

# THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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## THE GENIUS OF FREEDOM

Eugene V. Debs

**T**HE twentieth century, according to the prophecy of Victor Hugo, is to be the century of humanity.

In all the procession of the centuries gone, not one was for humanity. From the first, tyranny has flourished; the few have ruled, the many have served; the parasite has worn the purple of power, while honest labor has lived in poverty and died in despair.

But the eternal years, the centuries yet to come, are for humanity, and out of the misery of the past will rise the civilization of the future. The present time will witness the culmination of slavery in the crash of despotism and the rise of the world-wide democracy, freedom and brotherhood.

Viewed today from any intelligent standpoint the outlook of the Socialist movement is full of promise—to the capitalist, of struggle and defeat; to the worker of coming freedom.

It is the break of dawn upon the horizon of human destiny and it has no limitations but the walls of the universe.

We know that Socialism is necessary to the emancipation of the Working Class and to the true happiness of all classes and that its historic mission is that of a conquering movement. We know that day by day, nourished by the misery and vitalized by the aspirations of the workers, the area of its activity widens, it grows in strength and increases its mental and moral grasp, and when the final hour of Capitalism and wage slavery strikes, the Socialist movement, the greatest in all history—great enough to embrace the human race—will crown the struggles of centuries with victory and proclaim freedom to all mankind.

The Capitalist system has separated labor from ownership and reduced the workers to a condition of wage slavery. They throng the labor market eager and anxious to find a purchaser who will buy their labor power.

Under the Capitalist system a small part of the people are capitalists and the vast mass workers.

The capitalists get the profit, grow rich, live in palaces, ride in yachts and automobiles, gamble at Monte Carlo, drink champagne, choose judges, buy editors, corrupt politics, build universities, endow libraries, preach morals, get the gout and bequeath the earth to their lineal descendants.

To speak of freedom in such a system is a mockery; to surrender is a crime.

The workers work early and late, in heat and cold, they sweat and groan and bleed and die—the steel billets they make are their caskets. They build the mills and all the machinery; they man the plant and the thing of stone and steel begins to throb. They live in cottages just this side of hovels, where gaunt famine walks with despair and "Les Miserables" leer and mock at civilization. When the mills shut down, they are out of work and out of food and out of home; and when old age steals away their vigor and the step is no longer agile, nor the sinew strong, nor the hand quick; when the frame begins to quake and quiver and the eye to grow dim, and they are no longer fit as labor power to make profit

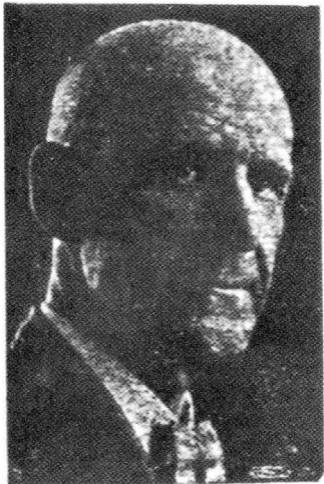


Eugene V. Debs

for the masters, they are pushed aside into the human drift that empties into the gulf of despair and death.

The swarms of vagrants, tramps, outcasts, paupers, thieves, gamblers, pickpockets, suicides, confidence men, fallen women, consumptives, idiots, dwarfed children; the disease, poverty, in-Capitalism rules rise up and cry out against it, sanity and crime rampant in every land where and hush to silence all the pleas of its mercenaries and strike the knell of its doom.

Freedom in Socialism is the one thing worth striving for. Without freedom civilization will crumble and hope die.



**Eugene V. Debs**

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM.....Editor  
OTTO F. BRANSTETTER.....Bus. Mgr.**EDITORIAL**

The reception of THE SOCIALIST WORLD by the Socialist world has been cordial in the extreme. Handicapped as we have been by almost insuperable difficulties in getting out the July and August issues, delayed for weeks beyond the advertised date of appearance, they have been welcomed with gratifying enthusiasm by the membership of the Socialist party.

It is the intention of the Editor of THE SOCIALIST WORLD to get into touch with the membership of the party, to catch the currents of thought that interest and animate the Socialists of the country. That is why the leading article of August issue was the discussion by Morris Hillquit on the Internationals—Second and Third—and the Dictatorship.

Just after the magazine went to press, the Party received a fragmentary report from Moscow to the effect that certain conditions had been laid down for the adherence of any national party to the Third International. One of them was that certain individuals—Kautsky, Hilferding and Crispin in Germany, Longuet in France and Hillquit in the United States—would have to be expelled from their parties before the applications of their parties for admittance to the International could be considered.

Another condition was that the various national parties must be called "Communist;" that the central executive in Moscow must have the right to expel any member or any representative that doesn't suit Moscow.

This statement of Zinoviev, together with the discussion by Morris Hillquit, is certain to cause the greatest interest among American party members. It is likewise certain to create much discussion. And that is precisely what THE SOCIALIST WORLD is here for.

**TROUBLES OF A RENEGADE**

The men who used to be Socialists, but who lost their nerve when it became dangerous to hold to their opinions are having pathetically hard times now. They were used to the limit by the reactionaries while they were useful—now they are cast off, and they have no haven.

The following is from the London Justice, organ of the Socialist Democratic Federation—the old S. D. F. has taken its honored old name again—and it shows what happens when men who have spent many years in the Socialist

movement leave their old Comrades, and have no where to lay their weary heads:

All the political parties have held their conventions, named their candidates for President and Vice-President, and adopted their platforms. Never has the American Socialist, Radical or even Liberal been confronted with a more discouraging situation.

