed. He pointed out that the union had never had political discussions, but that because of existing conditions in the country and the falling down of the capitalist parties, it was time to act for the workers' interests. Similar sentiments were expressed by John Subczak, but he had hardly taken his seat when there was a buzz through the audience and several tried to get the floor to make a motion.

"I move we not only endorse Quick, Sheehan and Benson but the entire Socialist ticket," came the ringing motion from the body of the hall, and seconds were heard on all sides. There was a unanimous shout of approval when the motion was put by the chairman. In the meantime the Socialist propaganda van is out in the state and is getting much publicity. Last week it started on a 13-day tour, the first stop being at Watertown. William F. Quick, Jr. and Morton S. Shaw are piloting the van and from their first stop they reported that "workmen are beginning to think as they never have before."

Frank B. Metcalfe, Socialist candidate for Governor, is speaking from the van and his speeches are going over big. As a novel means of reaching masses of voters the propaganda van is proving a success. It is loaded with campaign literature and Socialist pamphlets, most of the campaign material being distributed free. Subscriptions are also taken for the Leader and the Socialist Campaigner.

As the van proceeds through the state it is joined at various points by local Socialist speakers who help the regular van speakers. The van is already being called the "Red Street Van" in Socialist centers. Street meetings are supplemented by meetings at industrial plants in many cities and the appearance of the van is sufficient to attract an audience.

200 Colorado Socialists Meet at Party Picnic

(By a New Leader Correspondent) DENVER, Colo.—An experiment by Colorado Socialists last Sunday proved to be a gratifying success when a picnic brought about 200 Socialists and friends to Rocky Mountain Park. It was the first successful affair of its kind since the war persecutions and the Communist split wrecked the party organization.

Although arranged by Local Denver there were Socialists present from Boulder, Colorado Springs, and Canon City, including ex-State Senator Morton Alexander of Arvada, Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator. A year or two ago such an outing would have been impossible and the social and financial success of the picnic is evidence of a gradual return of the party to its former vigor.

Probe Vindicates Socialists; N. Y. Police to Be Instructed On Free Assemblage Rights

Department Holds Hearing on Party Following Arrest of Five Young Members

A HEARING was held Monday, August 18th, by the New York Police Department at 180 Wadsworth avenue, Manhattan, on the complaint of Marx Lewis, Socialist Executive Secretary, against the arrest of five members of the Young People's Socialist League at a street meeting on July 30th, and charging the police with assaulting two of the group at the station house. They had been arrested for holding a meeting without a permit, and after spending a night in jail were promptly discharged by Magistrate Simpson.

The hearing was conducted by Deputy Inspector MacKenzie, assisted by Inspector MacDonald. Sol Perlin, who was the attorney for the accused, represented the Socialist Party as an observer, and Ethel Laurie, Lawrence Rogin and Michael C. Arcone appeared as witnesses against Officers Hunt and McCormack, who were also present.

Socialists of Bronx Ready For Hard Fight

P. J. Murphy Picked to Manage Campaign — Orr is Congressional Candidate

AN aggressive campaign is being planned in the upper West Bronx, 8th Assembly District, which lies entirely in the 23rd Congressional District where an effort will be made to elect Samuel Orr, popular Bronxite, to Congress. In this Assembly District, Irving M. Knobloch, is the candidate for Assembly and Esther Friedman is the candidate for Senate from the 23rd District. This is considered the best Socialist territory in the county. At last election a tremendous Socialist vote was polled by all candidates, exceeding that of any other county district. Incidentally the greater portion of the Congressional district, considered one of the four best in the city, lies in this territory, namely, 164 election districts of the 8th A. D.

Considerable organization work is going on and Patrick J. Murphy and Irving M. Knobloch are addressing non-partisan groups in the district with a view of getting their support for the party. Last week the candidate for Assembly addressed an engineering group near New York University, at which institution he was a student, and the talk was very well received. Campaign Manager Murphy has already organized a large group of district captains and a very successful meeting was held in his home last Saturday afternoon. At the same time Knobloch was busy organizing a group of young folks at 2459 Davidson avenue, who have made plans for co-operation. Immediately after Labor Day, the first Saturday in September, a get-together will be held in the evening to which the young people of the neighborhood will be invited.

The campaign committee instructed Murphy to hire campaign headquarters in a prominent section which would also be suitable as a Congressional and Senatorial campaign place. Mr. Murphy requests all having desks, chairs or furniture suitable for office work to share to get in touch with him at 1831 Cedar avenue. Telephone Sedgwick 9439. He will send a truck for them. The furniture will be returned immediately after the campaign. A special request is made for a loan of several typewriters, which will be handled by experienced office workers under the supervision of an experienced office man.

The witnesses were each questioned as to the occurrences on the night of the arrest. The hearing was fairly conducted, and it was at once conceded by Inspector MacDonald that the officers had no right to break up the meeting and make the arrests, and he attributed their conduct to ignorance of the law.

The inspector pointed out to the officers that permits were not necessary to hold a street meeting, and that notice to the Police Department that a meeting would be held was sufficient compliance with the regulations; that it was the duty of the policeman to see that the meeting continued without interference, and to protect the speakers from hecklers or others intent on causing a disturbance.

Inspector MacDonald told Perlin that instructions were to be sent to all police districts relative to the duties of the police towards meetings, and he assured him further that no other meetings would be interfered with.

The hearing on the assault charge was postponed due to the non-appearance of A. Kaufman and Harry Bear, the two who had been struck.

Panken Sees Victory In Congress Race

(Continued from Page 1) were lowered twenty-three per cent in the last ten years and are continuing to be lowered. The purchasing, the consuming power is reduced, and the foundation laid for an increase in the unemployed. "Old age" is a living death. The worker over the age of forty is being junked. Fifty-six per cent of the women working in mercantile establishments and stores in 1920 were over the age of 25. In 1929, only seventeen per cent were over the age of 25. "The age limit on employable workers in the name of 'efficiency' has placed fifty-seven out of every hundred office workers over the age of forty out of employment."

"The crime of society against the middle-aged and 'living dead' cries aloud for a solution. The lot of the unemployed requires heroic measures to be remedied. The Republicans meet the situation by sowing seeds of discord and by proposing labor exchanges when there are no jobs to be distributed. Of what earthly use can a labor exchange be when thousands of people are clamoring for the one job that is open?"

For Six Hour Day

"The aged who have served in industry are entitled to maintenance by industry. Old age pensions on a national scale should be provided. That would increase consumption requiring added production and so reduce unemployment. Unemployment insurance, unless another and better method is devised to care for the unemployed, is the duty of the nation. In consonance with the demand of American Labor, the hours of work must be reduced to six per day. We can produce in that period enough and more than enough to meet our needs. A denial of the true conditions, a concealment of the real facts, an attempt to create a psychological state of mind, will not give our people work nor will it clothe and feed them."

"Public development, ownership and control of electric power and its sources will give many thousands immediate work and purchasing power, employing others in production. It will at the same time conserve to the American people their last possession. Prohibition will be made an issue by the old parties in this campaign. I am concerned rather with the means to prevent the prohibition which has been placed upon the right to work than the prohibition of the sale of liquor. Bread, and not liquor, is what more than five million people that are out of work want."

Thomas and Insull Clash on Power Trust

Utilities Representative Declares They Will Not Discontinue Organized Propaganda

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va.—(FP)—Defying the progressives and radicals to do their utmost to prevent the conquest of public opinion by the organized propaganda maintained by the power trust, Martin J. Insull of Chicago, as spokesman for the trust at the Institute of Public Affairs conducted by the University of Virginia, declared, August 18, that the power companies would increase their "educational" campaign.

Norman Thomas of New York, Socialist spokesman and candidate for Congress from a Brooklyn district, challenged Insull on the issue of private versus public ownership and operation of power plants. He referred to the conspiracy to poison the public mind which the power trust had carried out for years, and which was exposed by the Federal Power Commission at the direction of the Walsh resolution, adopted by the Senate.

Insull replied that the results of this exposure merely showed that the need for educating the public was even greater than the companies had estimated, and that they would now go ahead with more energy than before, to make the people realize the benefits of private industry.

Makes No Apologies

To suggestions by Thomas that the power trust had much to be ashamed of, since it had tried to conceal its propaganda machinery and to escape investigation, Insull replied that there was nothing questionable about the methods of the utility corporations in dealing with public opinion. He said they were now being criticized because they had "told the people too much," rather than because they had kept facts to themselves.

Insull had no answer to Thomas' proof that the Ontario Hydro-electric Commission and the cities of Seattle, Tacoma and Jamestown, N. Y., among others, are furnishing electricity to the consumer at prices far below those paid in cities where private companies own the business. The fact that Ontario's average rate for domestic and for industrial electricity is only half as much as the average charged by the power trust in the United States for the same class of service was hammered home by Thomas, to the obvious satisfaction of a big audience.

In the evening Thomas made the principal speech, dealing with democracy and the individual in a machine age. He said it was "absurd to talk, as Herbert Hoover did in his campaign, of rugged economic individualism, in a land of chain stores, chain banks and even chain farms—a land where a roomful of men control the credit resources of the country, and about the same number of men the major part of our electric power. The average American today no longer looks forward to working for himself but for some corporation."

