

SOCIALIST CONVENTION OPENS; HILLQUIT KEYNOTE STIRS THRONG



Chicago Decides

TODAY while I am writing these paragraphs Chicago will decide by bombs, bullets or ballots, which of the two crooked political gangs will control the Republican Party, nominate a Governor, a United States Senator and, what is far more important to the Chicago racketeers and gangsters, a State Attorney for Cook County. Probably nowhere in the civilized world is there so shameless and brazen a combination of demagoguery, corruption, violence and hypocrisy as is represented in the Thompson-Small-Crowe alliance with their well organized bootleggers and gunmen and their support from Samuel Insull, the power and traction magnate, and other holders of special privilege. Nothing their enemies can say about them can beat what members of this alliance have in the past said about each other. Yet there is nothing particularly honorable about the record of Senator Densen and his supporters who at various times have worked in peace and harmony with their present enemies. To make the picture complete it is reliably reported that George Brennan the Democratic boss, for reasons of his own will probably deliver enough Democratic votes in the Republican primaries to save his friend, States Attorney Crowe. What a picture this, of the second city of that great moral nation now engaged in the collective homicide of war in Nicaragua in order to obtain in that little country an honest election!

Labor's Unsavory Part

To all lovers of labor's cause the saddest and most disheartening aspect of the Illinois situation is the ignoble role played by many of the official labor leaders in this political fight. In spite of Governor Small's unsavory personal record labor has officially endorsed him and by implication the rest of his crew: Boastful Bill Thompson, Frank Smith—Sam Insull's man whom the United States Senate would not seat—States Attorney Crowe, the friend of the gangsters, and the rest. Indeed in Chicago and Cook County considerable labor support is openly on the side of Thompson and his gang as well as Small. Why?

Well, the State Federation claims that Small's opponent, Emmerson, has an anti-labor record whereas Small has befriended labor, prevented the formation of a state constabulary, etc. The State Federation ought to know what it is talking about but for what a miserable mess of potage has it been willing to sell its soul! Sam Insull's creatures do not and cannot stand for one of the fundamental demands that labor ought to be making. If all parties and factions in Illinois are corrupt—as they are—it is the business of labor not to bargain like fearful shopkeepers for some little favor from demagogues but to fight to organize its own ranks and public opinion generally in support of a party devoted to the emancipation of the farmers and workers from their economic and political bondage.

No labor organization sold to Len Small and Bill Thompson can expect to capture the imagination and allegiance of the great masses of the workmen. No wonder this sort of leadership fails to organize the workers industrially. In its struggle for the little favors that corrupt politicians give, in its blindness to issues of decency and to fundamental concern for true democracy, of course it has lost courage and vision and power. The friends of Len Small and Frank Smith and Bill Thompson are never the men who can make the world that labor in its moments of vision has always desired.

Here is an opportunity for Socialists and Progressives. Let us reach our own souls and discover why we

(Continued on page 8)

Carmen Sign Pact With The Mittens

Agreement Holds Doubtful Advantages For Union; Organization Still First Need

AN AGREEMENT of the greatest significance for the organized labor movement has just been concluded between the Mitten Management and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. It advances the union-management cooperation idea tremendously, it establishes a precedent in the dealings of the regular trade union with the company union, and it throws a flood of light upon recent happenings in the New York City subway situation.

The agreement, negotiated and signed by the sons of W. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated, and T. E. Mitten, head of the Mitten Management, Inc., representing their fathers, is made to apply specifically to all future properties to be acquired by the Mittens. It definitely excludes Philadelphia and Buffalo, where the transit lines are now run by the Mittens. When the cooperation of the union and the company on the new lines will bring about the efficiency already accomplished on the existing roads, then the matter of union-management agreements on these properties may be discussed and made the basis of further agreement. The determination of whether the proper amount of efficiency has been reached will, if the parties cannot agree, be submitted to arbitration. The reason given for the exclusion of Philadelphia and Buffalo from the terms of this agreement is that these properties are to supply the standard by which to judge the efficiency developed on future lines.

Organization Right Conceded
It is stated in so many words "that the right to organize is a fundamental right of labor which should not and cannot be permanently abridged or denied." The continuance of the company union on the present transit system may be explained away but the vicious attack of the Mittens upon the taxi drivers' union when the Mittens gobbled up the taxi companies of Philadelphia cannot be excused. Nor does the agreement with the Amalgamated mention the inalienable right of taxi drivers to organize. Why should it? Mitten also recognizes jurisdictional divisions among crafts. The taxi drivers would belong to the Teamsters' Union.

The loyalty of the employees on the fifteen lines is notorious. Benefited by the so-called "60-50" plan of sharing in the proceeds, which has been in operation since 1911, the sale of stock and benefits of various kinds, the Mitten employees have been known not only to scab upon other transit workers but even to give financial assistance to the company.

(Continued on page 5)

Lovett Is Re-elected President of L. I. D.

Announcement is made of the reelection of Robert Morris Lovett, Professor of English Literature, University of Chicago and an editor of the New Republic as president of the League for Industrial Democracy for the coming year.

Other officers elected included: Vice-Presidents—Professor Vladimir Karapetoff, Professor of Electrical Engineering, Cornell University; Florence Kelley, General Secretary of the National Consumers' League; James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Pastor of the Community Church.

Treasurer—Stuart Chase, author of "The Tragedy of Waste" and "Your Money's Worth." Executive Directors—Norman Thomas and Harry Laidler, Field Secretary—Paul Blanshard. Other members of the Board of Directors were: Devere Allen, Forrest Bailey, Hillman Bishop, LeRoy Bowman, Paul Brisen, Solon DeLeon, Robert W. Dunn, Elisabeth Gilman, Timothy Healy, Jessie W. Houghan, Frederick C. Hyde, Paul Jones, Florence Kelley, Nicholas Kelley, William Pickens, Anna Rochester, Mary R. Sanford, Helen Phelps Stokes, Bertha P. Weyl.

Socialist Convention Program; Dinner and Dance Scheduled

Friday, April 13th, Opening Session at Manhattan Opera House, 34th street and 8th Ave. Speakers: Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Cameron King, Joseph W. Sharts, James H. Maurer, Victor L. Berger, Mayor Hoan, Mayor Stump.

Saturday, 10 a.m. Regular Session at Finnish Socialist Hall, 2056 Fifth avenue 2 p.m. Afternoon session.

Saturday, 8 p.m. Dance and entertainment. Finnish Socialist Hall. Admission 75 cents.

Sunday, 10 a.m. Finnish Socialist Hall. Regular Session. 2 p.m. Afternoon session.

Sunday, 6.30 p.m. Dinner and Reception to Delegates. Park Palace, 110th street and Fifth avenue. Admission \$2.00.

Monday, 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. regular Sessions, Finnish Socialist Hall.

Tuesday, 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. regular sessions, Finnish Socialist Hall.

Admission Free to Manhattan Opera House and Finnish Socialist Hall sessions. Tickets for dance and dinner obtainable at Socialist headquarters, 7 East 15th street, New York City; Algonquin 4620.

Mysterious Move Against Porters' Head

Recognition by Company If Socialist Goes, Rumored by Negro Paper

WHAT appears to be an undercover move to get A. Philip Randolph out of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters took form in a mysterious new story carried by the Pittsburgh Courier, a Negro weekly, in its issue on April 7. Randolph is organizer of the union and has given yeoman service in organizing the porters.

The dispatch bears a New York date line with a four column streamer in large capitals which reads: "Is Randolph to Resign?" The story declares that the organization could make no progress "unless some new and drastic changes are made in its leadership. It is even hinted among some of the staunchest followers that Mr. Randolph, the leader, should step aside if he is sincere in his desire to see the porters secure some kind of concessions from the Pullman Company."

A Suspicious Story
The whole story is cautiously written and is vague. The words "rumor" and "hinted" and "it seems to be" appear in it. It has the character of a "feeler" which is employed to sow suspicion in the ranks of the members. Two other paragraphs are as follows:
"The reasons for this idea are many; but the sentiment seems to be supported by the belief that Mr. Randolph is known to have Socialist tendencies. This idea gained ground when it was pointed out that the Pullman Company flatly refuses to recognize Mr. Randolph to any extent whatever."

"American capital has seldom, if ever, been known to recognize organizations led by Socialists. It is believed by some of the friends of the movement that arbitration will never come about through Mr. Randolph because of his identity with the Socialist school."

The purpose of the story is evident but its character is not new. This theme has been used as propaganda of the Pullman Company very often and has become rather stale goods.

On the other hand, it is not true that American capital has rarely recognized organizations led by Socialists. There are a half-dozen trade unions in the needle trades that were organized by Socialists and officered by them from their very beginning. They have not only obtained agreements for the workers in the industry for many years but these unions have raised a sweated industry from he abominations that infested it for many years. It is doubtful whether his industry could have been placed upon a civilized basis without the Socialist idealism and enthusiasm which were placed into the work of organization.

There have been other organizations of the workers officered by Socialists who have obtained decent and

(Continued on Page 5)

Speculation Is Rife On Candidates

Support For Thomas To Head Ticket Is Strong—Mrs. Berger May Be Running Mate

THE spectacular part of national political conventions comes when the time for nominating the presidential candidates arrive. While the Socialist party places as much, or probably more, emphasis on its platforms and resolutions, nevertheless interest in the candidates who will lead the fight during the campaign is high and is rising daily.

The definite and final elimination of James H. Maurer of Pennsylvania as a candidate, by his own wishes and those of the Reading Socialists, has again focused attention on Norman Thomas, of New York, as the possible candidate. Delegates in New York before the convention are practically unanimous in their desire to have Comrade Thomas be the candidate.

In a letter to The New Leader two weeks ago, Thomas stated that he could not be a candidate. Personal considerations plus his feeling that Maurer should be the candidate prompted this statement. With Maurer out of the question, Comrade Thomas would be inclined to reconsider his decision, it is felt.

In the matter of vice-presidential candidates, much sentiment has developed in favor of naming Mrs. Victor L. Berger. On the other hand, there is quite definite opposition to this. Those delegates favoring Mrs. Berger's nomination cite her record in Wisconsin and the universal esteem for her character and abilities.

With these arguments there can be found no objection, all Socialists readily recognizing Mrs. Berger's sterling qualities. Those who oppose the nomination of Mrs. Berger argue not against her, but against the idea of nominating a woman. They are arguing in favor of nominating a man who will be able to devote full time and energy to the campaign, making scores of speeches all over the country.

Other candidates being mentioned for the vice-presidential nomination are Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, Freda Hogan of Oklahoma, Cameron King of California and Joseph W. Sharts, of Ohio.

The New Leader offers the above lines not with any thought of influencing the decision of the convention, but merely as a matter of news of prime interest at this moment.

40,000 In Coal Fields Aided This Year By Emergency Committee

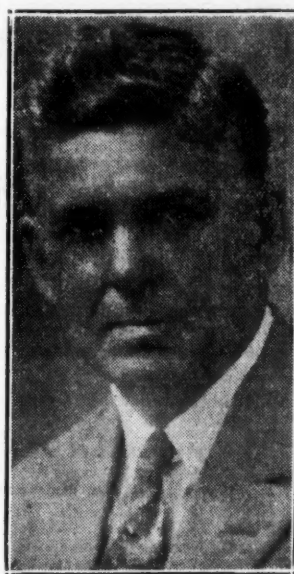
More than forty-thousand persons in the striking coal mine regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia have received aid during the past year through relief work carried on by the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 156 Fifth avenue, New York. The Committee acts as a clearing house for contributions of money and clothing received from private sources. These are then distributed to the suffering strikers and their families through non-partisan channels.

Democrats—Second Fiddle

Trust the Democrats to give themselves away. In the face of reduced estimates of the Treasury surplus, even excluding necessary appropriations for flood control, the Democratic Congressmen want to beat the Republicans in tax cutting and are perfectly willing to throw over the Federal estate or inheritance taxes. There ought to be no further tax cuts in the face of the need for unemployment relief and flood control. There ought to be an increase of inheritance taxes which alone can collect equitably this fair share of all taxes. But the Democrats want to play the game of little brother to the rich.

A movement towards more effective organization is of necessity preceded by more comprehensive views of social utility and of moral right and wrong. Since, under Democracy, the form of social organization is directly dependent upon the community's need, we have an increasing security against cataclysmic change, and a greater guarantee against revolution.—Ramsay MacDonald.

Opens Convention



William H. Henry, of Indiana, National Secretary of the Socialist Party

WEAF, WEVD To Broadcast Convention

Nightly 20 Minute Summaries Over National Broadcasting Station—Thomas, Coleman To Talk

THE doings of the Socialist National Convention in New York City will be carried over the air through two radio stations WEAF, the station owned and operated by the National Broadcasting Company, and WEVD, the Debs Memorial Radio station.

WEAF will broadcast a summary of each day's proceedings in the convention hall at 11 p. m. each night. Norman Thomas will make the summary on Friday evening, April 13th, and Saturday evening, April 14th. McAllister Coleman, well known to New Leader readers, will make the summaries at 11 p. m. on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday evenings, April 15th, 16th and 17th.

At frequent periods during the convention, WEVD will tell of the happenings at the convention. Delegates will also speak over this station, telling of Socialist developments in their home states.

Prior to the completion of arrangements with WEAF there was some misunderstanding. As chairman of the Socialist Publicity Committee, Mr. Thomas wrote M. H. Aylesworth, head of the National Broadcasting Company, on March 12th, requesting arrangements to broadcast the convention. Vice-President C. F. McClelland replied that Mr. Aylesworth was out of town and would take up the matter on his return. No reply was received.

With the opening of the Socialist convention only four days away, the party last Monday abandoned its hopes of making arrangements for broadcasting over WEAF or WJZ. Whereupon, Mr. Thomas sent the following letter to Mr. McClelland: "I am still waiting for a definite reply to my inquiry of March 12 as to conditions under which the National Broadcasting Company intends to broadcast the party conventions. The former radio law and, if I am correctly informed, the law which recently passed Congress, provides for the equality of treatment of political parties. The Convention of the Socialist Party is being held from April 13th to the 17th, the opening session will take place Friday evening, April 13th, at the Manhattan Opera House.

"Obviously your long delay in answering my first inquiry has made it impracticable to arrange for broadcasting this session. It would appear that by the simple expedient of delay the National Broadcasting Company has evaded the intent of the law and denied us even the opportunity to consider terms on which the Socialist party might use the facilities of the company. The fact that we may be able to use WEVD to a limited extent does not, as you well

(Continued on page 2)

Chairman Declares Nicaraguan Venture Is "War Or Murder"

Prosperity Bubble Bursting. Workers Are Warned Both Parties Held Equally Corrupt—Thomas, Maurer, Sharts Also Speak at Manhattan Opera House Session

(Quotations from the addresses at the opening session of the Socialist national convention are based on advance copies of the speeches supplied The New Leader by the speakers.)

WITH a scathing arraignment of Republican policies at home and abroad and a plea for creation of a political opposition of labor and Socialism, the Socialist party of the United States opened its 16th national convention in the Manhattan Opera House, New York City, Friday night.

Morris Hillquit, for decades one of the outstanding leaders of American Socialism, delivered the "Keynote" address in which he tore the masks from the Democratic and Republican parties, exposing their corruption and their failure to serve the great masses of the American people. The highlight of the address came in his words on the Nicaraguan adventure.

"Of all the monstrosities perpetrated by our government," Hillquit said, "this is the most revolting. What is it that we are doing in Nicaragua?"
"If it is war, it is unauthorized and unsanctioned by the people or Congress."
"If it is not war,—it is murder."

On the other important issues, Hillquit was equally emphatic. He denounced the two old parties as subservient lackeys of the moneyed interests. Corruption, he said, is typical of both the parties. Cabinet ministers and senate seats have been bought and sold.

"Members of a presidential cabinet have been convicted in the public eye of the basest forms of bribery and corruption and are allowed to go unwhipped of justice, while poor wretches fill the jails because they have been stung by poverty to the commission of petty crimes."

Court rulings have deprived labor of the right to strike, Hillquit continued, voicing the Socialist demand that injunctions in labor disputes be completely abolished. Turning to labor's political policies, he urged the trade unions to desert the policy of "rewarding" old party politicians and to substitute in its stead independent political action. The prosperity "bubble" is bursting, Hillquit said, and the workers have no place to turn for relief. He demanded a program of social insurance.

Turning to foreign policies, Hillquit denounced the invasion of Nicaragua and demanded the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Other speakers were Norman Thomas, Cameron H. King, Joseph W. Sharts, James H. Maurer, Jacob Panken, Mayors Daniel W. Hoan and J. Henry Stump and Congressman Victor L. Berger.

Socialist Party Sentinel in Political Watchtower

"With this convention," Hillquit declared, "the Socialist Party opens the presidential campaign and re-enters the political arena of the United States. We resume our place among the political parties of the nation with the determination to stay the expectation to grow and the hope to win."