Reaction is in full swing in both the Republican and Democratic Parties, one of which is sure to be elected. A careful chemical analysis might show a trace more of appreciation of the staggering economic and political crisis on the part of the Democrats than the Republicans. Samuel Gompers and the officials of the American Federation of Labor think they have discovered such a distinction, and will give their support to Cox and Roosevelt. Perhaps they are right, but the difference is not one worth fighting very hard about.

So far as the other parties are concerned, they have the names and the phrases of Socialism, but little else, and they show no signs of sufficient strength or definiteness of purpose to encourage any hope of immediate influence or subsequent growth.

The Socialist Party depends almost entirely upon the fact that its candidate is in jail. This will undoubtedly bring it a "protest vote" far beyond its legitimate strength. The imprisonment of Debs is an outrage, for which there is not the slightest excuse. He was never pro-German. His trial was largely a farce. He is being kept in prison largely because of the foolish bluffing tactics used by some of his friends, who threatened "general strikes" and "revolution," when they did not possess the power to elect an alderman.

This sympathy is almost the whole campaign of the Socialist Party. It would have much more success did it have other management. In a single day I talked with ten men who said they would vote for Debs were it not for the fact that such action would strengthen the "gang behind him." Some of these were former members of the S. P., but most of them were Radicals who are in revolt against present conditions and looking for a place to go. Most of them will really refuse to vote. Every observer admits that the "stay-at-home" vote this year will reach an unprecedented height.

There were high hopes of the "Farmer-Labor Party," but its convention showed that it consisted almost exclusively of the union element that once belonged to the Socialist Party and formed the best element of that Party. But splitting the S. P. four times will not make any of the fragments much larger.

Neither the S. P. nor the F. L. P. has any nationwide organization. The S. P. has lost much more than half of its one-time membership, and has a much poorer quality of what remains. It has drawn upon the rabid Irish and pro-German strength that have no elements of common interest and no interest with labor. Its publications are largely filled with anti-British screeds that sound strange in a Press that professes such intense internationalism.

Meantime, our transportation has broken down; coal is unavailable for many industries and there is a threat of complete industrial paralysis; a great wheat crop is rotting in elevators and on the farms for lack of cars; railroadmen are angry and "striking on the job" in retaliation for the intolerable delay in dealing with their wage demands; and the coal miners of Illinois are on a strike that threatens to spread to the entire industry.

Never was there a tithe of the unrest and rebellion against economic conditions that exist to-day; never was there such hopeless political incompetence to meet emergencies.

Perhaps "distant hills are greenest," but I somehow look to Britain and British Labor to lead the way out of the mess into which the world is plunged. I read "Justice" eagerly seeking a ray of hope. Try to put one in if you can.

A. M. SIMONS.

(Poor Simons! He doesn't dare to try to come back home, and there's nowhere else for him.)

# CONGRESS AND THE WORKERS

James Oneal

Congress cannot be reviewed from a Republican or a Democratic angle for the very good reason that, with very few exceptions, there are no partisan divisions in Congress. Congress consists of a half-dozen clever brokers of the big interests, the banks, the railroads, the steel interests, etc., and the rest of the members are dummies. The latter have no influence whatever. They are what in Washington are called "Mawsh" members. This word has been coined from the first letter in each word of the following sentence: "Might As Well Stay Home."

## Congress Controlled by Clique.

Just as industry and finance tends to center into the hands of a few men so has power in Washington taken the same course. Industrial centralization is followed by congressional centralization. Power is in the hands of the Speaker, the floor leaders of the two parties, and a few of the chairmen of the more important committees. They constitute a little oligarchy which not only controls all legislation, but which also can make or unmake the careers of any of the dummies who fail to obey orders of the bi-partisan clique. Party lines hardly exist except during a session drawing to a close when an election is near. Speeches are then made by a few members to be franked out free to the voters in which the "ins" score the "outs" and the "outs" score the "ins."

For example, a Republican dummy in the present Congress cannot get recognition from the Speaker unless he has secured the consent of majority leader Mondell. He announced this procedure in the House on May 22, 1919. By agreement with the Republican Speaker a Democrat must also get the consent of both before he can be recognized. This completely destroys the initiative and independence of any man who may seek to oppose the Congressional machine.

On this same date Congressman Campbell of Kansas asked to "prefer a unanimous consent request." Speaker Gillett then inquired:

Has the gentleman from Kansas (Campbell) conferred with the gentleman from Wyoming (Mondell) and the gentleman from Missouri (Champ Clark)? He certainly has not conferred with the Chair.

This is taken from the Congressional Record, page 103. As an example of the clique control of Congress by the Speaker and the two party leaders this quotation should suffice.

The organization of committees and the rules of procedure are so complicated and autocratic that the bi-partisan clique can jam through a bill or kill any bill they desire. This transforms the mass of Congressmen into rubber stamps for the clique. Their main interest is to be returned to Congress. They introduce bills for public buildings in their districts or to drain a creek. The price of having these "local" bills passed is servility to the handful of Republican and Democratic oligarchs.

Near the close of a session the dummy Congressmen get permission to print speeches and

have them franked out to voters at the expense of the Government. Probably not one in one hundred of these speeches are ever delivered, yet they are mailed to voters as verbatim reports of addresses delivered in Congress. Millions of these bogus speeches are mailed out every year and the mass of voters are unaware that they are being made the victims of imposters.

By the side of this there has grown up what some have called "petty graft." On page 172 of the annual report of the Clerk of the House, there is cited, among other things purchased for Congressmen in 1917, many dozens of playing cards, 18 manicure sets and 50 Gillette razor blades! It includes bags and purses, an Ingersoll Triumph watch, a fan, 36 thermos bottles and even "one-half dozen egg crates"! Each Congressman is allowed clerk hire. Some are known to join in hiring one clerk and pocketing part of the salaries intended for the clerks.

