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Socialist and Labor
Movement

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THOMAS AND MAURER ARE NAMED CANDIDATES OF SOCIALISM AND LABOR

PARTY URGES NATION TAKE OVER INDUSTRY

Eloquent Document Demands Aid For
Unemployed and Needy Aid-Social In-
surance Proposed-Nicaraguan War De-
nounced

NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST
PARTY-ADOPTED IN NEW YORK,
APRIL 17TH 1928

PREAMBLE

WE AMERICANS are told that we live in the most prosperous
country in the world. Certainly, our natural resources, our
mechanical equipment, our physical power, the technical capacity of
our engineers, and the skill of our workers in farm and factory make
it possible for us to attain a level of well-being of which our fathers
never dared to dream.

Yet poverty abounds. The owners of our natural resources and
industrial equipment and the government which they have made
virtually their tool have not given us plenty, freedom or peace in any
such degree as we have the right and duty to demand.

Men are hungry while farmers go bankrupt for lack of effective de-
mand for food. Tenant farming has reached a proportion of almost
40 per cent.; more than 40 per cent. of the value of farm lands is
covered by mortgages. Industrial workers are scarcely better off.
In good years there are at least 1,000,000 unemployed. By a con-
servative estimate in these times of stock market prosperity the number
has arisen to 4,000,000. About 1-3 of those of our population 65
years of age and upward, are at least partially dependent upon some
form of charity. While real wages have risen for certain groups
they have risen scarcely more than half the increase of productive
power of the workers. And what gains have been made are far
from universal as the misery of textile workers and the tragedy of
the coal fields—to cite only two examples—abundantly proves. In
fact at the present time a majority of workers obtain a wage in-
sufficient to maintain themselves and families in health and decency.
Furthermore the rapid increase in the use of machinery and the
growing intensity of work are leading to quicker exhaustion and
greater insecurity.

Unions Bereft of Rights By Class Justice

Meanwhile the owning class has been using the government to
curtail the power of the workers whose organized might, especially
through their unions, has been chiefly responsible for whatever ma-
terial gains they have made. To curb the workers, civil liberties are
denied, injunctions are invoked against union activities and the courts
are made the instruments of that class justice of which the Mooney
case and the legalized murder of Sacco and Vanzetti were conspicuous
examples.

Not only plenty and freedom but peace is endangered by this
system under which the many are exploited for the profit of the few.
Sons of the workers now die in President Coolidge's infamous little
imperialist war in Nicaragua, as they died in President Wilson's
similar wars in Haiti, Santo Domingo and Mexico, and above all in
that great imperialistic war born of the trade and financial rivalries
of the nations which cost our country forty billion of dollars and hun-
dreds of thousands of lives.

From the wars, waste and cruelty of a system where the rightful
heritage of the workers is the private property of the few only the
united efforts of farmers and workers of hand and brain, through
their cooperatives, unions and political party, can save us. We must
make government in cities, states and nation the servant of the people.
That requires our own political party. We cannot place our trust
in "good men" or political Messiahs. Bitter experience has proved
that we cannot trust the alternate rule of the Republican and Dem-
ocratic parties. They belong to the landlords, bankers, oil specu-
lators, coal and power barons, in short to the capitalist class which
finances them. Under their control the government by what it does
and leaves undone, by its calculated inefficiency as well as its repres-
sion and corruption makes our alleged democracy largely an illusion.
Corruption is natural under parties which are the tools of the forces
of privilege. It has become accepted even by the men who are vic-
tims of it.

Labor's Weapon in the Class Struggle

These things need not be. The Socialist Party offers itself as the
political party of the producing classes the workers in farm, factory,
mine or office. It is our political weapon in the class struggle
and in its triumph lies our hope of ending that struggle. Our
record proves our good faith. As the only democratic labor party in
the United States, we stand now as always, in America and in all
lands, for the collective ownership of natural resources and basic
industries and their democratic management for the use and benefit
of all instead of the private profit of the privileged few.

With this ultimate aim in view, the Socialist Party enters the pre-
(Continued on following page)

For President Norman Thomas



When we go riding out on the Great Adventure this year, we will have at our head as gallant a
spirit as ever set lance against the three black horsemen, Cruelty, Greed and Fear. When the
young Goethe was presented to Napoleon, the latter exclaimed, "There is a man." One comes away
from a talk with Norman Thomas with much the same feeling. You know you have been in con-
tact with something mighty fine and rare. You have encountered that intangible thing, sometimes
"personality" and sometimes "charm". It isn't anything that can be put down black on white, any
more than you can capture the quality of integrity in a test-tube. In a world of petty, schem-
ing, grasping little grubs, here is a flesh and blood human being who assays pure gold.
McALISTER COLEMAN.

NOMINATIONS AT THRILLING SESSION IN N. Y.

Waldman In Nominating Speech Says
Thomas Will Match "New Socialism"
With "New Tammany", and "Social En-
gineer" With "Civil Engineer"—Ovation
For Candidates

By McAlister Coleman

THE nominations of Norman Thomas for President and James H.
Maurer for Vice-President, made on Monday afternoon's meet-
ing of the Socialist Convention, came as the thrilling climax of one
of the most spirited and colorful gatherings which the Socialists of
this country have held in many years.

When Louis Waldman of New York, former member of the
New York State Assembly, placed Thomas' name before the con-
vention, the delegates rose up and gave vent to all the enthusiasm
which had been rising steadily within them since the magnificent
mass meeting of the past Friday. They cheered and cheered again.
There was no band, there were no cheer leaders. There was none of
the usual noise-making apparatus, the hokum of holler, that is em-
ployed at most conventions to give the newspapermen an opportu-
nity to put time-watches on the shouting, with true American effi-
ciency.

The Worker's Man is Named

Here was a matter of spontaneous combustion. The working-men
and women who filled the floor and hung out over the galleries had
good husky lungs, and they used them to full effect. They banged
big hands together. They slapped the broad backs of their neigh-
bors. And then from up near the roof the Yipsels gave tongue.
For blocks around the Finnish Hall busy Harlem stopped dead in its
tracks, wondering what was going on at 127th street and Fifth ave-
nue. The boom of flashlights set off by newspaper photographers
added to the din. The workers had named their man.

Presently, after the shouting had died down a bit, Thomas came
striding through the hall, and the tumult started all over again.

It seemed as though everyone in the place wanted to stand up on
the platform in front of Thomas and tell the folks what a grand man
he was. Sitting beside Chairman Algernon Lee, Norman shifted
embarrassedly as one delegate after another shouted through the
smoke-hung air high praises of the Socialist candidate.

Waldman's speech might well serve as a model for old-line poli-
ticians, it was so concisely to the point. He began by saying that
in his judgment the standard-bearer of the Socialist party for 1928
must have three prime qualifications.

Waldman's Nominating Speech

"Fellow delegates, comrades, friends", Waldman began. "The
standard bearer of the Socialist Party for 1928, in my judgment,
must have three prime qualifications. First, he must be a loyal mem-
ber of the Socialist Party. Second, he must be an excellent speaker.
Third, he must be a great constructive Socialist statesman. He must
follow, in the light of principles of the Socialist Party, in the foot-
steps of those great Americans, Abraham Lincoln, Wendell Phillips,
Lloyd Garrison and Eugene V. Debs. The man whom I shall name to
this convention as candidate for president was born in a state which
has for the past six years been discredited by the Republican admin-
istration. He was born in Marion, Ohio. By his nomination and
campaign he shall once again vindicate the name of that state.

"He is a graduate of Princeton University, and has carried his ac-
ademic training into the field of labor. For the past twelve years we
have known him here in New York. He has been active in every
labor union battle. Whether it was close at hand, as in the case of
the Passaic textile workers, or far away in the mines, whether it has
concerned foreigners, as with the paper-box makers, or Americans
in Illinois, the candidate has been thick in the fight on the side of the
trade unions.

"But the Socialist Party represents not only men and women who
toil with their hands, but those who toil with their minds as well.
And the candidate who is named for President has been an active
leader in the liberal as well as the trade union movement. During
the United States government's policy of repression, the man I am
referring to was through the Civil Liberties Union foremost in the
battle for men and women who were incarcerated under that policy
—no matter how humble those whose liberties were threatened.

"A Constructive Socialist Statesman"

"The candidate is a journalist of the first class. For sometime he
was the editor of a large daily paper in New York. He is founder
and editor of a weekly newspaper today, is associate editor of the
Nation, the foremost liberal weekly of the country, and associate
editor of The New Leader. He is the author of several works and
of pamphlets dealing with social and economic subjects.

"The Socialist Party offers not only negative criticism of the gov-
ernment. We offer to the nation a constructive program as well as
a constructive criticism. We offer our candidates not only for what
they oppose but for what they propose. And I don't know of any
(Continued on following page)

12,000 Raised During Convention To Begin The Fight

3,000 Jam Meeting In Opera House

Audience at Dinner Makes Up Largest Collection in History of the Party

By James Oneal

THREE outstanding features of the national convention of the Socialist Party will not be forgotten by delegates and visitors who attended. The great mass meeting in the Manhattan Opera House Friday night was the largest affair held in years. On Saturday night the delegates and their friends gathered in the convention hall to enjoy an entertainment provided by New York Socialists and Sunday night a dinner at which one thousand attended.

Before the time announced for the opening of the meeting in the Manhattan Opera House the building was filled. Over 3,000 people were crowded in the main floor, the galleries and the stage. Banners of trade unions, Socialist Party branches and Workmen's Circles were displayed in various parts of the house. Every aspect of the meeting recalled the days before war despotism and left fully had shattered a compact Socialist organization.

With a few brief remarks Louis Waldman introduced William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, who read the roll of the delegates and then introduced Morris Hillquit as temporary chairman. Hillquit's address was listened to with rapt attention as it was announced as the keynote speech of the convention. He was frequently interrupted with applause.

The other speakers included William Karlin, Norman Thomas and Jacob Panken of New York; James H. Maurer of Pennsylvania; Daniel Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee; and Congressman Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin. The New Leader reported the addresses of Hillquit, Thomas, Sharts and Maurer in the issue of last week. Mayor Hoan brought down the house by declaring that no policeman could hold his job in Milwaukee if he clubbed a striker. Panken ridiculed the policy of sending marines to Nicaragua to insure honest elections, declaring that they were more needed in Chicago. Congressman Berger said that quite a number of Congressmen had told him that it would be a good influence upon Congress if a hundred Socialists sat in that body. He added that there were 10,000 reasons why no Congressman was willing to make way for a Socialist, the reference to the salary of Congressmen invoking a ripple of laughter.

William Karlin devoted his remarks to a plea for contributions to the national campaign fund, explaining the need of getting organizers in the field and helping the weaker states. The result was total contributions of \$1,700.

The meeting made a marked impression upon Socialists who for years have worked and waited for a return of the old enthusiastic spirit. "Wonderful meeting," "the spirit was great," were coming back with a bang, and similar exclamations were heard on all sides. The Socialists who came from a distance the meeting was a revelation and an inspiration, which they will carry back to their states.

On Saturday night delegates and friends gathered in the Finnish Building to enjoy an entertainment and reception. The musical numbers included a number of violin selections by the noted artist, Solomon Deutsch, accompanied by V. Gianini. Mrs. Mary A. Gates, a favorite of Socialist gatherings for many years, rendered a number of solos, accompanied by her daughter, Miss Elizabeth Gates.

A satire was staged in a skit entitled "On With the Revolution." The scene was an East Side Socialist meeting under a street lamp which Julius Umanisky, Executive Secretary of the Yipels, opened as chairman. The untitled chairman soon attracted an audience, including a drunken wretch with a bristling mustache, who persisted in interrupting the chairman and, later, the "speaker of the evening." This wretch proved to be August Claessens.

McAllister Coleman proved to be the speaker but the mob did not appear to relish his classic eloquence. Mac was a candidate for something and appeared to have an itch for office. He was constantly pestered with questions and made heroic attempts to answer them as a statesman, but got all balled up because of the near-riots of the audience and the meeting finally broke up in disorder. A few Communists eager for an immediate revolution were responsible for postponing the great day.

The banquet Sunday evening in Park Palace was an immense affair. All of the one thousand reservations were taken. Altheim Shipplackoff of the Pocketbook makers was toastmaster who called upon William Van Esen of Pennsylvania. The speaker paid a tribute to "Jim" Maurer and his services to the working class of Pennsylvania and then presented Maurer with flowers from the Pennsylvania delegation.

In presenting Maurer, Shipplackoff announced that it was "Jim's" sixteenth birthday which was corrected by Hillquit who said that it was the fourth celebration of his sixteenth birthday. Maurer was 64 years old and received a great ovation when he arose and another as he sat down. Norman Thomas made an inspiring address which set the diners cheering and Morris Hillquit was introduced to a new role. In an earnest speech he briefly reviewed the experience of the Socialist Party in recent years and the fight which face it and then an-

NOMINATIONS AT THRILLING SESSION IN N. Y.

(Continued from page 1)

man who will be better able to match the "new Tammany" with the new Socialism; I don't know of any man who will better face the civil engineer whom the Republicans are likely to nominate with the progressive principles of the social engineer; any man with a clearer voice and a better brain than the man I am about to name as candidate for the Socialist Party. Whether he is mentioned at Yale College, or among laborers in the coal mines, or in political and liberal groups, the man is respected and loved.

"I take great pleasure in nominating, on behalf of the New York State delegation its adopted son, Norman Thomas."

Something Cool Out of Ohio, Sharts Says

Then, after Thomas had entered the hall, came Cameron King of California to assure the delegates that out by the shores of the Pacific the Socialists would be very much on the job from now until next November. And there was Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, saying, "The nomination of Thomas proves that some good thing can come out of Ohio." Business had called Victor Berger out of the hall when Waldman was speaking, but he got back in time to say that Milwaukee will be very much there next fall.

"The finest thing about Thomas is that unlike so many of the intelligentsia, he came with us in perilous times, rather than running away from us," Berger said.

The enthusiasm evoked by Thomas' appearance was very nearly matched by the way the delegates received the stirring speech of Frank Crosswaith. Frank was the only Negro among the delegates, but his race had a worthy representative. Waldman had mentioned the names of Lincoln, Phillips, and Garrison. These names called up in Crosswaith's heart the memories of all that his race had suffered. And he spoke with a certain sombre, brooding eloquence that kept his hearers in tense silence until the end, when they rendered this courageous young organizer a fitting tribute. Frank had his four youngsters in the back of the hall, and it was a prideful moment for them when the delegates roared their appreciation of their father's speech.

Thomas Accepts the Nomination

Now you must know that the machinery of old-line political conventions so functions that weeks elapse before the nomination and the solemn time when the surprised candidate hears about it. He is visited by a high-hatted, frock-coated delegation to whom he delivers a set speech, the result of the feverish activity of party hacks and press-agents. But this was no old-line convention. One of the candidates was sitting on the stage, the other among the rank and file of his Pennsylvania delegation. And when finally the gravel of Lee and the imploring gestures of Secretary Henry had got the convention into some sort of order, Norman Thomas stood up straight, all six feet three of him, and spoke to us very simply about the things that were in his heart. In the self-same hall where Gene Debs was nominated for the Presidency by the Socialists back in 1920, (what time Gene was behind the bars in Atlanta for his fiery defiance of the war-lords,) Thomas said that he felt it was a higher honor to be in apostolic succession to Gene Debs than any possible victory at the polls might bring.