W. C. English Branches Committee To Meet

A special meeting of the Committee of the English Speaking Workmen's Circle Branches will be held Monday evening, August 25, at 6 p. m., in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. It is urgent that all delegates attend early. Some of the things to be taken up are the reports of the Organization Committee and the report of the Social Committee. From what rumors are floating around Friend Zuckerman is preparing a most successful season of undertakings: such as theatre parties, socials and even dramatics.

The question of recognition will again come up at this meeting. The National Organization Committee is sending a delegate to this meeting to again discuss the question of recognition and from what the committee hears that things favorable to the existing committees may be said and brought up at this meeting.

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The Socialist Movement of Reading

Thirty Years of Continuous Hard Work Laid the Ground for Victory That Swept The Party Into Power in 1927 Election

READING, PENNSYLVANIA, has become a banner city of Socialism in the United States, taking its place alongside of Milwaukee, another citadel of Socialist municipal strength.

The Socialist administration of Reading will soon be three years old. The New Leader has assigned Louis Stanley, Socialist student and journalist of high standing, to tell the story of Socialist Reading. In the first article, which follows, Mr. Stanley tells the story of the changing tides of Socialist fortune in Reading. A subsequent article will tell of the growth of trade unionism, which, in Reading, has been closely allied with the Socialist movement.

Other articles in the series will trace Reading's municipal problems and tell of Socialist accomplishments and difficulties in meeting them. Mr. Stanley's series will be the first complete story of Socialist Reading.

It will be based on a first hand survey he made recently in Reading during which all the important members of the Reading administration were interviewed and placed hundreds of documents at his disposal.

By Louis Stanley

I. Thirty Years of Labor

It is now an open secret that when the Socialists swept into power in Reading, Pa., three years ago this November, the membership of the Party was less than fifty, of which perhaps half were actually active in what proved to be a victorious campaign. From this it has been concluded by some that their victory was entirely an accident. This interpretation has been given weight by the well known fact that it was mainly a grievance over assessments and not a desire to usher in Socialism that led the voters to elect the Socialists to office.

The view that the Socialist victory was merely an accident is not correct. For thirty years the

Party had been carefully and persistently laying the ground-work for its conquest of 1927. When

the occasion arose that it could step forward and take over the powers of government, it was ready. Its years of preparation came in good stead.

Upon the walls of the Labor Lyceum, where Socialists and trade unionists have congregated in good times and bad, hang four old charters. They indicate the origins of the Socialist movement of Reading. One is dated October 27, 1897; it was granted by the Social Democracy, which had been formed to colonize a Western state with Socialists and establish a Socialist Commonwealth. Another is dated August 9, 1898; it was presented by the Socialist Labor Party, founded in 1876 as the Workingmen's Party and still in existence. Another charter bears the date August 25, 1900; it was given by the Social Democratic Party which Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger had founded when they broke away from the visionary Social Democracy. The fourth charter is dated May 19, 1902; it was granted by the State Committee of the Socialist Party

to the County of Berks local. It is this local which is conducting the Socialist affairs of Reading and, of course, of Berks County. While the earliest charter goes back to October, 1897, the Socialist Labor Party had the nucleus of an organization even earlier. In April, 1897, Harry Becker, an organizer for the S. L. P. passed through Reading riding the freight cars. He came from Chicago where he had been a striker during the Pullman strike when Debs was arrested and sent to jail for violating a Federal injunction. Becker held a meeting in the County Court House, enlisted a few members but could not recruit a sufficient number with which to establish a local. He left the following day. Arthur Schwemmer, now a jeweler in Reading, was one of these first members. He probably possesses the oldest red card in Reading.

In those days some who later became prominently identified with the Socialist movement of Reading were not yet Socialists. Men like Charles Maurer, now

dead, brother of "Jim" Maurer, and Andrew P. Bower, secretary-treasurer of the Federated Trades Council and a vice-president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, were then Populists. "Charlie" Maurer and one other went as delegates to the St. Louis convention of the People's Party in 1896, where the "Middle of the Roaders" had their way and nominated for president, William J. Bryan, the Democrat, and for vice-president, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, the Populist. When the delegates returned and made their report, a split occurred in the People's Party of Reading. Bower and Maurer were won over to Socialism and took a majority of the Populists with them into the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialists soon began to put candidates into the field. "Andy" Bower ran for mayor in 1900 and received 800 votes. What jubilation there was! It justified all the hard work that the comrades had put in.

Right from the start the Read-

ing Socialists had determined to not have leaflets in those days but they made use of whatever printed matter came to hand. Richard Flister was in charge of literature. Before the turn of the century 3,500 copies of "Merrie England" had been sold for a nickel apiece. Other books or pamphlets were utilized to spread the message. Subscribers for the "Appeal to Reason" were sought. Collections would be taken up in the shops of Reading to make possible the free distribution of literature. House to house canvassing became the rule. Weekly outdoor meetings were held. It is this "Jimmie Higgins" spirit of the pioneers, ever intent upon propaganda and never dodging the necessary drudgery to put that propaganda across, that prevails in Reading and has built up the Socialist movement of that city.

In 1909 Robert Ringler, candidate for Mayor, received a few hundred votes but within a year the situation had changed. In the spring of 1910 the Socialists of Reading began the weekly distribution from house to house of the famous series of leaflets entitled, "The Next Step." They were only six by nine inches in size but within them every week was packed away a discussion of Socialist principles or a commentary on current problems from a Socialist viewpoint. Squads of party members were organized to distribute the "Next Step" every Sunday morning. In winter it might be necessary to take along whisk brooms in order to sweep away the snow before the thresholds but the work went on from early in the spring until election day. The Socialist literature became a Sunday morning institution of Reading. While there has been a reduction since the war in the number of leaflets, their distribution to every house in Reading is still the basis of the Socialist Party's organization work in Reading. In a half hour, it is said the entire city can be covered. What is most important the work is not done only by the obscure "Jimmie Higginses."

The most active and prominent members participate, and, since the advent of the Socialist administration, from the mayor down. It is this constant bombardment of the workers of Reading and their sympathizers for years that finally shook down prejudices against Socialists and made it inevitable that the voters would turn without fear to the Socialists when the old parties would reveal their incompetence.

A four-cornered fight for a member of the legislature took place in November 1910, when an independent Republican ticket was placed in the field. The literature bombardment began to show its effectiveness. A Women's Socialist Educational League also helped a great deal by holding suppers and carrying on other means of propaganda. James H. Maurer was elected to the legislature for the first time. At the next meeting of the local more than two hundred applied for membership in the party.

The following year the Socialists put up a full municipal slate for the first time. They may have elected the mayor in the election

of 1911 but Ellwood Leffler never took office because the election was probably stolen from him. The election of five councilmen, however, was conceded. In West Reading there was also elected a councilman. The Socialists were elated. In 1913 the present commission form of government went into effect with the city-wide instead of the ward election of councilmen. "Jim" Maurer became President of the State Federation of Labor in 1912, and was destined to hold that office for sixteen years. In 1914 and 1916 he was elected to the legislature again.

The war and post-war years were trying days for the Socialists of Reading. The Party was opposed to the war and said so. In the 1917 election for councilman the Democrats and Republicans fused into the American Party in order to defeat the Socialists. The fusionists received around ten thousand votes, the Socialists about half. In the election of 1919, when the Democrats and Republicans put up separate tickets, three Republicans and one Democrat were elected with votes running in the six thousands, while the Socialists ran close behind with more than five thousand votes. The Party strength grew steadily during the war. Reading Socialists carried on anti-war activities. "Jim" Maurer toured the country for the People's Council. Birch Wilson and others did effective work through the American Union Opposed to Conscription.

All this infuriated jingoists. Immediately following the election in 1919 the Socialists called a meeting at the Auditorium, the largest hall in the city, to demand the liberation of Eugene V. Debs from jail. The Rev. Irvin St. John Tucker of Chicago, who had been convicted for violating the Espionage Act and who was then out on appeal, was to be the principal speaker. Legionnaires protested and threatened violence. The owner of the hall then refused to permit the meeting to take place there. The Socialists decided to go ahead with their demonstration at their own Labor Lyceum. The American Legion countered by calling an open air mass meeting in front of the Court House, but a few streets away.

The situation was tense. Tucker visited the "patriots" gathering to induce Mayor-elect J. Klein Stauffer to speak to the Legion men and bring them to their senses. Tucker was advised to leave. At the close of the mass meeting Stauffer headed a parade of Legionnaires, their sympathizers and curiosity seekers past the Labor Lyceum.

At eight o'clock the Debs amnesty meeting was to begin. The American Legion had made it clear that it was intent upon preventing the gathering from taking place. Mayor Edward Filbert ordered the entire police force, mounted and on foot, sent to the Labor Lyceum. It was then that about four hundred members of the American Legion marched upon the Lyceum just as the Socialist meeting was about to start. Trouble was certain for the Socialists were prepared to carry out their original plans.

The Chief of Police came into the Labor Lyceum and asked that

the Socialists select a committee of five, to meet Mayor Edward Filbert at ten minutes to eight. The request was granted. As a result of the conference, the Mayor looking at the crowd and addressing his hearers explained that the Socialists had a perfect right to hold their announced meeting, that the American Legion and its friends were interfering with that right and were responsible for any bloodshed that might occur, that the situation was out of the hands of the police, and that in view of these circumstances the Socialists had acceded to the request of the Mayor and called off the meeting. Thus what might have been another bloody tragedy of the war was averted. The behavior of the American Legion has not contributed to its glory in Reading.