The annual mileage grab is notorious. Back in 1866 when the cost of traveling was higher, Congress fixed the mileage rate at 20 cents per mile, going to and returning from each regular session. A sham battle is fought over the reduction of this mileage in every Congress. Some important speeches are made to be franked out to the voters, and then the mileage grab is approved. It is a piece of annual duplicity participated in by both parties.

When Congress desires to avoid a record vote it resolves itself into a Committee of the Whole where no roll call is taken. An example of the deception practiced is the following: On September 19, 1919, the House was considering a deficiency appropriation bill in the recordless Committee of the Whole. This carried an appropriation of \$200,000 to enforce the anti-trust laws. It contained two provisos that no part of the fund should be used to prosecute organizations of workers or farmers. The members voted 3 to 1 against these provisos. On the following day when the matter came up in the open House and a roll call was forced on the provisos, the members reversed themselves by a vote of 7 to 1. One vote was taken in darkness and the other in daylight. The difference is apparent. The members were at heart against the workers but were too cowardly to have their real views known.

Congress isn't representative under this machine and especially under our archaic electoral system. If the parties were represented in proportion to the vote they cast the representation in the Sixty-sixth Congress would be as follows:

Democrats .....	231	instead of	194
Republicans .....	193	instead of	255
Socialists .....	6	instead of	1
Nonpartisan League.....	3	now have	3
Prohibitionists .....	2	instead of	1
Independents .....	0	instead of	1

The capitalist character of the present Congress is evident from the vote cast by it in the matter

of approving Attorney General Palmer's use of the injunction to break the strike of the miners. Republicans and Democrats united in a vote of approval of Palmer's methods. In the light of such actions it is ridiculous to speak of a "Republican Congress" or a "Democratic Congress." It is a Congress of the banks, the railroads, the packers, the steel trust and the profiteering exploiters of the nation. It is a Capitalist Congress. The workers elect the Congressmen and the latter serve the enemies of the workers. Both parties approved the notorious Esch-Cummins Railroad Bill which practically makes the railroad gamblers the special wards of the federal treasury. It was passed in spite of a nation-wide protest of the railroad workers and other organized workers.

### Congress Servant of Capitalism

The Congress has saddled the masses of the country with enormous loans to pay for war expenditures instead of taxing the tremendous war gains of the capitalist class. Enormous profits have flowed into the pockets of capitalist "patriots" as a result. At the time when the masses were being pleaded with to loan their scanty funds, the capitalist, according to Basil M. Manly of the War Labor Board, were reaping staggering fortunes. We quote Manly:

At the time that the coal operators were making profits ranging as high as 7,856 per cent on their capital stock, the meat packers were making profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent, canners of fruits and vegetables 2,032 per cent, woolen mills 1,770 per cent, furniture manufacturers 3,295 per cent, clothing and dry goods stores 9,826 per cent, and, to cap the climax, steel mills as high as 290,999 per cent. (See Manly's article in *The Searchlight*, April, 1920).

It is claimed that 23,000 new millionaires were created by the war. Attorney General Palmer was entrusted with power to suppress profiteering. One of his subordinates before a Senate committee claimed "about 1,200" prosecutions. None of the big skimmers is listed among those prosecuted. Out of the 1,102 cases, 822 were indictments of moonshiners, 139 as a result of the coal strike, and only 141 on account of other offenses. Meantime prices have soared as though Palmer never lived. Mr. Palmer is a ripe product of the Congressional machine, having served in that body several terms.

As a result of congressional financing of the war by gathering in loans from the masses and letting the capitalist gougers have their ill-gotten gains, some staggering problems face us. The following analysis by Lynn Haines in *The Searchlight* for April, 1920, gives some idea of what has happened:

It cost only \$27,000,000,000 to run the national government 127 years, whereas in the 27 months from April 6, 1917, to June 30, 1919, your Congress appropriated more than double that amount.

The national debt, counting in current obligations, is now much more than the whole cost of the government before the war period.

Each year the interest on the national debt is now more than the entire annual cost of the national government before the war period.

The whole cost of the national government in 1905 was \$755,000,000. By 1917 it has reached \$1,072,000,000, an average increase of \$27,000,000 for that twelve-year period. Now, in three years, it has suddenly jumped to at least \$6,000,000,000 and probably eight billions as a normal peace-time expense to the people . . .

It is utterly impossible, anywhere in official Washington, to get figures which accurately and fairly reveal the actual fiscal condition of the government. But these facts appear indisputable:

1. That Congress appropriated and authorized, in round numbers, for the two-year period ending June 30, 1919, a total of \$60,000,000,000 of which fifteen billions was repealed, following the armistice, leaving net appropriations of forty-five billions.

2. That the total income of the government for that period, counting in bonded and unbonded debt, and revenue from all sources, was in round numbers \$32,000,000,000, leaving a discrepancy between appropriations and income of thirteen billions, with which we started the current fiscal year.

3. That the deficit for this year which ends June 30, 1920, will be around \$5,000,000,000.

4. That the government has spent all anticipated income from direct revenue sources for at least a full year ahead, making probably four billions more to be hurdled before we can get to the "normal" peace time basis of six or eight billions a year . . .

For forty years prior to 1916, the total amount paid to the national government in direct taxes, was only \$600,000,000. Reduced to families, counting five persons to a family, that meant an average yearly tax of \$1.50 per family throughout that period. Now the national tax bill may reach \$400 or more per family each year!