"The country needs a party like ours, a party devoted solely and single-mindedly to the interests of the toiling masses and to the cause of social justice; a vigilant sentinel stationed on the political watchtower, ever ready to combat abuse and oppression and to defend the rights and liberties of the people."

"In every other advanced country there is an active and influential party of the people, Labor and Socialist, to check the rule of capitalist reaction and to force the government along the path of social progress."

"In the United States the ruling classes have a political monopoly of the country, although they cover their rule with hypocritical disguise of a two-party system."

"Both Corrupt When In Office"
There is no essential difference between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party in principle, aims, composition and methods, and there has been practically none since the days of the Civil War. The Democrats are pure when the Republicans are in office. The Republicans are progressive when the Democrats are in office. Both are corrupt and reactionary when in power.

"Under the alternate rule of the Slave-masters political twins our people have lost faith and interest in politics and have abandoned the destinies of the republic to the bi-partisan political machine with a sense of cynical resignation. Only one-half of the American citizenry care to exercise the franchise, and very few of those evince any interest in the doings of their chosen representatives in public office."

"Unafraid of political opposition and unashamed in the face of the world our administration has sunk to a depth of political corruption which would shock any other country to its very foundations and cause its people to rise in revolt."

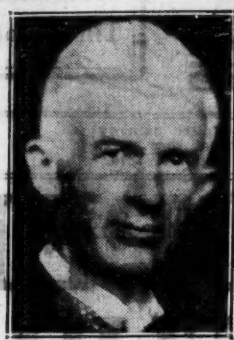
Cabinet Members Convicted
"Members of a presidential cabinet have been convicted in the public eye of the basest forms of bribery and corruption and are allowed to go unwhipped of justice, while poor wretches fill the jails because they have been stung by poverty to the commission of petty crimes. A vital national election is proved to have been secretly financed by unsavory business interests and the beneficiaries of the crooked deal are allowed to maintain a sanctimonious air of political integrity and dignity." Elections to public office involve the expenditure of staggering fortunes. Popular choice of representatives has been substituted by shameless purchase of office.

(Continued on Page 2)

Among the 200 Delegates at the Socialist Convention



JAMES O'NEAL
of New York



JOHN M. WORK
of Wisconsin



CAMERON H. KING
of California



HARRY W. LAIDLER
of New York



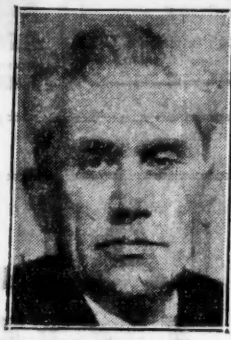
J. HENRY STUMP
of Pennsylvania



JACOB PANKEN
of New York



JOSEPH BASKIN
(fraternal, Workmen's Circle)



A. I. SHIPLACOFF
New York



McALISTER COLEMAN
New York

Text Of Addresses At Opening Of Socialist Convention

(Continued from page 1)

"The American workers cannot hope to obtain or maintain decent standards of life and work except through the collective action of their unions. Their unions are powerless to secure fair terms of employment from the great industrial combines who monopolize the jobs of the country, unless they are allowed to refuse collectively to work under unfair conditions—to strike. A strike can never succeed unless the union and the workers are permitted to conduct it by legitimate but effective methods. American labor unions and workers no longer enjoy the right to strike.

"Within recent years the practice of our courts, state and federal, to issue injunctions in labor disputes has become so general that there hardly has been a strike of any importance in which the

hands of the workers have not been tied by injunction orders. These are issued without notice to the strikers. They often break the strike before the workers have a chance to submit their side of the controversy to the court.

"The United States is the only country in the world in which the workers are so oppressed by judicial tyranny. The Socialist party demands the complete abolition of injunctions in disputes.

"The leaders of organized labor in this country have heretofore generally taken a position against independent labor politics and they have pointed to the relative prosperity of the American workers as an argument in favor of their policy. As if a full stomach was the limit of social and political ideals of the American workers. But then, what about this much vaunted prosperity itself? Is it real, is it lasting?

Starving Miners, Seasonal Workers Cited As Disproof of Alleged Prosperity

"Look at the masses of the miners in the bituminous coal fields housed in disgraceful hovels and barracks, semi-nude and semi-starved, how much of our 'prosperity' falls on their lot? Look at the workers in the seasonal industries employed only half of the year and barely eking out a miserable and pitiable existence, how about their prosperity?

"Prosperity! Already the iridescent bubble is bursting. Already the ghost of unemployment is stalking abroad menacing millions of wage workers with utter destitution. And when the crisis comes, as it is bound to sooner or later, where will the proud American worker look for protection and relief?

"In every country in which there is a strong Socialist or Labor party the state recognizes its social duty towards its wealth producers. It provides for government support of the workers in sickness and during unemployment and for pensions in old age. The capitalist rulers of the United States sap the life substance of the workers and coin it into gold dollars while it lasts. When the worker is physically used up or when he cannot be profitably employed he is mercilessly thrown upon the scrapheap, to beg, steal or die.

"The Socialist Party demands the enactment of a system of workers' insurance by the government, which has become an important and organic part of the legislative system in all modern society.

"Oppression Abroad
"Corrupt, reactionary and neglectful at home our ruling classes are becoming ever more oppressive and aggressive abroad.

"At this time a number of our boys in the uniforms of U. S. Marines are in our sister republic of Nicaragua, equipped with the usual paraphernalia of warfare and commanded by U. S. Naval Officers. They kill natives and in turn some of them are killed by the natives. "Of all the monstrosities perpetrated by our government this is the most revolting. What is it that we are doing in Nicaragua? If it is war it is unauthorized and unsanctioned by the people or by Congress. If it is not war, it is murder.

"The Socialist party demands the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Nicaragua and from all other Central American countries which we have invaded.

"The practice of waging unsanctioned wars is not peculiar to Republican administrations. The Democratic administration of President Wilson was similarly guilty of this unpardonable offense against international law not only by armed intervention in Haiti and San Domingo but also of conducting a private war against Russia, and in a way we are still continuing the war.

Party Stands Ready To Cooperate With Labor Along Political Lines

"The ultimate aim of the Socialist movement is the gradual transformation of our natural wealth resources and of our basic industries into public ownership, just as we own our post office, streets and schoolhouses. Socialism stands for the enfranchisement of the producing masses and for humanization of modern society.

"It is for the attainment of these lofty aims and ideals that the enlightened workers of the world are struggling under the common international flag of the brotherhood of man. The struggle has been going on uninterruptedly and relentlessly for fifty years or more. The small bands of Socialist and labor pioneers have grown everywhere into powerful political parties with determining influence upon the policy of their governments. In numerous instances they have already been entrusted with the rule of their countries. Today they fight the decisive battles for political supremacy. Tomorrow they will wrest the management of their countries from the greedy

and selfish hands of their capitalist exploiters.

"Good Man" Theory Attacked
"They have attained a commanding political position because they have learned to rely on their own strength; because they have long ceased looking for a Messiah in the ranks of the old ruling parties.

"Social and political progress is not made by individual leaders but by organized masses. The American workers have no right to pin their political hopes on a 'good man' selected by the interest-controlled Republican or Democratic parties. A public official is not stronger and cannot be better than the party to whom he owes his election. A 'good' man as a candidate may turn out to be a bad man in office. If he remains good his qualities do not survive his term in office. When the next election comes around there is some futile quest for another 'good' man and the cause of labor and progress has not advanced one step. The only kind of a good man the workers can trust is the man nominated and

Socialist Vote Rose From 2,000 To Million in '20

THE Socialist vote in the United States was first recorded in a few state elections in 1888 with the small number of 2000 votes. Not till 1892 was a presidential ticket nominated and it appeared in only a half-dozen states. Over the whole period there has been a steady increase but never a rapid one. Occasionally there were few gains and practically no gains at all in four years. This was especially true of the election of 1908 compared with the election of 1904.

Herewith follows a complete record of the Socialist vote since 1888 which will be of special interest to our readers.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES

Year	Soc. Party	S. L. P.	Total
1888	2,068	2,068	2,068
1890	13,704	13,704	13,704
1892	21,512	21,512	21,512
1894	30,020	30,020	30,020
1896	36,275	36,275	36,275
1898	82,284	82,284	82,284
1900	96,931	96,931	96,931
1902	223,494	223,494	223,494
1904	408,230	408,230	408,230
1906	331,043	331,043	331,043
1908	424,488	424,488	424,488
1910	607,674	607,674	607,674
1912	901,062	901,062	901,062
1914	874,691	874,691	874,691
1916	585,113	585,113	585,113
1920	919,551	919,551	919,551

"To the vote of 1920 should be added the vote of the Farmer-Labor candidates, who received 265,191 votes, making a combined vote of 1,215,826. In 1924 these parties and the trade unions supporting the LaFollette and Wheeler ticket polled 4,822,323 votes. If we add this to the vote of the S. L. P., 33,934, the total Labor and Socialist vote in 1924 was 4,856,257.

ected by themselves and accountable to themselves.

"Individuals come and go but organized parties remain. Elections may be won and lost, but every increase in the vote or strength of a Socialist or labor party is an inalienable acquisition and permanent gain for the working masses. That is why the Socialist party is not interested in the personality of any candidate of the two old parties; that is why it is determined to name its own candidate and to make a clean and clear fight for the cause of labor and Socialism.

"Our party does not claim a monopoly in American labor politics. It has shown

in the past that it is always ready to co-operate with other labor organizations, wholeheartedly, unselfishly—to the point of self-oblivion.

"But at this time the Socialist Party is the only practical organization of American labor as the Socialist parties of Germany and France are the recognized labor parties of their countries.

"The Socialist Party assumed these political functions conscious of the great responsibilities which they involve and is determined to discharge them faithfully and unflinchingly, backed by the undying enthusiasm inspired by a good cause and by the unshakable faith in its ultimate victory."

Maurer Tells of Increased Production Which Makes Socialism Inevitable

MAURER, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and Commissioner of Department of Accounts and Finance in Reading, was greeted with prolonged applause.

"One thing that impressed me when I was abroad was the unemployment of the workers in many countries as well as in the United States," Maurer said. "Labor saving machinery and science are revolutionizing industry and the workers are reaping up more billions of wealth than they ever did before.

"There has been a remarkable increase in production since 1921 and at the same time the number of unemployed has increased. The trend in production has been upward and in the number of unemployed downward. This tendency effects the clerical workers as well as those in the plants. The numbers of office workers required is constantly being decreased by the efficiency experts.

"The increased production with a less number of workers is especially evident in transportation. With the great freight engines now used and the increased number of cars hauled a ton of freight is now transported with half the coal that was used eight years ago. Giant power is also more economical and is displacing labor. With the power generated at central plants and distributed by wire, less miners and railroad men are required.

"I have never been more certain in my life that Socialism is inevitable. The plutocrats cannot prevent its coming no matter what they do for it is becoming impossible for the workers to have an assured existence.

"The only immediate remedy for increased production with less workers is the shorter workday and increased wages. But this is only a beginning which must lead to public ownership of the industries. The mining industry is a pitiful example of what can happen to many workers. We should put science in the industry and plan for industrial democracy. The workers of the country must get ready for our program as there is no other way out, no other final solution of the problems of the working class."

"Let me suggest also that Ohio produces other citizens besides capitalists, presidential candidates, and political pirates. For every Harry M. Dougherty and Jess Smith that Ohio has spawned upon the country we can show a Norman Thomas and a Bishop Brown.

"Eighty years ago, in the childhood of their great age of machine development, Marx and Engels published the famous manifesto which became almost a new testament for the radicals of the world. They proclaimed that modern capitalism drains all other enthusiasms in the key water of egotistical calculation; and it gives us shameless, direct and brutal exploitation stripped of all illusions.

"Today we see the fulfillment of that prediction. Here is a vast continent teeming with the hoarded riches of nature, as if nature's god had skimmed other lands in order to pour out here in unlimited abundance all that human needs or fancies could ask. If ever a land lay under the sun where nature with unmistakable voice declares that universal plenty is the birthright of man, it is America.

duces other citizens besides capitalists, presidential candidates, and political pirates. For every Harry M. Dougherty and Jess Smith that Ohio has spawned upon the country we can show a Norman Thomas and a Bishop Brown.

"Eighty years ago, in the childhood of their great age of machine development, Marx and Engels published the famous manifesto which became almost a new testament for the radicals of the world. They proclaimed that modern capitalism drains all other enthusiasms in the key water of egotistical calculation; and it gives us shameless, direct and brutal exploitation stripped of all illusions.

"Today we see the fulfillment of that prediction. Here is a vast continent teeming with the hoarded riches of nature, as if nature's god had skimmed other lands in order to pour out here in unlimited abundance all that human needs or fancies could ask. If ever a land lay under the sun where nature with unmistakable voice declares that universal plenty is the birthright of man, it is America.

Says Jobless Number Four Million
"Scarcely 300 years have passed since first the foot of the Pilgrim Fathers stepped upon this soil. Scarcely a century and a half since the beginning of the great American experiment in popular government—the oppressed of Europe were to find an asylum from the oppressor; here they were to enjoy secured by law the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Our area is two and a half times that of Europe; it is 168 times that of England. Our population is less than one-eighth as dense as that of Europe; it is less than one forty-sixth as dense as that of England. Our natural resources are beyond all computation greater.

"Yet what do we already see? Industrial centers swarming with millions of disinherited who have lost their foothold upon the soil, driven by poverty to the factory gates to clamor for the privilege of earning their daily bread in the service of the owners of the machinery. The wolf of want dogging the heels of 4,000,000 unemployed. Poverty haunting four out of five American homes tonight.

"In England, in Germany, in Italy, or Japan—lands of scant resources and dense population—widespread poverty might be a calamity. In this favored land it is an unpardonable sin. Nothing short of political insanity and industrial assassination could produce it.

"We see the shameless game of exploitation everywhere pursued. Cities ruled by organized and entrenched commercial greed. Public utilities kept in private hands that the public may be mulcted for exorbitant private profits as of old the robber barons kept the bridge, the ford, and the highway. Combinations everywhere in restraint of trade holding up prices at the expense of the consumer. Markets everywhere pushed beyond the saturation point by high pressure salesmanship and installment-selling. Middlemen and moneylenders everywhere draining the life-blood out of industry like vampire bats. Small business men and workers drowning in a rising flood of promissory notes and mortgages.

Miners Are Terrorized
"We see the organized employers pushing their 'Open Shop Drive.' The coal miners of the bituminous field with their backs to the wall, struggling to hold their right of collective bargaining, won by a century of industrial conflict. Whole villages evicted from their homes. Mining districts terrorized by private armies of thugs in the pay of the operators, backed by the full machinery of courts and military. The labor injunction in full swing and the Clayton Law twisted into a capitalist joke.

"Meantime at Washington a solitary voice is raised for the rights of the workers, a solitary voice for old age pensions for the broken and poverty-stricken old workers upon whose backs have been erected the immense fortunes of our multi-millionaires,—the solitary voice of Victor Berger is raised; but it finds no echo there.

"Over all this dark and sordid mess of exploited misery shine the gilded steeples of a hundred thousand churches maintained by the exploiters in the name of the crucified carpenter. Heine has well called them 'the stony shells of an extinct emotion.'

"But Marx and Engels prophesied further. They likened modern capitalism to the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world which he has called up by his spells."

"Foundations of Brotherhood"
"The gigantic forces of production and distribution steadily enlarging bring capitalism to the final catastrophe. It can no longer properly function within its network of private property relations. Everywhere it is being weighed in the balance of practical efficiency and found wanting. Its collapse is at hand. The danger is that when it plunges down to hell it may carry a submerging continent whose tidal waves sweep the life from all other shores. It may exter-

minate the human race in one great final clash of rival capitalist nations, unless some constructive political action is applied in time.

"We must transform the great basic industries from private corporations for profit into co-operative associations for collective use and benefit. We must conquer and emasculate these artificial creatures of unnatural lust, these Frankenstein monsters, or they will destroy the world.

"Political action created them; political action can tame and harness them. No body of men and women ever met for a greater and nobler work than ours. We meet to save our country and our race from the ruin into which we are

being swept by the blind fatuity of the old political parties and demagogues in office.

"It is right and proper that the Republicans and Democrats should hold their conventions far out in the wilds of Missouri and Texas. It is a suitable location for their senseless riots of noise and manufactured hysteria. It is right and proper also that we hold our convention here in New York City, in the full light of civilization's massed batteries of publicity. For here in our convention must be found the constructive political action which future generations will hail with joy. It is here the foundations are laid for the coming brotherhood of man."

Thomas Arraigns The "New" Tammany; Calls Coal and Power Principal Issues

Norman Thomas welcomed the comrades from other states to this city to plan a militant and aggressive campaign for 1928.