The Socialists came through the war unscathed. They had defended the Socialist position at the risk of life and limb. Yet when the war was over, they did not continue their growth. The Communist split cannot be blamed, for it hardly affected the Reading movement. There was but a small Communist local in the city for a few months several years ago and the few "left wingers" who dropped out of the Party have since returned to the fold. The decline in Socialist activity cannot be easily explained. It was as if the terrific struggle of the war years had exhausted many of the comrades. They were still Socialists but had become passive. Perhaps they were reflecting the dispiritment of the movement throughout the country. Perhaps "Coolidge prosperity" was taking the edge off Socialist propaganda in Reading. At any rate Party membership and Party activity declined. Even the weekly distribution of literature from house to house began to be confined only to a few weeks immediately preceding election.

A group of comrades never gave up, however. Nothing could stop them. They knew that the seeds they had been sowing for so many years would some day bear fruit. They knew that they had uprooted the prejudice against Socialists and Socialism that had existed in the minds of thousands of Reading workers—and Reading, as we shall see, is a city of workers. When the 1927 election came along they entered it with the same determination as ever. Literature was distributed. Street meetings were held. As the campaign progressed, it became increasingly clear that the resentment of the working-class home owners with the added assessments that had been placed upon their property would extend to both old parties. It was only at the outdoor meetings of the campaign that that old campaigner, J. Henry Stump, President of the Federated Trades Council, dared to remark to a companion, "It looks as if we'll give the old parties a ride." And the old parties were sent for a ride. Stump was elected Mayor, James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder Councilmen, and Walter Hollinger City Controller. The Socialists were gathering the fruit of their labors. The Party membership began to grow.

G. B. S. on the Labor Government

By Bernard Shaw

Delivered at the Summer School of the Independent Labor Party

I AM now entering on my 75th year, and I have been speculating as to how I should feel if I were an old Christian living in the year 330, instead of as now an old Socialist living in 1930.

With this arresting sentence George Bernard Shaw opened the first lecture on "Anything That Occurs To Me" at the L.L.P. National Summer School at Digswell Park. It was almost impossible at a little distance to believe that this slim figure and youthful carriage could possibly be that of a man of 75, nor did the vivacity of his manner and fluent speech for over two hours give any indication of the weight of his years.

In Reminiscent Vein

A Shaw Lecture at the Summer School has an atmosphere all its own. The body of over a hundred eager students was swollen by a large number of visitors all keenly anticipating a more than usually interesting morning. Nor were they disappointed. The lecture was packed full of wise and witty comment. It sparkled with Shavian quips and jests evoking ready laughter, but underlying it one was conscious of a serious purpose and a passionate earnestness.

The opening sentence was developed into a telling comparison of the two periods. "As a member of a persecuted and ill-spoken-of sect, I should have lived to see the Roman Emperor become Christian—a thing that would have been wildly impossible when I was a young man. I should have said to myself, 'The impossible has happened; here is Christ triumphant. Yet it does not seem to have made any particular difference.' I should have seen little difference between Constantine and Diocletian, and much less between Jupiter and Christ than I had led the Romans to expect; I should conclude, like a later Frenchman, that the more things change the more it is the same old game."

He proceeded in reminiscent vein to describe his early days as a Socialist propagandist of thirty and forty years ago, when in market places and halls in every part of the country he proclaimed his Socialist faith. Times without number he had assured his audiences how different things would be if only instead of capitalists in control they had a Socialist Government. And now at last they had a Socialist Government with a Socialist Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"And I feel," he commented with a chuckle, "rather like the old Christian. I feel afraid of someone who listened to me in the old days coming to me and saying, 'What difference has it made? How am I better off? How many of the wonderful things you said would happen have happened?' And I would be obliged to reply that they haven't happened. No doubt, I have introduced Christianity, but the machine is driving me to do the same things as were done by Diocletian."

On this point Mr. Shaw laid great emphasis. For any understanding of the failure of the Government to meet the high hopes of the proletariat it was essential to realize that the old machine they had to work was driving them to do the same thing as their predecessors.

The Government did not retain its position because of the votes of the electorate so much as by the prudence and intelligence of the Conservative Party, and that was a very slender security.

"Childish Folly"

Then came a scathing description of the record of the last Conservative Government and its "ex-

Shaw Rakes Both Conservative and Labor Policies; Finds His Old Promises Are Unfulfilled

traordinary series of acts of folly," culminating in the "Arcos burglary," a "childish and school-boyish folly." This was the Party on which Mr. MacDonald was depending to keep him in office.

It was good business for the Conservatives to keep the Government in office, because they knew no Government could overcome the Indian difficulty without incurring discredit, and because of the growing unemployment problem.

The real danger lay in the ease with which the Conservatives could be stamped and the fact that they were in a state of desperate funk about Mr. Snowden's next Budget. Here Mr. Shaw laughingly protested that he saw no need for their alarm; it seemed an unnecessary fear. He looked back to the old days when he used to promise his audiences that if a Socialist Government were returned to power the Income-Tax would be raised to 20s. in the £1. Then why all the fuss about the addition of sixpence, which should never have been taken off? But it was doubtful if the Conservatives would face another Labor Budget.

How, then, should the Prime Minister face his situation? He should turn to the proletariat, whose votes put the Government in. Labor had won at the last election not because the proletariat really understood what the Government wanted to do, but because its window-dressing was better than the Conservative window-dressing. A very great deal was promised to the proletariat, but what was promised had not happened.

"If Mr. MacDonald faced an electorate in a state of disappointment on issues chosen by the Conservative Party without the prospect of something different happening if he was returned again, the results would not be satisfactory for the Labor Party."

He did not believe the Prime Minister or the Government was really responsible. The Labor Program was nothing if it was not constructive, nothing if it did not involve large-scale planning. But what kind of Parliamentary machine had they to operate? It was one that had broadened down from precedent to precedent, and was admirable for its purpose, but that purpose was to prevent anything being done at all. Its particular purpose was not to facilitate business, but when anybody tried to govern to prevent things happening. The machine had been perfected to do the police work of the State, to raise the necessary revenues for the purpose, and to leave the capitalists virtually free from interference and the livelihood of the people in their hands.

Licking Boats The Labor Government was expected to use this machine for all the purposes it was designed to prevent, such as putting industry under public control and making the interests of the community supreme.

This was the real cause of the disappointment of the proletariat. The Prime Minister was tied to an obsolete machine as would be any other in his place. In describing the historical growth of Parliament, Mr. Shaw caused great laughter by saying: "The instinct of any assemblage of English gentlemen is always to lick the King's boots. Their first job always has been to vote enormous sums of money to the King for the rest of his life."

The disappointment and disillusionment of the people was understandable, and it was a very important part of the business of the Labor Party at this time to make the country fully aware in advance of an election of the difficulty created by the machinery of Parliament.

The Government should produce a Reform Bill which would make as great a sensation as the Reform Bill of a hundred years ago. Then came a mischievous laugh as he said:—

"The average Englishman would always get wildly excited about any Reform Bill, and would make bets and speeches on it so long as he could feel it would make no difference to him."

Mr. Shaw then proceeded to an exposition of a reform of the Parliamentary system, which in its main outline was identical with the proposals long advocated by the L.L.P. He pertinently contrasted the effectiveness of Local Government administration with the comparative ineffectiveness of the Central Government. In Local Government, Party labels were of little importance, and there was no real Party system. The committee procedure on which the system was based made effective work possible and left every man free, more or less, to vote as he liked.

The Dreamers

The Party system was peculiar to Westminster, and there was no reason why it should be allowed to persist. The business of Parliament should be done through a system of committees on the Local Government model. In addition, a great deal of the work might be devolved on other bodies, much on the lines proposed by the Webbs. This, with the adoption of Home Rule for England, Scotland, and probably Wales, would allow Parliament to concern itself effectively with its proper business—subjects like currency and finance and Foreign Affairs.

The right plan for the Government was to put down the Act and get defeated on it. This was the only way in which the Government could explain its futility and rally the community to it.

The lecturer then proceeded to deal with other proposals the Government could make, and recalled that forty years ago he could talk of nationalization to his audiences in market-places as a thing that could happen—and people believed it. It was a strange thing, but when he mentioned these things now some of his friends in the Labor Party looked on him as a dreamer!

"Old Fabian Junk"

When men like Mr. Maxton proposed that coal mines should be made public property they were put aside and proposals adopted which simply made the miners work a little longer for the capitalist, and arranged for the State to help coalowners out of their mess.

What the older Socialists preached about the ease and economy of nationalization of the mines was ruled out as "old Fabian junk," and he was told he was a mumbling old fogey uttering the worn-out shibboleths of the 'eighties!

"If the Labor Government could not say 'Nationalize the coal mines,' then they had nothing to say."

Turning his attention to National Finance, Mr. Shaw asked:—Why should not Mr. Snowden declare that he would, as soon as he was in a sufficiently strong position, nationalize the banks? There was no difficulty about nationalizing the banks. The real work of the banks was done by the managers of the banks, who were in a much better position as Government officials. As to the great financiers, whose brains were supposed to direct the whole thing, the history of Europe since the war proved that they didn't understand their own business and ought to be got rid of. They ruined the finance of every country with their mad inflation, and then thought they had sup-

plied sufficient capital for industry."

Then came a characteristic remark: "I advise you to read 'The City' articles in the great newspapers and you will ask yourselves if you are living in a lunatic asylum. The answer is that you are!"