Contrast this with the fact that your movies, drugs, candies, ice cream and other things are still being taxed. Contrast it with the demand of the National Association of Manufacturers, supported by an increasing numbers of daily journals and politicians, that the excess profits tax be abolished and "the substitution for it of a tax on gross final sales of goods, wares and merchandise." Contrast it with the fact that of every dollar paid into the federal treasury 93 cents goes to pay for past wars and the upkeep of a large army and navy.

The Sixty-sixth Congress adjourned on June 5. When it met it found a world largely wrecked and a maze of problems facing the masses of this country. It immediately proceeded to release capitalist profiteers from the restraint of all war legislation. Like a gang of bandits they plundered the masses. Capitalist business was given a free hand in this looting but the legislation against human rights, the censorship of the Postmaster General, the Espionage Act, all that accumulation of statutes that struck down free discussion, free assembly and a free press, were left intact by this Congress.

The Lever Act, ostensibly designed against the profiteers, is the only act affecting capitalist business not repealed. This act has been used to break strikes of the workers, the Attorney General proving to be, under its provisions, servile to the plundering bandits of capitalist business. It embodied anti-strike legislation in the Esch-Cummins Railroad Bill. It spent much of its time discussing more bills to strangle all civil rights which a Constitution is supposed to guarantee us. It supported Attorney General Palmer in his brutal clubbings, raids and arrests of "radicals." It supported his policy of "administrative exile," a policy followed by no other country except the Russia of the Czars.

It, like other Congresses, was not a Republican or Democratic Congress. It was a Congress of the banks, the railroads, the packers, the profiteers and the exploiters of labor in general.

What is needed is a Congress of the workers

of the farm, of the mine, of the railroads, of the packing plants, of the steel mills, of the shops and factories, a Congress representing the workers of the nation. A Congress that will smash and reorganize the clique-controlled machine at Washington and make of it an agency for serving the masses of the country. A Congress of the working class, cooperating in the transformation of the capitalist system into an industrial democracy where the masses will have mastery of industry

and order their own lives and determine their own destiny.

The Socialist Party stands for this program. Its candidates for President and Vice-President, Debs and Siedman, represent this program. It represents your interests, the interests of your family, of your brother workers, and of your class.

Vote the ticket of the Socialist Party in November!

## RELEASE OF POLITICALS DEMANDED

On September 14, a Committee of National Party officials was received by Attorney General Palmer. The following Memorial on Amnesty was presented by the Committee.

Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer,  
Attorney General of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

On the 14th day of last May, the Socialist Party presented to you a Memorial in behalf of all the Federal Prisoners convicted on the basis of political utterances or labor-union activities during the war. Since then only one such prisoner, Kate Richards O'Hare, has been pardoned by the President upon your recommendation. All other "war offenders" whose sentences have not expired by their own limitation, still remain in jail.

The Socialist Party takes this occasion to register a solemn public protest against the continued detention of this class of prisoners and to demand for them an immediate and general amnesty and full pardon.

The war has been over for almost two years, and the whole world is making frantic efforts to live down its ravages and animosities. The governments of all countries of Europe engaged in the late war have recognized that a general amnesty of so-called war offenders is one of the most essential measures for the restoration of peace, sanity, and normal social relations and have accordingly promulgated sweeping amnesty decrees. The United States is alone among the civilized nations of the world to continue a domestic war policy in times of peace.

The men and women convicted of offenses under war-time statutes are not criminals except in a very technical and unnatural sense. They were opposed to the war and the government war policies, and in the light of the tragic consequences of the war for the whole world, the people of this country begin to feel increasingly that the opposition was legitimate and well-grounded as it was honest and courageous. Under these circumstances their further incarceration is not justifiable on the grounds of sound policy or good morale, but assumes the character of political and class vindictiveness.

While the Socialist Party urges a general am-

nesty for all political prisoners without exception, we take the liberty of again calling your special attention to the case of Eugene V. Debs, as the most striking illustration of the enormity of the situation. Mr. Debs was convicted for making a Socialist speech. No sane person considers him a criminal. The whole country knows his sterling personal qualities and lofty idealism.

The Socialist Party has chosen him as its candidate for President of the United States in the coming elections. It was within its rights as a political party to place his name before the free electorate of the country, and to afford him an opportunity to appeal for the franchise of his fellow citizens and fellow workers on the platform and issues of the Socialist movement in opposition to the resent administration party as well as the Republican party. As the date of election is drawing nearer and the campaign is growing more active and important, the spectacle of a candidate for the highest office in the land imprisoned and suppressed by the official representatives of the dominant political party outrages the sense of fair play and propriety and strikes at the very foundations of representative political institutions.

We urge the immediate release of all political prisoners not as a measure of clemency, but as a matter of justice and decency; not in the partisan interests of our party, but in behalf of large numbers of fair minded, liberty-loving citizens, including practically the whole body of organized labor. We make our appeal in the first instance to you as the cabinet officer charged with the administration of justice and through you to the President of the United States in whom the Constitution has vested the power of pardon and the duty to exercise that power in proper cases. We appeal in the last instance to the sovereign people of the United States who will have an opportunity to pass upon our appeal on the day of election.

Respectfully yours,

James Oneal,  
Bertha H. Mailly,  
George E. Roewer, Jr.,  
Chairman.

Committee for the Socialist  
Party of the United States.

## DEBS AS THE STANDARD BEARER

Seymour Stedman

1855 was a fretful year in the United States. It was in the summer of that year that John Brown passed through Missouri into Kansas—he was going there to give his support to those who were to make Kansas a Free State. There were then inroads into Kansas of armed ruffians who went to kill and to make Kansas a slave state; soon battles were fought in Lawrence and Osawattomie and Bleeding Kansas was known throughout the country and throughout the world as the battleground for the cause of freedom or slavery.