"We are reasonably fond of our city but we think it appropriate for the Socialists to meet here not because of its virtues but in order that they may see the 'new' Tammany, of which the country is likely to hear so much, on its native heath," Thomas said. "Some of us can give information on sewer and paving scandals, bus franchises, faulty construction of school buildings, the seven-cent fare and the way in which the Tammany machine with the aid of its cohorts from gangsters up to

Judges and magistrates deprived Judge Panken of re-election last fall. Even Chicagoans may find the story interesting for the light it sheds on this new Tammany. It may not use 'pineapples' but it gets results.

"What other business has either of the old parties than to get results for the men who finance them and the politicians who run them? The wonder is that in a country where there is so little principle in the political struggle there is not more corruption.

"Yet the great issue of this campaign is not to measure out more or less futile punishment to past political offenders. It is to arouse the people

(Continued on page 4)

For Your Children's Sake

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

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

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

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

THE Workmen's Circle

The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence

85,000 MEMBERS
\$3,200,000 ASSETS

750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000

Week benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$1 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit, \$200, or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information, apply to THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

175 East Broadway, N. Y. City

Telephone Orchard 6016-6017

Sixty Cups of the Finest Tea you ever tasted—for 10 cents.

WHITE LILAC TEA

At All Grocers. 10c a Package

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office: 227 EAST 84TH STREET

(Bet. 2nd and 3rd Ave.)

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership on June 30, 1927, 49,000. Assets \$650,000. Insurance in force, \$51,000,000.

No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!

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

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

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

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

For Further Information apply at 227 East 84th Street



Annoying Bladder Weakness

Relieved by Santal Midy

Sole by All Druggists

A Two Dollar Book for Fifty cents. Drugless Health

A new book by Dr. Joseph H. Greer

253 Pages 75 Illustrations

Health and long life by Natural Means. Money back if not Satisfied

Send Stamps or Money Order to DR. JOSEPH H. GREER

4114 Michigan Ave. Chicago

THE SOCIALIST BATTLE CALL RINGS AGAIN

Twenty-eight Years of Politics Finds Socialist Party
Only Lasting Spokesman of American Workers

By James Oneal

THE Socialist movement in the United States came later than in other countries and the reasons for this are familiar to all Socialists. The movement long ago passed through its pioneer period but it did not have to face the persecution which of old world Socialists had to face in the early period. This persecution came to us when we had established the Socialist Party as an important political factor to be reckoned with in elections.

Many of us had read the memoirs of Socialists and histories of the Socialist movement abroad and had been thrilled by the narratives of what Socialists had to endure in establishing the organized movement. We were inspired and we never anticipated that we would be tested by our ruling classes through arbitrary laws, mobs, arrests and jails. But that experience came to us. Some deserted. A few became apostates. Some were lured by the temptations of capitalism. At times it appeared that the struggle was not worth while. Many did give up their organized activities and thus increased the burdens of those who remained active.

Battered and bruised, with a working class still supine in the hands of capitalist politicians, we fought on. Even in our own ranks we were savagely attacked by hysterical groups and years of internal strife reduced our members and left us exhausted. From above the wreck of our once glowing movement we held aloft our red banner. The hysterical groups left us only to fight each other more savagely than they ever fought us. Today they remain a tiny collection of sour and hateful men and women, gathering alms to float dubious and dishonest enterprises.

A movement that can come out of this fearful experience with any organization at all has the endurance and tenacity that will wreck empires and rebuild the world. The Socialist Party is here. It will remain. All the powers of capitalist society cannot destroy it. It is the soul and inspiration of the thinking sections of the working class and it will yet permeate the whole working class with its emancipating program.

Wing and Matchett Run

Surely a movement with this record is worth looking at in perspective. The American working class was the pioneer in economic and even political organization but today it trails behind the working class of the modern nations. It began with organization of the workers in trade unions and city labor parties in the twenties and their agitation continued into the forties. Then the issue of slavery began to occupy the minds of millions and this continued into the Civil War. The war hates also smothered many important issues and not till near the eighties was there a definite recovery of working class organization.

Meantime the German exiles from the Revolution of 1848 became active in the building of trade unions and organizing Socialist societies. They were especially active in organizing trade unions in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore and Milwaukee. To the German Socialists belong much of the credit for organizing the cigarmakers, carpenters, the butchers, the brewery workers, the bakers and the German printers.

Not until 1892 did the Socialists think of nominating presidential candidates when eight delegates representing but five states met in New York City and nominated Simon Wing for President and Charles H. Matchett, of Brooklyn, for Vice-President. The ticket appeared on the ballot in only six states and the candidates received a vote for 21,512. It is that that Wing was not again seen after his nomination. He was a manufacturer of photographic instruments and Matchett was an electrician. Matchett was long active in the Socialist Party and died a few years ago.

These nominees were candidates of the Socialist Labor Party and the vote received in 1892 would have discouraged anybody but Socialists. The vote slowly increased in state elections and, in 1896 the party faced the nationwide upheaval of the farmers and lower middle class led by William Jennings Bryan. Matchett was nominated for President this year and Matthew Maguire for Vice President. The ticket appeared in twenty states and polled 36,275 votes. This represented practically no gain considering that the nominees appeared on the ballot in twenty states compared with six in 1892. In the state elections of 1898 the candidates of the S. L. P. received 62,294 votes, the highest this party has ever polled. Some of these votes were cast by Socialists who disagreed with the S. L. P. The writer was a member of the Social Democratic Party in Terre Haute that year but as we had no state ticket the Local voted to support the S. L. P. candidates and they received nearly a hundred votes in Terre Haute. The same action was taken by the remaining four or five Locals we had in the state that year.

The Socialist Party Appears

The S. L. P. had begun its quarrel with the trade unions of that period and the turn of the century found it practically displaced by the Socialists who refused to follow its suicidal policy. The result was the Unity Convention in Masonic hall, Indianapolis, in 1901 and the organization of the Socialist Party. One year before, the "Kangaroos", the faction which left the S. L. P., had met in Rochester and nominated Job Harpman and Max Hayes for President and Vice-President but the convention left the door open for a united ticket when the S. D. P. met in national convention in Indianapolis shortly after.

The S. D. P. itself was a faction which had left the Social Democracy in 1899.

SOCIALIST PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OF OTHER YEARS



SIMON WING
(1892)



CHARLES H. MATCHETT
(1896)



ALLAN L. BENSON
(1916)



ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE
(1924)

The Social Democracy planned to colonize a western state with Socialists, capture it in a state election, and then transform it into a Socialist commonwealth! A committee with power to purchase gold-bearing land in the West was even appointed with the view of obtaining funds to float the ideal commonwealth. Of course, the scheme was fantastic and real Socialists had to break with it. The split came in the Chicago convention of 1898. The utopians had a majority and the Socialists withdrew and organized the Social Democratic Party.

It was delegates of this party who met a conference committee of the Rochester convention with the result that the Rochester ticket was abandoned. No attempt was made to unite the two parties but both agreed on Debs and Harpman for the presidential ticket which received a total vote of 96,931. The S. L. P. vote declined to 33,405.

The Unity Convention the following year united the two parties, the total membership being somewhere between eight and nine thousand. From that period the membership of the party increased from year to year and by 1904 it more than doubled, the national secretary reporting 20,763 members in good standing. Four years later the membership again doubled, the number being 47,751. The membership reached its peak in 1912 with 113,371 members when an industrial depression set in and by 1915 the membership had declined to 79,374. There was a large increase the first three months of 1919 but it was an abnormal

one, the result of a Left Wing movement to capture the party.

Hanford The Printer

In 1904 the Socialist Party nominated Debs and Benjamin Hanford. The convention of that year was the scene of a spirited contest with a group of utopian "revolutionaries" whose program was to have the party abandon its support of the trade unions and economic struggles on the ground that the unions were mere "reform" crutches and the sooner they were broken the sooner would the working class join the Socialist movement. Except for two delegates from Chicago, this group came from rural states in the West where the class struggle was not an important factor.

This was the first important Left Wing which the party had to contend with and it is significant that its few leaders did not long remain in the Socialist movement. The chief Chicago exponent of "revolution" some years later published a Republican weekly in the Northwest and later appeared on the stump in Ohio as a speaker for "wet" interests and he was paid handsomely for his services.

Benjamin Hanford, the Vice-Presidential candidate of the party in 1904 and 1908, was of the finest type which the proletarian movement occasionally produces. Hanford was a member of Big 8 in New York City and his services in strikes of the printers endeared him to the members of his organization. He was a remarkably able speaker and he was the soul of working class idealism. He was a charming personality and his

last years were marred by acute physical suffering.

Hanford was the creator of "Jimmie Higgins," that worker in the ranks to whom he gave the first place of honor in the Socialist movement, the member who is always present; who got the soap box for the speaker; who saw that literature was on hand; who got subscribers for Socialist papers. "What did he do?" asked Hanford. "Jimmie Higgins did everything, anything," he answered.

A collection of Hanford's writings appeared in 1909 bearing the title, "Fight For Your Life!" It bore this characteristic dedication: "To the Jimmie Higginses, and Those Choice Spirits of This Earth Who Did, or Do, or Shall, Call One Another 'Comrade.'" The last time I saw Hanford was in 1908 when, wracked with pain, he entered the Call office in Park Place on crutches, and spent an hour talking with the "Choice Spirits" who meant more than anything else in this world to him. Ben Hanford literally lived and died for the class he loved and his inspiration was a tonic to all who knew him.

The Peerless Debs

Of Eugene V. Debs, our standard bearer in every campaign except in 1916 and 1924, it is impossible to say anything new. It seems but yesterday that Debs was with us, the fiery evangel of working class dissent and advance courier of proletarian liberation. Once in decades such a man appears, the soul of honor and conviction; embodying in his life and work the highest ideals of the cause

which he represents; spending his life in reckless abandon for that Cause; misunderstood, maligned, hated and imprisoned; treading the thorny path of persecution; loved by those who knew him, feared by those who in all their lives never had a noble inspiration, and then passing on; having given all that he had to give, and dying with the knowledge that he had the love of millions of men, women and children all over the world.

Certainly, a movement that can produce such noble men as Debs and Hanford has nothing to fear for its future. Compare them with those who strut the stage in public life today, the trimmers and the charlatans who gain public reward; the retainers and apologists of abysmal wrongs; the sycophants yearning for the money vats of the capitalist class; the cowards who deserted when the light became desperate and the world looked black; the apostates who sold themselves to the slavers of mankind; the shirkers whose case is of more importance than the welfare of humanity and all those who will at the trough labeled "Success."

The Socialist Party has had its dramatic and tragic phases like all other movements but to me the most dramatic and the most tragic episode in its history was observed by only a few members. This was the momentous days in June, 1919, when the National Executive Committee met in Chicago to face the crisis thrust upon the party by the activities of the Left Wing. Those days stand out



EUGENE V. DEBS
Candidate in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912 and 1920

more vivid in my memory than even the Emergency Convention which met in St. Louis in April, 1917, and adopted its war program.

Those who had read anything of Socialist and labor history knew what we were facing. Many of us had spent years in building the Socialist Party and we were compelled to face the prospect of parting with those with whom we had worked for years. A growing faction had become obsessed with physical force as a substitute for education and the ballot. There could be no compromise on this issue nor could it be put aside or postponed. Either one side or the other would take control of the organization. We knew that no matter what the decision was the party would be rent in twain.

What made this all the more tragic was the fact that the party had taken a courageous stand on the war. There was the fact that the party had taken in any other country yet our party was the first to be split by order of Moscow. All day and well into the night the majority members fought with the minority for control of the party and the next day the struggle was resumed. We won, but many members who remained with us thought that we had not handled the situation intelligently, but in view of what the Left Wing was eagerly urging a few months later it became evident that we had not acted soon enough.

Persecution Outside.

Disruption Within
The disheartening strife which followed, the weariness of our own members because of the fighting, the disappearance of members, are now an old story. But who can say that we did not act in behalf of the best interests of the working class and of the Socialist movement? No Socialist movement can for a moment tolerate in its midst any faction that makes physical force its method of action. That moment the spy and the agent provocateur comes in and the movement is at the mercy of its enemies. Even the Left Wing learned this to its sorrow, but it required the Michigan woods comedy to drive the lesson into the thick heads of its leading philosophers.

One might write of the stirring campaign in 1908 when we ran the "Red Special" and for many anxious days wondered whether the funds would be sufficient to enable the train to fill the complete schedule. Or of the long struggle in the special committee at the Emergency Convention to agree upon a report to submit to the convention regarding the war and the debate on the floor which followed. Or one might recall the brutal raids on the New York Call, the Rand School, the national office, several states offices, and the public meetings broken up; the arrests, trials and convictions; the expenditure of all our funds for the defense of political prisoners; the final incarceration of Debs in prison, his release, his return to the platform, his physical decline, his retirement to Lindlath and then his untimely death.

On With The Fight

But our space is limited. There is romance, drama, tragedy and inspiration in our Socialist movement and some day there will appear some one who can do justice to those terrible last ten years. Our Socialist Party has gone through the fires of hell but it has been purged of its dross. In this period of decadent capitalism, with its bourgeois parties corrupt, filthy and smelling to heaven, the Socialist Party holds aloft a beacon to intelligent men and women who live and work for a civilized commonwealth.

It is for us to take inspiration from Debs and Hanford and other noble souls who lived the good life for their class. It is for us to forward the tasks which they so generously bore. It is for us to inspire the whole working class with its mission, its power, its claims, its duty to reorganize capitalism on a basis of social equity and economic justice.

It will take the devoted service of every member to take full advantage of the opportunity that lies open before us. Ours is the only party of nation-wide extent that makes its appeal to the workers of the nation. Millions of pieces of literature must be distributed. Our standard bearers must speak in every city possible between the two oceans. We should raise a national campaign fund of not less than \$350,000 and as much more for the state organizations. Let us do it. I am strongly tempted to suggest that every member give a week's wages for the state and national campaign funds but finances may well be left to the national convention. In any event, we Socialists must go into this campaign as crusaders, determined that we will prove worthy of our ideals and the duty we owe to the working class of the United States and to the laboring masses of the whole world.

WHEN DEBS WAS NAMED

8 Years Ago Today
In Finnish Hall

20 Minutes of Frenzied Jubilation Swept Hundreds of Delegates and Visitors As Henry Placed "Prisoner of Atlanta" in Nomination—Personal Interview in Prison Related To Gathering

The hall which houses the Socialist national convention today—Finnish Socialist Hall, at 2056 Fifth avenue, New York City, was the scene of the memorable Socialist convention which nominated Eugene V. Debs for the presidency while he was in the Atlanta penitentiary. The delegates and visitors who attended that convention will never forget the scene that followed the placing of Debs' name before the convention. That was on April 14th—exactly eight years ago today. In The New York Call of April 15th, 1920, Louis Gardy described the scene. Here is what he said:

Debs named for Presidency—U. S. Prisoner 2253 makes race; Siedman chosen running mate—Veteran Socialist's message moves all convention delegates to tears; "Debs, We Want Debs," chants crowd.

By LOUIS GARDY

A deep toned bell rang out once, twice, and the national Socialist convention, which had been in session since Saturday, laid aside its deliberations yesterday afternoon to take up the matter of love, the nomination of Eugene V. Debs, the nation's most noted citizen and now incarcerated in Atlanta Prison, as Socialist Candidate for President in the 1920 campaign.

A moment before the bell rang in the streets of Harlem, the convention hall in the Finnish Socialist Hall had been the scene of busy discussion and debate. Socialist delegates held copies of the party platform or were on their feet participating in the business of the convention.

Once the bell sounded. Again it rang out and told the delegates and the hundreds of visitors who crowded the gallery and the rear of the hall that the inspired moment for which they had waited had arrived. There was a stillness such as the convention hall had not known before. A spirit seemed to pervade the whole gathering.

Chairman Jacob Panken stepped forward and introduced William H. Henry, delegate from Indiana, the home state of Debs.

"When I entered the great prison in Atlanta, Georgia, walking through a hallway with a guard, I saw a tall form

and when I looked I saw a man I knew, the same old Comrade of mine and yours," began Henry. "The guard immediately said, 'There is the man you want to see.' And I said, 'Yes, I love him, and I know him as far as I can see him.'"

"That is the Lincoln of the Wabash from Indiana way," I said.

"When I got near this Comrade, he stretched out his hands as he has to me and you many times. He grasped me in his arms while the tears rolled down his cheeks and he said, 'Oh Comrade, I am glad to see you. How are the Comrades back home? How do the Comrades feel about the situation?'"

"And the next question he asked was, 'Are all my Comrades active on the job wherever they may be?'"

"And I said, 'Yes they are all doing their part, Comrade. They are all doing what they can.'"

"And Debs' message to the Socialists was, 'Go out to the Comrades and urge them to give all their time and all their energy to this greatest of all movements, the Socialist movement of the working class.'"