Thomas' First Thought For The Unemployed

"I do not claim to be a successor to Debs," said Thomas, "but I do say that we must carry on the fight for the cause he so greatly loved, and for which he so greatly suffered." Turning to Crosswaith, Thomas recalled the fact that the candidate's grandfather had been among the first to establish schools for the education of Negroes just after the Civil War. "I don't know whether my grandfather would accept all the principles for which I stand today," said Thomas with a smile, "but I do know he would be for anything which would help to lighten the burden of Negroes in America." Then he looked up into the gallery, where a delegation of the unemployed, who have been fed at soup-kitchens by the Socialist Consumers' League, were gathered. He said that he was proud to be nominated in their presence because, alone of the political parties, the Socialists proposed immediate steps for unemployment relief.

Then pledging himself to the principles of the party platform, and emphasizing the need for farmers and workers to make common cause in their struggles against capitalist oppression, Thomas was finished. William Van Nessen of Pittsburgh nominated Jim Maurer, his Reading neighbor. Morris Hillquit seconded the nomination in a speech in which he pointed out the heroic quality of Jim's sacrifice in playing "second fiddle" as Hillquit put it. Jim Oneal promised the candidates they would have a campaign organ of their very own—The New Leader, and amid a fresh demonstration the man who embodies the history of the American worker came on to the platform to keep the delegates rocking with laughter with his reminiscences of pioneer days in the movement.

A Great Day For American Socialism

At the end of two hours of steady speech-making, hand-clapping and cheering, the delegates went back to the routine job of set convention business, convinced that the sixteenth day of April, 1928, will loom big in the future history of Socialism in America. Before their eyes they had seen a party, young from the standpoint of mere years, but with the deep wounds of many bitter battles, come erect from its knees and take its place once more in the vanguard of the forward march of the American workers. They had named two men, one an economist, journalist and champion of labor; a leader in the liberal and radical world of America. Another, a worker of the workers, who had come up from the ranks to head the progressive labor movement. They had a platform free of dogma, coming to close grips with the realities of America, 1928. And they were a proud and a happy group of crusaders, with a new confidence in themselves and the prospects for ultimate victory.

PARTY URGES NATION TAKE OVER INDUSTRY

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sidential campaign of 1928 with the following program:

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONSERVATION

TO RECOVER the rightful heritage of the people we propose:

1. Nationalization of our natural resources, beginning with the coal mines and water sites, particularly at Boulder Dam and Muscles Shoals.
2. A publicly owned giant power system under which the Federal government shall cooperate with the states and municipalities in the distribution of electrical energy to the people at cost. Only when public agencies have full control over the generation, transmission and distribution of electrical power can the consumers be guaranteed against exploitation by the great electrical interests of the country. Public ownership of these and other industries must include employee representation in the management and the principle of collective bargaining must be recognized.
3. National ownership and democratic management of railroads and other means of transportation and communication.

nounced that contributions were in order and that no less than \$10,000 must be raised at the banquet.

And it was raised! The contributions came from individuals, Socialist Party branches, Workmen's Circles, trade unions and other organizations. Cameron King has been an earnest worker for the establishment of a fraternal insurance society for Socialists and the first group of the Sons of Vulcan was

organized in the convention. King announced that this group contributed \$25.

The success in raising the fund further enhanced the feeling that Socialists are intensely in earnest and will wage an important campaign this year.

Solomon Deutsch was again heard of a number of violin solos, accompanied by V. Gianini, and Carmen Reuben rendered a number of songs, accompanied by Charles King at the piano.

4. An adequate national program for flood control, flood relief, reforestation, irrigation and reclamation.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

TO RELIEVE the tragic misery of millions of unemployed workers and their families we propose:

1. Immediate governmental relief of the unemployed by the extension of all public works and a program of long range planning of public works following the present depression. All persons thus employed to be engaged at hours and wages fixed by bona-fide labor unions.
2. Loans to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works and the taking of such other measures as will lessen widespread misery.
3. A system of unemployment insurance.
4. The nation-wide extension of public employment agencies in cooperation with city federations of labor.

LABOR LEGISLATION

THE lives and well-being of the producers and their families should be the first charge on society. We therefore urge:

1. A system of health and accident insurance and of old age pension as well as unemployment insurance. As long as the workers are dependent primarily upon their employers rather than on the community for protection against the exigencies of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment, employers hostile or indifferent to the labor movement will be able to use their private insurance schemes as powerful weapons against organized labor.
2. Shortening the workday in keeping with the steadily increasing productivity of labor due to improvements in machinery and methods.
3. Securing to every worker a rest period of no less than two days in each week.
4. Enacting of an adequate Federal Anti-Child Labor Amendment.
5. Abolition of the brutal exploitation of convicts under the contract system and substitution of a cooperative organization of industries in penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents, the products to be used in public institutions, and the convict workers to be employed at wages current in the industry.

TAXATION

FOR the proper support of government and as a step toward social justice we propose:

1. Increase of taxation on high income levels, of corporation taxes and inheritance taxes, the proceeds to be used for old age pensions and other forms of social insurance.
2. Appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

TO SECURE to the people the civil rights without which democracy is impossible, we demand:

1. Federal legislation to enforce the First Amendment to the Constitution so as to guarantee effectually freedom of speech, press and assembly, and to penalize any official who interferes with the civil rights of any citizen.
2. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.
3. Repeal of the Espionage law and of other repressive legislation and restoration of civil and political rights to those unjustly convicted under war time laws with reimbursement for time served.
4. Legislation protecting foreign born workers from deportation and refusal of citizenship on account of political opinions.
5. Modification of immigration laws to permit the reuniting of families and to offer a refuge for those fleeing from political or religious persecution.
6. Abolition of detective agencies engaged in interstate business.

ANTI-LYNCHING

AS A measure of protection for the oppressed, especially for our Negro fellow citizens, we propose:

1. Enactment of the Berger Anti-lynching bill making participation in lynching a felony.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

THE Constitution of the United States was drafted in 1787 and was designed to meet conditions utterly different from those prevailing today. In order to make our form of government better suited to exigencies of the times, we propose the immediate calling of a constitutional convention. A modernized Constitution should provide, among other things, for the election of the President and Vice-President by direct popular vote of the people, for reduction of the representation in Congress of those states where large sections of the citizens are disfranchised by force or fraud, and proportional representation, and for the abolition of the usurped power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the Constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress.

CREDIT AND BANKING

FOR our emancipation from the money trust, we propose:

1. Nationalization of the banking and currency system, beginning with extension of the service of the postal savings banks to cover every department of the banking business.

FARM RELIEF

THE Socialist Party believes that the farmer is entitled to special consideration because of the importance of agriculture, because of the farmers' present economic plight and because the farmer is unable to control the prices of what he buys and what he sells. Many of the party's demands, including public development of electrical energy, nationalization of coal and railroads, and reform of the credit system will be of distinct benefit to the farmer.

AS A further means of agricultural relief, we propose:

1. Acquisition by bona fide cooperative societies and by Federal, State and municipal governments of grain elevators, stockyards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies and the conduct of these services on a non-profit basis.
2. Encouragement of farmers' cooperative purchasing and marketing societies and of credit agencies.
3. Social insurance against losses due to adverse weather conditions, such as hail, drought, cyclone and flood.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

WE ARE unalterably opposed to imperialism and militarism. Therefore we propose:

1. Immediate withdrawal of American forces from Nicaragua, and abandonment of the policy of military intervention in Central America and other countries.
2. That all private loans and investments of American citizens in foreign countries shall be made at the sole risk of the bondholders and investors. The United States government shall not resort to any military or other coercive intervention with foreign governments for the protection of such loans and investments.
3. Cancellation of all war debts due the United States from its former associated powers on condition of a simultaneous cancellation of all interrelated debts and a corresponding remission of the reparation obligations of the Central Powers and on the further condition that our debtors reduce their military expenditures below pre-war level. The Socialist Party especially denounces the debt settling policy of our government in favoring the Fascist dictatorship of Italy and thereby helping to perpetuate the political enslavement of the Italian nation.
4. Recognizing both the services and the limitations of the League of Nations, we unite with the workers of Europe in demanding that the League be made all inclusive and democratic, and that the machinery for the revision of the peace-treaty under article 19 of the covenant be elaborated and made effective. We favor the entry of the United States at the time and under conditions which will further these clauses and promote the peace of the world.
5. The recognition of the Russian Soviet government.
6. Aggressive activity against militarism, against the large navy and army program of our present administration, and in behalf of international disarmament.
7. Treaties outlawing war and the substitution of peaceful methods for the settlement of international disputes.
8. Independence of the Philippines on terms agreed upon in negotiations with the Filipinos; autonomy for Porto Rico and civil government for the Virgin Islands.

Ancient Knowledge Lost

If the ancients were ignorant of X-rays and wireless, it is beyond doubt that they knew some things of which we are still ignorant. For instance, they made paints and dyes that have lasted for centuries without losing their original brilliancy, and porcelain of a beauty we have never succeeded in equalling.

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WHAT THE CONVENTION DID

- 1.—Nominated Norman Thomas for President and James H. Maurer for Vice-President.
- 2.—Adopted the 1928 platform of the Socialist party.
- 3.—Revised the Constitution, making it possible for sympathetic labor, fraternal, educational and other groups to join the Socialist party in a body at the nominal dues of \$1 a year.
- 4.—Elected Victor L. Berger National Chairman, and Morris Hillquit International Secretary.
- 5.—Elected a new National Executive Committee.—Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin; Morris Hillquit, of New York; Daniel W. Hoan, of Wisconsin; James Oneal, of New York; George E. Roewer, of Massachusetts; Lilith Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Jasper McLevy, of Connecticut; Joseph W. Sharts, of Ohio; and James H. Maurer, of Pennsylvania.
- 6.—STAGED THE MOST ENTHUSIASTIC CONVENTION THE SOCIALIST PARTY HAS EVER HELD AND BEGAN WHAT PROMISES TO BE OUR MOST SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN.

The Roll of Delegates

California: Cameron H. King, A. Levin, Edward J. Dutton, Albert Cook.
Colorado: J. A. Kimber.
Connecticut: Jasper McLevy, Walter E. Davis, Earl Jursek.
Delaware: Humphrey B. Campbell.
District of Columbia: Benjamin Melman.
Idaho: C. H. Cammans.
Illinois: M. V. Halushka, George H. Ingram, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, George Koop, J. E. Mahony, Morris Sesskind, W. R. Snow, John T. Whitlock, Morris A. Gold.
Indiana: Emma Henry.
Iowa: I. S. McCrillis.
Kansas: Ross Magill.
Kentucky: John J. Thobe.
Maine: Wendell F. Farrington.
Maryland: Samuel N. Neistadt, Wm. A. Toole.
Massachusetts: Carl P. Swanson, Wm. Aho, Wm. N. Reivo, P. J. Syrjala, Herman E. Keller, Walter S. Hutchins, George E. Roewer, Jr., Alfred Baker Lewis, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Edith M. Williams, Charlotte B. Halliwell, Mrs. Rose Levin, Arturo Culla, William E. Sproul, Hugh Dunbar, Jennette Marks, S. A. Cooper, Leon Harkin, Harry Fieldman, A. K. Cohen, Burham P. Beckwith, A. Reiseroff.
Michigan: Francis W. Elliott, Arthur Rubenstein.
Missouri: M. Weintraub.
Montana: James D. Graham.
New Jersey: Charlotte Bohlin, B. Cohen, Geo. H. Goebel, David Hertje, Milo C. Jones, Harry L. Nelson, M. Rosenkrantz, Frederick A. Schwartz, Andrew P. Wittel, M. S. Alexander, Fred Reiner, Louis Reiss, H. Urbach.
New York: Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas Herbert M. Merrill, Julius Gerber, Algernon Lee, Jacob Panken, Wm. J. Parker.
North Carolina: Marx Lewis.
Ohio: John G. Willert, Sidney Yeller, Harry Schreiber, Edna Hastings, Joseph W. Sharts, Mrs. Ruth Sharts, Anton Garden, Joseph Martinek.
Oklahoma: M. Shadid.
Pennsylvania: John Jerob, H. K. Churns, Anton Zornik, John A. Aulenbach, Lilith M. Wilson, Birch Wilson, Darlington Hoopes, Paul C. Horine, Jas. H. Maurer, Robert Lieberman, Nellie Lithgow, Isaac Lindset, Harry Berger, Wm. J. Van Essen, Sidney Stark, Anna Van Essen, Wm. Adams, Wm. C. Hoverter.
Rhode Island: Edward A. Livermore.
Texas: George Clifton Edwards.
Vermont: Louis L. Clay.
Virginia: Bertha H. King.
West Virginia: E. Garbarino.
Wisconsin: Victor L. Berger, Mrs. Meta Berger, Daniel W. Hoan, George Laupp, Al Benson, Martin Binn, Samuel Sherman.
Mountain States District (Arizona, Utah, Wyo.), Roy Nicodemus.
Northwest States District (Oregon, Washington), Emil Herman.
Federations: Finnish, W. N. Reivo; Italian, Aldo Cursi; Jewish, Solomon Levitas; Yugoslav, Anton Garden; Lithuanian, P. B. Balchikonis.
Young Peoples Socialist League: Arne R. Parker.

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The Socialist Party Convention Day-By-Day

Nomination of Candidates, Framing of Platform and Revision of Constitution Occupied Labors of The Delegates

Saturday's Session

FOLLOWING the inspiring opening demonstration in the Manhattan Opera House on the night previous, the Socialist party nomination convention got down to business Saturday morning, April 14th, in the Finnish Socialist Hall, 2056 Fifth avenue, New York City. Temporary Chairman Morris Hillquit rapped the convention into order at a few minutes before 11 o'clock and then declared the session open. The roll call followed.

Applause greeted the reading of telegrams of congratulation from various sympathetic groups, including N. Y. Vest Makers' Union, The Verband Branch of Jacksonville, The Detroit Jugo-Slav Branch of the Socialist party, Jewish Branch 3, Newark, Philip Geliebter, Workmen's Circle Branch 388, Newark, Joseph Baskin, the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, Charles C. Shirley, chairman of the St. Paul Conference Provisional Committee, and Morris Sigman, president, on behalf of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Jacob Panken of New York then moved that Comrades Franz Longville, representing the Belgian Labor Party, and Roberto Haberman, the Mexican Labor Party, be seated as fraternal delegates. The motion was unanimously approved. In short addresses, Longville and Haberman conveyed the greetings of their parties. Haberman said he was confident of the election of Alvaro Obregón as president of Mexico and asked the party to expect an invitation to attend his inauguration. He expressed the hope that the American Socialists would before many years be in a position to invite the Mexican Socialists to attend the inauguration of a Socialist President in Washington.

Before proceeding with the business, Hillquit paid tribute to the party's leaders who have passed away since the last convention. He mentioned in particular Eugene V. Debs, Meyer London and Job Harriman. The convention rose in a silent tribute.

The rules of the convention adopted. George H. Goebel was elected chairman for the day and Dr. William J. Van Essen, of Pennsylvania, vice-chairman. William A. Toole was chosen sergeant-at-arms, a fortunate choice from the point-of-view of the nicotine fiends among the delegates. National Secretary William H. Henry was elected secretary of the convention.

The convention then proceeded to elect committees, the tabulation of votes at the afternoon session revealing the following results: Platform, Thomas, Laidler, Sharts, Van Essen, Lewis, Berger and Herman; Resolutions, Panken, Oneal, Kirkpatrick, Yellen, Stark, Wittel, Nicodemus; Constitution, Birch Wulson, Hillquit, Benson, Rubenstein, King (Call.); Julius Gerber, Jursek; Ways and Means, McLevy, Snow, Coolidge, Graham, G. August Gerber, Willert, Edwards; Young People's Socialist League, Parker, Orr and Halushka; publicity, McAllister Coleman, Max Lewis, Wm. M. Feigenbaum and Edward Levinson.