A National Labor Corps

Having suggested that after the banks were nationalized Mr. Snowden might exempt from taxation money placed in the national banks on deposit because of its value for national purposes, Mr. Shaw proceeded to reply to those who complained of high taxation. "If I were Mr. Snowden," he said, "I should resort to the Tories. You say that by taxing the rich I am depriving the poor of employment; I reply to you that when I take money from you by taxation I know it will be used in the national interest—it will be used to develop industry—stead of being uselessly spent, most likely, at Monte Carlo."

After a lengthy statement of his views on the impossibility of the revolutionary method being successful in Britain, which covered similar ground to that of his lecture at the Summer School last year, Mr. Shaw proceeded to a warm advocacy of a proposal put forward by G. D. H. Cole for a National Labor Corps.

What could be more reasonable than to organize that body of labor as a National Labor Corps to do things which would not provide profit for the capitalists but would be of enormous profit to the community? At present children were taking any employment there was to spare from the adults. Prolonging the school age was simply a device for keeping them off the labor market for a year.

Then came a statement which aroused the School to general dissent, when he said:—It would be much better to extend the National Labor Corps in connection with the scout movement and the beginnings of organization of child life, and employ boys and girls in the corps and train them in useful occupations.

The lecturer passed on to an argument which was more palatable and familiar to the students as one of the chief contentions of the L.L.P.: Living Income Program. He said that the capitalist system was breaking down in all directions. It had been a great success in the organization of production, but a complete failure in distribution. No one could defend the distribution of the capitalist system. The secret of poverty and distress was that we had an enormous store of goods waiting to be consumed.

The Breakdown of Capitalism

The capitalist system, a thoroughly worked out and consistent system of political economy, was accepted originally because the Manchester economists promised that if the State would maintain private property in land and capital, and see that contracts were enforced by law, the result would be tremendous activity in industry, and every person willing to work would have a subsistence wage. The capitalist system has not only never fulfilled these promises but had to confess that an essential part of the system was that there should be a reserve army of unemployed. Now we had a permanent mass of unemployed, not because there was no work—there was plenty of work—but because there was no profit-making work for the capitalist.

"The central problem of capitalism was that there was too much wealth of goods in the possession of the capitalists, and too little money in the pockets of the consumers as purchasing power."

In concluding, Mr. Shaw made a great appeal for pressure on the Government and the Home Secretary to permit Leon Trotsky to reside in Britain.

By Robert Blatchford

Not Guilty

A Classic in Defense of the Bottom Dog. A Human Book Written in Humanity's Behalf.

By Jack London

Essays of Revolt

The Apostate—The Dream of Debs Scab—What Life Means to Me—How I Became a Socialist—the Revolution.

By William Morris

News From Nowhere

A Modern Utopia—Written in Exquisite Poetic Prose. Universally Recognized as a Masterpiece.

By M. H. Hedges

Dan Minturn

The Love Story of a Young Labor Leader and the Beautiful Daughter of the Political Boss of the Town.

By Karl Marx

The Essentials of Marxism

The Main Principles of the Greatest of Economists—The Basis of the Socialist and Labor Movements of Today.

By Edward Carpenter

Love's Coming of Age

A Frank and Beautifully Written Book on Sex Problems Which Confront Every Man and Woman.

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A Word on Wells

I AM surprised that so many of you boys and girls are overlooking what to my mind is a swell book. This is "The Autocracy of Mr. Parham," by H. G. Wells.

I suspect you have been reading the reviews and for once you have not been the bright boys and girls that I know you are and have taken the word of a bunch of "sophisticates" that this is a dull book. Now I have told you a great many times and I am quite cross with you for forgetting it, that it is the high-brow vogue nowadays to be snuffy about H. G. Wells because his roaming imagination has been captured by an idea that is not concerned with sex or the usual themes of the usual novelist. It happens to be an idea so hot that any mortal man is justified if there is a bit of fumbling with it.

The idea that now possesses Wells is that of a world of order, research and intelligence run by men of science who have no patience or time for the old business of flag-waving, boundaries, imperialism, patriotism, etc.

Allies to the scientists in the Wellsian scheme, co-conspirators, if you like, are the new industrialists who can see beyond the petty peddling of goods and services which is the chief business of industry today.

Now this is a far cry from the Fabian Socialism of the early Wells. In our opinion it is as fantastic a dream as ever obsessed the author of the earlier "War on the Worlds," etc.

Evidently in these last years Wells has been traveling around with the English counterparts of Flannery, Gerard Swope, Owen Young and those other industrialists of ours who speak "large, divine and comfortable words" to the hack writers for the Sunday supplements about "the new responsibilities of our business men," "the new capitalism" and so weiter.

We are most skeptical when we hear this sort of thing. We no more suspect that American or English industrialists will voluntarily surrender to intelligent control for the purpose of reshaping production for service rather than profit than we look for an outbreak of honesty among Tammany magistrates.

Nevertheless and notwithstanding, Wells's idea of a world state which would call into its service "all the talents," artistic, sociological, scientific and industrial, an idea which so obviously stems from Plato, is one which has plagued men through the ages and one not to be sniffed at by those seriously concerned with the functions of the state.

To dramatize this in novel form is no easy job. But it seems to us that Wells has done it in most exciting fashion in his "Mr. Parham." We found the book anything but dull. There are gay passages at the beginning reminiscent of "Mr. Polly." There is some magnificent spoofing of the strutting Mussolini and his saluting Fascists. There is an account of a naval battle between the fleets of Great Britain and America that is so far ahead of anything that the phony Floyd Gibbons school can do as to make comparison ridiculous and at the thrilling end there is a glimpse of what this new world of Wells is all about that sets your imagination furiously to work.

Don't miss "Mr. Parham." The old-line critics with their literary patterns of involved adulatory, the everlasting neurotic triangle, the piffing problems of piffing individuals, can no more tackle a book like this than I can lick Dempsey. They simply haven't the slightest idea of what Wells is getting at. We may, and in most cases we do disagree with Wells in his solution for the key problems of democracy but that's no reason why we should pass up the later works of one of the keenest intelligences functioning in our times.

Word comes from Illinois that that stuffed shirt John L. Lewis, who still calls himself president of the United Mine Workers of America in spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the soft coal miners of the country have repudiated him and his gang and have gone with Howat, Germer and the other leaders of the reorganized movement, has finally dug up a judge in Benton, Ill., who has given him an injunction against the progressives in the union.

Benton is a town we know very well. We spent a large part of the Spring there with the courageous Adolph Germer who, in the evenings after a hard day's work, sat in the window of the principal hotel gazing inscrutably out at gangs of Lewis's gunmen who used to ride around the square with placards on their machines threatening Germer's life.

Benton is Lewis's last stronghold in Illinois. He has poured the funds of the treasury of the old U. M. W. of A. into Southern Illinois in a desperate attempt to break the progressive movement. In those southern counties notorious for their high percentage of illiteracy, their extreme poverty, their utter lawlessness, Lewis has been conducting a campaign of terrorism whose parallel it is difficult to find in the history of the labor movement. Aided and abetted by bootleggers, pimps, disorderly house-keepers and former members of the National Miners Union, the abortive Communist organization in those parts, he has had his thugs beat up, tar and feather and drive out of "Egypt" as that desolate country is called, every spokesman for the progressive cause. Germer, the fighting vice-president of the reorganized U. M. W. of A., still carries the scars inflicted by the brass knuckles of Lewis gangsters last April.

Now Lewis finds a venal judge who will do his bidding and issue an injunction devised to destroy the reorganized movement. If we know anything about the leaders of that movement, men like Alex Howat, Adolph Germer and Oscar Ameringer, they have seen them all in action, we know that they will fight that injunction to the bitter end. It is Lewis, not our crowd, who runs away from injunctions as he ran in such cowardly manner from the notorious Anderson injunction in 1919 yawning as he went, "I will not fight my government."

Good luck to you boys of the reorganized U. M. W. of A., the only genuine representative of the rank and file coal-diggers of this country, Pop Green to the contrary notwithstanding. You evidently have the big bull from Indianapolis plenty worried. Keep after him, clean out the whole kit and kaboodle of pay-roll robbers, brief-bag pushers and thug-herders and you will have done a job for decent unionism in this country that will make your names immortal in the history of the American labor movement.

A final word as to that offer of a free copy of "Eugene Debs, A Man Unafraid," with Gene's own signature on the fly leaf. That goes to the individual or organization which sends in the most subscriptions to The New Leader with my name in the corner of the coupon which appears in another part of this paper.

The competition is waxing hot, my comrades. Cut out the coupon now and go out and get those subs before you forget it.

McAlister Coleman.

From Our Foreign Correspondent

The Economic Crisis in France

Parliamentary Vacation Brings Relaxation of Political Fight; Agricultural Depression Hits Country Great Blow

By Emile Vandervelde

Brussels, Aug. 18.

THE French Parliament is on vacation.

Premier Tardieu, finding himself facing increasing Parliamentary difficulties, got rid of them by a closure decree, denounced as unusually raw by all the parties of the Left. As usual—after July 14—Paris is deserted by all those able to go on trips or to the country. We can't say that politics is at a standstill, but it is relaxing.