Debs' Message Brings Tears to Eyes of Party Delegates
Debs' simple message brought tears to the eyes of the delegates. They were tears of joy; tears of inspiration and affectionate comradeship for the veteran Socialist who had sacrificed his freedom for his principles.

As Henry continued his plain account of his visit to Mr. Debs' cottage in Terre Haute, and finally placed the name of Debs in nomination for the presidency, the tenseness broke out in the wildest cheering that ever marked a Socialist convention.

The delegates and visitors yelled. They shouted and cheered and applauded and waved hats and handkerchiefs until the most staid Socialist in the gathering had become a boy again.

Standing at the back of the stage was a life-size portrait of the familiar tall figure as he had come to be known to millions of Americans. The picture was brought to the front of the stage and a bunch of red roses was laid before it in tribute.

"Debs, Debs, We Want Debs," Chants the Crowd at the Convention
"Debs, Debs, Eugene Debs," chanted

"Debs, Debs. We want Debs," and there was no denying the choice of the working class as it was represented in the Harlem hall.

"Debs, Debs. We want Debs," echoed until the rafters rang and rang and cheered and the slogan only to be drowned in turn by the cries for Debs.

For 21 minutes, the enthusiastic gathering gave noisy expression to its joy. Strong men cried and were unashamed. Women wiped away tears silently. A great event had come to their lives and they could not repress their emotion.

Irwin St. John Tucker began to sing the "Internationale" and song took the place of cheers. Hardly had the song come to an end before there were cries of "Debs, Debs, Eugene Debs."

Spontaneously the favorite old song of the revolution, "The Marseillaise," was started in one part of the hall and in-

stantly it swept all into another burst of singing. "The Hymn to Free Russia" was sung and finally with a spirit of defiance, "The Red Flag" floated over the assemblage.

Cheers for Debs were mingled with cheers for Soviet Russia and for fully 10 minutes Chairman Panken pounded his gavel, more to participate in the celebration than to end the outburst.

J. Louis Engdahl of Illinois started a march around the hall and soon the big gathering was in a long line winding its way about the tables of the convention hall.

Chamron King of California sprang to a chair and started another demonstration and, as soon as George Koop of Illinois could make himself heard, he started still another one.

Cannon Second Nomination of Debs For New York Group
Joseph D. Cannon, of New York, with

Dinner, Dance Will Enliven Convention

Entertainment Saturday Night, Banquet on Sunday Arranged by N. Y. Socialists

The Socialist Party, Local New York City, through its Convention Arrangements Committee has arranged for a reception, concert and dance to be tendered to the delegates of the National Convention. This affair will be held on Saturday evening, April 14, in the Convention Hall, 2056 5th avenue at 8:30 p.m. The program of the concert is as follows:

Overture, Schiller's Orchestra.
Folk Songs, Finnish Socialist Chorus.
Concerto in E Minor, Mendelssohn.
Guitare, Mozowski.

Solomon Deutsch, Violinist
Vittorio Giannini, Pianist.
Vocal selections, Mary A. Gates, Soprano.

"On With the Revolution", a skit.
Cast
Samuel A. De Witt, McAllister Coleman, August Claessens and the Yipsels.
The Theatre of the Dance—Madam Dorsha and her group of dancers.
1. Marche Slav
2. Polish Mazurka
3. Oriental Dance
4. A Group Dance (Title to be announced)

Dancing to follow immediately after the concert.
Music by Schiller's Society Orchestra.
Immediately following this concert, dancing will begin. Schiller's Orchestra will play the music. In between the various numbers and dances every effort

April Is Month of Conventions In The Socialist World

The National Convention of the American Socialist Party opened on the 13th of April in New York. On the 7th of April the Czech-Slovak Socialist-Democratic Party celebrated the 50th anniversary of their first Congress which was held at Brevnov, on the 7th of April, 1878.

The Easter Congress of the Dutch Socialist-Democratic Party met from the 6th to 8th of April at Utrecht. At the same time, that is to say, from the 7th to 10th of April, the Congress of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain was held at Norwich. The 13th Congress of the Latvian Socialist-Democratic Party was held at the headquarters of the Party, Riga, on the 31st of March and the 1st of April.

will be made to bring about a close acquaintance between the out-of-town and New York City delegates, visitors and members. Price of admission to this evening's affair is 75 cents. Tickets are obtainable at every branch club-room, city headquarters or at the hall on the evening of the affair.

Convention Banquet

A banquet tendered to the delegates of the National Convention of the Socialist Party, Local New York City. This affair will be a truly historic gathering and one of the largest of its kind in recent years. About 1000 persons will be accommodated and every Socialist and labor man and woman of National and Local prominence will be present. This affair will be held at the Park Palace, 110th street and 5th avenue. Dinner will be served promptly at 5:30 p.m. Immediately following the dinner, which is expected to be over by about 8:30 p.m., addresses will be delivered by a number

Two Stations To Broadcast Doings

know, solve the problem. While it may be too late even to consider arrangements for this convention it is not too late to make for the third time a request for a definite statement of the policy of the National Broadcasting Company during the coming campaign.

Mr. Thomas made public his correspondence with the radio company, and it received wide publicity. In the meantime, Mr. Aylesworth had returned to town Tuesday, the day of publication of the letters by Mr. Thomas. Mr. Aylesworth conferred with the Socialist leader and offered to give the party 20 minutes each convention night over WEAF. This offer was accepted and Mr. Thomas issued a statement thanking Mr. Aylesworth, at the same time announcing that the delay in making arrangements for broadcasting over WEAF had been due to a misunderstanding.

What is considered of greatest importance, was the assurance given Mr. Thomas by Mr. Aylesworth that, during the coming campaign, candidates of the three parties would receive equal treatment in the use of the broadcasting facilities.

THE POLITICAL PROSPECTS OF 1928

G.O.P. Will "Point With Pride", While Democrats "View With Scorn"; The Great Duty and Opportunity Before the Socialists

By McAlister Coleman

POLITICS is on the front pages once more and is there to stay, no doubt until next November. With the two capitals, parties picking their delegates to the conventions and the Socialist Party opening its national convention in New York this week, political writers are busy with speculation and prophecy and the reading of omens.

On the whole, the situation is interesting because it contains so many unpredictable possibilities. All the 120,000,000 of us are living in a time of doubt and hesitation—in a strange political interlude. A few months back, for example, men were saying that it was such a sure thing for the Republicans that any horse of whatever color, no matter if he be as dark as Senator Curtis from Kansas, could make the White House on the back of the triumphant elephant. Today they are not so sure. The hard round derby hat of a man from Tammany Hall named Smith darkens all the Republican horizon. Doubts as to the direction in which the White House will jump, doubts as to the manner in which the embattled farmers will take to their precious Hoover-lad, doubts as to the possibility of putting over once more the prosperity myth in a land overflowing with poor and unemployed—these make sleepless nights for those who are holding the front for big business.

The Strategy No Mystery

Even the least of the minor prophets may outline now the forthcoming strategy of both old parties. There is no particular mystery there. It is the mass reaction of the inarticulate voters to this strategy which creates a confusion in the minds of political bosses. Obviously the Republican tactic is to avoid all controversial subjects, in the manner of a cautious Y. M. C. A. secretary conducting an open forum. Theirs is to be a "constructive statesmanship." The forefingers of their orators are likely to become rheumatic during this campaign, so often will they point with pride.

The Republican ballyhoosers, in short, will indulge in glorious generalities concerning Coolidge economy; the triumph of the budget system; the tender care evinced by the Republican tariff-makers towards such infant industries as the steel trust, the automobile business, the textile and shoe enterprises, and all the rest of the "full dinner-pail" propaganda with which they have befuddled the workers since McKinley's time. Has not the patient and sorely slandered Mr. Andrew Mellon, the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton, been devoting his vast energies to reducing the taxes of the rich for the benefit of the poor? Have not a great number of twenty-dollar-a-week clerks been thrown out of their jobs in the name of Coolidge economy? Has not

Mr. Coolidge lived so sparsely in the White House as to be able to retire on what most of us would consider a very tidy savings? In foreign affairs have we not shown that we conceived it our high duty to protect weaker nations, even to the extent of sending them those eminent foreign missionaries, the United States Marines?

The Dark Spots—"Human Errors"

Of course there have been here and there certain hints of scandals connected with the administration of our natural resources. But man is notoriously prone to error, and we may pardon the occasional lapse for the sake of the abundant blessings that have been heaped upon us all, through the beneficence of a Republican administration. Today America leads the world in production of goods, the distribution of services, and the amount of income per capita. With the mention of Abraham Lincoln and the long and honorable tradition behind the party, together with a few kind words on behalf of the candidate, the above will constitute the average campaign speech of the average Republican spell-binder.

And the Democrats—

Now come over here and listen to the Democrats. Their cue is to point the

finger of scorn. For their speakers, classes in high indignation over Republican misdeeds will be held daily during the campaign. Clad in chastity, their orators will enter the arena loudly protesting their utter innocence in the matter of campaign contributions, skulduggery at the polls, and all such nefarious goings on. We may expect to hear a great deal about the "new Tammany." According to this philosophy the old Fourteenth Street-walker has now washed from her cheeks all carnal stains, retired with honor from the most ancient of professions, and is now engaged in doling out sweet charity to the poor. To be sure, this picture of a regenerate and repentant Tammany may be a bit startling to those who have been in the neighborhood of the Hall of late, but out in the Middle West it will serve to quiet the fears of the timid souls who cannot get rid of the vision of the Pope of Rome, arm in arm with a New York gangster, being received at the White House.

At the same time as they are denouncing the Republican greed, the Democratic spokesmen will make it very plain that what they will call "legitimate business" will have nothing to fear from them. The thriving industries of the New South, with their ideal open shop labor conditions, the great industrial

centres of the East and Middle West, will in no way be deterred from the even tenor of their courses by any Democratic administration. Subscriptions to the Democratic campaign funds may be made by any business man with as easy a conscience as though he were giving direct to the Republican National Committee.

The Socialist Opportunity

Small wonder that in such a situation, and at such a time, delegates to the Socialist Convention who are arriving in New York are full of confidence that here is the opportunity for a nationwide revival of Socialist thinking. They have before them the clear-cut picture of Capitalism foundering under its own weight. They know that everywhere throughout the country the wild rush for production and still more production which is replacing men by machines, staging a huge tragedy of unemployment, and creating a vast new army of middle-class parasites, leads inevitably to chaos. They know, too, that the more thoughtful among the workers are becoming alive to the fact that their skills are being stolen from them, that huge profits on top do not mean high wages below, and that production for the benefit of the few results only in misery for the many. While these working men and women may have given

lip service to the prosperity god, in their hearts they felt all the time that they were worshipping false images.

Now with fresh hopes and new enthusiasms, the Socialists go into this campaign as the sole interpreters and spokesmen for the great masses of America's workers. In the months that intervene between the making of their candidates and the elections, there is an opportunity unique in the history of the past decade to drive home the correctness of the Socialist formula in regard to such matters as collective ownership and industrial democracy.

But over and beyond domestic issues of industrial concern, there looms the dreadful menace of war. About this there will be a sinister silence on the part of the capitalist henchmen. But we can speak out. Our voices can be lifted while any breath is left in us against the foreboding preparations for a new world conflict which are going on so busily behind the political scenes. Every indication points to the fact that in America today a small but vastly influential body of men and women are determined upon a desperate attempt to make secure America's financial supremacy by utterly destroying her potential rivals. It is our business to bring home to the people of this country be-

fore it is too late the foul purpose of these American jingoes.

Towards the end of that very tender and very brilliant book which H. G. Wells wrote out of the agony of his spirit during the last war, Mr. Britling, the principal character in his novel, writing to a German father whose son has been slaughtered in the trenches, says:

"Let us make ourselves watchers and guardians of the order of the world."

"If only for love of our dead..."

"Let us pledge ourselves to service. Let us set ourselves with all our minds and all our hearts to the perfecting and working out of the methods of democracy and the ending for ever of the kings and emperors and priestcrafts and the bands of adventurers, the traders and owners and forestallers who have betrayed mankind into this morass of hate and blood—in which our sons are lost—in which we flounder still..."

"Watchers and guardians of the order of the world." Such has been the historic mission of the Socialists of all countries since the industrial revolution. Such is still their mission here and abroad. No delegate to the convention can, even if he would, evade that responsibility. He is part of a movement which is destined to mould the entire economic future of America. This campaign, from the Socialist standpoint, represents but one phase of that moulding process, one more engagement in the long battle for human freedom and happiness, in which we are all enlisted.

The D.A.R. Insult Their Revolutionary Forebears

By Louis Stanley

LET not anyone suppose that the laughter which has greeted the blacklist of the Massachusetts Daughters of the American Revolution has diminished any of the influence which the D. A. R. is accustomed to wield. The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution still has more than one hundred thousand members scattered throughout the country. It still remains imbedded in the solid and substantial classes. It still is the goal of many an old lady who will twist her family tree to gain admission into the blue-blooded ranks. It still is the model of correctness in thought and action for those who obtain vicarious pleasure from others' genealogies. When it holds its thirty-seventh annual Continental Congress at Washington, D. C., next week, because that is the week in which April 19, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, falls, the delegates, it is certain, will not be a bit bruised by the brinks of publicity that have been hurled at the Daughters in recent days.

To be lucky enough to be eligible to join the Daughters of the American Revolution one must be a woman—at least one man has been known to seek membership—not less than eighteen years of age; "descended from a man or woman who, with unfailing loyalty to the cause of American Independence, served as a sailor or as a soldier or civil officer in one of the several Colonies or States, or in the United Colonies or States, or as a recognized patriot, or rendered material aid thereto; provided the applicant is personally acceptable to the Society." The last clause makes it possible to exclude applicants who have remained true to the rebel spirit of their revolutionary ancestors.

Members are provided for. It is further provided that "any member conducting herself in a way calculated to disturb the harmony of the National Society or to injure its good name or hamper it in its work... may be reprimanded, suspended or expelled." Whether Mrs. Helen Tufts Baillie of Cambridge, Mass., and Mrs. Mary P. MacFarland of Hanover, N. H., D. A. R. members who attacked the blacklist, will be disciplined is at present unknown. The national dues of a member of a local chapter is two dollars per year; of a member at large five dollars per year, and of a life member one hundred dollars. To these small sums chapters may add fees of their own.

Essentially the objects of the Society are three-fold:

- (1) Antiquarianism: "to perpetuate the memory and spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence" by preserving relics and historical sites and promoting the celebration of all patriotic anniversaries.
- (2) Americanism: encourage the knowledge and performance of the duties of American citizenship.
- (3) Save the world: "to cherish, maintain, and extend the institutions of American freedom, to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty."

Naturally, only the members of the D. A. R. because of their proprietary interest in this country can be trusted to carry out these vital aims.

Those who have given public aid and comfort to the perpetrators of the blacklist are Mrs. Alfred J. Brosseau, President General, Mrs. William Sherman Walker, Vice-President General, and Chairman of the National Defense Committee, Mrs. James Charles Peabody, State Regent of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Stephen Perkins Hurd, Chairman of the Massachusetts Committee on National Defense, in whose possession the blacklist has been kept. All these are eminently respectable ladies, as our own little blue list shows:

Mrs. Mack Trucks, President Grace Lincoln Hall Brosseau, President, can well understand the Daughters, for she has been a member for more than thirty years. Though she was born in Illinois, we may well say with her friends, that nevertheless, she is descended from a long line of Puritan New England ancestors. Her revolutionary forbear is

Major Daniel Wood of Maine. Most of her career in the D. A. R. has been spent with her husband in Michigan. He is president and director of Mack Bros., Motor Car Co.; Mack Trucks, Inc.; Mack Trucks Real Estate, Inc.; Mack Acceptance Corp.; International-Brunswick Motor Co.; International-Motor Co., and International-Plainfield Motor Co. He is a director of the Certain-teed Products Corp., and the Moline Plow Co. By virtue of all these affiliations he has been elected vice-president and director of the United States Chamber of Commerce and a director of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce. Mrs. Brosseau has served as treasurer general of the D. A. R., chairman of the committee which entertains the women of Ellis Island before their deportation and of the bond committee which raised the funds for the D. A. R.'s Constitutional Hall. She is, therefore, a woman of energetic leisure. When she was nominated for the presidency two years ago, the comrade in arms who introduced her to the revolutionary assemblage, must have had a premonition if not a knowledge of the blacklist, for she described Mrs. Brosseau in these noble terms:

"Tolerant of the rights and opinions of others, but with a courage and ability to stand alone if necessary..."