The afternoon session was called to order at 2:30 p.m. Albert Cook was seated as delegate for California. A greeting was read from the International Pocketbook Workers' Union. Morris Edelstein and Charles Kleinman of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union were seated as fraternal delegates.

King of California, then suggested that the report of standing committee on Fraternal Insurance be read to convention. King then read this report and moved its adoption. A substitute motion by Wolff, (N.Y.) That the report of the Committee on Fraternal Insurance be referred to the National Executive Committee for further consideration and study was served.

Wolff was led to withdraw his motion so as to permit discussion. The report of the committee was signed by Snow, of Illinois, Hoopes of New Jersey, Sharts of Ohio, Graham of Montana and King.

The report "recommended that the convention endorse the formation of a fraternal insurance and educational order upon the lines we have worked out; that this convention urges the locals and members of the Socialist party to give the order their cordial support; and that this convention expresses to the Workmen's Circle the hope that some means may be found whereby the proposed order may be allied to it with resulting benefit to both."

In short, the committee proposed the formation of a secret fraternal order with the regular benefit and insurance features and with a ritual symbolic of Socialism and labor's aspirations. In the debate that followed the report, most of those opposed to the measure did not seem to object to the idea of such an order as much as to the idea of having it started by the party though no such proposal was made by the committee. The motion to adopt the committee's report was lost 79 to 34, despite an address by Cameron King in which he urged the formation of a Socialist fraternal order which would win the support of Socialists away from the bourgeois fraternal orders.

After the vote, King pointed out that the idea of the order had not been disproved but merely the idea that the party organize such an order. To this interpretation the chairman assented.

Sharts (Ohio) announced that the pioneer lodge of the University of Vulcans, the name of the order suggested by the committee, will be instituted before the convention was over. Delegates and non-delegates interested in joining the pioneer lodge were requested to give their names to Comrade King.

Pending the report of Tellors on election of committees, Victor L. Berger submitted his report as Representative in Congress. Thomas moved to receive the report with expressions of confidence and gratitude to Comrade Berger for the "magnificent fight he has made as our solitary representative in Congress." Motion adopted unanimously by a rising vote.

Sunday's Session

SUNDAY was a day of hard work for the various committees, and one of sight-seeing and getting acquainted for the rank and file of the delegates to the convention.

The convention machinery which set up Saturday moved smoothly enough so that important business was put through without the prolonged and tiresome bickering that marks so many convention proceedings, and then the out-of-town delegates had a chance to draw breath and look around them.

Most of the shirt-sleeve work was done in the committee rooms where the platform was being drawn up for presentation to the whole delegation tomorrow, the committee on ways and means was discussing the practical details of the big job of running a Socialist for President in the coming election, and the matters of resolutions and changes in the Socialist Constitution were being threshed out.

Yipsels Aided

Quite evidently the party has a very keen eye on young America. There was almost unanimous agreement among the delegates that one of the first interests of the party during this coming campaign will be to enlist youth in the struggle for what we Socialists believe will be a better world for all those who work with hand or brain.

This determination to appeal to younger voters came out in the course of a debate on the report of the committee which has to do with Socialist activities among the youngsters of America. Technically this was the committee on the Young People's Education League, popularly known as the Yipsels. The Yipsels are groups of Socialists not yet of voting age scattered throughout the country in important centers. Upon their shoulders will eventually fall the burden of carrying on the Socialist and labor movement. Insofar as they are schooled in the traditions of that movement, catch the vision that inspired the pioneers and adapt their formulas to the needs of a new age, that movement will march steadily ahead.

In New York city there is a strong and enthusiastic Yipsel group, always on the job when meetings are held, literature is to be distributed, or any educational work is undertaken. In other parts of the country the movement has been neglected of late. But from all indications at the convention today, it is about to be revived with a bang. The report of the committee urging that the National Executive Committee of the Party give particular attention to the young folks and appropriate sufficient funds to carry out this purpose was passed without any serious opposition. The National Office was urged to spend \$3,500 a year on Y. P. S. L. work. The galleries full of young Socialists applauded the action of the convention with youthful fervor.

Jim Maurer, now a dignified Councilman representing the victorious Socialists of Reading, Pennsylvania, formerly a steam-fitter and first, last and all the while, a worker of the workers took the gavel in his competent and none too delicate hands and whammed it down on the desk in front of him to open the convention Sunday morning. It was his 64th birthday. The delegates from out of town were all in their places when the proceedings started at ten o'clock. They hadn't gotten onto the New York idea that Sunday morning can't possibly begin until around eleven o'clock. The Pennsylvania delegation, for example which had been holding a private convention of its own, outside the regular convention got together at the unheard of hour of eight o'clock in a hotel and talked over the campaign which will be waged in their state this year. The victory of the Socialists at Reading last Fall, the work of relief that the Socialists have been carrying on among the striking coal miners of Pennsylvania and the great popularity of Jim Maurer and the other State leaders among the workers indicate that Pennsylvania will turn in a heavy Socialist vote next November.

After the convention had approved the plans for work among the young people and the committees had shut themselves up to struggle with the various resolutions and platform planks which most every delegate had with him in his back pocket, Victor Berger of Milwaukee, the only Socialist in Congress was re-elected National Chairman. The election of Mr. Berger was by loud acclamation. Morris Hillquit of New York was chosen unanimously as International Secretary, an important position which involves keeping the American Socialist movement in close touch with the movement abroad. Then nominations were made for the seven National Committee-men and a long list of names was to be voted on the next day.

After everybody piled out into the clear sunshine of a perfect New York Spring day and had their pictures taken and then climbed into "buses" provided by the Socialist paper, The Forward, the largest Socialist paper in this country and in the world for that matter. Instead of the usual stunt of dragging the out-of-town delegates down Fifth Avenue or out to Coney Island, the buses were headed toward Morningside Parkway way up in the Bronx and their riders were taken through the beautiful cooperative apartment houses erected by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Residents of the apartments, workers all, explained the advantages of the cooperative principle and put a lot of new ideas into the heads of their visitors.

Just as a Socialist's idea of sight-seeing is a bit different, so the entire convention has been a welcome departure from the ordinary old-line political gathering. There have been no long, windy speeches. There have been, of course, some sharp differences of opinion very frankly expressed on the convention floor. But the delegates have gotten through a great amount of important business in a very short time. And through it all there has been the best sort of good fellowship. The Socialists from all parts of the country realize that they have the opportunity during this campaign to become an effective force in American politics and they are not going to throw away that chance by internal bickering. It is their job to furnish the only opposition that is forth-

coming to both of the two old parties and all their energy is going to be put into that job.

If you think of a Socialist convention as a gathering of assorted nuts, the kind of political things that come up in the Spring of a Presidential year and then are heard of no more, I wish you could have been with me these days in Finnish Hall. By actual count there are not more than three full sized sets of whiskers among all the 171 delegates. There are no flowing black ties as yet visible and the women are not hard to look at.

In short it is a meeting of solid, substantial men and women who earn their living by hard work and want to see their fellow Americans get a better break in the economic and political set-up.

It is a decidedly democratic affair. I am sitting between a dirt farmer from Idaho and a coal-miner from Illinois and we have been carrying on a three-cornered discussion during the recesses of the convention about how farmers and city workers and coal-miners can work together on the political field for their common good.

Monday's Session

A complete overhauling of the machinery of the Socialist party was the main business of the convention during most of Monday's session and part of Tuesday. The convention had before it the draft of a new party constitution drawn up by the National Executive Committee during the past three months, and that had been before the party membership for discussion for over a month.

Morris Hillquit, for the committee on constitution, outlined the projected changes in the party constitution, followed by Cameron King, who read the document section by section and defended it in debate.

The constitution changes the form of the party's organization in the following main particulars:

Membership in the party is to be open not only to individuals at present, but it is to be open to organizations, whose members desire to join in a body.

Dues are to be \$1 per member per year unless the local or state organiza-

tions fix them otherwise.

The National Executive Committee, consisting of eight members and the National Chairman, is to have charge of all party activities during the year. It is to be elected for four years at quadrennial party conventions.

A national Committee is to be selected, consisting of one member for each state and an additional member for each 25,000 votes polled in each State.

In opening the debate Hillquit said that the dues paying system had long given an entirely wrong idea of the party's strength. With 1,000,000 votes we had a membership of 100,000. Now, with an equal voting strength, we had a membership about one tenth that former high water mark.

"The dues paying system" said Hillquit, "is misleading and hence discouraging. People who hear of losses of membership are inclined to think that the party is losing strength and prestige. This is far from the case, there is a bad psychological effect in considering as the Socialist movement of the whole country only those who have been paying party dues."

Speaking of the proposed reduction of the dues to \$1 a year Hillquit pointed out that the party has never been supported by the dues, and that its main support has come from funds otherwise secured. He emphasized the necessity of getting into the party the whole body of men and women affiliated with various Socialist activities who are nevertheless not members of the party today.

"Comrade Vlodeck," said Hillquit, "conducts a Socialist forum every Sunday morning. There is a regular attendance of between 700 and 800. His audience has a sort of loose organization, and they are all Socialists. But they are not part of the party. Under the new plan it will be possible to enroll the entire body in the party."

Comrade Jasper McLevy, in opening the debate upon the new proposals, declared that he was opposed to it in every detail and particular. "We've been engaged for years," he said, "in trying to sell to the people a cheap and denatured brand of Socialism. We are open-

ing the way for all sorts of dual organizations. We will arouse a storm of opposition in the unions. When we did not try to sell an adulterated brand of Socialism we grew." J. A. Well likewise opposed the new plan on the ground that under such a scheme we would be "selling labels at a dollar a year."

George H. Goebel, however, was enthusiastic over the new plan. "This is the first definitely encouraging news I have heard in years," he said. "This means that at last we are definitely going out after the American working people."

Other speakers maintained that under the proposed plan it would be possible at last to enroll in the party those vast sections of the Socialist movement that have hitherto not been in the party, such as chapters of the League for Industrial Democracy, the literary and cultural clubs of the Workmen's Circle, forums and similar bodies.

After the debate had shown a considerable objection to the dues of one dollar a year the committee withdrew the plank and substituted a provision permitting each state to decide for itself what the dues are to be, with \$1 as a maximum.

An earlier provision to consider every Socialist voter a member of the party under the classification of General Membership was withdrawn as having no meaning and as arousing antagonism within the party organization.

At the evening session Monday night the convention took up the prohibition question. The platform committee proposed, as reported by Lewis of Massachusetts, that the platform make no reference to prohibition. Congressman Berger opposed such a stand, urging instead modification of the Volstead Act permitting the state to authorize manufacture and sale of light wines and beers. The committee report was adopted by 72 votes to 30.

Tuesday's Session

Tuesday was devoted to adoption of the platform. With few changes the report of the committee, made by Harry W. Laidler, of New York, was adopted. The one exception was the League of Nations plank. A substitute plank prepared by Thomas was subsequently adopted.

The Resolutions Committee, for which Jacob Panken of New York reported; followed after the platform had been disposed of. The resolutions as printed on page four were passed with little disagreement, with the exception of the one on "political cooperation." A few delegates objected to the resolution thinking that efforts to organize "labor party" would detract from the Socialist effectiveness during the campaign. When it was explained that the resolution contemplated no such action, the resolution was passed.

The Ways and Means Committee then reported that the party must make file electoral tickets in 43 or 44 states; and hopes that enough energy may be concentrated upon the remaining five states to make possible the filing of electoral tickets there as well. This report will be printed in The New Leader next week.

At a few minutes before seven o'clock, the delegates adjourned tired and hungry but happy. Norman Thomas took the chair for the last few minutes. He made a stirring plea for Socialist activity and then pulled the audience to their feet to lead them in stirring singing of the International.

Thomas Defender of Labor, Liberty and Peace; Maurer Outstanding Leader of Progressive Labor

Socialist Candidate For President Founder of Civil Liberties Union—Heads Strike Relief Committee

NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist candidate for President, is best known as a student of political, social and economic problems. He is, perhaps, the foremost exponent in the country of the radical school of thought. He is the author of a number of books and pamphlets, and scores of articles giving a Socialist interpretation of current American problems. At present he is at work on an exhaustive analysis and re-statement of the aims and tactics of American Socialism.

Thomas has supplemented his academic work of writing and lecturing, by his active connections with the leading Socialist, liberal and labor agencies. He has taken part in many free speech fights, twice submitting to arrest and both times winning vindication at the hands of the law. He has been a candidate, on the Socialist ticket, for Governor of New York State and Mayor of New York City, each time polling a large vote.

The Socialist standard-bearer was born on November 20, 1884, in Marion, Ohio. His father was a clergyman, as was his grandfather. After attending the grammar and high schools of Marion, Mr. Thomas entered Princeton University where he was graduated at the age of 20 with a A B degree. In 1911, having partially worked his way through, he was graduated from the Union Theological Seminary with the degree of B D.

Made a World Tour

Before entering the Union Theological Seminary, Mr. Thomas made a round the world tour when he had an opportunity to familiarize himself with national and racial problems abroad. He used his church connections to keep himself in constant contact with social work on which he placed the greatest emphasis. In 1906 and 1907 he was a worker in the Spring Street Neighborhood House, a New York settlement in the Spring of 1907, he was pastor of Christ Church in New York City. Mr. Thomas, in 1910, became associate pastor of the fashionable Brick Presbyterian Church on Fifth avenue. He served in that capacity for a year, and in 1911 took up his residence in a working-class East Harlem district, there to become pastor of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church and head of Federated Presbyterian agencies on the upper East Side. He became a member of the local public school board and carried on widespread welfare activities for the poor and needy in his district. During the serious unemployment of 1914, he and his wife in co-operation with the Union Settlement ran one of the largest unemployment work rooms in the city.

Joins Socialists in 1918

Mr. Thomas' record as a Socialist and liberal leader begins with 1917. Previous to that he had frequently taken sides with labor on controversial issues. Both on religious and economic grounds he opposed American entrance into the World War. He participated in organ-

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT



James H. Maurer

izing the American Union against Militarism and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. During the New York municipal elections of 1917, he supported a Socialist for the first time—Morris Hillquit who made an energetic race for Mayor.

Soon after the Hillquit campaign, Thomas severed his connections with the church. He joined the Socialist Party in 1918, and, in the short space of 10 years, has become one of its outstanding leaders. Since then his record has been one of continuous fight for better international relations, civil liberties, municipal reforms, strike relief and trade unionism.

Mr. Thomas is a member of the Press Writers' Union, of the advisory committee of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He helped organize a dozen of the more recently founded unions and has addressed several hundred strike and organization meetings. He threw himself into the Paterson textile strike of 1919 of which his brother was a leader.

Jailed For Textile Strikers

When the famous Passaic textile strike of 1926 broke out, Mr. Thomas was one of its staunchest supporters. This strike will be remembered for the violence against strikers and newspaper-

men practiced by the local police. Meetings had been forbidden. Thomas believed this action was illegal. Through the Civil Liberties Union, he hired a lot. He mounted a tree and began addressing a large crowd of strikers. He had spoken but a few minutes, when his meeting was broken up and he was placed under arrest. Thomas spent the night in Hackensack, New Jersey County Jail. Released on bail, he was never brought to trial. Mr. Thomas is now suing for false arrest, asking \$100,000 damages. During the earlier Passaic strike of 1919, the police turned off the lights in the hall where he was addressing the strikers. Undeterred, Thomas read the Declaration of Independence to them by candle-light.

As chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strike Relief, Thomas has helped raise thousands of dollars and collections of clothing for the miners now out on strike.

Helped Win Irish Freedom

As a student of international affairs, a friend of oppressed minorities and advocate of international peace and co-operation, Mr. Thomas is also well-known. He served with Senator George W. Norris and Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts on the American Com-

Socialist Vice Presidential Nominee Bitter Opponent of State Constabulary "Cossacks"—A Worker Since Childhood

JAMES HUDSON MAURER is one of the best known, best loved and most active of the labor leaders in the United States, having just completed 16 years service as president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. He is also a Socialist City Councilman of Reading, Pennsylvania, and Chairman of the Old Age Pension Commission of Pennsylvania. He has served six years in the Pennsylvania Legislature as a Socialist.

Maurer was born at Reading on April 15, 1864. Last Sunday he was elected Chairman of the Convention that nominated him in honor of his 64th birthday. He was one of three brothers. A native American of Pennsylvania Dutch stock, his ancestors having come to this country nearly two centuries ago. His parents were working people and at the age of six he became a newsboy, at 10 a plumber's helper and later a full fledged plumber. He joined the Knights of Labor on his 16th birthday.

Maurer became active as a Socialist in Reading at very early in his life, and his earnestness, his energy, his good humor and his eloquence brought him to a leading place in the Socialist movement very soon. He was elected to the Legislature in 1910 from the Reading district, where he undertook two tasks as his main work—opposition to the establishment of a State Constabulary, and the establishment of a system of Old Age Pensions, for which he was the pioneer worker; he also promoted workmen's compensation, and mothers' pensions and other labor legislation. His interest in Old Age Pensions brought about his election as Chairman of the Pennsylvania Old Age Commission, on which he served eight years under four different governors, and for which he made numerous trips throughout the country gathering material and one tour through the countries of Europe that have already established such a system of insurance.

Fought the "Cossacks"

Maurer also went into a number of states where bills for the establishment of State Constabulary were pending and opposed such action on the ground that State Constabulary usually were used as armed and organized strike-breakers. He gathered a number of his arguments along these lines in a book called "The American Cossack."

In his Socialist Party activities, Maurer has often been elected to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and in 1916 he was one of a Committee of three that appeared before President Wilson urging him to call a congress of neutral Nations that would take action leading to the ending of the War in Europe. Maurer's associates on that Committee were Morris Hillquit and the late Meyer London. Maurer was also prominently mentioned as a So-

cialist candidate for president in 1916 and received a heavy vote in the Party, not however receiving the nomination in that year.

In 1919 Maurer was very active in the Pittsburgh Steel Strike, both as president of the State Federation of Labor and as a Socialist devoting all his energy for months to the effort of winning for the unorganized Steel Workers the right of collective bargaining.

Last November, Maurer was elected to his present official position in the Socialist sweep that turned the administration of that City over to the Socialist Party. Mr. Maurer is married and has a son and a daughter, both married; and is the grandfather of two children.

4

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Socialists' Heirs of Progressive Votes of 1924

(Report of Congressman Victor L. Berger to the National Convention, Socialist Party, New York City, April 13, 1928.)

To the Delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party—Greeting—

Four years have elapsed since I last had occasion to submit to a national convention of the Socialist Party a report on my activities as the Socialist representative in Congress. Most of the party members are probably acquainted with what I did, or attempted to do, as their spokesman in the National Congress. It will not, therefore, be necessary to enter into a detailed account of my activities. A brief resume, I think will be sufficient for the purpose of this report.

It would perhaps be well to indicate at the outset the nature of the duties which devolve upon the spokesman of a minority group in a legislative body. The duties of a Socialist member include all the duties that would devolve upon the representative of any other party. He must give consideration to the problems which affect individually and collectively his constituents, and obtain for them all the rights to which they may be entitled, to represent them in adjusting matters before the departments, and to assure them fair consideration of any claims they may have.

In addition to these duties, the representative of a minority, and especially of a minority such as the Socialist, which has a program of industrial, political, and social reform applicable to existing problems, must endeavor to present the measures which he thinks will afford relief from pressing evils, and to secure the widest possible hearing for the measures he presents.

Same Boat as Old Line Members

In my service in Congress, I have not succeeded in securing the enactment of my proposals. Alone among more than 500 representatives in the National Congress, I did not expect to have my proposals incorporated into the statutes of the nation. In that respect, I was no worse off, however, than the representatives of the Democratic party, numbering hundreds of members in the two houses of Congress, whose chances of enacting legislation are no better, while in a minority, than mine.

Nor was I any worse off in that respect than the average representative of the majority party, who has little to do with legislation, except to vote when legislation is presented. This, generally and with rare exceptions, is the work of the party leaders, and the chairmen of committees.

That being the situation, the bills and resolutions I offered, and the speeches I made, were not calculated to receive the approval of my colleagues. My sole object was to show them, and to the extent that the press would permit, show the nation, what the Socialists would do, if they had the power.

The Progressives Desert

The second session of the 68th Congress convened shortly after the elections of 1924, when, it will be recalled, the Socialists attempted to bring about a new political alignment, in which they and all those of progressive tendencies could work in harmony for the accomplishment of certain immediate objectives. As a result of that attempt, approximately 5,000,000 people, undeterred by all the threats of panics, the loss of the "dinner pail" and other calamities, definitely followed our standard bearer into what seemed to be at the time a third party, endorsing a program which promised relief from the exactions of our plutocracy.

I had hoped that as a result of this realignment there would be a progressive group in Congress giving expression to the wishes of a determined minority—a group which, even if small in number, would be at least as courageous as the voters who stood by the third party movement regardless of all the threats that were made.

It appeared soon after Congress reconvened that such was not to be the case. Covered by the threatened reprisals of the Republican leaders for their insurgency in the campaign, members of the progressive group at once became very apologetic for the stand they had taken. All that they could have lost for the time being were certain committee assignments, which are of practically no value unless you have a program to present—and to give up the program for the assignment seemed to me to be a gross betrayal of the 5,000,000 people who had voted for a new political deal.

5,000,000 Voters Betrayed

The crawling of the progressives proved to be a disgusting procedure—disgusting not only to those who value principle above preferment, but to all, including the conservatives, whose respect for the progressives would have been greater had they stood by their guns. In a speech that I delivered in the House on January 31, 1925, I characterized the cowardice of some of the leaders in a manner which severed what little bond I had hoped there would be as a result of our common sacrifices in the preceding election.

Thus, the program that had received the endorsement of 5,000,000 people was not heard of further, so far as the progressive group was concerned. The death of Senator LaFollette several months later marked the definite standstill of a movement which had given promise of a better era in American political life.

With the Republican and Democratic parties acting practically as a unit on most questions—and with the so-called progressives contenting themselves with occasionally assuming a negative attitude instead of one that would be constructive—the minority views in Congress were expressed at random by a few individuals, but without organization or direction.

The first session of the 68th Congress convened in December, 1925. So far as

Congressman Berger, Before Convention, Assails the Betrayal By "Progressives" of 5,000,000 LaFollette Voters

from the viewpoint of the powers that be, the work of the Congress was concerned, the two important questions—important because the income tax reduction plan proposed by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, and the settlement of the Allied debts to the United States.

Opposed Tax Reduction

I opposed, of course, the income tax reduction scheme, which was simply a proposal to reduce the taxes on the incomes of the super-wealthy—since, as I pointed out, most people do not earn enough to pay any Federal income taxes on. And I also opposed the debt settlements, which were intended, first, to help Wall Street get its returns at the expense of the nation, and secondly, to bolster up the militaristic, and autocratic, governments of Europe, notably the Mussolini Government and the nationalistic French Government. I expressed in speeches made on the subject the view that I would favor a cancellation of those debts for the sake of peace, if peace would thereby be promoted. This was in accordance with the Socialist Party position.

Among the measures I offered that session of Congress were the following: Amendments to the immigration laws, providing, first, for the legalization of the admission of a large number of aliens who had entered illegally, and who might become outcasts because of their illegal status; second, to prevent the authorities from excluding aliens whose political or other views they did not like.

Urged Coal Nationalization

Seizure of the anthracite coal mines, where a strike was in progress, and the nationalization of the coal industry. Amendment of the retirement act affecting Federal employees, so that when they retire after many years of service they would have enough to keep them in comfort.

A bill to restore the rights and privileges of citizenship to Eugene V. Debs. This measure led to considerable discussion during which the question was raised as to whether those citizenship rights had in fact or in law been lost.

Bills to repeal the espionage act and to make the first amendment to the Fed-

eral constitution, which is supposed to assure freedom of speech, press and assembly, enforceable. Both of these proposals, which I have since reintroduced, have received considerable attention in the public press, and the comment has been favorable.

A constitutional amendment to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of bringing our Constitution up to date.

A bill to reduce illiteracy by having the Federal Government match appropriations for the purpose of improving educational facilities.

Fascist Autocracy Attacked

A resolution directing the President to use his good offices to obtain humane treatment for racial political minorities in Italy.

A minimum annual wage for all Federal employees of \$1,800, which, in a bill I have offered since, I have raised to \$2,000.

A bill to make it a Federal offense to participate in a lynching or for an officer of the law to deliberately neglect to prevent a lynching.

An old age pension bill. An amendment to the Volstead Act which would permit the manufacture and sale of light wines and beers.

A bill to establish a forest reserve in every State of the union, so that our timber resources may be replenished, and floods prevented.

Nationalization of the telegraph, telephone and express properties; of the food products monopoly which had then been organized; and nationalization of the railroads.

A bill directing the President to recognize the present Russian Government. A bill to return alien property seized during the war. A measure providing for such return has since been passed.

Wanted Treaty Revised

A resolution directing the President to call an international conference for the purpose of revising the Treaty of Versailles in accordance with the conditions upon which that treaty was based, upon which Germany laid down her arms, and also to investigate and establish war guilt.

A resolution providing for an investigation of the allegations that Sacco

and Vanzetti had been framed, and calling attention to the evidence upon which these allegations rested.

A resolution to investigate conditions resulting from the strike of the textile workers at Passaic.

It is, I assume, unnecessary to discuss the reasons which prompted the introduction of these measures. These reasons will readily suggest themselves to Socialists, since I feel that they are proposals which Socialists, as representatives of the workers, as lovers of peace, and as guardians of our civil liberties and constitutional rights, would unhesitatingly advocate.

In the same session, I addressed the House on different occasions, assigning reasons for the Socialist position on questions that were under consideration. A review of the subjects discussed would perhaps require more time than would be justified by the character of this report.

The Second Session

As is usually the case, the second session of that Congress was the short

session in which only the annual appropriation bills are considered. During that session, however, I addressed the House at length on our Mexican and Nicaraguan policy, condemning the course of the administration, and stressing the causes and effects of the imperialistic policies upon which the United States had embarked.

In the 70th Congress, which is the one now in session, I have reintroduced many of the measures referred to earlier, and it is my intention, before adjournment, to present a number of others, and also again to address the House on pending questions. I have spoken against the tax reduction bill now under consideration in the Senate, and have suggested, in another speech, that the money which we are returning to the super-wealthy ought to be used to provide a system of unemployment insurance and of old age pensions.

I have also opposed the naval program, and took occasion to call attention to the possibilities of war caused by the imperialism made inevitable by the struggle of industrial nations to dispose of the surplus created by labor.

I have proposed that treaty relations with Roumania be abrogated until Roumania accords minorities decent treatment.

I have also asked Chairmen of committees to which some of my old bills have been referred, and especially my bill on old age pensions, to grant hearings on them. The ruling party is very slow in granting such hearings. I am assured, however, that such hearings will be held in the near future, and I shall make a special effort to have the hearing one that will advance the cause of old age pensions, in which a more general interest is now being taken.

Getting the Publicity

The introduction of bills and resolutions, and the making of speeches, constitute but a part, and possibly the smaller part, of the activities of a Socialist representative. The greater problem is to secure adequate public attention to the Socialist program—the public notice of what he is trying to do.

Every time I offer a measure, a statement setting forth the reasons for it is issued, and mailed in advance of its introduction to the leading newspapers and press agencies. After the delivery of a speech, I have copies reprinted and mailed to the same newspapers and agencies.

I am glad to be able to report that considerable publicity has resulted from my efforts in this direction. Aside from the printing of the news, there has been considerable editorial comment—which I always feel is desirable, even though it be in opposition to the views I have expressed and to the measures I have proposed. It provokes discussion, and I am confident that the soundness of Socialist doctrines and proposals will survive and gain from any discussion.

The letters that come to my office following the presentation of bills and the delivery of speeches indicate a healthy interest in our movement and constitute an assurance that with sufficient persistence and devotion of our movement a substantial development of our party strength will result.

I have referred to the printing of speeches as one of the methods by which I am able to make known our views before the public. Our opponents of the old parties depend to a very large extent upon this method of securing support. They keep the Government printing presses busy running off speeches intended for propaganda purposes only.

Unfortunately, the Socialists, who have a great need for this kind of propaganda work, have neglected to make good use of this medium of public expression—although the Socialists need it badly since they cannot spend the millions of dollars for campaign purposes that the old parties raise in exchange for all sorts of promises and as a result of all kinds of deals.

"We Will Be Victorious"

In this report I have omitted to discuss the various proposals that have been acted upon during the past four years in Congress, and the position that I have taken with respect to them. Such a discussion would require a more voluminous report than this is expected to be. It will be sufficient to say that I have always endeavored to so vote and act as would promote the ideals which we entertain—to make conditions a little better for the large masses of farmers and industrial workers—to help make their liberties secure—to resist oppression from coal and other barons, acting in cooperation with government agencies—and to promote and have our country promote the cause of international peace.

I appreciate the difficulty of accomplishing very much along these lines as long as there is no political party of sufficient strength to seriously threaten the unhindered domination by our ruling class through the two old parties. The chances will grow only as our party grows.

In the many pending problems I shall endeavor to continue the course I have followed thus far. I shall not attempt to do the spectacular, as Comrades have often suggested.

I shall not vote for measures that are economically unsound even though to do so might mean a temporary gain in votes. Nor shall I become a party to any delusive measures which may happen to bear a label endorsed by any group, labor or otherwise. As the party of progress, dedicated to the loftiest ideals of public service, and organized to make possible the greatest good for the greatest number, the Socialist Party, and its representative in Congress—be he one or part of a group—can best serve the nation's well-being by standing for what it believes to be right, regardless of immediate consequences. Upon that basis Socialist parties of the world proceeded in the past. Most of them have been victorious. So shall we.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST CONVENTION

The following were the resolutions adopted by the Socialist Party national convention:

Political Co-operation

The Socialist Party now as always is ready and eager to cooperate in united political efforts with any or all groups honestly seeking to establish a party of the producing classes on the basis of belief in political and industrial democracy and the practice of mutual confidence and respect. We remember with pleasure our association during the La Follette campaign with those progressives who desired to build such a party.

We would remind these friends that we are the only political heirs of the idealistic and working class aspirations, which animated the La Follette movement. No other nation-wide democratic movement to form a party of all workers with hand and brain on a democratic basis is now in sight. For a full generation the Socialist Party has seen new party movements rise and disappear. Only the Socialist Party stands ready to wage a vigorous national campaign in 1928 for those issues which found support from nearly five million voters in 1924.

To these voters and other millions of those who are disgusted with the hypocrisy of the old parties serving the forces of special privilege we confidently make our appeal. We instruct our national executive committee earnestly and sympathetically to consider ways and means of bringing about the maximum possible cooperation between our party and all local or regional groups devoted to the service of those who labor by hand and brain.