The Communists had a flasco on E. Vandervelde's international day—August 1. The Cabinet members of the National Bloc are dedicating monuments in the provinces. The Radicals are wondering whether to swing toward the Right or the Left. The Socialists are continuing their tenacious and successful efforts to increase the number of subscribers to Le Populaire and at last to have a Socialist press in line with their voting strength. Discussion of the Presidential election of 1931 also has begun and it is said that M. Poincaré (anything may happen!) would like to shove M. Briand, who would be willing, into the Presidency of the Republic. Oium cum dignitate.



other, hand, gave a transitory, but But, to tell the truth, the man in the street doesn't worry much about all this.

For the average Frenchman, the price of bread, which is 2.34 francs a kilo (about 4½ cents per pound) and threatens to rise to 2.50 francs; the strikes coinciding with the coming into force of the social insurance law; the new American tariff, which threatens to become a disaster for the luxury industries, and, in general, the stock exchange crisis, the industrial crisis, the agricultural crisis, are matters of much more importance just now than the "Republican Concentration," M. Tardieu's balancing stunts, or the replacement of President Doumergue.

In Paris, as elsewhere, the bourse is stagnant and the repercussions of the Wall street crashes are felt severely, although less severely than in the other capitals.

The Industrial Crisis

The tax receipts are falling off and indications of a serious industrial crisis are multiplying.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that France and, we may add, Belgium are, perhaps, the European countries that thus far have suffered the least from the world crisis.

In Paris, as in Brussels, the currency stabilization was affected, in 1926 and 1927, at the cost of the bond holders, who saw the value of their francs cut by four-fifths in France and by six-sevenths in

Belgium. This devaluation, on the considerable, advantage to the industrialists by reducing domestic prices materially below the world price level and by thus giving an important premium to the export industries. It goes without saying that, little by little, the equalization of prices is being effected and that the time is approaching when this premium on exports will be reduced to nothing. But, in the meantime, the fact remains that there is no unemployment to speak of in France, while there are millions out of work in England, Germany and Italy, not to mention the United States; and that, furthermore, if there are important strikes just now, especially in the North, they are merely defensive battles for the purpose of obtaining wage raises commensurate with the increase in the cost of living.

The big Paris newspapers, which unsuccessfully waged a violent campaign against the social insurance law, now are trying to make their readers believe that the metal workers and the textile workers of the North are on strike as a protest against the law and to force the bosses to pay, besides their own taxes, the taxes legally charged to the workers.

The facts are quite different and it is important that the outside world know them.

The Communist opposition, to the social insurance law is an old story. The strikers of the North, on the other hand, declare that

they consider the new legislation an important conquest, that they are in perfect accord with the principle of payment by the workers, combined with payment by the state and the employers, when it is a matter of insurance against sickness and old age, but that the rise in the cost of living logically should carry with it an increase in wages.

Anyway, no matter how the conflict turns out, it is certain that, for the time being, France is not as hard hit by the industrial crisis as most of its neighbors.

The Agricultural Crisis

But it's not the same thing when it comes to the agricultural crisis.

Because of general well-known causes this crisis is raging everywhere, in varying degrees of intensity, and, perhaps, the most characteristic feature of the world crisis consists in the relative overproduction in industry and in the insufficient purchasing power of the people, especially the rural population.

But these general causes have been reinforced in France and, also in Belgium and Italy, by particularly unfavorable combinations of circumstances.

While elsewhere the harvest of 1930 appears to be good, it is certain, even now, that in the above-mentioned countries it simply is a disaster.

For weeks and weeks during the months of June and July, which ordinarily are months of sunshine,

we have had incessant rain. Flax and other sources of industrial material have rotted in the fields. Violent storms have soaked the wheat and other grains. In many cases the crops are not worth harvesting. Only the sugar beets promise to turn out well, but the price of sugar is low. Two years ago the French peasants, who, in contrast to the Belgian peasants, have remained strict protectionists, had the frontier closed to outside cereals. Today bread is so dear and the consumers are making such vigorous protests that, willy-nilly, the frontier will have to be opened.

Our Gains in the Country

It isn't necessary to point out what arguments these economic contradictions furnish the Socialist propaganda. From the political point of view, as I believe I have said already, the most significant thing of the last few months has been our progress in the country districts. And the incoherence of the agrarian policy of the bourgeois parties can only accentuate it. Our French comrades don't think they are fooling themselves when they say that if things continue as they are going now they have a chance of winning three-score more seats in the elections of 1932 and thus becoming the strongest group in Parliament.

We may be sure that if their hopes are realized it will be due in a large measure to the farmer vote.

Italian Socialist Unity

Working-class Foes of Fascism Unite At Paris Meet; Personal Heroism of Many Made Gathering Possible

By G. E. Modigliani

Paris, July 29.

A COUPLE of thousand Italian exiles sent a hundred delegates from all parts of the world to Paris to solemnize the end of the split in the Italian Socialist movement.

Anyone looking merely at the figure could smile at the idea of attaching any importance to an event so modest on its numerical side. But those who recall how many other historic events have had their origin at meetings still more direct will not be surprised when I direct the attention of the readers of The New Leader to this happening.

First a little historical data.

The first Italian Socialist Party was founded in 1892. At the time it had half a dozen deputies. The reactionary storms of 1894 and 1898 were defied with ease. On the eve of the World War the Italian Socialist Party had more than forty deputies, more than 100,000 dues-paying members and three daily papers. Immediately after the war there were 156 Socialist deputies in the Chamber, the Socialists had captured 1,876 of some 8,000 communes and nearly all the big cities were being administered by Socialists. The General Confederation of Labor, founded only in 1906, had more than 2,500,000 members in 1919-20. The cooperative movement (materially influenced by the Socialist spirit) had 6,000 cooperatives of various kinds, with a combined capital of 1,000,000,000 lire. (In 1920 the Italian lira was worth about 5 cents). Collective labor contracts (which Fascism boasts of having invented) were increasing steadily. The moral and political regeneration of the numerous peasant laborers was becoming stronger and more diffused. All this power dreamt about the Bolshevik revolution, under-valued defense of democracy—and was overthrown after two years of heroic, but disjointed, resistance.

The Italian Socialist movement emerged from the war extraordinarily strengthened, perhaps because it had opposed the war, perhaps because it had foreseen the tragic results that the war would produce, especially in Italy. But soon after the end of the war, the really insupportable life of the workers and the suggestive power of the Russian revolution were highly favorable for the Italian Bolshevik current. This caused much talk about a Soviet social revolution, which in fact never had the least chance, but which greatly alarmed the ruling and middle classes.

The Socialists faithful to their traditions turned against this agitation and in 1921 the Bolsheviks were excluded from the party. But there remained the near-Bolsheviks, who, although not accepting all the orders of Moscow, wound up by becoming the victims of the Muscovite maneuvers. They tenaciously opposed every attempt to line up with the other democratic forces to form a block against the Fascist menace, and in September, 1922, they threw out of the party the "followers of Turati" who were the real Socialist Democrats.

After the System

To the astute in political matters this appeared to be a clever political stroke. Roosevelt, it was pointed out, holds the whip hand over Tammany Hall, which dare not defeat him in the fall elections and run the risk of electing as

Five weeks later, in October, 1922, the "legal" Fascist regime began, i. e., the systematic and definite suppression of all Italian liberty. The battle against Fascism begun in 1920 continued, but the Socialists remained divided. The Italian Socialist Congress held in Paris, July 19 and 20, 1930, put an end to this division.

I am proud of being one of those who fought Bolshevism in Italy most tenaciously. Nevertheless, I have never shared the stupid explanation of the Fascist victory which consists in saying that somebody, at whatever cost, had to save the country from the danger of a Bolshevik revolution. Such a danger never existed in Italy. The psychology of the discharged soldiers and the insupportable material conditions of existence after the war were bound to provoke, and did provoke, agitation and tumults.

During the war the bourgeoisie had made all kinds of promises. It was necessary to make good. And the Socialists, having separated from the Communists, would have done everything possible to live up to it. This was the real danger. And to ward off this danger, not the chatter of the Muscovites, the menace of the Bolshevik revolution was conjured up. Public opinion was poisoned and, with the complicity of the Government headed by Signor Giolitti, formidable armed gangs of Fascists were created. All Italy was a Gastonia. A Gastonia multiplied by hundreds and by thousands.

If it took two years to break down the proletarian resistance and to impose a Fascist Government, that shows that there was no lack of such resistance. But in the end it was overcome. Why? That's what we must understand. That's what the Paris Congress did understand. Here is the lesson that the united Italian Socialists have written in their program.

Hypnotized by the mirage of a revolution, socially, economically and historically impossible, too many Italian workers and Socialists, right after the war, regarded democratic institutions, the Parliamentary system, universal suffrage and political liberty as "despicable trifles." "Everything for the Soviet, nothing for democracy," was the core of the Bolshevik chatter. The Fascists answered with "Everything for Italy, nothing for democracy." And thus there were created in Italy two states of mind, equally hostile to democracy, which rivaled each other in nullifying the Social Democrats' appeals in defense of democratic institutions. This mistake will not be repeated.

No doctrinaire intransigency, no extremist utopianism, shall ever hinder the Italian Socialists, from now on, from allying themselves with all the political and social forces determined to defend democratic institutions. If such alliances had been made before the "march on Rome" of 1922 Italy would not be under the Fascist heel. And to liberate Italy all kinds of alliances will be made with all the truly democratic forces.