It was during this period that the great Daniel Webster made his speech upon the steps of the depot in New York City where he compromised with the slave powers as a bid for the presidency and to this address the greatest orator of the time, Wendell Phillips, replied with bitter and scorching invective and Daniel Webster's hopes became impossible.

The papers at this time were filled with advertisements for the return of runaway slaves — "John Roberts, height 5 feet 11, with a scar on his cheek;" "Mary Jones, a mulatto, with a brand on her forehead," and so on the ads ran. Into the City of Boston the South reached out to bring the Negro Burns back to the whip of his master. The freemen of the North were burning with indignation and aroused; the underground railroad assisting escaped slaves into Canada was in full swing through Wisconsin, New York, Massachusetts and Vermont. In '59 John Brown made his famous raid on Harper's Ferry and was then, with his associates, executed in Charleston. And in 1855, Gene Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana.

Debs' parents were Alsatian. Hugo, the liberal and great lover of humanity was a saint to them; Hugo who declared his faith in Socialism and that the Twentieth Century belonged to the people of the world. Victor Hugo was a household word in the Debs family and countless hundreds of times from the platform we have heard Eugene V. Debs speak of Victor Hugo as well as Wendell Phillips, John Brown and Owen Lovejoy, the martyr at

Alton, Illinois. These great apostles of human liberty time and again have been apostrophized by him and from his mentioning of their names we know without doubt they were great influencing factors in determining the course of his life.

\* \* \* \*

The school years of Debs were very short. At fourteen and a half years of age he went to work in the shops of the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad and four years later commenced his career as a fireman on this prairie railroad, later working in a grocery store, at which time he was nominated and elected City Clerk of Terre Haute as a Democrat, which position he filled for four years. He became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was the moving spirit in the organization of the Occidental Club, a debating and literary society in Terre Haute which called to its rostrum the greatest lecturers of the time. It was during his participation here that he made most strenuous efforts to educate himself.

When Debs ran for the Legislature there was an attempt to nominate a companion of his, Frank Roderus, as a rival. To avoid running against his friend, Roderus, a Republican, left town. The two candidates were such friends that both of them used their time in telling the people what a fine man was on the other ticket.

Debs was elected to the Legislature as a Democrat supported Senator Voorhees, "the tall sycamore of the Wabash" for the United States Senate—and during the time of Debs' imprisonment, as a result of the American Railway Union strike, this Democratic Senator stood by Debs and his family in a most kindly manner against the popular indignation which can only be known to those who were in the movement during this period of passionate class-hate.

Debs organized the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen, now the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. He helped to organize the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, the Brotherhood



Seymour Stedman



Seymour Stedman



of Railway Carmen and the Order of Railway Telegraphers. He was made associate editor of the Firemen's Magazine and in 1880, at 24, he was appointed Grand Secretary Treasurer. When he started with the Brotherhood it was in debt six thousand dollars and had only six lodges; in a short time he wiped out the debt and the order grew to 226 lodges.

He resigned from the organization resisting inexhaustible efforts of persuasion to remain. He did so with the declaration that "an organization should be broad enough to embrace all the workers" and that he desired to give his energies to building up such an organization. As an appreciation the Convention appropriated \$2,000 for a trip to Europe; this he declined.

So in 1892 he commenced his work for a labor organization upon the broadest lines, the submerging of the craft organization into a broader class organization.

In June, 1893, he organized the American Railway Union and his salary was fixed at \$75.00 a month. This organization took in all railway workers and it grew with marked rapidity.

In April, 1894, a great strike took place on Jim Hill's railroad—the Northern Pacific. It was a new form of organization. The railroad managers were at a loss to meet this new method. Locomotive engineers had been played for years against the other crafts. It was one craft always against the other—one working while the other was striking. The managers knew how to handle the situation but when all of the workers laid down their tools it presented a new form of effort, a form of organization later severely denounced by Grover Cleveland, as marked as that which comes from Republican presidential candidates, now hurled against the One Big Union.

On May 3, 1894, returning from the victory of the Northern Pacific Railroad, a brass band with four thousand friends met Debs upon his entrance into Terre Haute. There were flowers for him then, and music.

\* \* \* \*

The Pullman town was called the model town, but it was in fact a feudal town. The workers were pressed into occupancy of tenement houses, forced to purchase from Company stores. The shops, bank, stores and residences, and the church in Pullman were owned by the Company and the workers traded in the Pullman shops, bought at Pullman stores and lived in the small rooms of the Pullman town.

The swindler of a lawyer could be expected to charge his client a revolt; even a child could be expected to fight their tyrant. The workers were to be expected to rebel against the tyranny of the Pullman Company. The Pullman strike was not a strike of the Pullman Company, it was a strike of the workers against the Pullman Company. The Pullman Company was not a company, it was a tyranny. The Pullman strike was not a strike of the Pullman Company, it was a strike of the workers against the Pullman Company. The Pullman Company was not a company, it was a tyranny. The Pullman strike was not a strike of the Pullman Company, it was a strike of the workers against the Pullman Company.

It was during these early months of 1894 that the American Railway Union held its convention in Whitch's Hall—the most historic building in the labor life of Chicago, it was always a place where

the great labor conventions met and from which the greatest strikes in the history of this country were directed. In this hall 425 delegates met from the lodges of the American Railway Union, flushed with their victory over Jim Hill and burning under the scorching outrages perpetrated on them by the railroad systems, east and west.

The general managers of the railroads had been meeting in a secret session; they saw the power of the new union and decided to provoke a contest immediately. Among their provocative orders was one I recall to the effect that the men on the road should take their meals at such time and place as suited the company and work such hours as suited the convenience of the company. It was a meal at any old time and the hours were of any length. The delegates proposed strike. Debs opposed it.