A Stay-at-home Patriot Flora A. Bredes Bethel Walker is the great-granddaughter of Jedediah Palmer of Norwich, Conn., who served on town committees during the revolution providing for soldiers families. Her husband is President and General Man-

ager of the Pantorium Dye Works, one of the largest establishments of its kind in Seattle, Washington. Mrs. Walker has been an active member of the D. A. R. for more than two decades, when she decided to become a professional patriot by exploiting poor Jedediah Palmer. A press correspondent has referred to her usual peppiness. He probably overlooked this eulogy that ushered her into the vice presidency:

"From the rim of the accident where the West is no more and the East begins, whose daughters, Janus-minded, understanding both the East and the West, Washington State is happy to present as a candidate for the office of Vice-President General, Mrs. William Sherman Walker, a woman born in Ohio, having spent years in her adopted State, whose capabilities judiciously fit her for this high office, a woman with the gift of perennial youth typical of the perpetual freshness of the evergreen forests of her State; with the energy and efficiency of the Occident and the wisdom of the Orient, college bred, perfectly poised, a strong and pleasing personality... Her only fault lies in giving herself too unsparsingly to the service, not only of her friends, but to all who ask it of her..."

It is this goddess who as chairman of the National Defense Committee of the D. A. R., has centralized the red-baiting activities of the Societies. Reporting to the Continental Congress last year, she began with these classic words: "Sunrise! Dawn! The glow of the morning! The new day of 'Co-operation' on National Defense' by the

Daughters of the American Revolution is just beginning. The National Defense Committee is still in the morning of its existence.

"Proceeding toward noon-day it should, in its natural course, become an illuminating force in the Nation, throwing light on the dark places, dispelling the gloom of misunderstanding, eradicating the cobwebs of conspiracy, banishing the bats of misbelief and seething, purifying the atmosphere of the elements of suspicion, insurrection and violence."

The work of the Committee she divided into two parts: the support of adequate National Defense—capitals in the original—and the counteracting of subversive influences. She revered the name of the Daughters of the American Revolution and resented its misappropriation to students of social welfare work; who were called "Daughters of the Coming Revolution."

With Only a Few Dollars The activity of the committee got under way in September, 1926. At that time the country was "the mercy of traitors. The committee, however, raised five hundred dollars, received a benefaction of one thousand dollars from the Colonel Scott fund and enlisting voluntary help was enabled to save the country."

"What a financial contrast! Picture the organizations at work to undermine the basic principles of our Government, having millions at their disposal, trained people by the hundreds at their command. In some cases there are endowments insuring the future continuance of their activities."

Surely the facts are already within America and thoroughly equipped and organized for action."

This is what the committee has been able to accomplish with the few dollars at its disposal:

1. An ever-growing correspondence reaching into all States.
2. A digest of conditions throughout the United States by means of questionnaires.
3. Amassing comprehensive files on subversive subjects.
4. Supplying documented information.
5. Research at libraries and information centres.
6. The collecting and revamping of current data.
7. The reviewing of books and magazines.
8. Clipping newspapers and periodicals.
9. Preparing and escorting exhibits: good examples of this activity are the exhibits of literature shown at the State Conference of the Ohio Daughters and during the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense held at Washington last year.
10. Mimeographing and reproducing rare material for more general distribution.
11. Publication of special material.
12. Stimulating activity in the States.
13. Interviewing hundreds of callers.
14. Supplying information to press, platform and pulpit.
15. Giving speeches before Chapters, State Conferences and other groups.

It is said that the files of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Washington contain the most comprehensive collection of destructive, subversive literature in the country. Mrs. Walker has the proud distinction of be-

ing responsible for the pumping of the D. A. R., reactionary propaganda into the wells of public opinion.

The Massachusetts matrons are comparatively small fry. The chief claim of Emmie Louise Balcome Peabody, State Regent, to fame rests upon her eight ancestors who gained for her admission into the D. A. R., almost twenty years ago. Caleb Whiting served as captain of a company on the Alarm of 1775 and a major in Col. Ezra Wood's regiment, Massachusetts militia. Joshua Fairbanks turned out at the Alarm as lieutenant in Captain Caleb Whiting's company. William Jepherson also served as lieutenant in the same company. The Captain's followers must have hogged all the brave blood among themselves. Other ancestors of Mrs. Peabody are Bezaleel Balcom, John Whiting, Joseph Thayer, Joseph Thayer, Jr., and Benjamin Hawkins. Mrs. Peabody is, indeed, a noble woman. Emily Frances Baxter Hurd who circulated the blacklist is descended from Adam Beals who responded to the Lexington Alarm and Adam Beals, Jr., who was placed on the pension roll in 1818 for service in the Massachusetts line.

Daughters of Revolutionists

There is no doubt that the ancestors of the Daughters of the American Revolution would be the first to be blacklisted by their descendants of this generation. When the D. A. R. was formed in 1890 among the society gentlewomen of Washington, D. C., and vicinity, the choice of a chairman of the Executive Board was up for discussion. Miss Mary Desha, who was active in the organiza-

tion of women, was suggested as the first chairman of the Executive Board.

Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, wife of the President of the United States, who had accepted the position of President-General of the D. A. R. objected to this selection on the ground "that a married woman, one who had social prominence and a residence of some pretension in Washington should be chosen for the office." Mary Desha was not appointed.

With such democratic beginnings was the Daughters of the American Revolution launched. The tone set up then has prevailed ever since. Together with the other societies, male, female and mixed, of professional patriots and the Daughters of the American Revolution acts as the saviors of the United States. It may go to ridiculous excesses sometimes, as in the present instance, but in the main its agitation against freedom of speech and for jingoism and militarism has weight. And the reason is not that the blood of the rebels of '76 flows in the Daughters' veins—if that is biologically correct—but that having become prosperous through generations of exploiting, the destroyers of American liberty must preserve the social and economic status today. Super-patriotism, they think, is firm ground upon which to stand.

"Our fight," says the President-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, "is against radicalism."

If Major Daniel Wood, her ancestor, and his compatriots could but hear this!

TEXT OF ADDRESS AT CONVENTION

(Continued from page 2)

and form an intelligent and militant party to which rather than any weapon in making government the Messiah we must look as our great servant of the people.

"Let two issues serve out of many. There is the tragedy of the coal mines. Fundamentally that tragedy arises out of our apathetic willingness to let a natural resource be wastefully exploited for private profit. There can be no cure which ignores this fact."

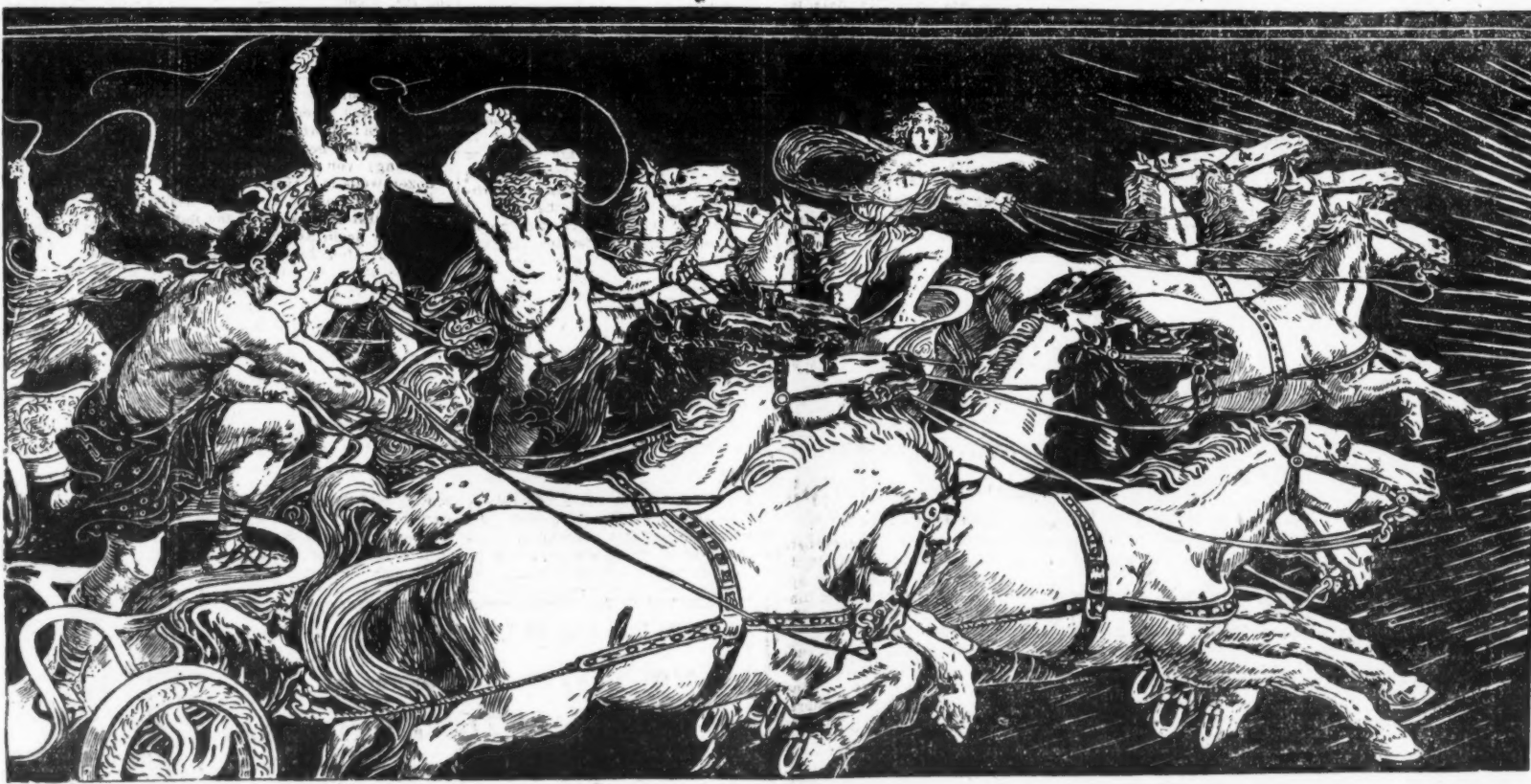
The Power Trust

"Or, take the super power trust. Mr. Cortelyou boasted that it had at its service a \$17,000,000 lobby. This lobby by a bi-partisan vote thwarted Senator Walsh's investigation and shunted it over to a packed and relatively powerless Federal Trade Commission. It spent more than \$1,000,000 last year for its propaganda. It charges domestic users in the United States more than three times the rate that the public power development of Ontario offers to the farmers and workers of that country. It is assuming a power over us and taking tribute from us which makes even the graft that Sinclair and Doeherty took look small and inconsequential."

"I repeat that on the issues of coal and power alone, to say nothing of tariff, taxation, including the proper taxing of inheritances and land, and the war against imperialism we have issues to rouse the people—issues which demand the building again of a strong Socialist Party. Too long have we Americans had the bandwagon habit. The first question is not when shall we have that mighty labor party which is our heart's desire. The first question is how shall we work for that party. It is that question that this convention is going to answer. It is to the answering of that question that we shall hopefully and courageously wage a campaign not only of protest but of constructive building in the Presidential year. We shall not let this issue be lost in political hokum. We shall talk the end of exploitation of the workers, and the recovery of governmental machinery as the servant of the people. And we will be heard."



THE DAYBREAK OF THE INTERNATIONAL



Walter Crane, who drew the picture above, was one of the early artists of the labor movement. He was associated with William Morris, the poet, artist and agitator. Morris called on various activities as part of his work in the Socialist movement. He was editor of a Socialist weekly, established shops where craftsmen made beautiful furniture and tapestries and painted splendid books. Crane was

his helper in most of these ventures. He drew pictures for the weekly, made designs for the tapestries, illustrated the books which Morris and his workers printed. For years, Crane drew a picture every week in The Commonweal, which Morris edited. Crane was famous as an artist outside working class circles. He exhibited his pictures at the great galleries of London but always said his

first love was the working class audience he drew for in The Commonweal. Crane was a friend of George Bernard Shaw when Shaw was a struggling newspaperman and Socialist soap boxer.

It was Crane's idea that art should have a place in the life of the ordinary man. In London of the '80's he saw men scrambling for money and nothing else—just about as they do now.

He held that there was more to living than money and that beauty was one of those things that made life worth living.

He didn't draw and paint only pictures to hang on the walls of people who could pay big sums for them. He designed wall paper and textiles for everyday use. House decoration was another of his many hobbies. He held that a man and his family

would be better off in a decent looking house than in a jerry-built place of junk. So he designed the sort he thought beautiful.

Many of the cartoons he made for the Commonweal were later collected and printed in a book, "Cartoons for the Cause." He also devoted much of his time to the Art Workers' Guide, an organization of workers that tried to

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

SOME KEYS TO THE CITY

OF COURSE most of you convention delegates have been in New York before. But even if your last visit was only five years ago, it will still be a strange city to you, so rapidly are we all ky-hooting along these days.

For example, I was born on a West Side street in the upper part of town. The house where I first saw the dim metropolitan light of day stood longer than most of the others on the block. When I went up there about five years ago, it had been made over into a rooming house, with signs in the window. Two years later it had been torn down to make place for a cafeteria. Last winter I had to look all around to be sure I was on the right block for a twenty-story apartment house was rearing up on the old lot. Next time I wander up there I suppose I'll find that the apartment has been torn down and that they're busy putting up a block long theatre or clearing a landing ground for aeroplanes from Berlin.

It just breaks a New Yorker's heart to leave anything standing for more than a couple of days. If he can't get to work on a new skyline every season he goes into quite a tantrum. He is like a kid with a lot of wooden blocks. Laboriously he builds up an elaborate structure and then with a whoop of joy knocks the whole business to smithereens. Of course it isn't quite as simple as that. Real estate speculators have something to do with our city's face which changes as amazingly and rapidly as Lon Chaney's. But the fact remains that if you haven't been to New York for five or ten years, the scene shifts that have taken place in your absence are a bit confusing.

So permit me to show you around a bit. First of all there's our Mayor. We've had a lot of trick Mayors in our time and Jimmy Walker is not the least of them. He's a slick, little trim, little article, is Jimmy. He's begun to pull on us natives a bit. The joke is getting rather threadbare. The wisecrackers are growing mouldy in their box down at City Hall. But Jimmy still goes big down South and out West and on the sidewalks of Vienna.

Some of you old-timers may remember back to the dear dead days when every well-equipped saloon had a singing waiter. When the time came for the checks, he would walk over to your table and break out with a Mammy song and through the alcoholic mist of tears that followed you never noticed how you were being short-changed.

Well, that's Jimmy. You always expect him to come swaying towards you, snapping his fingers and rolling his eyes and clogging a little what time he sweeps in your coin with agile fingers.

And always in Jimmy's back-ground there's Tammany Hall on Fourteenth Street which you'd better take one last look at, for Tammany's got religion these days and is going to move to more respectable quarters where a Democratic Presidential candidate can walk around without stumbling over a gross of brass cuspidors.

In the same building with Tammany appropriately enough is a burlesque show where festive ladies lighten the lot of the laborer by wriggling down a promenade suspended above the admiring eyes of the audience and singing. "My man's got diabetes, so I call him Sugar Dad."

If by any strange chance you should desire to talk over matters of import with any of our old-line local labor leaders, it might be well to go straight to the burlesque instead of wasting your time hanging around their official headquarters.

Of course you'll want to take one shot at "The Great White Way." When Gilbert Chesterton was here he said: "What a wonderful spectacle that would be for a man who couldn't read."

The press agents for the New York Edison Company will tell you just how much electricity is required to inform you in flaming letters that cigarettes improve your singing voice, chewing gum is indispensable to good digestion and "The Scars of Passion" is the greatest drama since "Hamlet." Here is Sucker Street, comrades, a bit more glittering but fully as phoney as when you last visited it.

And then perhaps your New York hosts will insist on taking you on a bus trip down the Avenue. But don't let them kid you about this being the home of Society. Society has long since trekked East to live in fantastic apartments along a filthy river front where on almost any clear day one can watch the inmates of the poor-house over on Welfare Island dying of disease and despair.

No, the Avenue ain't what it used to be. For a few short blocks up from Washington Square it is given over to apartments housing those former residents of Keokuk and Pekin, Ill., who like to think they are leading a rowdy Bohemian life in Greenwich Village. Then it plunges into wholesale ladies and misses with a stop for a few Japanese curio stores owned by Greeks who live in Newark, until it reaches the Waldorf and the beginning of the shops. You can tell which shops are swankier because they have no names on them. Even Childs restaurants go into this mystery stuff when they get on the Avenue and if it wasn't for the toughness of the flapjacks a stranger might eat a whole meal in one of them without knowing where he was at.

Then you get the oh so exclusive men's clubs. Don't let the children break out laughing when they see the funny looking things sitting in the windows. Tell them that they are the fair flowers of the capitalist system, the great minds of modern industrial enterprise and that the Central Park zoo is farther up the line.

So far a visitor might be excused for thinking that he had at last arrived at that Utopia where, as one visitor seriously put it an official report, "no one lifts, pushes, sweats. Everything is done by pushing buttons." A place where we are all sitting pretty, throwing around money like drunken Republicans at election time, doing our prosperity stuff with a smashing strut.