Let us hasten to add that none of the delegates to the Paris Congress said, or even seriously thought, that the job of overthrowing the Fascist regime by a democratic revolution would be easy. Quite the contrary. Just because Fascism is a typical phenomenon of the class struggle, and not the miraculous result of the genius (which never existed) of some Mussolini, Fascism now finds resolute defenders among the most parasitic classes, and therefore the richest, and it will dare anything before surrendering. No Italian Socialist has any illusions about this. Those remaining in Italy are

investigation which they have not used despite the Ewald case and my charges against Magistrate McQuade.

"Neither can a Republican Attorney General, himself a candidate for gubernatorial nomination, do the job. Not only his own ambition but the bad record of his party whose only representative in the Board of Estimate is Mayor Walker's Republican 'Yes-man' stands in the way. Nothing less than a complete investigation of city affairs, courts, markets, Bureau of Standards and Appeals, and all the rest will do."

"It is yet to be seen whether in the Ewald case alone there is enough legal evidence to convict, no matter how strong the moral conviction that something is wrong. A successful inquiry must be broader than the attempt to indict and convict one man."

The Proposed Quiz

Thomas called an investigation by the Appellate Division "absurd." "No one Appellate Division can adequately investigate even Magistrates' Courts," said Thomas. "The city falls in two jurisdictions; neither Appellate Division has legal power now to investigate circumstances attending the appointment of magistrates, the majority of judges in both divisions are closely connected with the political system they are asked to investigate, and their decisions involving magistrates from the Ewald case to the Vitale case do not wholly invite confidence. They now have power to initiate an in-

vestigation which they have not used despite the Ewald case and my charges against Magistrate McQuade.

"Neither can a Republican Attorney General, himself a candidate for gubernatorial nomination, do the job. Not only his own ambition but the bad record of his party whose only representative in the Board of Estimate is Mayor Walker's Republican 'Yes-man' stands in the way. Nothing less than a complete investigation of city affairs, courts, markets, Bureau of Standards and Appeals, and all the rest will do."

"It is yet to be seen whether in the Ewald case alone there is enough legal evidence to convict, no matter how strong the moral conviction that something is wrong. A successful inquiry must be broader than the attempt to indict and convict one man."

Louisville, Ky., Plans Largest Labor Day Rally; D. Richberg to Speak

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Plans are being made for one of the greatest labor day celebrations ever held in this city. Joint lodges of the Big Four Brotherhoods and their auxiliaries, which represent a membership of over 4,000 in Louisville and lodges all over Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee, have united in a monster meeting at Fontaine Perry Park, the largest amusement park in the City. Over 500 lodges in the above states that represent a membership of over 30,000 have been sent letters urging them to attend. All the railroads into Louisville have agreed upon a very cheap rate for August 31st and Monday September 1st Labor Day. Donald

R. Richberg, counsel for the Railroad Labor Executives Association, of Chicago, Ill., will deliver the Labor Day speech. His subject will be "Labor Can Win." His address will be broadcasted over WHAS.

Many churches will observe Labor Sunday, August 31st and big get together meeting, that afternoon, relative to starting a series of regional meetings throughout the city to discuss unemployment and economic conditions. J. L. Stark is chairman of Labor and Church conference movement.

Too much sensibility creates unhappiness; too much insensibility creates crime.—Tallyrand.

The Week's Best Sellers (As Reported by The Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.)

FICTION
Laments for the Living. Dorothy Parker \$2.50
All Quiet on the Western Front, Erich Maria..... edition75
Remarque—unexpurgated
Seed, Charles G. Norris... 2.00
Generals Die in Bed.
Charles Yale Harrison... 2.50
Black Manhattan, James Weldon Johnson 2.50
NON-FICTION
Eugene Debs, McAlister Coleman 3.50
Only Saps Work, Courtney Terrett 2.05
The American Road to Culture, G. S. Counts... 2.50
Prosperity—Myth or Fact
Rise of American Civilization, Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard... 3.00
Tragedy of Waste, Stuart Chase (new cloth bound edition) 1.00

The Chatter Box

East Granby, Connecticut, 1930*

Epitome of all the narrow minds
That made your country lanes Gethsemane
For anyone who dared hold but a thought
Contrary to its own,
East Granby sprawls about the countryside complacent
And content with all things as they are . . .

The long white roads lead into town,
The gaping tourists stop . . . guide books and maps
Make mention of a prison they should visit,
An ancient prison, underground and sunless
Wherein in years long past
There languished those who dared to fight
To free the generations yet to come
From a tyrant yoke . . .

And ancient prison this, airless, damp,
And there in later years the righteous judge:
Confined the runaway slaves, horsestealers and
Seducers, town rats and sundry thieves, and all
Who came before their august selves for judgment
To expiate their divers sins and crimes . . .

An ancient prison this, airless, damp,
And here in later years the righteous judges
The crusty keeper shows visitors about
The narrow cells, points out the iron and chains
Imbedded in the dripping walls of stone . . . the pillory
And stock, tells of the convicts once confined within
These cells, shakes his head and mouths doddering
Protests about new-fangled ideas . . . and quotes the Book

"The wage of sin is death"
And in the guard's room proudly shows each
Visitor seven faces on the wall . . .
Seven faces on the wall . . .
One woman and six men . . .
Four crimes to point the moral
Of the legend over all:
"The wage of sin is death."

The first is of a man the papers famed
With screaming headlines as a killer,
Gerald Chapman hung by the neck until his life expired.
Ruth Snyder and Judd Gray below this man
Give emphasis to the legend above repeated.
Below this pair the Diamond brothers show
Clear traces of the ghetto's vicious clutch
Indelibly stamped upon them in their youth.

For these I hold no brief,
Nor judgment will I render;
For who am I to judge of men
And of men's sin . . .?

Below these five two sad-faced men stare out,
With mild compassionate eyes upon each visitor.
Two newer Christs still hanging on their crosses,
Poor fish peddler and good shoemaker . . . we know
The story, it is an ancient one . . . and one not yet full
Told . . . but why retell . . . this will not bring them
back . . .

But this I want to say to you, good folk,
Inhabitants of East Granby and the surrounding
Countryside: If I remember the tale aright, that humble
 Carpenter to whom your tired churches are monuments,
That son of man, gentle to a love you've never known,
Brief insincerity for an hour each Sunday morning,
Even that older Christ was crucified between two
Thieves and yet found breath to say: "Father forgive
Them, for they know not what they do!"
Seven faces on the wall,
This moral over all:
"The wage of sin is death."

Fifteen hundred stagnant minds inhabit this quiet . . .
Village, three thousand eyes still blankly contemplate
Two newer Christs still hanging on their crosses,
Forgetting that they preached all that He preached, . . .
Unthinking that they loved all with His love, . . .
Forgetting that they died just as He died . . .
Fifteen hundred stagnant souls inhabit East Granby
And mouth their praise of Him who preached . . .
Brotherhood and love and peace . . . the while two
Newer Christs are branded murderers before their
Eyes and used to prove that the wage of sin is death.

Tear down these pictures, good folk of East Granby,
And in their stead hang up the five: . . .
Thayer, Fuller, Lowell, Stratton, Grant: . . .
They judged as Gods the crime of these two men, . . .
Good shoemaker and poor fish peddler, whose only sin
Was that they preached the creed of the Nazarene. . .

Tear down . . . and in their stead hang up the five, . . .
The honorable five . . . and over each the tale: . . .
"His crime is evident before the eyes of men." . . .
Michael C. Arcene.

*Thanks are due to Conrad E. Fraenkel for her account
of a visit to the old Revolutionary War prison at East Granby,
Connecticut, which is the basis of this poem—M.C.A.

If Billings and Mooney are at last freed from
the frame-up trap that has held them all these
bitter years . . . then will it be said that California
at least has only wasted years of two splendid souls
on its filthy hands . . .

But what can be said of Massachusetts . . . who
killed in fear those two Italian workers . . . Sacco
and Vanzetti . . .? In fear, by Christ . . . yellow
cringing, shivering fear . . . for the blue-blooded
rulers who sent the two dreamers to their doom
... dreaded the day when the whole messy frame-
up would be exposed . . . as even one has been
brought to light this day, three thousand miles
west, of Back Bay Boston . . .?

The only difference is one of degree in crime . . .
California has perjury and oppression on its fair
name for blot and spatter . . . Massachusetts has
murder . . . bloody, craven and cowardly murder
... and a name so bespotted with calumny and
shame, that all the floods and storms of ensuing
years can never wash it clean . . .

This is the third year since the assassination of
Sacco and Vanzetti by the Commonwealth of Massa-
chusetts. The Cabots still speak to God, and the
Lowells still dither about in the halls of culture . . .
This is the third year that I have walked by the
State House in Boston . . . and spat my insult down
upon the flagging beneath its prideful expanse . . .
And this will be all I will be able to do . . . each
year . . . I fear me . . . until . . . Ave! . . . Sacco
... Ave! . . . Vanzetti! . . .

S. A. de Witt.

Making a Rich Man
At the smallest average, for the making of a
single rich man we make a thousand whose life is
one flood of misery. The charnel houses of poverty
are in the shadow of the palace, and as one is
splendid, so is the other dark, poisonous, degraded.
How can a man grow rich except upon the spoils
of others' labors? His boasted prudence and econ-
omy, what is it but the most skillful availing him-
self of their necessities.—Froude.

Inequality is the source of all revolution, for no
compensation can make up for inequality.—Aristotle

Your labor only may be sold; your soul must not.
—John Riggin.