On Propaganda Among Women

Resolved: That a Committee of five (5) be elected to formulate and submit to the incoming National Executive Committee, a plan for the propaganda of Socialism among the women of the country for the organization of women in groups for systematic work in the presidential campaign; that at least three of the members of such committee shall be women; that the committee shall report its plan to the incoming National Executive Committee on or before the 15th of May, 1928.

Our Negro Fellow Workers

The National convention of the Socialist Party takes this opportunity to reaffirm its attitude toward the Negro people and especially the Negro wage workers in their long struggle against racial discrimination in our industrial, political and civic life. The convention records its sympathy and support of the Negro workers to wipe out the barbarous discriminations against which they have unrelentingly labored since the end of the Civil War.

The Socialist Party favors the passage of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, condemns the lawless persecutions of Negroes, the continuance of Negro peonage in some of our states, and the heartless policy of Jim Crow laws.

At the same time we rejoice that the

Emergency Committee

Says Disease Menaces Striking Penn. Miners

Danger of a general spread of disease among striking miners in the districts surrounding Pittsburgh is indicated in a report by the medical director of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief of 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Schools in Liberty, Pa., where a pestilential condition has steadily been gaining ground, are already closed, the report continues. A return of cold weather in that area has added to the suffering of the children, many of whom are without proper clothing or food.

The Emergency Relief Committee, a national non-sectarian organization for the distribution of food and medical attention among the destitute families of strikers, is arranging to send travelling doctors into the disease areas.

Between 400,000 and 500,000 children under fourteen years of age will receive medical attention through the traveling physician program of the Emergency Relief Committee.

Imperialism Condemned—Russian Recognition Urged—Freedom For Politicals Demanded

Negro Porters to the number of 12,000 have organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and are asserting their claims to recognition as a union of Negro workers. This challenge to the "company union" maintained by the Pullman Company is a hopeful sign of the awakening of Negro workers to their place in the working class movement and it deserves the support and encouragement of all other organizations of the workers in the United States.

The Convention sends its fraternal greetings to the Brotherhood of Pullman Car Porters in their heroic struggle against the Pullman corporation and pledges the support of the Socialist Press, Socialist speakers, and all other agencies of the Party to the cause of the porters. Their success will help to break down the prejudices between black and white workers and promote a better understanding between all workers regardless of race, creed or color.

On Nuovo Mondo

Resolved: Whereas, the Il Nuovo Mondo published daily in New York with the aid of our comrades is combating the reactionaries among the Italians and leading the Italian masses to a better understanding of the need of the workers; be it

Resolved:—That the locals and other organizations connected with the Socialist Party give their support to Il Nuovo Mondo and aid to circulate this publication among the Italian workers.

Civil Rights and Citizenship

The Socialist Party of the United States warns the citizens of the nation against the dangerous tendency of the judges to deny citizenship on account of political and economic opinions. This policy in recent years has become an important phase of a reactionary movement to terrorize all those holding views not in accord with the opinions of our ruling political and economic groups. It tends to stifle independent thinking and makes citizenship a prize of intellectual cowardice and political servility. It attempts by indirect methods to enforce the power and protect the interests of our ruling classes.

In recent years this policy has been occasionally used against workmen engaged in strikes and has thus become a weapon in behalf of the exploiters of labor. If the immigrant worker is to be denied citizenship because he loyally fights with his class for improvement of economic conditions, then citizenship has become a matter of servile submission to the masters of American industry.

We also call attention to the fact that some 1,500 former political prisoners have not had their citizenship restored to them upon their release. This amazing neglect to do full justice to men and women whose offenses were wholly political also indicates the dangerous drift of policy in relation to citizenship. We submit that the citizen whose opinion is so firmly held that he hazards imprisonment rather than recant is an asset to citizenship and we demand that it should be restored.

The Socialist Party warns the workers of the nation and citizens in general of these encroachments on citizenship and civil rights.

An intolerant plutocracy with its willing political agents in power is sapping fundamentals of American civil rights in the hope of perpetuating their dominion. The Socialist Party is opposed to all such despotic tendencies and urges all friends of human freedom to aid in combatting them.

On Imperialism

The Socialist Party of the United States through its national convention in New York City solemnly warns against the cynical propaganda of militarism and imperialism which seeks to enthrone a despotic policy of foreign conquest of other nations and peoples. This propaganda has already shaped American policy towards the peoples of Latin America. It has led to the invasion of weaker nations and the overthrow of their governments by armed force. It has transformed the Monroe Doctrine into a sanction of arbitrary police power in forcing usurious loans and collecting debts of our bankers. It is responsible for the inva-

sion of Nicaragua by American military forces and the naked attempt to determine the results of the elections by American bayonets.

This militaristic and imperialist policy is in conflict with the best traditions of American history. Its continuance means not only servitude for other peoples but the eventual suppression of all criticism at home. The United States cannot be a despotism abroad and a democracy at home. Our militarists and imperialists are now engaged in an attempt to silence all criticism of American policy and the President himself has questioned the right of the press to disagree with the foreign policy of the government.

We submit that an oligarchy of investing interests allied with these propagandists is responsible for our drift to an intolerant imperialist empire and we urge all who appreciate the danger that faces us to be unremitting in their opposition to this growing menace.

Recognition of Soviet Russia

The Socialist Party of the United States joins with the Socialist and Labor parties of the world in demanding the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia. We condemn the policy of the Washington administration in withholding recognition of the present Russian Government as hypocritical and dishonest and tending to embitter relations between the American and the Russian peoples.

It is a piece of hypocrisy to isolate Russia from the family of nations on the ground of its form of government. The American government did not find it difficult to recognize the despotic government of the Russian Czar and since the end of the World War it has extended recognition to such cruel despots as Hungary and Italy.

We urge the speedy recognition of Russia, not as an expression of approval of the Bolshevik regime, but as a contribution towards the establishment of international stability and good will all over the world.

Political Prisoners
The Socialist Party of the United States, through its national convention in New York City, unites with the trade

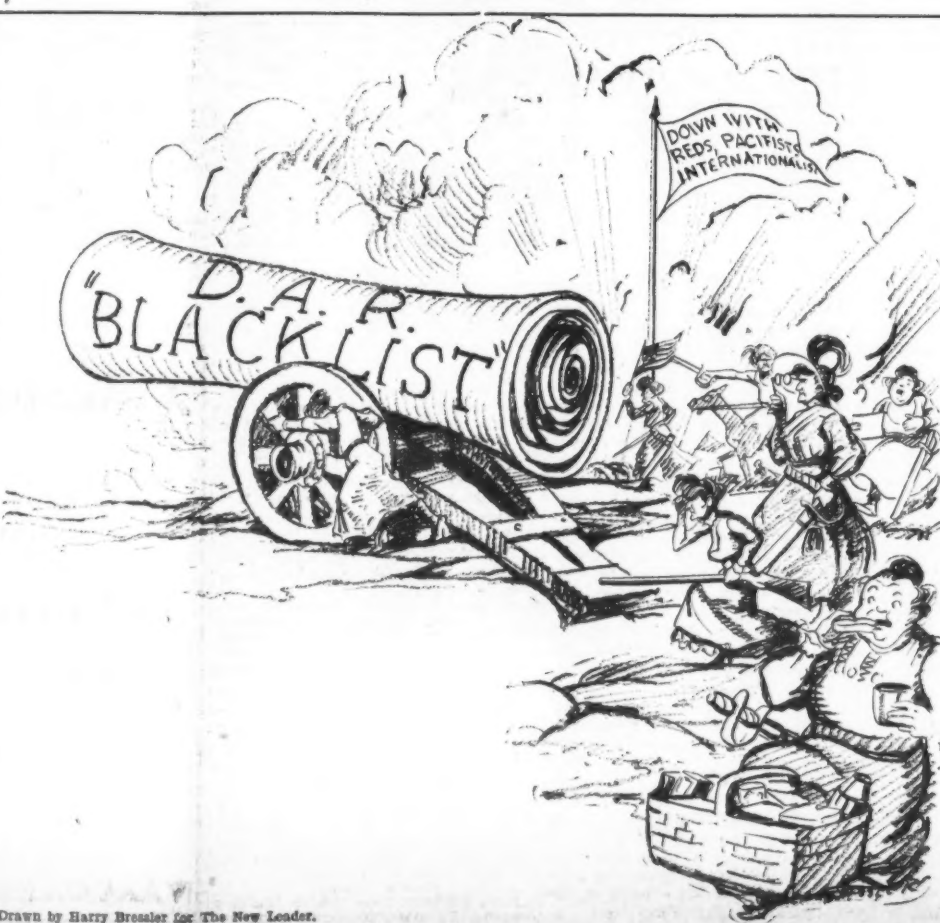
unions, Socialist and Labor parties, and humane people all over the world in condemning the Soviet Government of Russia in its policy of imprisoning and selling Socialists and others because of democratic opinions opposed to the ruling Communist Party. The continuance of this despotic and brutal policy of terror is responsible for thousands of noble men and women wasting away in Soviet prisons or in isolated regions where exile is a living death. A systematic policy of organized terror which stifles the initiative of the working class, which deprives it of the right of organization, the right of a free press and public meetings, cannot be reconciled with the best interests of the workers and of Russia herself.

The Socialist Party of the United States unites with the organized Socialist and Labor movement of the world in condemning this barbarous policy and urges a policy of amnesty, the release of all political prisoners in Russia and the abandonment of the regime of terror, exile and persecution that disgraces the present government of Russia.

We also protest against the reactionary dictatorships that rule Italy, Rumania and Hungary. For hundreds of years the masses of all modern nations have struggled and sacrificed to establish democracy and civil rights as a basis for peaceful solution of the problems of modern society. In the nations named there has been a march back to medieval practices which shock civilized men and women. Thousands of men and women live lives of misery either in exile or by rotting in prisons because of their economic and political opinions. Publications are either censored or destroyed, organizations are crushed or prohibited, and life has become intolerable. We also demand the release of political prisoners in these countries.

The cynical tolerance and open aid extended by the so-called democratic powers to the ruling classes of Rumania, Hungary and Italy is a disgrace. Their attitude is evidence that the hope of the world lies in the conquest of power by the working class in all countries. We pledge ourselves to renewed devotion to the labor and Socialist movement with the knowledge that its triumph will destroy the bastilles and free all humanity.

"THE SPIRIT OF '28"



Drawn by Harry Bressler for The New Leader.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

WE GO RIDING OUT

NOW that the "shouting and the tumult dies," the delegates and their wives depart, and the Great Adventure is at last under way, comes the time for belt-tightening and hard sweating. Our 1928 campaign is off to a flying start. "We've got the men, we've got the plans, we've got the people too." You'll notice that I'm not shouting so loud about the cash, but somehow it is party history that whenever there is real enthusiasm, when the prospects for an energetic campaign are bright, (and when have they been brighter than right now?), the little red gods who preside over our destinies, throw a few nickles our way. And we can make a dollar bill stretch as far as from New York to Edinburgh, Scotland. We've proved that.

I wish that everyone who reads this column could have been with us in New York during the convention days. Starting with the magnificent mass meeting that packed the huge Manhattan Opera House from orchestra to top balcony and then flowed over into the streets outside and ending with the lid-ripping acclaim which greeted the nomination of Thomas, the entire affair was of the sort to make you hold up your head and stick out your chest and be all-fired proud of the fact that you are a Socialist.

I know that lots of you folks out there have been plowing pretty lonely furrows. That at times the struggle has seemed hopeless and that more than once you have said to yourself, "What's the use? This is a smug, self-satisfied generation. There is no good in them. Let them take what is coming. Why should I worry? Why not get it, while the getting's good as so many of the 'tired radicals' are doing?"

No doubt there were some, even among the delegates who came to New York, who felt that way when they arrived. I think I know one or two of them. It was interesting to watch their faces as they sat on the stage at that momentous opera house meeting and looked out on the tremendous gathering of working men and women in front of them. Interesting, too, to see those who had been the most pessimistic among them, standing on their chairs and whooping it up for Thomas like red Indians on the day of the nominations.

You see we have something that no other party in the country has. You can call it what you please, vision, or dream. But in all events it has about it the driving force of eternal truth and the man or woman, whom it has once possessed, is never again the same. There's proof of this in the spiritual despair which seizes those who have betrayed us. Now and then I run into one of these Judases and they are pitiful, with their nostalgia and shame-faced excuses. The fall from great heights is a shattering experience, leaving the ugliest of scars. Of all sad words of modern slang, "sell-out" is the saddest.

But the hardest of fighters needs a cheer now and then and that was exactly what this convention provided for the 171 delegates. And best of all, there was plenty of reason for the cheering.

Right here let me tell you a secret that is to be kept amongst us readers of The New Leader. I, for one, and there were a lot of others with me, was simply swept off my feet by the spirit shown by the delegates. We are living in an age of extreme skepticism about and indifference towards political action of any sort. The number of voters who can vote and don't, proves that. In the years since the War the spirit of defeatism had been ripe in our party so that we had developed a pretty unhealthy inferiority complex. I guess everybody will admit that without further argument.

Now came along a national convention and we were faced with what seems like the hardest of all possible jobs, putting an opposition ticket in the field at a time when Big Business has its unchallenged mastery over both parties and a great majority of the middle-class and manual workers of the country. It was with no great relish that I looked forward to that convention. Something kept whispering in my ear "here comes another flop."

Being accustomed, as we all are, to getting thrown for a loss every time we get on the field, I went to that convention with something of the feeling of a steer walking up one of Mr. Swift's platforms in the Chicago stock-yards.

And I've come back a strutting fool.

I'm just rarin' to go out and make speeches and write pieces and tell the world how cockeyed it is and what a little bit of collective intelligence can do to cure its economic eye-ache.

If you get what I mean, that's exactly what this convention has meant to us who were part of it. If we were tired when we came, we are stepping high now that it's over. The Spring tonic of a Socialist National Convention receives my hearty endorsement.

And now I'm going to say something which will undoubtedly call down on me the wrath of the conductor of a certain column appearing every week on the front page of this paper.

When we go riding out on the Great Adventure this year, we will have at our head as gallant a spirit as ever set lance against the three black horsemen, Cruelty, Greed and Fear. When the young Goethe was presented to Napoleon, the latter exclaimed, "where is a man?" One comes away from a talk with Norman Thomas with much the same feeling. You know you have been in contact with something mighty fine and rare. You have encountered that intangible thing, sometimes called, "leadership" and sometimes "personality" and sometimes "charm." It isn't anything that can be put down black on white, any more than you can capture the quality of integrity in a test-tube. In a world of petty, scheming, grasping little grubs, here is a flesh and blood human being who assays pure gold.

Hero worship? Sentimentality? You name it. I'm just here to state that one who has worked shoulder to shoulder with Thomas under all sorts of circumstances knows that there is a man he would follow to hell and back.

(Note to Editor: For Heaven's sake don't let Norman see this before it gets in type. MCA.)

McAlister Coleman.

The Outline of Injunctions

Diversity of Judicial Decisions—Public Policy Rather Than Law Basis of Decrees

By Louis Waldman

(Continued From Last Week.)

THE theory upon which courts are asked to intervene in labor disputes is that the actions of the Union will result in injury to the property of the employer, his good will, his profits, his orders, his contracts, etc. But that injury is incidental to any kind of effective strike, no matter how peaceful and how direct. The infliction of damages upon an employer by a union in a struggle for better conditions of its members are incidental to the struggle and must be endured. The employer, by granting the demands may avoid the struggle.