If you want to keep this illusion, keep off the side streets. Particularly those of the East Side. "Housed in the back streets and alleys behind the symbols of riches and power lived the urban masses who washed the linen, dug the trenches, served the wheels and watched the forges for Midas and Divcs," wrote Prof. Beard of an earlier "Gilded Age" than ours. And there they are still today, the vast majority of New Yorkers, overworked, underpaid, underpaid. Sweating and grunting to keep moving this picture of New York prosperity that has no more flesh and blood reality to it than the shadows on the silver screen.

But shucks, we didn't mean to go serious on you. What we do mean is that we are glad to have you with us, glad to have as comrades men and women who can see the passing show eye to eye with us, detect its shams, devise with us ways and means of giving intelligence, courage and happiness more of a breathing space in these cluttered up cities of ours.

McAlister Coleman.

The Outline of Injunctions

Justice Brandeis on Injunctions—How Labor's Hands Are Tied By Judicial Interference

By Louis Waldman

(Continued From Last Week)

Underlying the opposition to injunctions in labor disputes is the belief entertained by large bodies of men and women, including many lawyers and judges, that the law of property is not appropriate or adequate for dealing with the issues arising from social unrest. The complex problems of modern industrial civilization cannot be solved by legal rights and remedies applicable to property. For the state to regulate and control the vast and incessant struggle of capital and labor, legal principles and remedies will have to be developed appropriate to the needs.



Louis Waldman

legal principles and remedies will have to be developed appropriate to the needs.

Brandeis on Injunctions

Summarizing the opposition to judicial interference by way of injunction in industrial disputes, Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the U. S. Supreme Court, in his dissenting opinion in the celebrated case of *Truax vs. Corrigan* said:

"The equitable remedy, although applied in accordance with established practice, involved incidents which, it was asserted, endangered the personal liberty of wage earners. The acts enjoined were frequently, perhaps usually, acts which were already crimes at common law or had been made so by statutes. The issues in litigation arising out of trade disputes related largely to questions of fact. But in equity issues of fact as of law were tried by a single judge sitting without a jury. Charges of violating an injunction were often

heard on affidavits merely, without the opportunity of confronting or cross-examining witnesses. Men found guilty of contempt were committed in the judge's discretion, without either a statutory limit upon the length of the imprisonment, or the opportunity of effective review on appeal, or the right to release on bail pending possible revisionary proceedings. The effect of the proceeding upon the individual was substantially the same as if he had been successfully prosecuted for a crime; he was denied, in the courts of the equity proceedings, those rights which by the constitution are commonly secured to persons charged with a crime.

"It was asserted that in these proceedings an alleged damage to property always incidental and at times insignificant, was laid hold of to enable the penalties of the criminal law to be enforced expeditiously without that protection to the liberty of the individual which the bill of rights was designed to afford; that through such proceedings a single judge often usurped the functions not only of the jury but of the Police Department; that in prescribing the conditions under which strikes were permissible and how they can be carried out, he usurped also the powers of the Legislature; and that incidentally he abridged the constitutional rights of individuals to free speech, to free press and to peaceful assembly."

In this succinct statement, Justice Brandeis indicates the real answer to those lawyers and judges who say: "What objection is there to this injunction? It does not forbid you to do anything that is not already forbidden by the criminal law." In other words, they say: "This injunction forbids you to do what you are already forbidden, so how can you be harmed?" This attitude has

been taken by many courts in granting injunctions on flimsy grounds.

But of course, granting an injunction against a labor union forbidding it to do what the criminal law already forbids does substantial and real harm. Justice Brandeis in the opinion quoted above indicates why. It substitutes trial of labor men for contempt before a judge without a jury, often on mere affidavits, for trial by a jury with all the safeguards surrounding the defendants which they would have had were they charged with crime. In addition, a fact not mentioned by Justice Brandeis, the labor men also become liable for so-called damages, including counsel fee, suffered by the employer in the event a breach of the injunction decree is established. Recently in New York a Supreme Court justice fined several defendants, officers of a labor union (with whose principles and tactics I thoroughly disagree) the enormous sum of ten thousand dollars and disbursements, besides imposing upon them jail sentences.

Whether organized labor seeks to extend its influence into hitherto untapped and untapped fields or is conducting a campaign to compel an employer or a group of employers to accede to its demands for more wages, shorter hours and union conditions of employment, its activities are generally divided into two classes:

1. The withholding of the labor of its members from the employer or employers directly involved in the controversy. This we will call direct economic pressure.
2. The bringing against the employer, employers, or, in some cases, even against the unorganized worker, of social pressure, which we will call indirect economic pressure.

Labor's use of direct economic pressure is comparatively easy to define. It

consists of persuasion and the strike. The indirect economic pressure cannot be defined. It varies with the particular form of labor organization involved, the kind of industry that happens to be affected, the make up of the workmen concerned, their racial, religious and cultural background, the connection and interconnection of the employers, etc. The best I can do is illustrate what I mean by indirect economic pressure.

The campaign of a central labor council to induce its members and friends not to wear a certain article because one of their affiliated unions producing that article is on strike; the refusal by an international union to handle products made in a factory against which a strike is being conducted by one of its locals; the refusal on the part of a union to handle material made in a non-union or struck shop; the circularization of customers of a non union employer inviting their sympathetic cooperation—these are examples of indirect economic pressure that might be employed by unions against employers.

Similarly, in addition to persuasion, the exposing of a strike-breaker to the ridicule of his group, his church, his club his family, is a species of indirect pressure calculated to keep him away from taking the place of the striker. In that way also many non-union workers are driven into the union of their trade.

Comparatively little difficulty is encountered in the courts when unions employ what is termed direct economic pressure. Not so when they employ indirect economic pressure. More often than not both must be employed to be successful. But the minute the unions enter the field of activity, employing indirect economic pressure, there is a babel of tongues, a frightful confusion in the law.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Carmen Sign Pact With The Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

It is provided in the agreement that these faithful men are to decide by a two-thirds vote whether they desire to join the union or terminate the contract. On the new lines a similar democratic procedure is to be followed.

The union-management cooperation, which is the essence of the whole agreement, is to be carried out through the union's taking over the company union. Where before the '50-50' plan was effective as between management and union, "To the owners this will mean a fair return on their property; to the public an adequate and efficient system of transportation; and to employees, in addition to wages sufficient for the necessities of life, comfort and savings, an opportunity to participate in increased earnings made possible by their increased effort and productive efficiencies." That is no different from the plan in operation on the Baltimore and Ohio, and other railroads.

The execution of the union management plan is to be accomplished through local working agreements covering standards of work and compensation. Taking a leaf from the company union experience, it is stated that "collective consideration" is to be upon the basis of group representation through branch, departmental and general committees, with recourse to arbitration in case of failure of agreement. If the representatives of the Amalgamated and of the Mitten Management cannot agree, then each side shall choose the arbitrator and these two a third. If an agreement cannot be reached upon the old man, the Public Service Commission shall act as the third arbitrator. Furthermore, each side shall share in the financing of the scheme. When two-thirds of the men decide, the check-off system of collecting dues in vogue in mining regions, shall be introduced. Lastly, the company will contribute one dollar per month per man towards a system of funeral, disability, old age or other benefits.

It is obvious that the Mitten-Mahon agreement will give a tremendous impetus to union-management schemes, particularly because the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway employees has been notably a progressive and aggressive union. The elder Mitten is a kind of "Golden Rule" Nash. He has been paternalistic towards labor. He believes that union-management will bring labor and capital together and preserve the capitalist system. Speaking of labor banks, he has declared:

"The forces of labor in this country, aggressively led, could within one generation control the entire financial structure of the country. To the conservative old line banker such a possibility smacks of Socialism. But there is an adequate safety valve in that labor could never acquire such an influence except by following such a forward policy of cooperation with management, that the resultant good to all concerned would banish forever the possibility that the forces of labor would use their power toward destructive ends."

The trade union movement in this country is committed to union-management cooperation. On the dogmatic ground of class-collaboration it is, of course, indefensible, but then all collective agreements are examples of class

collaboration. How, it may work out in particular cases depends upon the strength of the union and the degree of protection that the union can supply so that speed-up and other injustices can be avoided. The adoption of the industrial method of organization upon which the company unions have been based and because of which to a large extent they have flourished is a useful innovation. With modern methods of personnel management plant and department committees are almost indispensable. There is no reason why the union should not participate in them.

The uncertain element in the agreement is that no authentic information is available as to where the new lines are located. No doubt the contract is not intended for the scrap-heap. It is the persistent report in Philadelphia that Mitten is to take over the operation of the New York City lines, certainly those about to be completed and in all probability those to be re-captured soon from the I. R. T. and the B. M. T. This prediction is confirmed by three events. The first is that the elder Mitten has relinquished the chairmanship of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company in the Quaker City and the International Railway Company in Buffalo, and handed over the reins of government to his son.

The second is that he has rented a large apartment in New York City. It is claimed, however that this is of no significance, since he has lived in New York City before. The third and most important consideration is the subway strike episode this year. We have repeatedly stated in these columns that the Amalgamated has failed to keep up organization work in New York City, seemingly because it expects to receive a unionized transit system from Tammany Hall on a silver platter in return for not trying up the lines with a walk-out. The hasty and never-explained retreat of Mahon early this year gives basis to the speculation that the union was informed of the coming of the Mittens. For behaving itself and not embarrassing Tammany, particularly in an Al Smith presidential year, the union will be rewarded, it seems, with a unionized line. This is probably the meaning of Mitten's altruism.

It does not at all bid well for organized labor, unless the Amalgamated Association first organizes the men it-

L. S.

Mysterious Move Against Randolph

(Continued from Page 1)

humane conditions for the members and these conditions have been written into agreements. The story appears to be another attempt to undermine confidence in some of the leading men in the union.

Randolph declared that he is "ready to make any sacrifice for the men. I will resign, if by so doing a bona fide agreement can be reached whereby the men and the company can get together."

These revelations in a Pittsburgh court-room of the crimes of the K. K. K. not only show that it is as vicious an organization as its enemies have always claimed but also that it has made its own members its dupes. When will men learn that those who are ready to play on their prejudices, their fears and their childish desires to be citizens of an invisible empire instead of a free republic are always ready to make fools or knaves out of them.

From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

THE JOFFE LETTER

Adolph Joffe's letter which he wrote on the eve of his suicide is a document of the highest importance and significance. No more terrible, no more convincing indictment of the present regime in Soviet Russia could be imagined. It is heart-breaking.

For a long time we believed in the idealism of the Bolshevik government, and defended it against the attacks of those who accused it of numerous moral crimes and atrocities. Such an attitude is no longer possible. It is time for all humane and decent-minded men and women to come out courageously with the truth, and to proclaim to the world that the present Bolshevik government is a low despotism, a vile selfish tyranny, ruthless in its determination to crush, to starve and to drive to suicide Russia's noblest men and women who devoted and sacrificed their lives to the cause of freedom. It is time and it is our duty to tell the world the truth that Stalin is a man of low character, a man of the same brutal type as Mussolini, Rivera, Bethlen or Horty. Particularly does this duty rest on those individual radicals and Communists as well as periodicals whose love of and devotion to new Russia is unimpeachable.

History records few greater crimes than the exile to the frozen north of such men as Trotsky, Rakovsky, Radek, etc. etc. The question is not as to whose economic theories are "right" or "wrong" at the present moment; the question is if a revolutionary government may use methods of the worst of the Russian Czar to rid itself of people whose self-sacrificing devotion to the revolution is above question, but who dare to criticize some of its policies or who are personally distasteful to it.

The crime of Robespierre in sending Danton and Camille and Lucie Deschamps to the guillotine and his fellow exiles, who will probably be secretly assassinated, starved to death or driven to suicide. Nor was the murder of Matteotti instigated by Mussolini a vile crime. (I just learned that Ex-Commissioner Fokin has also committed "suicide").

The callousness of the Stalin regime, equalled, said Fall to Doherty, and Doan can be shown in no more glaring light than in the fact that the request of the exiles, some of whom are physically ill, to be sent to a salubrious climate, like be enough for each.

Caucasus or the Crimea, was brutally rejected. Yes, those who sacrificed their lives under the Czar must now end their lives in the wastes of Siberia and Turkestan, for the sole crime of entertaining ideas different from those held by the powers that be. Even the Czar was no more cruel.

We have been stirred to our depths by the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. Equally horrible crimes are committed by the present Russian Government. I have written month after month about the brutalities, internments, suppressions of free speech and free press by Mussolini. Stalin is guilty of the same crimes.

In brief, decent men and women, genuine liberals and sane radicals, sincere and honest Communists, have no right to throw stones at the capitalist glass houses, so long as the House of Liberty from which so much was hoped, so long as the free and glorious Workers Republic remains one immense prison, permeated with spies and informers, in which everybody who dares whisper a word of criticism against the government risks exile, starvation, a filthy dungeon or death!

In my opinion, to remain silent any longer is to be guilty of moral cowardice.

This is no appeal to counter-revolution, which would be criminal. It is an appeal to come out courageously and tell the Russian government that it cannot go on as it has been, that it must become more liberal and more humane, or it will lose the support and sympathy of all decent men and women throughout the world.

DR. WILLIAM J. ROBINSON,

Editor of The Critic and Guide, Paris, France.

Three-fourths of the money which has been made in the Southern California oil region has been wasted because of too close drilling; you put down half a dozen wells in a single city block, because if you don't get your well down first the owner of the next lot will drain away all your oil. So three-fourths of the benefit which mankind might get from oil goes into useless holes in the ground and useless timbers built up into the air.—Upton Sinclair.

Many years ago our Socialist opponents used to ask us who would do the dirty work under Socialism. Fall, Doherty, Burns and Hays have solved that problem for us and Tammany is doing its bit in New York City.

"This is a land where everybody is equal," said Fall to Doherty, and Doan can be shown in no more glaring light than in the fact that the request of the exiles, some of whom are physically ill, to be sent to a salubrious climate, like be enough for each.

GOING SOME. BUT WHERE AND WHY?

ITALY is constructing an airplane which is expected to travel more than six hundred miles an hour. Well, that's going some. But why be in such a hurry? There is nothing at the end of the journey but the grave and the faster one travels the sooner he gets there.

This surely is some fast age. I was arrested once for exceeding the speed limit, driving a buggy and horse through a little burg in Ohio on the way to an "Uncle Tom's Cabin" tent show. I might have gone all of seven miles per hour and that toothless justice of the peace socked me five bucks and gave me a lecture besides.

Then I remember the birth of the bicycle. (Gosh! How long ago it seems! Had one myself. A Victor wheel with spring fork, cushion tires and all the latest improvements. Its weight was 160 pounds and cost me a dollar per pound.

On a good level road and with favorable wind I could make twelve miles an hour just like that, and as a result of such terrific speed, village, town, city and state parliaments passed all sorts of laws and ordinances for the safeguarding of the lives and limbs of pedestrians. Every bicycle had to be equipped with head light and bell announcing its approach so as to give pedestrian, equestrian, buggies and chickens, a chance to seek safety in the ditch or over the fence.

Dogs, constables and freckle-faced country youths made life miserable for every bicyclist who invaded the sylvan glades. The canines nibbled our legs, the constable pulled them under the false pretenses of speeding and the country boys found joy in yelling "Say Mister, say Mister." And when the Mister dismounted his bike and inquired as to what it was all about, he received the answer, "Your wheels are going 'round." Later on after the pneumatic tires made their appearance, the jockey country boys sprinkled carpet tracks on the roads making dismounting compulsory.

And my, how the farmers used to cuss us for scaring teams, stampeding contented cows, jeopardizing the lives of their chickens, ducks and geese.

But all the maledictions heaped upon male "bikers" was nothing to what the conservative folks did to the female of the "bike" species. There were lady bicycles, of course, just as there were lady saddles, but even these contraptions required somewhat shorter skirts, resulting in the immodest exposure of lady ankles. All this was bad, very bad, for the morality of the nation. And then came the divided skirt which was worse still and after that, bloomers which were the worst yet, for they displayed women's legs clear up to the knees and thus belied the ancient doctrine that women were cloth dummies propelled on castors. And, oh! the sermons that were preached, and the protests that were screeched and the editorials that were written against the bloomer girls, the fast flaming flapper of the bike age!

However, the world didn't go to wreck and ruin in spite of speed bikes and bloomers.

It didn't even get lopsided when automobiles and joy riders with their parking, petting and necking supplanted biking followed by sparking under the old apple tree.

And now we've got the airplanes rushing one and two hundred miles per hour through space, and unchaperoned ladies in electrically heated overalls, accompanied by male mechanic and navigator flying over oceans and becoming famous or famous altogether. And now the Italians promise an airplane traveling six hundred miles per hour, ten miles per minute!