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NEW LEADER

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100 SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1930

The Bus Drivers

IF TWO incompetent bus drivers going in the same direction landed their passengers in the ditch the victims would have an important grievance against both. If the drivers did nothing but snarl at each other, leaving the sore and mud-spattered passengers to their own resources, the latter would likely throw the two drivers in the mud in sheer disgust.

Well, here they are. Jouett Shouse is a driver of a Democratic bus and John Q. Tilson is in charge of a Republican bus. The first driver is an employee of the Raskob-Smith party and the second is an employee of the Mellon-Hoover party. The passengers of both have been spilled into the ditch of widespread unemployment. While millions are lying there the two bus drivers are engaged in mutual charges of incompetence.

"Shouse Hits Hoover on Trade Decline" is the report of one bus driver's performance. "Tilson Holds Shouse Fails to Offer Program" is the report of the other's reply. And so the Republican and Democratic campaigns begin with endless charges and counter-charges by incompetents who are equally responsible for our lying in the ditch.

The respective positions of the bus drivers when compared with the industrial crisis of 1894 are reversed. The Republican drivers were then the accusers; now it is the Democratic drivers who accuse. If the Congressional Record for the first period is consulted one will find Republicans saying then what they deny now and Democrats saying now what they denied then.

Meantime we remain in the ditch. If we have the brains for the task we will hurl the incompetents out of our way next November and put our own drivers in charge.

We Want No "Goat"

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT has taken the Ewald case out of the hands of Tammany District Attorney Crain in whose hands the grand jury failed to bring in an indictment. Even if the investigation is followed by conviction of the former magistrate this is not enough. If one magistrate is shown to have purchased his job we may be sure that this is not an exceptional case. It is likely that other magistrates have bought their way to the bench.

Moreover, the Tammany vulgarians can afford to sacrifice a "goat." The machine has never liked to throw any of its scoundrels to the wolves; but it will do so if it is necessary to avoid further investigations. The whole system of magistrates courts is now under suspicion. It is revolting to suspect that men have received sentences at the hands of low scoundrels masked as judicial officers. The politics of capitalism cannot sink lower than that.

What is needed is a sweeping investigation and if that is done we shall not be surprised if many rats are observed running to cover.

The Bar at the Bar

THE reputation of the American Bar Association will not be enhanced by the report of one of its sub-committees at its annual meeting in Chicago which condemns the farm relief act in the name of "sworn defenders of the Constitution, its expounders and teachers," and guardians of a government which has "left free the marvelous initiative of the American people." The farm act is considered the first step toward a "Soviet Government."

We by no means believe that the farm act meets the agricultural situation but what the lawyers object to is any extension of social control over the powers of production. Like philosophical anarchists they talk of leaving "marvelous initiative" free. That's all for the man in the breadline, the broken serf in the cotton kingdom, the ragged miner in the bleak min-

ing villages, the workman discharged at the age of 50, and the jobless everywhere.

Step before the bar, Mr. Lawyer, and let us put a few questions to YOU. Did you advise "marvelous initiative" to the lordly master of the slave in the Old South or did you weave his interests into law and court decisions? Did you give this advice to the railroad speculators when they appeared at Washington asking for land and funds or did you and your kind vote these gamblers a king's ransom? When other grabbers asked you to turn over to them rich mineral, coal and timber lands, did you tell them to rely on their "marvelous initiative" or did you vote these resources into the hands of these exploiters?

You know the answer. With a few honorable exceptions, you and your class in office have served every powerful economic group in our history. You made government a means of enriching our regal masters and now you turn with a pious smirk to the disinherited, preaching a gospel that you rejected when you were serving gamblers, speculators and thieves only a few decades ago. As an accomplice of that crowd you preach virtue and self-denial to us! Well, it is certain that YOUR "marvelous initiative" is still free to serve your class.

Blind Politics

WE HAVE often wondered what test the American Federation of Labor applies in making its endorsement of candidates for office. A situation in Minnesota throws some light on this matter. In the recent primaries the railroad organizations and the A. F. of L. urged support of Tom Schall for U. S. Senator in the Republican primary. He was nominated as the Republican candidate and Lundeen is the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Union Advocate of St. Paul presents a record of Schall's votes on nearly forty measures in the Senate and shows that in all of them he voted just the reverse of Shipstead, the Farmer-Labor Senator. Now if Schall is satisfactory to workers then Shipstead must be unsatisfactory. The record of both certainly cannot be approved. Schall did vote against approving Judge Parker and so did Shipstead, but aside from this the records of the two men are in conflict.

We challenge any intelligent person to formulate any reliable test in selecting candidates that would produce such absurdities. The fact is that there does not appear to be any test at all but just what governs the choice of candidates is a profound mystery. Whatever it is, it is no better than the endeavor of a blind man in a dark room trying to catch a black cat that isn't there.

When a Fellow Is Out of a Job

All nature is sick from her heels to her hair,
When a feller is out of a job.
She is all out of kilter and out of repair,
When a feller is out of a job.
Ain't no juice in the earth an' no salt in the sea;
Ain't no ginger in life in this land of the free,
An' the universe ain't what it's cracked up to be,
When a feller is out of a job.

What's the good of blue skies an' blossoming trees,
When a feller is out of a job?
When your boy has large patches on both of his knees,
When a feller is out of a job?

Them patches, I say, look so big to your eye
That they shed out the land'scape and cover the sky.
An' the sun can't shine through 'em, the best it can try,
When a feller is out of a job.

For you've jest lost holt with the rest' of the crowd,
When a feller is out of a job;
And you feel like a dead man with nary a shroud,
When a feller is out of a job.
You are crawling around, but you're out of the game,
You may hustle about—but yer dead just the same—
Yer dead, with no tombstone to pull up yer name,
When a feller is out of a job.

Everyman that's a man wants to help push the world,
But he can't if he's out of a job;
He is left out behind, on the shelf he is curled,
When a feller is out of a job.

Ain't no juice in the earth an' no salt in the sea;
Ain't no ginger in life in this land of the free,
An' the universe ain't what it's cracked up to be,
When a feller is out of a job.

James Whitcomb Riley.

IN A NUTSHELL

Henceforth in New York parents will admonish their boys against the slow descent to a disreputable career. "William," says father, "avoid Tammany politics or you may become a magistrate."

Many blatherskites in Congress have it in their power to do their country a great service—by resigning.—Tme Federation News, Chicago.

One thing that adds to the general depression throughout the nation is the daily broadcast of syndicated mush by Calvin Coolidge.

Liberty in any sense, positive or negative, is impossible for the mass of mankind while the industry of the world is privately controlled for private profit.—Fred Henderson, M. P.

Robert H. Lucas of the G. O. P. national committee in discussing the industrial depression commends Hoover by saying that a sick man "doesn't call in a quack" but "puts his faith in the old family physician." Well, the patient got sick on Doc Hoover's hands and he is still very ill.

If all the workers essential to the running of industry can get together and realize their full identity of interest, both the political and industrial victory of labor is certain.—G. H. H. Cole.

Capitalism can no longer declare that the jobless man is a fellow that will not work because capitalism itself will not work.

One thing which shows a stabilization of prices is the current price of magistrates in New York City. Quotations on the Tammany stock exchange show no depression in this important commodity.

"I'm Tired of Cheering Squads"

Heywood Broun Debates His Employer on the Role Of "The Average, Honest Man" In Politics

By Roy W. Howard
Editor, The Scripps Howard Publications.

HEYWOOD BROUN, originator and conductor of this column, returns to the job tomorrow after a vacation punctuated by an unexpected plunge into the sea of politics, from which he will probably be rescued by the voters of the Seventeenth Congressional District in the November elections.

The only person more surprised by Mr. Broun's nomination for Congress on the Socialist ticket than Mr. Broun was the editor of The Telegram. Mr. Broun received the news by telephone. The editor of The Telegram learned it from the morning papers. The editor and the columnist recovered their power of speech at about the same time, but the edge was with the columnist. Broun happened to be in 58th St., New York, while the editor was reading a California newspaper in an airplane flying over the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Mr. Broun got down to earth first and gave out a statement before the editor could get down to earth and give Mr. Broun an argument.

After that it was a case of Pat being good for the drink because he already had it.

How Do You Like Your Columnist?

Since that time The Telegram, recognized as an independent newspaper with no political tie-ups or entanglements, has been deluged with inquiries as to what we think of our columnist's latest deviation from the orthodox course of column conducting, and what we are going to do about it.

The simple answer is that we don't think much of it and we are going to do less.

Before The Telegram and Mr. Broun came to a working agreement the editor looked squarely in the face the fact that in our relations with the columnist our situation would differ little from that of a reader. You take Broun or you leave him, but if you take him at all you take him as he is. He is no more susceptible to remodeling than a soap bubble.

Having consistently borne this fact in mind, The Telegram's relationship with its columnist has been to date a model of harmony. Every question on which there has been a difference of opinion has been successfully arbitrated—in complete accord with Mr. Broun's ideas. The system has been simple and the result a complete success. The Telegram has grown in circulation. Mr. Broun has grown in the esteem of a rapidly enlarging following in cities from coast to coast.

Then came the monkey wrench into the cogs of this perfect arrangement, thrown there by the nominating committee of the Socialist party seeking a candidate to run for Congress from New York's midtown district.