Louis Waldman, while yet a judge in the Courts of Massachusetts, writing in the case of Vegelahn vs. Guntner, pertinently said: "Nevertheless, in numberless instances the law warrants the intentional infliction of temporal damage because it regards it as justified. It is on the question of what shall amount to a justification, and more especially on the nature of the considerations which really determine or ought to determine the answer to that question, that judicial reasoning seems to me often to be inadequate. The true grounds of decision are considerations of policy and of social advantage, and it is vain to suppose that solutions can be attained merely by logic and the general propositions of law which nobody disputes. Propositions as to public policy rarely are unanimously accepted, and still more rarely, if ever, are capable of unanswerable proof. They require a special training to enable any one even to form an intelligent opinion about them. In the early stages of law, at least, they generally are acted on rather as inarticulate instincts than as definite ideas, for which a rational defense is ready."

What Tactics Legal
What tactics in a labor struggle that results in injury to the employer are legally justified? What constitutes justification is the big question.
Its answer is a matter of public policy rather than of law.

Although the courts repeat the formula that to organize for the purpose of securing improvement in the terms and conditions of labor and to quit work and to threaten to quit work is perfectly lawful, they have been poles apart in applying this general principle to specific facts in a case. Mr. Justice Baker, writing in the case of Iron Moulders Union v. Al-Bis-Chalmers Co., summarized the general principle as follows:
"To organize for the purpose of securing improvement in the terms and conditions of labor, and to quit work and to threaten to quit work as means of compelling or attempting to compel employers to accede to their demands for better terms and conditions, are rights of workmen so well and so thoroughly established in the law * * * that nothing remains except to determine in successive cases as they arise whether the means used in the endeavor to make the strike effective are lawful or unlawful. * * *"

And here is the rub. For, a general examination of the diversity of judicial opinion will show how thoroughly judges differ in their determination as to whether "the means used in the endeavor to make the strike effective are lawful or unlawful," irrespective of any legislative enactments. In the States of New York, Montana, California and Arizona, the courts hold that the primary boycott is legal. A majority of the courts of the other states and the federal courts hold such boycotts illegal. In the States of New York, Montana, California, Connecticut and Arizona, it is legal to circulate an employer's customers, informing them that a labor dispute or a strike exists and invite their sympathetic cooperation. New Jersey, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and most of the other states hold such circulating illegal. The courts of Ohio, Minnesota, Montana, New York, Oklahoma and New Hampshire hold that as a proposition of common law, peaceful picketing is lawful. Courts of other states limit picketing only to the extent permitted by statute.

Thus it is clear that able courts of different states honestly differ as to what constitutes lawful activity on the part of organized labor in its struggle against capital. Under those circumstances, is it not clear, therefore, that the issues which courts are called upon to decide in labor injunctions are more matters of public policy than of law?

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

KIND MR. MARKLE

ALL the modesty isn't monopolized by the world-famous oil monopolists testifying as to what happened when Doheny and Sinclair went hunting for Al Fall with little black satchels and Liberty bond bombs.

There are others. For instance: Mister John Markle of N. Y. C., who made a fortune in coal, and being desirous of helping humanity, Mister Markle looked around to see where he could ease his conscience.

Not being able to see where the locked-out and famine-stricken miners of Pennsylvania deserved any help, Mister Markle at last caught the eye of Commander Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army.

"What can we do for humanity?" asked Mister Markle. "I have already given away \$5,000,000 worth of my winnings but I want to give some more. Help me before I am ruined." "You are just the man I'm hunting for!" the Commander replied. "I want to build an up-to-date residence for poor but deserving young business women, people who don't know anything good about Unions and who wouldn't strike if they could. I need \$500,000." "It's yours," said Mister Markle without pausing to consider the consequences.

"Where's any modesty in that?" Well, I'm coming to it, but I'll let Mister Markle tell it to the reporter. "Mr. Markle said he did not wish to comment on the gift; would rather let it come from Commander Booth," but, somehow or other, it leaked out that: "Among his recent gifts to charity were \$500,000 to Lafayette College, \$100,000 to the McAuley Water Street Mission and \$3,000,000 to found the John and Mary Markle Foundation," other unmentioned charities bringing up the total to around \$5,000,000. But all the same, this man was too modest to "comment on" his good work, for which he is deserving of praise, no matter what he did to the producers and consumers of coal. Let who will say, "Charity covers a multitude of sins," I know better. I know a philanthropist when I hear one, and John Markle is a true blue Captain of Industry.

SOCIALIST PLANS AND PROGRESS

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.

California

The Socialists of Los Angeles will hold a picnic on Sunday, May 6, at Eagle Rock Park. Lew Head will be the principal speaker. We may also have Upson Sinclair. Our candidates for Congress and the legislature will be on the program.

Pennsylvania

Mass Meeting in Rex Theatre
On Sunday evening, April 22, Mayor Summy and Councilmen Maugh and Snyder will be the speakers at a public meeting in the Rex Theatre, at which the activities of the city administration will be discussed.
The meeting has been made possible by the courtesy of the Franklin Theatre Company and will be free to the public. All citizens of East Reading should keep this date in mind and arrange to be present when the Socialist city officials give an account of their actions.

Massachusetts

An important conference of members and sympathizers will be held Sunday, April 22, at 10:30 a.m. at the American House, 66 Hanover Street, Boston, to make arrangements for an active campaign this summer and fall.

Our May Day Celebration will be held Tuesday, May 1, at Wellington Hill Auditorium, Morton and Wellington Hill Street, Dorchester at 8:00 p.m. There will be a dance and eight speeches by James O'neal on "Labor's Final Victory" and Joseph Bearak on "Labor's Next Step." Tickets 50 cents.

Berger's Speeches
Berger's speech against imperialism

Thomas Defender of Labor and Liberty

(Continued from page 3)

mission for conditions in Ireland in 1920, presenting the since famous report which was read into the Congressional record. This report was the high-light of the agitation which led up to the Lloyd George agreement ending the Irish-British crisis. While editor of "The World Tomorrow," Thomas in 1918, published the first comprehensive criticism of the Wilson policy of sending United States troops into Russia. For this article the Federal Government attempted to indict him for violation of the Espionage Act.

As a civil liberties defender Mr. Thomas was one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union, which staged the famous Dayton evolution test case. He spoke in Mount Vernon, New York in a free speech test case in 1920. With Dr. John Haynes Holmes, he was then arrested only to have the case thrown out of court, a victory for the defense.

Mr. Thomas is co-director of the League for Industrial Democracy; a member of the Executive Committee of the Civil Liberties Union; a member of the executive committee of the American Fund for Public Service; chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief; member of the Press Writers' Union; associate editor of "The Nation" and "The New Leader"; author of "The Conscientious Objector" for which the late Senator Robert M. La Follette wrote an introduction; author of the "Challenge of War"; and "What is Industrial Democracy"; and co-editor of the "New Tactics in Social Conflicts," and "Prosperity".

In 1901, Mr. Thomas married Miss Frances Violet Stewart. They have five children and make their home at 206 East 18th Street, New York City.

made in the course of the debate on the big naval bill is available and can be mailed out free to voters. All branches and party members are requested to order a big supply and send them out. They need only be addressed and mailed, the post office does the rest. The cost is \$4.00 per 1000 but any one who can't afford the cost can get the speeches anyhow by writing to the state office, 21 Essex Street, Boston.

State Convention
The annual state convention will be held in Boston, June 3.

Rhode Island

Socialists willing to help to get a ticket on the field will please write to Edward A. Livermore, 225 Richmond Street, Providence.

Vermont

Socialists willing to help to get our ticket on the field please write to Louis L. Clay, 89 Maple Street, Burlington.

Maine

Socialists willing to put up our ticket please write to Wendell Farrington, Livermore Falls.

New Hampshire

Socialists willing to help to put up our ticket, please write to Earl B. Young, 127 Baldwin Street, Laconia.

Connecticut

Karl C. Jursek, State Organizer, addressed a meeting at the City Hall, Ansonia, Sunday, April 15, given by the Mothers' League. His report of the National Socialist Convention doing business in the city of Ansonia, Conn. The concert and meeting resulted in \$114 being raised for the striking miners' families.

August Claessens, the humorous lecturer will speak Sunday, April 22, at 8 p.m. before the Forum of the Workers' Circle, 200 North Street, New Haven. His subject will be "Causes of Unemployment." The meeting is free to the public.

The Connecticut Delegates were kept busy at the National Socialist convention. Jursek was elected on the Constitution Committee. Davis was exceptionally busy on the Tellers Committee and on the Executive Committee. Ways and Means Committee and Chairman of the convention on Tuesday.

New York State

The State Executive Committee meeting in New York during the National Convention, tentatively fixed the dates of the unofficial State Convention as July 14 and tentatively selected Albany for the place of the convention.

State Committee

The official State Committee of the Socialist Party met and organized at the City Hall, New York City, Saturday evening, April 14. S. John Clark of New York was elected State Chairman and Herbert M. Merrill State Secretary. Arthur Jacobson of Albany was elected Treasurer. Fred Arland, Wm. M. Fuggenbaum, Julius Gerber, Herman Kobbe, P. J. Murphy, Ray Newkirk, Samuel Orr, Fred Sander and Theresa E. Wiley were elected members of the Executive Committee. Amended Rules were duly adopted.

New York City

BRONX
Immediately after the 3rd A. D. is organized, Regional County Chairman Knobloch will get into the three remaining unorganized assembly districts with the cooperation of the district chairman. There is only one obstacle in the way of organization work on a large scale—money. Contributions should be sent to Samuel Orr, 291 Broadway, New York City. Watch the Bronx.

3rd A.D.

The organization of a new branch in this district will take place Friday, April 20, at 8:30 p.m. sharp, in the Martinique Mansion, 156th and Beck Streets, one block west of South Broadway. August Claessens will address the enrolled Socialists and Independents to whom 1000 invitations were sent out. The subject will be "Cooperation." Dates, Thomas and Maurer and Organizer Work." This will be the fourth new branch organized in the Bronx since January. Irving M. Knobloch will preside.

5th A.D.
This new branch, consisting principally of young folks, meets Friday evening, April 20 at Freeman Mansion, 1243 Southern Boulevard near Freeman Street. Samuel Orr will speak on "Current Events." Plans will be made for Sunday's hike or outing. More applicants for membership are on hand.

Central Branch
New members have joined this branch. To close the early spring season.

cially, a fine dance and entertainment, consisting of novelty numbers, will be held at 1167 Boston Road, near Home Street. All branches and Yipsels are invited. Samuel Orr and David Kasson are making plans for a membership drive to which enrolled Socialists and non-enrolled voters of the 4th A. D. will be invited.

This is the district from which Comrade Orr was elected several times by big majorities. He will be the principal speaker.

Branch Seven East

A well attended meeting was held Thursday, April 12. Due to the good work of Mr. Press, S. Goodman and A. Bass, the membership of this branch continues slowly but surely to mount. Eight applications were received from new members. Personal canvassing of enrolled voters is in full swing and good results obtained for the Socialist Party and our press. A lively discussion on the Convention Agenda was led by I. George Dobson. The women comrades are on the job to arrange our May Day celebration in cooperation with the 18th A.D. Branch. Details will be announced later. The next meeting will be held Thursday, April 26.

BROOKLYN

One of the very best mass meetings held in Bensonhurst for many years took place Tuesday evening, April 17 at the Henry Mansion, 200th Avenue and 43rd Street. It was planned to take advantage of the presence of delegates to the National Convention and arranged a meeting with the hope of having a couple of them present.

Thanks to the initiative Carl Cummings, the meeting was more than successful. The large hall was still to capacity and the audience was enthusiastic. George Goebel of New Jersey, New York and elsewhere, was chairman and handled the meeting in his well-known style. The speakers were Jos. W. Sharts, of Ohio, Rachel Pankef of New York, Al Benson of Wisconsin and Anthony Thomas, 200th Avenue and 43rd Street. The crowd sang and danced until late to listen to the addresses and contributed over \$48. This is the second successful meeting in this territory.

18th A.D.

But two weeks remain in which to make sure that you succeed in attending the Package Party and Dance of the 18th A.D. in Room 4, of the Pookay May Mansion, Sunday evening, April 29. The room holds but 175, and at the rate tickets are going it looks like a full house.

The Branch was well represented at the various affairs of the National Convention. One of the delegates, Bernard J. Riley, is a member of the 18th. The branch was able to send over 20 of its members to the banquet and dance and pledged \$25 to the National campaign fund.

There being no meeting last Friday, due to the Convention, the meeting on April 20 will continue the educational program with an address by Dr. Louis Sadoff on "The Philosophy of the Communist Movement."

23rd A.D.

At the business meeting to be held Monday evening, April 23, Louis F. Goldberg, delegate to the National Convention, will give a report of the proceedings. It is expected that every active Brownsville member will be at this meeting.

Yipseldom

All Yipsels are requested to assist the Emergency Committee on Nicaragua Saturday, April 21 from 10 o'clock in the morning on. Twelve organizations are cooperating in a protest against the Nicaraguan War, by carrying placards in groups calling for government to make peace with Nicaragua, and to withdraw the Marines. Come down to room 389, Bible House, Astor place, this Saturday. You will be given your assignment with a placard. State the number of hours you desire to devote.

Seniors and Juniors

Because of the National Convention most of the circles held no regular meetings. However, there will be sessions again this week. The various new committees commence activity this week. You will receive mail concerning the plans.

Goebel Compliments

Arrangement Committee
On N. Y. Convention

Editor, The New Leader:

We are all what we are. For myself I am a "bug" on efficiency and an extra bug on the Socialist and Labor movement even out-doing its enemy in effectiveness for every dollar and ounce of energy expended. For that reason I feel forced to ask limited space to express admiration and appreciation of the entire arrangement in connection with the meeting of the National Convention in New York City.

Just who was actually in executive control I do not know. That perhaps in itself is a special compliment to whoever that person or persons may be, and I know, as always, there were dozens (perhaps hundreds) in countless small unseen, but essential ways joining with that directorship in putting it over.

Only those conversant with such matters can fully appreciate what it means to over-fill the Manhattan Opera House as it was, and to arrange a happy, well-balanced program as was last Friday night, or that remarkable banquet of Sunday night from the presentation of birthday roses to "Jim" Maurer, his laugh and tear bringing acknowledgment; the happy cloud piercing response of Thomas, and not least, the unusual spectacle of Hillquit taking that unusual collection of ten thousand dollars.

Mass meeting, Banquet, that visit to the wonderful apartments, the (Finnish) Hall, so well adapted for efficient harmonious work by the Convention, those "Yipsels" with their joy and song and enthusiasm—all of it so fine and effective that "the comrade from New Jersey" would feel ashamed of himself if he did not say so publicly.

GEORGE H. GOEBEL

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Times Have Changed!

"The purpose of the schools," said Benjamin Franklin, "is to furnish the succeeding age with men qualified to serve the public."

That may have been true in B. F.'s day, but not in ours. Nowtimes the purpose seems to be to furnish men capable of catering to the plutocracy while posing as public benefactors. Not "serve" but "service," is their slogan. Everybody's doing it, from bankers to bandits, from Big Biz to Babbitt, so it must be all right.

Adam Coaligger.

Challenge

(For Sacco and Vanzetti)

What shall we sing of, now that you are gone? Of melodies of fountains, of sweet ladies Delicately sobbing in perfumed grief? After we have shouted for your freedom In strong, defiant voices until our throats were hoarse; After that last hour of agony with you As we watched you climb the steep ascent of Calvary;—Can we, will we go back to the thin sweet shallow melodies of June moons and roses?