Some speed, some speed, but why, when all the joy and happiness and all the misery and heartache there is in this world is right inside of us? Are we speed mad because we seek far off places that is not within us, or to escape the pain hidden in our own hearts? Ah, a lover flying to his loved one! God-speed his speed, for there is sense in that, but there is no sense in rushing about the world even at the rate of a thousand miles a second trying to get away from ourselves. It can't be did. So why hurry?

Speed, speed, more speed! This country was conquered by men traveling in covered wagons, propelled by oxen. I personally knew one man, the last of his tribe, who used to load home-made barges with cornmeal and bacon, float down the Ohio River, with the spring tide to the Mississippi, then down the Mississippi to New Orleans where he sold barge and cargo and then walked—yes walked—back to Pickaway County, Ohio, passing through the well known trackless wilderness of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. I personally knew another one who used to drive hogs from Yanketown, Ohio, to Baltimore, Maryland, and walk back, and did this over and over again.

Hardships, hard work and all that, but a proud, free, independent and hardy people who lived, laughed and loved. And that, when all is said and done, is about all that mortal men get out of life.

The covered wagon is gone. So is the Mississippi barge. We no longer walk. We haven't got the time. One huge steam locomotive, pulling a hundred cars, does the work formerly performed by thousands of oxen and hundreds of men. One flotilla of modern Mississippi River steel barges carries more freight than all the Ohio barges of a century ago could have carried in one year. We go to bed in Buffalo and wake up in Chicago. Soon we shall go to bed in New York and wake up in London.

Going some? Sure. But we haven't got time for anything else but going.

It seems we ought to have enough labor saving devices by this time to save ourselves labor. But no. The more we get the more we hustle about, the faster we go from nowhere to nothing.

Here is the sure enough president of a railroad, the Erie, for instance. In a letter to B. C. Forbes, financial writer of the Hearst papers who is an advocate of the five and a half day week, said president writes:

"The facts are that human nature has not changed much since the days when I worked twelve and thirteen hours a night every night of the year. I did it from choice because those were the better-paying jobs. We find that the senior men usually bid in the jobs that permit them to work the most days of the year, so that the propaganda that is being carried on does not seem to be so well-grounded."

What the gentleman is driving at is that if everybody would work twelve or thirteen hours a day, seven days a week, everybody could become president of the Erie railroad. He did. Come on, boys, all together now, work twelve hours a day, seven days a week and all of us will be successors to Jay Gould.

Adam Coalidigger.

WELCOME DELEGATES

Stop at the

1776 Lexington Avenue Studios

at 110th Street Subway Station

A SHORT WALK FROM THE CONVENTION HALL

Reasonable Rates
\$1.50 and \$2.00 single
\$3.00 double

The place where most of the delegates will stop.

Up to date friendly hotel, showers and service
Telephone: LEHigh 7050

Socialist Party Plans Progress

New York City

MANHATTAN
3-5-10th A.D.

The branch meeting held Tuesday evening was fairly well attended. Three new members were introduced. August Claessens gave an interesting talk on "Conditions in the United States affecting the Socialist Movement."

6-8-12th A.D.

A well attended meeting was held Monday evening, April 9, in conjunction with the business meeting. James S. Potofsky of the Amalgamated Bank was present and spoke on the subject of Labor Banking.

BRONX
3rd A.D.

Plans are being made for the organization of a branch in this territory and an enrolled Socialist and independent voters meeting will be called for Friday evening, April 20, at the Martinique Mansion, 156th and 157th streets, near Southern boulevard. Speakers to be announced.

5th A.D.

A fine meeting of enrolled voters was held last Friday evening at the Freeman Mansion, 1243 Southern boulevard, near Freeman street. Judge Panken spoke and six young people joined the party. The membership now is 23. On Sunday, the branch members, including the newcomers, went on a hike. This new branch meeting will be held on the 15th of every month and is some younger. The speaker for the meeting on April 20 will be Samuel Orr. Subject: "Current Events."

Central Branch

This branch will meet Tuesday, April 17, at 1167 Boston road, near Home St. An interesting discussion will take place. A drive will be made to get enrolled voters as well as non-enrolled in the 4th A.D. to join the branch. A spring dance will be held on Saturday evening, April 21, at the above address and a fine program is being prepared.

8th A.D.

The second meeting of this branch was held last Tuesday evening in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Reiff. Ways and means were discussed to increase the membership, not only among the occupants of the Amalgamated House, but also in the immediate vicinity.

BROOKLYN

A general membership meeting of all four branches in the Williamsburg section will be called shortly after the National Convention. At this meeting plans will be proposed for an intensive membership drive, the strengthening of the branches, and various activities for the coming campaign. Date and place will be announced later.

18th A.D.

There will be no meeting this Friday evening, because of the National Convention meeting at the Manhattan Opera House. The next meeting will be held Friday evening, April 20, at the Rockaway Mansion.

22nd A.D.

After the national convention is over we will begin a campaign for new members. We will visit every enrolled Socialist voter and ask him to join the Party. Members are asked to come to our meetings every Thursday evening and volunteer their services to interview the enrolled Socialists of our district.

23rd A.D.

The last branch meeting on April 9 was a repetition of what has been going on for several weeks. Again the crowd was large. The lecture by Edward Weiss on the "Cooperative Movement" was appreciated. He will give one more talk next Monday on the same subject. Encouraging reports were made by the organizers, Minnie Weisberg and financial secretary, Minnie Maier. Delinquents have been visited and a great many have been placed in good standing. The branch has gotten to the enrolled voters last week in the membership drive. Special mention should be made of the splendid cooperation of the members of the Brooklyn branch in the membership drive. The branch has also arranged an automobile outing for Sunday, June 24, and are requesting all comrades who have machines not to make any other date for that day. Their assistance will be required to make this affair a success. The funds made at this outing will go to the Sunday School fund. The branch has also decided to give 100 per cent cooperation to all affairs in connection with the National Convention.

Yipseldom

The results of the recent election for the Y. P. S. L. executive officers show that Julius Unsky of Circle Six, Manhattan, is the new Executive Secretary, and Morris Dvorzoff of Circle Two, Brooklyn, is the Financial Secretary. They succeed Ben Goodman, the former Executive Secretary, and William Werfel, the ex-Financial Secretary. Both new officers are well-known through the circles as active League workers. Their election assures another term of successful work.

ALL YIPSELS ATTENTION!!!
The 16th National Convention of the Socialist Party will convene in New York City April 13-20th. The spacious auditorium of the Finnish Socialists, 2056 5th avenue, 127th street, has been engaged for this purpose. You will note the program elsewhere in this issue.

A large floor committee will be necessary to take care of the crowd at the first session, which will be held at the Manhattan Opera House, 315 West 34th street, Friday evening, April 13. All Yipseles are requested to be present. Come on time in front of the Opera House to receive further instructions.

Saturday afternoon between 5 and 6 at the Finnish Headquarters, the Yipseles will listen to final pointers concerning the skit that has been arranged by

TIME FOR ACTION!

DURING the last several weeks the National Office sent contribution lists to all locals, branches and members-at-large. We have also sent out a large number of letters to individual Socialists and friends for the purpose of securing financial assistance in the payment of the big expense of the National Convention. We do not intend to go into a lengthy discussion of the matter here but would remind the comrades that they give the National Organization immediate support so that the National Convention, which, from all appearances, will be one of the most interesting and best attended in the history of the party, will not lack the necessary finances in bringing delegates to the convention and meeting the many other expenses that necessarily must be met. A big lively campaign and a fine growth of the party organization are assured, with proper support from our comrades all along the line.

Mail all remittances to William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

August Claessens, Coleman, and De Witt, Be There!

Circle 13 Brooklyn
At the last meeting of Circle 13 the Finance Committee reported that in addition to two silver loving cups, it would also give a cash award to the most beautiful girl present at our Third Annual Dance to be held Saturday night, April 28, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 418 Sackman street. The circle also elected a committee of three to visit all delinquent members to find out whether or not they desire to remain.

Circle 6 Manhattan
Circle 6 has been revived by the inauguration of a new educational program. The first meeting under this new educational policy was a round table discussion on Cooperation. Reba Pushoff presided on a subject which she read. Questions and discussion were in order at any point of the program.

The second meeting was led by Pierre De No on the Cooperative Movement in the United States, and the circle received some highlights in the cooperative movement during this country's infancy.

JUNIORS
Circle Two Brooklyn

Circle Two Juniors will reorganize on Friday, April 20. The meeting will open at 7:45 p.m. sharp. At that meeting the membership roll will be completely revised, so as to include only the earnest and active members of the circle. An effort is also being made to get back many old members into the circle. Circle Two which meets at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 418 Sackman street, Brooklyn, is situated in a very fine section of Brooklyn, and there is no reason why the circle should not become one of the largest and best in the League.

National

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

Now We All Move Together
By the time this report is published, the party will be in national convention preparing for the big campaign, and from that time on each and every one must move together in a mighty enthusiastic campaign. We call upon every Socialist to consider himself a committee of one, to do his full share of the work in spreading propaganda, organizing, educating, and helping to place our ticket on the ballot.

New England

Alfred Baker Lewis' dates Friday evening, April 20, debate with Earl of the Workers Party on "Socialism or Communism for the United States."

Friday afternoon and Saturday morning, April 20 and 21, at the Provincetown Conference in Boston on "Fellowship in Industrial Relations."

Tuesday, April 24, at classes in Harvard and Radcliffe on "Socialism." Friday, April 27, New Bedford Central Union on "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance."

General conference of all party members who will help in any way in the coming campaign will be held at the American House, 56 Hanover street, Boston, on Sunday morning and afternoon, beginning at 10:30. George E. Roever will be the keynote speaker. Action committees for the coming campaign will be formed.

May Day Celebration

A May Day celebration including speakers, dancing, musical numbers and a parade will be held Tuesday evening, May 1, at the Wellington Auditorium in Dorchester. Joseph Bearak and James Healy will speak on Labor's Next Step, and Labor's Final Victory. Tickets are 50 cents and may be bought at the Forward Office, Klein's office or the Socialist Party headquarters, 21 Essex street.

Unemployment Mass Meeting
A mass meeting at Faneuil Hall will be held Sunday, May 6, at 2:30 p.m. to present the Socialist solution for the unemployment situation. Frank J. Crosswath, Sylvester J. McBride, Alfred Baker Lewis, and Joseph Bearak will be the speakers.

State Convention

The annual state convention will be held in Boston, Sunday, June 3. Place to be announced.

Yipseles

The Massachusetts Yipsele convention will be held in Fitchburg Saturday and Sunday, April 28 and 29.

Kansas

Ross Magill, State Secretary, announced another local organization at Hutchinson. Besides this he has secured a number of members at large. There is

Florida

Letters from Florida Socialists indicate our organization will soon move ahead. John M. Patton, who has been out of touch with the party for many years, writes an enthusiastic letter, wants to help, and wants to know how to do. We would like to hear from every Socialist in Florida and other states, that are not well organized. Florida must have a national and state ticket on the ballot.

West Virginia

State Secretary Higgins writes that the movement is continuing to grow in West Virginia. J. S. Sider of Fairmont, visits the State Secretary and tells him there is a good prospect of a local at Granville. A state executive committee is being elected and campaign mapped out.

Idaho

C. H. Cammams, State Secretary, reports some good meetings for Emil Herman and declares our flag is flying high. Cammams is putting in a good part of his time writing articles for daily papers.

Texas

State Organizer David Curran reports more new members joining the party in the last ten days. Curran is enthusiastic over prospects for the continued building of the party in Texas and for a good vote in November.

Montana

Socialists of Musselshell County will hold their county convention at Roundup, Tuesday, May 8, for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention, which will be held in Helena, May 15.

The Socialists of Park County will hold their convention at the Courthouse at Livingston, May 8. Application for charter for local is being signed up at Roundup.

Ohio

Columbus Organized
Comrade Gerlach of Columbus reports a local of seven members and expect to hold regular meetings and strengthen his organization. Organizing Joseph Sharts, Socialist candidate for Governor, is ready to fill speaking dates. Socialists throughout the state desiring meetings should get in touch with John G. Willett, 3469 West 54th street Cleveland.

Arkansas

Mrs. Julia W. Pennington, State Secretary, is beginning her work in lining up the Socialists and preparing the state ticket. She will make a tour of the state to strengthen the movement. We expect every Socialist in Arkansas to support Mrs. Pennington in this work.

Iowa

I. S. McCrillis, State Secretary, writes that he believes a majority of the districts in Iowa can be won for the national ticket. He also expects to have a state ticket. As soon as the National Convention is over, McCrillis will take to the fields to organize. Every Socialist in Iowa should cooperate with him. Write him a letter—tell him you will help.

Minnesota

An enthusiastic letter from John Kolb of Duluth, declares that the Socialists are desirous of organizing. He has a dozen names already of comrades who are ready to join the party. He speaks of others who want to help in the real organization, work, and write for literature. We expect a local organization there within a week or so. All information and material was sent to him. There is a real interest in the old time Socialists of this state, who for some time, have been functioning with the labor party. The National Organization will try to send some organizer to Minnesota to reorganize the movement since, from all appearances, the Farmer-Labor Party is not making much progress.

Mississippi

W. C. Kennedy, State Secretary, is a very busy man. He reports that the Jackson machine, which is the state machine of the Democratic Party, is trying to keep the Republican Party off the ballot and of course, they will want to keep the Socialists off, but—what a fine time they are going to have to block us. Kennedy has asked Socialists who are in a position to make a trip to Jackson to be there on April 30—"meet me at the capitol," he writes where matters of concern will be taken up. Socialists reading this who can make the trip to Jackson should do so.

California

Los Angeles
Debs Branch, an English speaking branch of the party, was organized April 2, at 125 No. St. Louis street, Los Angeles Calif., headquarters. Frank J. Crosswath, Verbon. The party will now hold a red card assembly to nominate candidates for the various county and state offices at 126 No. St. Louis street on Wednesday, April 25, at 8 p.m.

Connecticut

May Day Meeting
The Socialist Party, Workers' Circle and some of the radical unions of New Haven will hold a May Day demonstration at the Waterbury Circle headquarters, 438 Oak street, Tuesday evening, May 1. State Organizer Karl C. Jursek of the Socialist Party and some Jewish speakers will be present. At a package party held recently by the women of the Workers' Circle of New Haven \$406 was raised for the benefit of the striking miners.

New Haven Water Issue

The people of New Haven lose a chance to own the New Haven Water System, by a vote of 23 to 9. The Board of Aldermen on April 2 voted to renew the present contract with the New Haven Water Company for a period of 25 years.

The Socialist Party led by Morris Rice, candidate for Mayor in the last

city election made a campaign issue of the Water Question. Mr. Rice challenged the other parties whether or not the city should buy out the water company, which the city has the right to do at this time.

Three public hearings were held by a committee of the Board of Aldermen. One of the members of the Committee was President Murphy of the New Haven Trades Council.

The Committee recently signed a report advising against the city using its option. The report was signed by President Murphy. The Trades Council had gone on record unanimously in favor of the city taking over the water company. Mr. Murphy is Democratic Minority leader. There was a split among the Democrats. Nine voted for city ownership and five for the water company. All Republican Aldermen (18) voted for the water company. It is reported that the Democratic town committees have threatened to put Murphy out of the party.

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, INCORPORATED

Main Office: 227 E. 84th St., N. Y.

Notice is hereby given to all the members of the assessments amounts to 10 cents for each hundred dollars of insurance. Assessments will be received at the following places:

MANHATTAN—Main Office, 227 East 84th St., from the 9th of April to 26th of May, inclusive.

JERSEY CITY AND HOBOKEN—Fraternity Hall, 256 Central Ave., Jersey City, April 9, 10, 11.

UNION CITY—In Swiss Hall, West and 23rd Sts., April 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

BROOKLYN—Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., April 18th to May 12th, inclusive.

LONG ISLAND CITY—In the hall of the Long Island City Turnverein, Broadway and 44th St., May 14, 15, 16 and 17th.

BRONX—At 4215 Third Ave., corner Tremont Ave., May 18th to May 24th, inclusive.

Payments may be made in all offices mentioned above except Manhattan, from 10 A. M. to 6 P. M. Saturday up to 1 P. M.

The Main Office, Manhattan, 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. Saturday till 1 P. M. Open Monday night until 9 o'clock.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM

949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn

Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. STAGG 3842

FALK DWORKIN & Company

Public Accountants

570 Seventh Avenue

Longacre 7214-7215

NEW YORK

Members of Accountants' Union

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Office: 175 E. 84th St., Orchard 1257

Board meets every Tuesday evening at 8 P. M.

All locals meet every Wednesday

8 P. M. at the office of the Union

BYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

MORRIS KAPLAN, President

Embroidery Workers' Union

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th

Tuesday, at the Office, 601 E. 161st St.

CARL GRABER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

United Hebrew Trades

115 E. 7 BROADWAY

Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.