He felt that within a few months they would be better prepared to win, but his advice was disregarded. A strike was determined upon and at this precise point the grandeur of Debs' moral character manifested itself in its supreme grandeur, for it was the cause of the Pullman workers, who had been outraged the most, their contest which he urged should be made the shibboleth of the struggle.

The Pullman workers were not members of the American Railway Union. The American Railway Union strike was therefore to become the first great sympathetic strike in American history. The public demanded arbitration, again and again George M. Pullman replied, "there is nothing to arbitrate."

The strike went on, industry was paralyzed, "ice was out of sight." Many militia companies in the various states who were called out showed great reluctance to being used against the strikers. The papers with screaming headlines and lying reports aroused the farmers and the small town inhabitants, frightened them into the belief that civilization was about to topple over and wildest disorder and destruction was rampant in the great cities.

General Comper came to Chicago and went to the State House and then went away leaving nothing but the betrayal of a great cause. The situation grew desperate for the railroad owners; they were to be burned. Cars were burned—

In Chicago in one location, a new meeting place was needed. There was no effort made by the police to prevent it. Marshall Co way was in charge and had passed on to the evening of the strike. The headquarters of the First Department were in the old building on the corner of LaSalle and Madison streets. The police were in the building and the strikers were in the building. The police were in the building and the strikers were in the building.

The strikers were in sympathy with the strikers and the white ribbons and the color white was in sympathy considered the white ribbons a badge of disloyalty and wild chaos. The color white then was anathematized

as red is today. It is not the color but the cause which disturbs the capitalist. I doubt not if the workers of this country, in their cause, should cling closely to the red, white and blue as their particular emblem of liberty, the capitalist would soon commence to denounce it.

The entrance of the troops was followed by the estrance of injunction. A trial without a jury, a judge acting as judge and jury; the imprisonment of a man by the edict of the court came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. It was a declaration that the employer not only owned his factory, but owned his men and that to persuade a non-union man to discontinue work constituted an offense, a crime if you please, akin to carrying off a man's cattle. In other words the employer was protecting his non-union men as he would his horses, his machinery and his bricks. Some of the greatest lawyers in this country believed that this innovation could not stand. It was denounced as government by injunction by many of the most eminent American jurists. But it stood the test of the District Court and the Supreme Court—a second Dred Scott Decision was thus written into our history.

Debs went to jail for six months. There he made his host of friends as he always does. Mail came to him by the sackfulls and he was given the privilege of answering it. It was there that he became familiar with the economics of Karl Marx.

The day he left the Woodstock jail it was raining but a delegation, which filled a special train, was there to meet him; Ex-Governor Waite of Colorado, Jesse Cox, one of the founders of our Party, public officials, men of prominence from all over the country, and upon arriving in Chicago they marched through the muddy streets in the rain to Battery D, where Henry D. Lloyd, as chairman of the meeting, opened the meeting with the words, "birds of freedom were always jail-birds."

Comrade Debs attempted after this to rehabilitate the American Railway Union but its spine

was broken and in this he failed. The St. Louis Convention of the Populist Party was held in the meantime and there a few of us, some who had been members of the American Railway Union and who had marched with Debs on the night of his return from Woodstock, those of us who had worn the white ribbon, proposed to nominate Debs for President but his telegram saying that he would not accept the nomination destroyed this possibility. Bryan was nominated and Debs supported him in his first election.

A few months after the election of 1896 some delegates from the remnant of the American Railway Union again assembled in Uhlich's Hall, and here as a labor union it ceased its existence, but not until it organized the Social-Democratic Party, which later, in unity with the Socialist Labor Party, became the Socialist Party, of which he is now the candidate. Repeatedly he has been the nominee as President of his Party. He was the candidate when there was no chance of election; he is now its candidate with every chance for victory.

As he was tossed into the balance to determine that question of the right of trial by jury or its overthrow by writs of injunction, so through him the great right of freedom of speech was determined a year ago. Fate picked him for these two great historic events and let us believe that now fate is ready to smile with ample repayment by making him the Chief Executive of this country. Probably no man in the history of the United States has had so many glowing, beautiful and tender personal tributes showered upon him as our candidate, from our country's greatest orators, writers and poets, and to them all he has always been the man described by Captain Jack Crawford:

"The same old pard of long ago,  
The whole-souled 'Gene I used to know,  
With the love of truth writ on Justice's scroll,  
With a woman's heart and a warrior's soul."

---

## SONG OF THE HARVEST

David P. Berenberg

Woe to you, oh, monarchs and kings enthroned,  
Hear the storm that gathers in dark recesses,  
It shall rise, like waves of the surging ocean,  
Soon it shall slay you!

Not the fawning servants who cumber your hearthstones,

Not the tools who weave you a fine dream of glory,

Not the praise with which they have overwhelmed you,

Pale things that crumble,—

Not your castles, builded of stone and iron,  
Not your cities, walled and fitted with cannon,

Not your armies, bought and ready for slaughter—  
Not these shall save you!

Woe to you, who blinded with greed and passion  
Cannot see the storm that is bringing destruction,  
Cannot read the doom of your breed forever—  
Blind you shall perish!

All your faith in the gods of your kind is broken!  
All your strength is a jest and a mocking for weaklings,

All your boasts are a dream, the tempest shall break you—  
Soon comes the harvest!

## The Socialist Party

Executive Secretary,  
**OTTO BRANSTETTER,**  
 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

National Executive Committee:  
 Wm. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau  
 Ave., St. Louis, Mo.  
 John Hagel, Box 777, Oklahoma  
 City, Okla.

Wm. A. Henry, 769 East 13th  
 St., Indianapolis, Ind.