—OLIVE S. O'NEAL

The Decline of The Negro Strikebreaker

By Ira De A. Reid

THE American labor movement has long regarded the threat of Negro strike breakers as one of the banes of its existence. For years there was a most unhealthy attitude on the part of organized labor toward this powerful, docile, unskilled labor force that was controlled by only such economic factors as were the antithesis of labor principles. Fincher's Trades Review of July 1883 tells of a riot at Buffalo, N. Y. when the bosses attempted to replace the white longshoremen with black workers. As a result of this episode, two black men were drowned, one killed, and twelve seriously beaten. It was at this time that the opposition to the Negroes in unskilled labor was most bitter. It caused strong complaints from the whites who said that the Negroes cheated them out of all the easiest ways of making a living and this opposition led to riots and massacres of colored workers.

The Negro worker has been, in the main, an opportunist. When many unions closed their doors on him, when employers refused to hire him in normal times, he found the doors in industrial freedom shut in his face. Though supply and demand governed the normal labor group, the Negro found injected into his employment this quasi-economic law of supply and demand plus that of race. Thus, when white workers sought greater freedom and justice in their employment and used the strike method, the Negro was the most available group, and the group most mentally prepared to receive the preferred opportunity. It was his chance to have organized labor recognize him as a more potent factor in its existence.

Some Prime Factors

Let us glance at some of the outstanding situations affecting the Negro and strikes:

1. A strikebreaker is a person who is hired or who volunteers to take the place of a worker on strike. Owing to the difficulty of securing such persons in the immediate vicinity of a strike, they are often imported from other states or neighboring regions. The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations in a staff report stated that practically without exception, either that the strikebreaker is not a genuine workman but is a professional who merely fills the place of the worker and is unable to do steady work, or, if he is a bona fide worker, that he is ignorant of conditions, and compelled to work in duress.

2. The period of the World War noted in practically every country for the extraordinary increase in strikes. This period ran concurrent with the increase in Negro migration from the South. Between the years 1916 and 1921 there were at least 19,970 strikes.

3. The Stock-yard Strike, 1904, in Chicago was broken by the use of Negroes. This was the opening wedge for the admittance to the Union of the large number of Negroes which followed. No organization thereafter could hope to amount to anything in the yards, unless it took in Negroes.

4. Although the interest that employers in securing Negroes has not always been merely the granting of an opportunity for work where Negroes have entered as strikebreakers, they have usually remained. This recent entrance into industry has made him for the first

time, a considerable factor, and he feels that the unions recognizing his importance to the accomplishment of union aims are making appeals to him for membership, not out of a spirit of brotherhood, but merely to advance their purposes.

Cooperation On Competition

5.—In the year 1921 at an industrial convention of Negro organizations controlling the employment of thousands of Negro workers, it was decided that Negroes would not be sent as strikebreakers to places where the striking unions accepted Negroes, and that they would advise Negroes to join the unions wherever possible; but, that where Negroes are offered positions by employers in trades where Negroes are excluded from the unions, they would not be advised to forego the opportunity.

6. The Negro minister is still the leader among the people. Until recently Negro ministers knew very little about unionism except that employers are opposed to it. This was enough to influence Negro ministers to urge Negro workers to stay out of unions and thus demonstrate their loyalty to the employer who had given them a chance in industry.

7. The decline of some Negro leaders, who were willing to oppose unions for certain considerations given them by employers, public pressure from the Negro population having become too strong.

8. During the strike feeling runs high, and the word "strikebreaker" or "scab" carries with it a decided stigma among the strikers. White workers ordinarily did not try to understand why the Negro acts as he does. They do not reason that the Negro is often loyal to the employer because he feels that the employer has opened to him industrial opportunities which means better living conditions for himself and family. White workers feel that Negroes who serve as strikebreakers are helping to earn for their race the stigma of being a scab.

The Chicago Commission's Proposals

9. Recommendations of the Chicago Commission on Industrial Relations: (a) That qualified Negro workers desiring membership in labor organizations, join unions that admit both races equally, instead of organizing separate Negro labor unions; (b) That it is an injustice and a cause of racial antagonism for employers who having hired Negroes as strikebreakers, discharge them when the strike is settled to make places for former white employees; (c) That the practice of self-seeking agitators, whether Negro or white, who use race sentiment to establish separate unions in trades where existing unions admit Negroes to equal membership with whites, is condemned.

10.—The International Union of America in 1878 stated that race was being arrayed against race, and that the competition was retarding the progress of all workmen.

11. In January 1855, the Stevedores of New York engaged in a strike for higher wages, and Negroes were used in their places. Today, this occupation offers a large opportunity for Negro workers, and they are members of unions.

12. Between 1882 and 1900 there were fifty strikes against Negro labor listed by the Department of Labor of which 11 were successful and 39 failed. 23 of these were against the employment of Negro male workers; 10 were to secure the discharge of Negro workers; 7 were opposed to working with Negroes; and 1 was against the employment of a Negro foreman.

13. In 1880 a strike among the miners of Pennsylvania led to the importation of Negro workers. Such conditions caused greater activity in the organization of Negro labor.

Reasons For The Decline

The Negro strikebreaker may be said to be on the decline for the following

reasons: (a) Because of the increase in industrial opportunities for Negro workers; (b) The exposition of militant industrialism by supporters in the Negro group; (c) A more serious consideration of the economic basis of life through its publications; (d) A more aggressive assault upon the stronghold of American organized labor by Negro leaders and organizations; (e) Organization of Negro labor independent of white labor; (f) Use of Negro organizations.

At the same time the use of Negro strikebreakers will continue for the following reasons: (a) Because of the rank indifference of the American Federation of Labor and its subordinate bodies to the problem, despite their many resolutions and platitudes; (b) Because of the refusal by international organizations and others to admit members under charters of these international; (c) Unfair attitudes on the part of unions after Negroes become members; (d) Failure of the American Labor Movement to seek to inform and educate Negro labor; (e) Failure to encourage organization of the Negro group.

If Negroes perform, as has been asserted, one-seventh of the labor in the United States, labor organizations of America can never be effective until the great mass of Negro workers is organized. The complaint could not be made continually that the Negro does not take to the unions, and that he is not a union man. No workman who finds it to his interest to remain a non-union man will ever give up the privilege. Membership in a union should offer some advantage to the Negro. To every white workman the union offers superior advantages. When union men strike, non-union men have large opportunity. These instances have been the occasion upon which Negro labor has entered operations which were hitherto closed to it. The Steel Strike of 1919-1920, the Coal Strike of 1922—both of these led to the realization that Negro workers should be organized. The migration with the resulting transfer of Negroes from agriculture to industry has increased the necessity for action, and not finely phrased decorations by organized labor.

Industrial Opportunity Opening Up

The transition to an industrial activity and an economic position which will bring the Negro group to a place comparable with other race groups in America has not been completed. It is a continuous process at the present time in Negro life. Thousands of Negroes are coming into urban centers, and industrial opportunities are open to them, but they are often unprepared for them, since their former contacts have been in rural communities and in agriculture. The education of the Negro worker looms up as one of the large problems of the present and the future. The tide of prejudice has been continuing where colored and white workmen meet and an increasing spirit of cooperation must be developed, so that each group may realize that the successful solution of the labor problem, from the point of view of the worker, lies largely in the worker's cooperation without regard to race or sex. The use of the Negro as a strikebreaker, and his increasing employment shows the great danger to labor from the lack of organization. The variations often made in wage agreements between the races likewise argues for the unionization of Negro labor. The tradition of the absolute racial inferiority of the Negro should be examined by all workers, and an open-minded attitude should be adopted. Negro business men should lend their efforts toward the building of enterprises which will give employment to Negro workers, and both in the quality of the product as well as in labor itself, Negro labor would demonstrate its efficiency. Capitalism through human bondage, a debasing wage slavery, and a restricted occupational life has made possible and the continual exploitation of its black workers, who struggle not only against the usual obstacles of the average American workman but also against the special handicaps of race and color. One need not wear the role of historian and essay the role of prophet to realize that the future of Negro labor would be immeasurably advanced by education, cooperation, organization, and racial self-help. The history of the past economic development presages a greater advance in the immediate future. These facts present the view at the threshold of a closed door which is now slowly being pushed open by Negro labor—the door to larger industrial opportunity.

Socialists Consumers' League Feeds Many Thousands of Hungry

The kitchen operated by the Non-Partisan Council of Unemployed at 187 Henry street, has already fed thousands of hungry men and women. The Socialist Consumers' League is preeminent among the staunch supporters of the kitchen.

There is some difficulty in obtaining food. To see the cadaverous, undernourished types that knock at the door would stir to action the most apathetic. The Council calls upon all sympathizers to donate funds to facilitate the work. All funds for this purpose should be sent to Israel Corn, treasurer, 175 E. Bway.

Community Church Notes

Sunday, April 22d, at 11 A. M. John Haynes Holmes will preach the second of two sermons on Judaism and Christianity at the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th street. His subject will be "Where Christianity is Superior to Judaism."

At 8 P. M. Hon. Albert Leavitt, former assistant attorney general of the U. S., will speak on "A New Law for the Peace of the World." Admission free.

Monday, April 23d, at 8 P. M. a Shakespearean Evening in celebration of Shakespeare's birthday will be held at the church. Mrs. Minnie Williams Gammond will give a dramatic recital of "Hamlet."

Thursday, April 26th, Will Durant will speak on "The Future of Love" at 8:15 P. M., under the auspices of the Educational Department.

J. L. Afroa a Benedict

J. L. Afroa, prominent Brownsville Socialist, Member of the 18th A. D. Kings, and representing New York University on the Student Delegation recently returned from a tour of Soviet Russia, announced his marriage to Flora Lewinger, also of the 18th A. D. Kings. This news came as a pleasant surprise to the Brownsville comrades, as it was generally thought that the heart of Jack Afroa was adamant against the wiles of the fair sex. We know that the many friends and comrades of this popular couple will wish them all the luck in the world.

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BROOKLYN—Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby 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.

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120 East 24th St. Madison Square 1394

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Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Office: 175 East Broadway

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Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

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Local 584, I. L. G. W. U.

Office: 208 W. 14th St., City

Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at

Beethoven Hall, 214 East Fifth St.

Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursday

JOE HERMAN, Pres., Business Agent.

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Bricklayers' Union

LOCAL NO. 9

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave., Phone 4681 Stagg

Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Regular meetings every Tuesday evening

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United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488

MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 405 East 105th Street

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175 E. Bway, Orchard 3259

Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday

Ab. GRABER, President

L. KORN, Manager

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 10173

Regular Meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

SAMUEL KAPLAN, Sec'y-Treas.

GABRIEL BRISCOE, J. GREEN, Vice-Pres.

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GLAZIERS' UNION

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

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 10173

Regular Meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

ED. GOTTMAN, Sec'y-Treas.

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United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7032

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President

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Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.

7 East 15th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3637

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243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

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7 East 15th Street Stuyvesant 7078

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Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union

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NEW LEADER

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

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Assistant Editor..... Edw. Levinson

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

SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1928

THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION AND ITS CALL TO SERVICE

It is no idle boast when we assert that the work of the Socialist Party convention is of more importance than the work of the two wings of capitalist politics which are to assemble at Houston and Kansas City. This Socialist convention represents the New Abolition, the movement for the overthrow of a new oligarchy that has placed its clammy hands on all of American life. To the Socialist Party convention came men and women of ideals and convictions. To Houston and Kansas City will go the dummies herded and marketed by professional gamblers and finally cast as dice in choosing a successor to the Jeffersons and Lincolns. Our convention represents the living present. The others represent the rotting order of a ruling class whose only hope lies in peddling narcotics as a substitute for convictions.

The Socialist Party has nominated two men for its standard-bearers who fully measure up to the idealism and convictions of a movement that is in earnest. In Norman Thomas for President the Socialist Party offers to the working class and thinking people in general a spokesman and crusader whose life is a record of service to every noble cause of our generation. Does prison yawn for some man or woman guilty of sentiments not approved by our ruling Babbitts? Thomas is there with counsel and protest. Where serfs of capitalist exploitation rise against treatment no longer endurable, Thomas is in the fighting line cheering the timid, gathering rations for the women and children, and speaking for those who find it difficult to utter what they feel. When the world looks black with the menace of war and the militarists itch for "glory" in carnage and desolation, Norman Thomas counsels peace and the solidarity of labor. To enumerate his services for economic freedom, his work against human bondage whatever form it may take, and his numerous activities for industrial democracy, peace and fraternity would require a book rather than an editorial.

A SOLDIER IN LABOR STRUGGLES

In James H. Maurer for Vice-President the Socialist Party also presents an answer to the cynic, the apostate and the man lured by the money vats of capitalism. Much is said by the poets, the editors, the essayists, and the retainers of capitalism regarding "success". The gamblers in the fate of human beings, the vulgarizers who heap up piles of cash out of the sweated labor of millions, those who swine their way to the top of a pile of dollars are examples of the "success," whose smug features decorate the Sunday supplements and cheap magazines.

"Jim" Maurer probably has not a dollar that he can call his own and he is one of the most successful men in the United States. His life and work have been given to the liberation of his class. The unemployed and the wastrel, the slaves of the mines, the conscripts drilled to serve our ruling classes, the workers struck down with an injunction club in the hands of servile judges, the men, women and children ridden down by Pennsylvania cossacks, the workman gagged and the striker imprisoned, have all contributed to the making of "Jim" Maurer. In the Pennsylvania Legislature, at the head of the State Federation of Labor, and now chief of an important department of the city government of Reading, "Jim" Maurer has realized the joy in the only struggle worth while. He has lived, lived intensely, and served his class with ability and devotion. Moreover, the more sordid aspects of the class struggle and the disappointments that occasionally come to the crusader have never soured "Jim" Maurer. With a fund of wit and anecdote drawn from a life rich in human experience, "Jim" Maurer long ago learned to laugh at the absurdities of capitalism. No workman of our generation has punctured more pompous bladders than he. His addition to the ticket provides the Socialist Party with a team that will inspire all who in any way revolt against the parties that are only worthy of the scrap heap.

ULTIMATE VICTORY IS OURS

Of the convention itself it is not easy to convey to the reader the impression which it left upon the delegates and visitors. There were delegates who have not been seen for years. There were also some new faces, men and women who for the first

time attended a national convention. Something of the old enthusiasm and earnestness of pre-war days was evident. It was the subject of general comment and it was to be expected. The uncertainties that have accompanied the activities and prospects of the Socialist Party for years have vanished. No other party will carry the banner of the workers in this campaign. The party had worked and waited and waited since 1922 for the organized masses to move out of the camp of the capitalist parties. It had waited outside to join them. It waited in vain. It now leads the independent march again in a campaign of education to inspire the workers. There may be heavy gains in the vote in November. Then they may be small. But no matter. *We will fight the good fight because we know that ultimately the victory will be ours.*

This was the spirit that inspired the convention. It was again evident in the remarkable demonstration which opened the convention in Manhattan Opera House Friday night. By 8:15 o'clock the Opera House was packed from pit to dome with eager men and women. Overflow meetings were held outside. The dinner to one thousand Sunday night carried the idealism and enthusiasm to its highest pitch when in a short time over ten thousand dollars was collected and pledged to the campaign. The crusading spirit of Marx and Engels, of Debs and Hanford, Jaures and Bebel, and hosts of others who have built this movement all over the world revealed that the fatherland of dollars and dupes, oil politics and sewer politics, of capitalism and militarism, will not go unchallenged in the coming years.

The work of the convention also measures high in comparison with any previous convention. The platform is couched in terse and simple English which the masses will read and understand. It is a careful presentation of problems and issues of concern to all who labor and all who seek to avert the oligarchy of capital that may rise on the wreck and agony of another general war. The professional brokers of capitalism who will gather at Houston and Kansas City will be concerned in framing meaningless documents that are designed to appeal to all views. Our platform is intended for those who think, those who realize that capitalism can no more be perpetuated than the slave economy of a former era.