Executive Board meets every 2nd and 4th

Tuesday, at the Office, 601 E. 161st St.

M. TIGEL, Chairman

M. WOOLFEY, Secretary

M. FLINTSTONE, Secretary-Treasurer

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union

Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St., Madison Square 1934

Executive Board meets every Monday

at 7 P. M.

D. GINGOLD, MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

Joint Executive Committee of the

VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Office: 175 E. 84th St., Orchard 1257

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday

evening

M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.

PETER NOVAT, Manager.

See that Your Milk Man Wears

The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 554, I. L. G. W. U.

Office: 208 W. 11th St., City.

Local 554 meets on 3rd

Thursday of each month at

Beethoven Hall, 210 East

5th St. Executive Board meets

on the 2nd and 4th

Thursdays at

BEETHOVEN HALL,

210 East Fifth Street

JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.

MAX LIEBER, Sec'y-Treas.

UNION DIRECTORY

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.

S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 223 Broadway, Room 2201, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 218 East 84th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

WORKERS!

Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers

Always Look WAITERS & Waitresses' Union

For This LABEL LOCAL 1

102 E. 23rd Street

Tel. Gramercy 0843

LOUIS RUFFIN, President.

LOUIS RUFFIN, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday

at Beethoven Hall, 1210 East 5th St.

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.

Executive Boards Meet Every Thursday

at the Amalgamated Temple

11-27 Arden Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman

JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK, Sec'y.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.

115 E. B'way, Orchard 3250

Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday

at 8 P. M.

L. KORN, Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 178, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.

Office and Headquarters: 400 Broadway

Local Temple, 218 E. 84th St., Room 12

Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd

Sunday at 10 A. M.

Employment Bureau open every day at

6 P. M.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall,

62 East 4th St., Phone 2-1072.

Regular Meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

AL. KAPLAN, President

NEW LEADER

and AMERICAN APPEAL

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

Editor..... James O'Neal
Assistant Editor..... Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Alvin Karpis, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year..... \$2.00
Six Months..... 1.00

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

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1928

The Socialist Convention

THE NEW LEADER welcomes the delegates of the Socialist Party to the national convention of the party in the expectation that their deliberations will be fruitful and their decisions as important, perhaps more important, than those reached in any previous convention. Since the end of the World War there has been confusion and uncertainty in American politics, especially in the ranks of the workers. That confusion is dissipated and the political field is occupied by the Socialist Party as the only organization contesting with the parties of capitalism.

The conventions that will gather at Houston and Kansas City will represent a variety of capitalist and financial interests. The brokers of these interests will be on hand to look after their clients. They subscribe to the program that the powers of production should be owned by corporate groups to exploit the masses and enrich the owners. The only issue between the two parties is which shall be given the contract to represent the possessing classes for four years. They are willing that we shall give our time for generations to come in passing the contract from one party to the other.

Socialists have another conception of politics and political power. We seek power so that it may be used by the exploited millions for their own emancipation. Our methods also differ. We cannot subscribe to the view that workers can participate in the primaries of the capitalist parties and obtain power for the workers. Thirty years of that sort of activity have not brought power to the masses and it never will. It may give a few "labor leaders" a few jobs but the working class is left with an empty bag.

We are sure that the delegates will measure up to their important tasks and responsibilities and return home with a determination to make this political struggle the most important in our history.

The Minor Issues

WITHIN the past few weeks THE NEW LEADER has received a number of letters from readers on the prohibition issue. A number of writers have declared that they have fundamental faith in prohibition and that unless it is approved by the Socialist Party they will not work with it. A few have presented an opposite view.

It is time that this attitude be dealt with frankly. The Socialist movement is representative of the working people of all countries who seek to alter the fundamental basis of capitalist society. Its fundamental aim is to transfer the great natural resources and the industries of the nation from corporation masters to the people, to be managed for the common good of all. Incidental to organization and education for this aim the Socialist movement strives for every immediate advantage which may be obtained for the working class through trade union organization.

These are fundamentals. Those who accept them are Socialists. Those who do not are not Socialists. All other questions are of minor importance. They may be worth considering. They may warrant expression in favor or against, but in either case they are not fundamental. Socialists may even differ regarding them and cooperate in the greater work and greater aims for which their organization is maintained.

Those who do not accept these fundamentals are prohibitionists or anti-prohibitionists first. Their Socialism is vague and uncertain. It is of secondary consideration to them.

This reasoning has special force in the United States. An oligarchy of concentrated capital rules this country. It is a ruling class with a voracious appetite to master the world. It is insolent, it is domineering, and is reckless in staking the lives of millions in its gamble for world mastery. Its lust for Mexican oil has brought us near to war with Mexico a number of times. It is loading up with armaments. Its organs and propagandists are malicious in their attempt to silence all criticism.

In the face of all this, how ridiculous it is to hear some voice peep the objection that it will not work with the Socialist movement unless it agrees to regulate appetites or to oppose such regulation. If our ruling classes drift on to the bloody catastrophe that lies ahead the objector will have no power to regulate anything.

We are Socialists first and even on these minor issues we have our own approach to them. We have nothing in common with the bourgeois sentimentalists or the bourgeois bootleggers. Ours is a movement based upon the claims of the working class and its deliverance from the exploitation of capitalism. Forget that and we are likely to stray anywhere. Remember it and we will follow the road to power and final deliverance.

A "Labor" Alderman

RECENTLY we observed in these columns that men endorsed for public office by the trade unions do not and cannot represent the organized workers when they are elected. They remain Democrats or Republicans and owe allegiance to their respective parties. The classic example of this is the defeat of the I. R. T. strikers in New York City. With a Tammany Mayor and a large majority of Tammany Aldermen bearing the official stamp of the Central Trades and Labor Council these public officials did absolutely nothing to help the strikers. Votes for these officials were wasted.

Another example comes from New Haven. President Murphy of the New Haven Trades Council was elected Alderman on the Democratic ticket last November with the approval of the trade unions. The City of New Haven had the option of taking over the water works. The Trades Council by a unanimous vote supported municipal ownership. Here is a case where the president of the city parliament of workers was instructed to cast his vote as Alderman for municipal ownership. Did Murphy act as a union man or as a Democrat? As a Democrat, of course. He signed a report against city ownership and voted in favor of the private corporation!

Of what use is even a union man in public office as a Democrat or as a Republican? Of no use whatever to the workers. Such a man might make a big fight for the workers on every question but if he does so he is certain to incur the enmity of the party leaders and be denied another nomination. There have been a few such cases but they also disclose the folly of working within the parties of capitalism. Dual allegiance is impossible. A representative of the working class to be true to his class in office must owe his mandate to a party of his class. He cannot in any other way be loyal to those he should serve.

Passing of the K. K. K.

AFTER years of asinine child's play which culminated in wholesale political graft, whippings and even murders, the Ku Klux Klan is passing from the scene. It has been the most successful investment in ignorance and crudelity which has ever been floated in this or any other country. It brought to the top as choice a collection of morons and charlatans as ever swindled dupes. What must be the humiliation of the millions who paid their money into the coffers of these fakers!

The Klan has done considerable harm to the labor movement for there are cities where some members of the unions have been Klansmen. To divert attention of wage workers from the struggle for shorter hours, higher wages and a better status in industry to hate of Negroes, Catholics, Jews and immigrants is to shatter the unity that is essential to a working class movement. All this was done by the Klan in the name of Americanism and against radicalism. The Klan assumed to be special guardians of the republic.

Now that it is passing it is important to call attention to a revival of another 100 percentism. The Knights of Columbus is maintaining a "lecturer" in the field whose goods is largely an inversion of Klanism. His hokum is that the Knights are the special guardians of the republic. They are in custody of 100 per cent Americanism. Socialism is an abomination, a foreign importation, a cult of free lovers, an impious radical creed and all the other bunk which the professional faker markets for a living.

There is little difference between this K. C. and the K. K. K. The "lecturer" mentioned has also made application of all this to Mexico and the Mexican Government. It is time that these miscreants were retired with their psychic brothers in arms, the K. K. K. One is no more desirable than the other.

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress, August 24, 1912, of "THE NEW LEADER and AMERICAN APPEAL."

Published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1928, State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid personally appeared Samuel A. De Witt, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Leader and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, and circulation of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 463, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher—The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor—James O'Neal, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor—Edward Levinson, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager—S. A. De Witt, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Owner—The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Morris Berman, President, Pleasantville, N. Y.; Meyer Gillis, Treasurer, 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Julius Gerber, Secretary, 48 New Chambers Street, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as such hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and that affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

S. A. DE WITT, Business Manager.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this fourth day of April, 1928.
HUGO POLLOCK.
My commission expires March 30, 1930.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

have lost or rather never won a better leadership in a great industrial center like Chicago. And in the light of this soul searching, this careful examination of the facts, let us dedicate ourselves in Chicago and Illinois to a new conception of the place of political action in the program of the workers.

An Important Strike

The strike of the Allen-A hosier workers in Kenosha, Wisconsin, raises issues of importance to the whole country. The Allen-A mills are fighting their workers with the usual weapons of lockouts, labor spies and an injunction. The injunction granted by a Federal court is the more sinister because it forbids things expressly permitted by the Wisconsin state law. Already a score or more of strikers and union officials have been arrested for contempt under the injunction. Federal Judge Geiger has felt obliged under the law to grant a jury trial. This is a real victory for the workers. But even if, as we expect, the jury acquits the strikers brought before it, it will not follow that a jury trial is a remedy for the injunction evil. It may tend only to legitimize the injunction process which we want to abolish altogether in labor cases.

Public opinion in Wisconsin seems to be on the side of the Kenosha strikers. Through the L. I. D. a score or more of Wisconsin University students were interested in the case, made some study of it and helped in the picketing of the Kenosha mills.

The Muscle Shoals Bill

The House of Representatives has before it three proposals for Muscle Shoals. One is the Norris plan which has already passed the Senate. This provides for government development of hydro electric power with the stipulation that any profits accruing to the government are to be used in developing fertilizers. A second proposition calls for private management of this expensive government plant on lease. A third calls for the public management of the plant primarily to make nitrates for fertilizer rather than electric power. This last plan is supposedly in the interest of the farmers who want fertilizer. As a matter of fact it is only in the interest of the power trust which wants to confuse the issue. New discoveries have made the nitrate extracting process for which the Muscle Shoals development was intended during the war obsolete and expensive. Any representative in the House who votes against the Norris plan will be voting for the power trust.

A Book to Have

I am not supposed to be writing book reviews. They belong elsewhere in The New Leader. But I do want to urge my readers to buy, beg, borrow or steal copies of "Power Control" by my colleagues, H. S. Raushenbush and Harry W. Laidler. If you want to know facts about the power trust and its \$17,000,000,000 lobby, if you want to know why our present regulatory systems don't regulate, if you are curious to discover why domestic users of electricity pay on the average more than three times as much per kilowatt hour in the United States as they do in the Province of Ontario, Canada, read this book. This power issue will be one of our biggest in the next campaign. Let's be informed on it.

To The Greater Glory

Of all places, in the Electrical World, organ of the power interests, we find one of the plainest exposures of the havoc worked by sheer greed under the profit motive that I have ever seen. In the issue of the magazine for March 17, 1928, its own commercial editor shows up the cut throat war between sellers and purchasers of electrical machinery. There isn't any trick that the buying and selling agents don't practice. All we suppose, to the greater glory of the god, Profit.

Europe's Socialist Chiefs Greet U. S. Convention, Urge Stronger Party

The convention journal issued by the Socialist Party in connection with the opening of the national convention in New York Friday, contains a number of inspiring messages from Socialist leaders of other lands.

Greeting From Loebe
Paul Loebe, Socialist president of the German Reichstag writes:

"I send hearty greetings to the Socialists of the United States at their Convention and wish them every success in their deliberations and in their efforts to advance the Socialist movement in the great trans-Atlantic Republic."

"With anxious eyes we are watching the developments on the other side of the ocean, hoping for the coming of the day when the country of gigantic industrial centers, of the great masses of workers by hand and brain, urban and rural, and of acute capitalist develop-

ment, would finally produce the natural opposition movement of the working class, a Socialist movement of influence and power."

"Standing ourselves in the thick of the fight we send greetings to our comrades in the United States and our ardent wishes that they too will soon be in a position to report a decided progress of their movement and important political victories."

Vandervelde Sends Greeting
Emil Vandervelde, leader of the Belgian Socialists, says:

"The Labor and Socialist International follows with sympathetic attention your effort to advance the Socialist movement in the United States."

"Not only because it is convinced that the American workers have the most direct and compelling interest to organize themselves into a class party but also from the point of view of general Socialist propaganda in the rest of the world."

"The United States is not the only country in which capitalism has been able to grow for a time without causing the majority of the proletariat to organize itself against it into a powerful class party."

"We remember the time when, although there were millions of organized Socialists on the European continent, the British trade unionists showed no interest in politics or in parliament."

UNCLE SAM THE OUTFITTER



Drawn by Harry Bressler for The New Leader.

Suggested Spring Styles

THE CHATTER BOX

The Eternal Socialist

MY days are buoyed by a full delight
Since when I stood upon a lonely height
And lonely looked upon the world that still
Abides behind the dawn, and waits until
Enough of you who dared not follow me
Will learn to climb to where I stood, and see....

Did you not hear me call? I shouted down
Through valleys of your indecision; torn and torn
Re-echoed with my words. I know I made
A song of courage, but you seemed afraid.
I know I sent you messages as clear
As the blue depth of mountain atmosphere
In which my senses danced. I know I said
All that might stir a soul that was not dead....

But you remained as even now you stand.
Battalions frozen by an old command....

"But you are slaves!" an ancient tyranny
Has thundered to your brains. "You must not see
The dawn beyond.... The Hill is only meant
For us to sit on high.... Remain content
Upon the plains...." And even now you stand
Battalions frightened by an old command....

But I must climb each day upon the height
And fill my being with a rare delight;
And lonely look upon a world that still
Awaits you in the dawn beyond the hill....

And I must make a clamor down the wide
Green slopes, through town and countryside....

"Come up, come up, from out your living graves!
Drive out the terror that you still are slaves!"

"Climb up, climb up, to where I stand and see!"
Thus I must call until you come to me....

The above is a poem I wrote for the Socialist Convention Journal, and which appears there for all those who wish to keep a memento of what will no doubt prove to be the most significant Socialist Party occasion of all these mad and uncertain years.

And with spring so maddeningly in the air, and trout biting at everything except Socialist propaganda, what else can I do but leave all you behind at your tasks and over-conscientiousness, while I

go knee-deep in tumbling brooks, and hold communion with Isak Walton and the hills. Then let me leave this week's stint to my guests.

Definition

Lead molten in the veins
Is love; and eyes that burn—
Fancy in flight
Devising and consoling,
Fearing, blending
Rapture and despair.

Reason fettered. Pride in flames
Flaring, or in ashes, with
Lip bitten—or hope—warmed.
Desire wielding whips.

Lead molten in the veins
Is love.

—Carol Weeks.

Forces

April! with loud liquid eyes
April voluptuous skies
Veiling despair...
April with sibil face
April! with rainbow grace
Charming the air...
Tear-drops with ardent lies
Heartaches—yet never wise
Challenging care...!

—Leone.

Cry Of Youth!

The world rolls our brief beauty in the muck,
The old men count our souls as discs and tags;
The factories harness us to black machines,
The cannons turn us all to blood and rage.

One little life is given us, one passionate hour
To pit against a world made black by lust,
One hour of wild revolt against blind creeds
Before our leaping hearts have turned to dust.

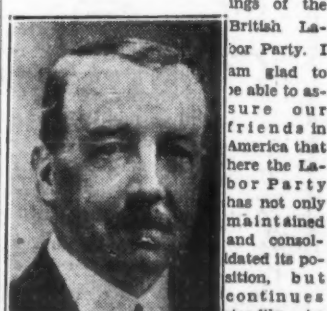
Beyond the darkness of our lives there shines
A sun that lights a newer, clearer day,
But blindness lies upon our searching eyes—
Show us the way, O Lord, show us the way!

And just to conclude appropriately, won't you all wish me luck in the form of a few two pound speckled trout, and perhaps a five pound pickerel, after a fatigued day, when the lake beckons and lures me to a restful troll?

S. A. de Witt.

British Labor Party, sent the following message:

"On the occasion of the annual convention of the American Socialist Party I send you the cordial fraternal greetings of the British Labor Party. I am glad to be able to assure our friends in America that here the Labor Party has not only maintained its position, but continues steadily to advance."



Arthur Henderson, M. P. the very early days of the existence of the Party we had to carry on our efforts, as you are aware, under very serious handicaps. We had to face sometimes the ridicule and always the opposition of the traditional political interests that were strongly entrenched and seemingly impregnable.

Messages were also received, and printed from Theodor Dan, Filippo Turati, F. M. Wilbaut, and John Poton, of the British Independent Labor Party.