Bertha H. Maily, 7 East 15th  
 St., New York City.

Edmund T. Melms, 528 Chestnut  
 St., Milwaukee, Wis.

James Oneal, 1127 Putnam Ave.,  
 Brooklyn, N. Y.

Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton  
 Square, Boston, Mass.

National Committee on Appeals:  
 Jacob Panken, 156 Second Ave.,  
 N. Y. C., Chairman.

S. John Block, 198 Broadway, N.  
 Y. C., Secretary.

Campaign Donations for August  
 Amount of Previous Contributions,  
 \$18,602.59

Miss F. Orlando, Lawrence, Mass.	\$ 3.00
R. D. Baker, Plum Bayou, Ark.	.95
Karol Korenic, Chicago, Ill. (Slovak Fed.)	5.00
A. Friend, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Irwin St. John Tucker (Canton collection)	49.00
Finnish Fed., Chicago, Ill. (D. and O.)	66.20
W. H. Scholl, Linton, Ind.	5.00
Harriet Fairce, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
Mr. & Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Galion, Ohio	5.00
J. C. Jensen, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
Henry Uhlhorn, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Frank Fiala, Racine, Wis. (Bohemian Branch)	2.00
Wm. R. Snow, (Dallas Col- lections)	77.00
Alex Golbinas, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Mrs. Jos. J. Tuichinsky, Minneapolis, Minn., (D. and O.)	11.50
Irwin St. John Tucker, (Col- lections at Erie, Pa.)	65.00
Walter F. Froemming, Mil- waukee, Wis. (18th Ward Branch)	10.00
F. L. Borland, Charleston, Miss.	1.00
O'Hare-Branstetter meeting collections at Springfield, Mo.	85.15
Stedman-Branstetter, meet- ing collections at Pitts- burg, Kans.	106.83
O'Hare-Branstetter meeting collections at Joplin, Mo.	133.80
Wm. Cauby Ferris, Wil- mington, Del.	1.00
J. G. Steffe, Waycross, Ga.	1.00
B. T. Tiller, Winter Haven, Fla.	1.00
B. F. Richley, York, Pa. (D. and O.)	2.70
I. A. Bean, St. Johns Park, Fla.	5.00
Algernon Lee, New York City, N. Y.	1.00
Wm. Garhard, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00

Chas. L. Kaufman, West- brook, Me.	2.00	John Schurman, New Brit- ain, Conn.	6.60
Raymond Newkirk, Utica, N. Y. (Br. 102, S. P.)	10.00	A. Gerlund, Memphis, Tenn.	3.00
Wirt D. Mills, Manchester, N. H.	1.00	Jos. Grazulis, W. Frank- fort, Ill.	1.00
N. F. Petersen, Milwaukee, Wis.	5.00	Barnett Lokulsky, Aliquipp- pa, Pa.	1.00
Edward F. Smith, Albany, N. Y. (Loc. Albany)	10.00	Otto Newman, Portland, Oreg.	.50
Eugene Muehlmann, Chest- erfield, Mo.	20.00	Morris Berman, New York City, N. Y.	250.00
Max Lutsky, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Local Allegheny Co.)	75.00	Cigar Maker's Union No. 469, Bakersfield, Calif.	2.00
Alb. Bodenloss, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	Unknown Contributor	3.00
Emma Hey, Dixon, Ill.	15.00	Abr. Maroff, Cleveland, Ohio (Un. Cloth. Hat & Cap Makers Union, No. 18)	5.00
H. D. Eberly, Waterville, Wash.	2.05	J. H. Frow, Youngstown, Ohio	.50
Harry E. Schrieber, Cleve- land, Ohio	5.00	Emma Betz, Cincinnati, O. (Cloakmakers U. Lo. 63)	33.75
James A. Jones, Pine Tree, Ark.	1.00	Sam Aneft, Battle Creek, Mich.	4.00
Chas. Kobiske, Berlin, Wis.	5.00	Irwin St. John Tucker, (Baltimore and Washing- ton meeting coll.)	68.50
E. Z. Everst, Olathe, Kans.	1.00	D. P. Berenberg	5.00
Elizabeth Luechtl, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	John H. Guise, Cactus, Ariz.	1.00
H. R. Mauck, S. Pekin, Ill.	7.50	C. Wm. Thompson, Reading, Pa. (Tucker Meeting)	65.00
Jos. De La Montague, River Edge, N. J. (County Com- mittee)	15.00	Nelson Billing, San Fran- cisco, Calif.	8.50
Jos. De La Montayne, River Edge, N. J. (D.&O.)	7.12	E. C. Mahnke, Manitowoc, Wis.	8.75
H. M. Sinclair, Okla. City, Okla. (O'Hare-Stedman meeting coll.)	1,100.00	B. Golub, Albany, N. Y.	10.00
Jos. Spector, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.00	G. A. Kangas, Eveleth, Minn.	12.15
E. S. Whitmer, Indiana Har- bor, Ind.	15.00	J. Chas. Poole, Pittsfield, Mass.	15.95
A. J. Marke, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.00	Jos. Voegtlin, Salem, Ore.	16.70
Ed. Jasperson, Ogden, Utah	1.00	Lowell Condon, Millinocket, Me.	2.00
A. L. Day, Detroit, Mich.	7.50	Fred La Vassure, Milli- nocket, Me.	1.00
I. D. McFadden, Montrose, Colo.	5.00	C. E. Bovellan, Fitchburg, Mass. (Finnish Working- men's Society)	500.00
Cigarmakers Union 129, Denver, Colo.	5.00	C. Geo. Kirchbaum, Okmul- gee, Okla.	3.00
J. H. Blixen, Edwardsville, Ill.	49.50	Chas. B. Walter, St. Louis, Mo.	14.25
A. C. Sullinger, Minden- mines, Mo.	5.00	Slovanian Dramatic Club, Park Hill, Pa.	200.00
D. R. S. Shaffer, Santa Ana, Calif.	1.00	S. L. Bishop, Conway Sprongs, Kans.	.58
J. H. Sims, Bethel, Ohio	1.00	Joseph B. Wernette, Remus, Mich.	4.00
Ming Rader, West Plains, Mo.	2.00	Max Lutsky, Pittsburgh, Pa. (N. E. C. meetings)	400.00
Ed. Heidenreich, Butler, Pa.	9.25	Wm. M. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo. (Branstetter meet.)	30.00
M. Feshman, Minneapolis, Minn. (Jewish Br.)	5.00	A. G. Piepenhagen, Mil- waukee, Wis. (Contr. from members of Milw. Joint Board Amal. Clothing Workers Union)	50.00
Louis Pauls, Schofield, Wis.	10.00	A. L. Day, Detroit, Mich. (Highland Park Br.)	3.75
H. O. Fuhrberg, Seattle, Wash.	5.60	Aug. Brietter, Waterbury, Conn. (Brewery & Soft Drink Work. Union 126)	5.00
D. P. Berenberg, (collec- tions in Ohio and Pa.)	40.82	J. N. Waggoner, Lyons, Ind.	6.75
S. M. Cross, Dayton, Ohio	5.25	F. G. Miller, Rockville, Conn. (Local Rockville)	4.00
Milo C. Jones, Newark, N. J.	109.39	Ernest Lenang, Passaic, N. J. (I. A. M. Lodge 1155)	31.25
August Schafer, Burbon, Mo.	2.00	A. P. Oginski, Racine, Wis.	2.00
Sam Meiners, Almyra, Ark.	10.00	A. Friend, Chicago, Ill.	5.00
A. O. Grigsby, Tollisboro, Ky.	1.00	Finnish Fed., Chicago, Ill.	373.50
Irwin St. John Tucker, Chi- cago, Ill.	20.74	J. B. Fifer, Galesburg, Ill.	32.50
M. L. Ferguson, Kirksville, Mo.	10.50	Geo. E. Harris, West Wood, Mass.	14.45
Mandel Halushka, Chicago, Ill.	6.00		
Fred B. Shacklett, Horace, Kans.	15.00		
D. H. Howell, Quay, Fla.	1.00		
J. A. Kelleher, Chicago, Ill.	17.88		
C. J. Carlson, Dogus Mines, Pa.	1.00		