A CALL TO ORGANIZED LABOR

The address to the trade unions of the country departs from other documents of this sort adopted by previous conventions. In other years we were content to define our fraternal relations with the workers organized in the trade unions and then to aid them in all their struggles. This year we not only repeat this but we go further. The Socialists of this country have a long and creditable record in building trade unions in this country since the German exiles fled from the exception laws of Bismarck. It is time to recall these services and for the Socialist Party to offer friendly counsel to the organized working class. As a political organization we have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the trade unions as they have no right to interfere in ours. Only the members of the unions can work out their own problems but what we have helped to build we have no desire to see weakened. The address issued by the convention will be helpful to trade unionists and we hope that Socialists will give it wide distribution when it is available.

THE ONLY PARTY OF LABOR

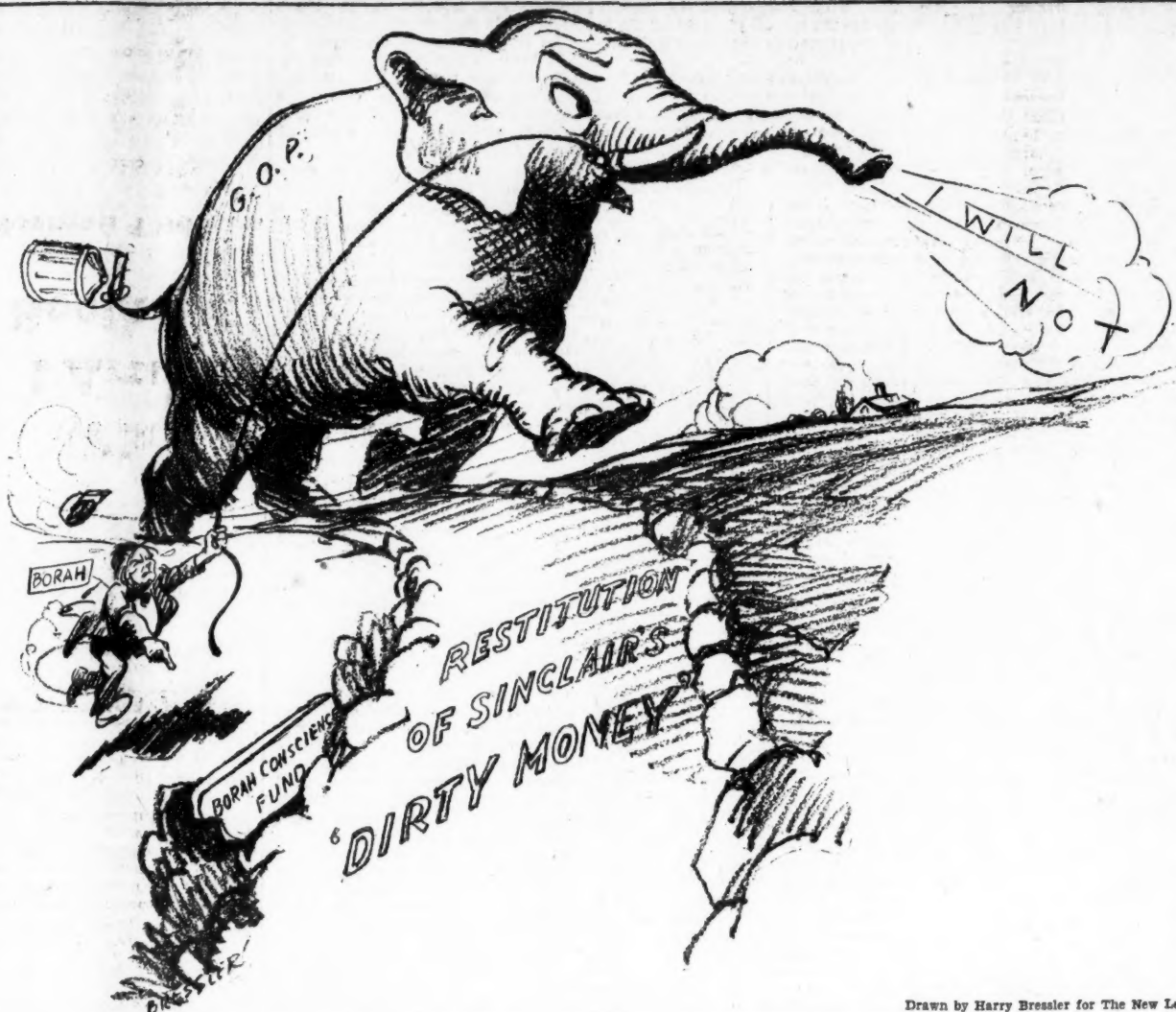
In other sections of THE NEW LEADER will be found a fairly complete report of this notable convention. We assert that, considering its decisions and its candidates, those who earnestly desire to aim a smashing blow at the corrupt and senile two-party machine of capitalism will find that the Socialist Party has presented the only opportunity for doing so this year. Forget the little groups that gathered in Chicago a few weeks ago. They have no organized masses behind them. *The Socialist Party is the Labor Party of the United States and it has been the Labor Party since 1900.* It may be only one section of a greater Labor Party in some future election and it will set up no sectarian barriers to this realization, but for the present the best way to realize this ideal is to support the Socialist Party and its candidates. There are no other two men in this country who can command the support for another political organization that Thomas and Maurer can command. And it makes no difference who the Democrats or the Republicans nominate, no matter how "honest" or how "progressive" they may be. The cowardice of the so-called "progressives" in Congress who crawled back into the Republican camp in order to obtain committee assignments shows what is to be expected of those who bear any allegiance to capitalist party organizations.

GO FORTH TO BATTLE!

And now to you Socialists in the field, the veterans and new recruits, we solemnly urge you to take up the work that lies ahead. This convention was held early so as to permit of plenty of time for planning, organization and raising of funds. Our standard-bearers must speak in as many cities as meetings can be arranged. Other speakers must give their services as they never gave them before. Leaflets must be printed and distributed by the millions. Books and pamphlets must be sold. Trade unions and other organizations of the workers must be reached. Publicity must be organized and systematized. All questions and issues and anything of petty differences must be thrust aside and full attention given to a great campaign. Above all, organize if you have no organization. Strengthen it if you have one. Enlist every person who can render useful service of whatever kind. Go forth to wrest power from the despoilers of the United States!

IN THE INTERESTS OF ECONOMY no receipts will be sent by *The New Leader* and *The Leader-Appeal* for subscription renewal remittances, except when specifically requested. Watch the date alongside of your name on the address label at the top of page one. The figures will indicate the month and year, respectively, of the expiration of your subscription.

NO STRAIGHT AND NARROW FOR HIM



Drawn by Harry Bressler for The New Leader.

Memorial Meeting To Honor Paul Axelrod in N. Y. Saturday

A memorial meeting in honor of the late Paul Axelrod, one of the founders of the Russian Socialist movement, will be held tonight (Saturday) at the Hias building, 425 Lafayette street, near Astor place, under the joint auspices of the New York group of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, the Plechanoff Social Democrats and the Jewish Socialist Verband. Speakers will be Morris Hillquit, Dr. S. Ingberman, Jonah Biliatzer, A. Litwak and others.

Paul B. Axelrod, who died in Berlin last Tuesday, was 70 years old, and he had devoted over 60 years of his life to the Socialist movement. Very early in his youth he threw in his lot with the oppressed workers and peasants of Russia and in spite of danger to life and liberty, continued activity in that cause to the end. In 1883 he was one of a group of five who launched the Group of Freedom for Labor, out of which grew the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. Among his colleagues were Georges Plechanoff, Leo Deutsch and Vera Sassulitch, Socialist heroes all.

He was active to the very end in party work. In 1905, when the Bolshevik-Menshevik division came, he aligned himself with the Mensheviks purely on issues of internal party organization and theories. In March, 1917, he was in Petrograd, but a little later in the year he went to an International Socialist bureau meeting in Amsterdam, and never returned to Russia.

During the past ten years his main work has been urging upon the International Socialist movement the dangers of Bolshevism and insisting upon a strong and resolute stand upon the issue of democracy versus dictatorship. He resided in Berlin and was active in his party to the very last day of his life.

Axelrod was a great theoretician, and he wrote many books on Socialist theory and practice. He left two daughters and a son.

COMING

IN
THE NEW LEADER
ISSUE OF MAY 5th

"Why I Am A Socialist"

By
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FOR PRESIDENT

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Sonnets: To Frances

I.
Slowly the song dies; and spring, that's come
Is not like spring—yet things do not hold grief:
The song that withered on the air like some
Frail bird, too poignant—singing for belief.

Too beautiful for record, leaves no trace
Of its sheer flight. Dull senseless world of things!
What does it know of euphony or grace
Or of the sweeping flight of swallow-wings?

But thus it may keep beauty: stamped in stone—
Some fern frond of a prehistoric time,
Substanceless, but still its clean form known,
The epic told again by a stray rhyme.

So will I have you, Frances, dim-outlined,
A neat and placid image in my mind.

II.
No, things do not hold grief; well then, shall I
With all my vaunted live intelligence
Be less self-harmonised than is the sky,
Less sensible than things that have no sense?

Shall I at noon be sad, because the dawn
Once having burst across the silver linen
No longer spreads its fingers on the lawn?
Nay, dawn comes daily; so, I find, do women.

Hence, let me not be easily deranged,
Too mindful of a song! But let me be
As austere as a star, as little changed
As it is from prepotent destiny.

And yet I grant that this is hardly human,
For I am man, and sadly—you are woman!

Carrol Marks.

Comrade J. H.—of Harvard University writes in as follows: "I do not know whether you are interested in criticism of contributions to your box. I venture this bit, however, in a highly negative spirit, as an expression of my hearty dislike of Max Press' "The Defeated". What I object to is the emotion expressed. He has a right to wallow in whatever feelings he feels at home in. But I do believe that The Chatterbox ought to be exclusive in that it admit contributions only that are resultant of healthy revolutionary thinking and feeling. Singing the joy of failure is a doleful practice that might easily come from bored, college young men and women, not from those who are actively eager in behalf of a better society. Unless, of course, brother Press, in a sentimental moment, decided to offer a threnody in behalf of a doomed capitalist class."

I should not really take issue here with our Harvard contrib on the poem of our guest Max Press. The question involved is merely on the admissibility of negative subjects wherein decadent philosophy or defeatist psychology raise the merry hee-bee jibes with "healthy revolutionary thinkers" and their feelings. And in all editorial decency I should leave the defense of the poem itself to its author. But since I have long wished to spout forth on the vital matter now brought forth to controversial light, I shall beg the pardon of both gentlemen while I get my thousand or so short monosyllables in edgewise.

Failure and defeat are the twin synonyms that make trinity with idealism. And you will all pardon my Brisbane platitudes when I insist that an ideal remains an ideal until it is attained. I will go even further to insist that success is the very poison that destroys the ideal in us. This of course is only meant and is only entirely true to our present world of individualist-capitalist life. I could bring you to witness a thousand instances in our own experience, where men and their works were beautiful to behold as long as they walked, lived and toiled within their unaccomplished dreams. It would be too much like dishing up the remains of a thousand graves to name and elaborate here. Mussolini epitomizes to my mind, the ugly consequence of success ending the idealist. Debs stands alongside of Christ as the failure that keeps alive the heart and soul of a dream. I could draw you a few more pictures of leaders, mass demagogues, well-fed radicals of old, and reformers who have grown weary of failure, and have taken up with the easier manners of success. None of them are sweet to contemplate. Nor are they to blame. The flesh is too tyrannical for the brain. Comforts have a way of coddling us out of self-imposed hardships.

In my own day I have seen old comrades become successful in trade, and lose heart in Socialism. I have known and still know groups and institutions once organized to propagate a splendid cause betray

the ideal and accept dismal failure for it once success and power and money poured in upon them through peculiar circumstance or public accident. This has been particularly true in instances of colonization schemes and literary ventures. Dramatic leagues, art centers, and even book publishers can add to the sad total of failure through success. But I do not intend to set up a cold battalion of figures and names to prove a distasteful proposition. For myself, I have a hearty dislike of any personal success, as success is generally accepted. I do not believe any individual can obtain the full liberation of an enslaved world through his own genius, sainthood, or wizardry. I am a Socialist because I firmly believe in the democratic evolution of my ideal through a mass movement, this mass to be composed of intelligent men and women who have become convinced in my faith. At the present state of affairs here, I am for being a teacher with thousands of other teachers. I distrust leaders. Therefore I refuse to hold power over others. I cannot and will not lead.

I want to reach no success in my dream until all the rest have reached it with me. That is why I accept defeat after defeat as the wage of my untiring pedagogy. That is why I do not lose patience with my unwiling pupils. My very failure to attain the so much desired "tangible result" saves me from the sad consequences of a little success. I accept the little victories here and there as even some sincere teacher of grammar school children comes upon a day of lessons well recited in an otherwise ordinary week of work. I have in me the enthusiasm of youth for the hard work ahead. But I still balance it with the mellow judgment that no lesson is well learned for future use that is not solidly built up through proper teaching in these days of undergraduate schooling.

And always my thoughts are that perhaps I shall not see the result of this labor. That success in my tomorrow will not attend the dull routine of necessary work in the today. But therein lies my joy, that mine will not be sordid flush of success such as the real estate agent feels when he has sold a swamp lot to a glib investor. Mine will be the lasting happiness that I have had a small part in building for an ultimate universal life of human joy and freedom. I shall all it will not depress my "healthy revolutionary thinking". This I can assure you, my comrade at Harvard.

I do know that much that I have said here is old, and hardly "punchy" to the "peppy, minute-man rebel". But all the wholesome truths of the world are old and sedate and mellow with reason. And my philosophy of economics is an old truth. And most of my comrades with whom I am so glad to work are old in their years of service to the same ideal. I could name you a hundred men right now who have discarded personal success, yes, even the fleshy joys that already possessed fortune could easily give them, to devote their years of active service for the cause. In a sense, these men are failures, self-made failures, if you like, since their life-work has brought forth no present-day success. There is Morris Hillquit, whose personal success as a lawyer, as a man of independent wealth, as a man of interests material and intellectual quite removed from Socialism, who still is the glorious failure that any present day Socialist must be here in America. I hold forth great love and admiration to him for the idealism he holds forth to such as me. I mention with the same reverence Norman Thomas who might have hob-nobbed with the congregation of a Rockefeller Church on Fifth Avenue and worn success as a golden halo and a gilt-lined wallet. I can give you Morris Berman, who as a material success has no more right to be a Socialist from the viewpoint of accepted standards, than I have to murder a Nicaraguan farmhand from a Socialist viewpoint. Yet he and his beloved wife have devoted their lives to the movement with a modesty and self-sacrifice that would astound any Yelper of Success. Oh, I could keep up five columns of inspirational folks whom the world will set down as failures, just because the ideal they are spending their lives for has reached no success... as yet.

No, Comrade J. H., failure that I am, I still have accepted no bludgeoning of chance. I walk unbowed, but my head is not bloody. And perhaps, you may in time see the beauty I have seen in the life and death of Gene Debs, the most inspiring failure of our time. Or in life and deeds of our living, indomitable comrades who keep failing, failing, failing, until a whole nation and a world of whole nations unite into the only success worth while... International Socialism. Nor will it be just a pretty paradox to say, that only such failures such as we Socialists are today to a successful worshipping world, shall have brought it to reality...

S. A. de Witt.