Little of Jall but None of Congress

It had been our boast that in more than half a century of our existence few Scripps-Howard editors had gone to jail and no Scripps-Howard editor or important contributor had gone to Congress. Those who had gone to jail had been convicted only of contempt of court, so we were rather proud of the record. While we did not, and do not, think at the moment the record as it pertains to Congress is in danger, Broun's nomination constituted a threat. But a hasty survey is reassuring. In the last election, the Socialist candidate for Congress in the Seventeenth District polled some 1,600 out of something over 60,000 votes cast.

Rating Broun a Problem.

Definite as are our ideas, and great as is our admiration for the Socialist party, we are not so certain as to how we would rate Congressman Broun. We find it

difficult to imagine this notorious sun-dogger functioning effectively in Congress as long as the House maintains its present hours. But we would back him to establish a new endurance record in night sessions.

Most certainly we are not in the least disposed to take either the candidate or his candidacy as a joke. We have long since learned that Broun's ability to avoid taking himself seriously never prevents him from taking his job seriously. Broun is no mere joke-smith or phrase-carpenter, but an artistic debunker of political and official flimflam. Even so, we believe that as a factor in things political he can be more effective on the outside looking in, more forceful in type than in talk, more constructive in a column than in Congress.

Meantime, Broun will continue to write for The Telegram. Sometimes we will be in agreement with him, sometimes we will not. That's Broun. But of one thing we are certain—he will express honest convictions interestingly. He will continue to focus the penetrating rays of his logic and his humor, as the situations demand, on events and people and things. He will continue to stimulate the none too general habit of straight thinking on matters of public concern.

And should he be elected—well, "it seems to me" we can take that up later.

Heywood Broun Replies

By Heywood Broun

Socialist Candidate for Congress, 17th (N. Y.) District.

ANY working newspaper man is naturally pleased when the editor finds it necessary to sit down and write a piece. My gratification was double because in this case it gave me one more day of vacation. But, naturally, I am grieved to find Roy W. Howard smugged in error. He objects to my running for Congress on the Socialist ticket in the Seventeenth District, New York, for four reasons:

1. No Scripps-Howard feature writer has ever gone to Congress.
2. The odds seem to be overwhelmingly against my election.
3. The profession of journalism is more important than that of politics.
4. Independence of thought precludes party membership.

Columnist-Senator Copeland.

One and two seem to square off pretty well from Mr. Howard's point of view, although I want to say a little more about the second later. In saying that journalism is more important than politics and that Broun could be "more constructive in a column than in Congress" Mr. Howard raises an issue which does not exist. The two things are not mutually exclusive. During the campaign this column will appear as usual. I don't expect to see it any better or any worse. When and if elected I should most certainly have daily opinions and the desire to see them in newsprint. There is no reason why a man or a woman could not be both columnist and Congressman. If Mr. Howard disagrees I suggest that he secure an option on the newspaper services of Mrs. Pratt Pratt to be exercised after Election Day.

The real sticking point is party affiliation. I am quite sure that the fact of its being Socialist does not enter into the problem. Surely it would be far more embarrassing for a liberal newspaper to have its columnist affiliated with the Tammany machine or the Republican organization of Sam Koenig than to be serving under the leadership of Norman Thomas.

Indeed, The Telegram supported Thomas for Mayor, and I trust that it will also endorse him this year in his fight for Congress. But I don't know. Right here comes the weakness of an individual or an organization construing

independence as meaning a permanent place on the sidelines. In order to have any coherence of policy it is necessary to make something more than annual alliances. At times the Scripps-Howard independence becomes little more than erratic whimsy. A liberal for instance, may be pardoned if he rubs his eyes and asks querulously, "What is this liberal independence?" when he observes The Telegram supporting in one national election a La Follette and the next time around a Hoover.

As the rowing experts say, the boat doesn't seem to run well between strokes.

A Block or a Mile.

I think it not in the least inconsistent for Mr. Howard to stop well short of complete acceptance of the Socialist program and, nevertheless, support Thomas for Mayor, as was the case last year. It would be silly for a passenger to say, "I can't get on that Van Cortlandt Park express, because I want to go only as far as 72nd St." Surely Thomas and the rest of us are going in the direction toward which the Scripps-Howard papers are heading. Why shouldn't they get on board? We'll let them off when they think they've reached their destination.

Independent liberals always get beaten in American elections because they reserve their commitments until a month or so before election. Sam Koenig and John F. Curry work three hundred and sixty-five days a year. Organization can't be beaten without organization. The Socialist party offers the only existing machinery by which the Republican-Democratic alliance can be overturned. It is hopeless to try to cleanse these parties from within. That's been tried. Mrs. Pratt herself made a gallant effort to free the local Republican organization of Koenigism. She failed. My newspaper friends tell me that after Election Day she will be out of office. Sam won't.

My newspaper friends did not tell me that I would be elected. Herbert Bayard Swope, who used to be a newspaperman, said that I had a good chance. The rest were less encouraging. They felt that an enthusiastic Curry would do more for his candidate than a perfunctory Koenig. The Republican and Democratic organizations are not parties so much as marching clubs. For them this is no more than a drill or, more exactly,

a game. When the final whistle has blown the Tammany crowd huddles and gives three long cheers for Koenig and the Republicans do as much for Curry. The whole fight is carried on in a spirit of good, clean fun. Anybody caught slugging will immediately be sent to the locker room.

Mr. Howard knows this as well as and better than I do. He has fought the fight against Ewald and Vitale and Vause. And yet he says that I should stay on the sidelines with him and the rest of the Scripps-Howard executives joining in the long-drawn independent-liberal cheer of "Hold 'em, forces of reform and decency!" With all due respect for the cheering section, the man who gets on to the field and tries to split a few of the trick plays is doing a great deal more. I'm going to do all I can.

He Was 100 to 1

Since when did it become a reproach to tackle a job with the odds vastly against you? It is not impossible to win. Twenty-one thousand votes out of the sixty thousand which Mr. Howard has mentioned would be enough. There should be that many people who are sick of Hoover's fake prosperity and Tammany's very real prosperity for Tammany officials. This could be Jim Dandy all over again, even though I admit a certain slackness in any metaphor which links me to a race horse. And maybe the name isn't altogether suitable, either. But let it go.

In fact, I am afraid that it will be necessary for me to avoid any great insistence on the campaign in this column. Columnar modesty is against an overexploitation of the first person singular. Fair play forbids my using weapons against my opponents which they do not possess. If I attacked Brodsky in this column he would have every right to demand an equal amount of space for reply. I would have to print it. And as he is an amateur at the business maybe he wouldn't write a good column. That has been known to happen even in the case of regulars. And surely everybody can see how palpably improper it would be for me to solicit campaign contributions, through the medium of this column, to be sent to Morris L. Ernst, 285 Madison Ave.

Why a Toe at a Time?

But I am tired of hearing all this talk about how the honest average citizen should get into politics and not leave it to the machine professionals. I'm tired of hearing this, because I am average and honest, and yet when I do get in my own boss tells me that this is no business for me. It's everybody's business and nobody's business.

But I am even more tired of standing with well meaning liberals weaving a daisy chain of good intentions. I want to break that chain and enlist for duration. Here goes!

44-Hour Week Asked By I.F.T.U. Congress

STOCKHOLM.—(FP)—Meeting mass production with a shortening of the hours of labor to 44 per week, was the recommendation of the recent Stockholm Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, as a step toward relief of unemployment.

During discussion, one of the speakers quoted a statement attributed to a governor of Connecticut at a conference of governors: "Mass production is responsible to a great extent for unemployment. One workman produces as much as 32 produced 75 years ago. Our ability to consume the necessities has not been increasing at the same rate. Employees working 4 hours a day universally can produce all the necessities and luxuries, make additions to surplus capital, and still enjoy all the things that we have had in the past."

Brownsville Lyceum Starting Study Groups

The Brooklyn Institute, with headquarters at the Brownsville Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, is forming classes in English, citizenship, bookkeeping, accounting and shorthand. The tuition fee is only fifteen cents an hour, and students will pay for instruction actually received.

Students may enroll Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings from 6:30 to 10 o'clock. The institute will not accept more than one hundred and fifty students.

AN OFFER TO PARTY MEMBERS

A discount of twenty per cent. on all artist's materials to members of the Socialist Party, is offered by J. Torch, the well known dealer in artist's supplies of 145 W. 15th St., who advertises in The New Leader.

What Can You Do?

TIME and again, looking at a world of brutality, cowardice and greed, you have said to yourself: "What can I do to help end this stinking mess and make a world fit for decent human beings?"

Here and now, under your very nose as you read this, is one thing you can do and do at once.

It may not seem so important at first glance. It involves no world-shaking crusade, no sentimental journey. But, by and large, if there is in you the real urge to be of use in these crucial days you can do nothing that will be of greater help than to take off your coat, pitch in and build up a paper of your own that will tell a waiting people the truth about the state of affairs in these United States.

From a comrade in Denver, Colorado comes a letter saying, "THE NEW LEADER is splendid in its stand for the truth about misery and unemployment and the great lie of prosperity. It is a Godsend to those who sit in darkness."

Following the fine example set by the Hebrew Butcher Workers Union, the Yugoslav Socialist Federation of Detroit sends in six new subs. Brooklyn is heard from and points East, West, North and South are rallying to the colors with a flock of new subs. How about you? Are you in earnest about this business of "doing something"?

We take you up. Here's your chance. Cut this coupon out. Take it with you to work, to

play. And when it is filled in with the names of new subscribers, mail it back to us AT ONCE. And then—do it again next week and the week after.

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