J. R. Henderson, Alabama City, Ala. ....	5.00	I. Chaikin, Baltimore, Md. Mass. (Cigarmaker's Int. Local 36) .....	25.00	Chas. Kolarik, Chicago, Ill. (Czechoslovak Workingmen's Council, Dillonvale Branch) .....	110.00
F. E. Mount, Tupelo, Okla. Internat'l Ladies' Garment Workers' No. 63 (Cloak-makers Un., Cincinnati) ..	13.75	Geo. M. Spector, New York City, N. Y. (Cap and Millinery Cutters No. 2) .....	25.00	John Behlan, Two Rivers, Wis. ....	12.00
E. W. Shirley, Denning, Ark. ....	17.00	7th Ward Branch, Chicago, Ill. (Stedman meeting collections) .....	86.63	F. Olson, Hazelton, Ida. ....	6.00
Hy. Aalto, Eben Junction, Mich. ....	6.20	P. Lorenz Petersen, San Antonio, Tex. (Local San Antonio) .....	15.00	S. S. O. Kensantahto, Laurium, Mich. ....	25.00
A. McDonald, Toronto, Ont. Canada .....	7.50	John Himmes, Rosholt, Wis. W. R. Snow (Milwaukee collection) .....	7.00	Frank Fiala, Racine, Wis. (Bohemian Bra.) .....	5.00
Phila. Joint Board Amal. Clothing Workers, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	36.25	E. A. Peck, Derby, Conn. ....	10.00	Walter F. Froemming, Milwaukee, Wis. (18th Ward) .....	4.76
Max Meyers, Duluth, Minn. (Jewish Local) (Debs Fund) .....	2.00	Fred Knevers, Sheboygan, Wis. ....	10.75	Benj. Siegel, Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	70.03
Max Meyers, Duluth, Minn. (Jew. Local) .....	20.00	M. J. Ashpis, New York City, N. Y. (Examiners', Begraders' and Bushlers' Union Loc. 82, L. L. G. W. Union.) .....	10.00	K. Saveride, Story City, Ia. ....	1.00
Frank Pittner, Penns Stat., Pa. (Penns. Sta. Local) ..	8.00	A. L. Day, Detroit, Mich. (Highland Park Br.) .....	15.38	Ruth Stuart, Detroit, Mich. ....	19.75
Isadore Schoenholtz, New York City, N. Y. (Ladies' Waist and Dress Makers' Union No. 25, I. L. G. W. Union) .....	100.00	W. Ketola, Jersey City, N. J. (Finnish Soc. Local) .....	26.75	H. A. W. Wiechers, Columbus, Ohio .....	6.38
I. Josephson, New York City, N. Y. ....	10.00	J. J. Losh, Grove, Okla. ....	2.50	Nestor Anderson, Grand Rapids, Mich. ....	8.10
Armos Koski, E. Port Chester, Conn. (S. S. Osasto) ..	11.50	Frank H. Hall, Rockford, Ill. (Stedman collections) ..	65.60	Walter Froemming, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	6.38
Carl Wilson, Kewanee, Ill. ....	5.00	O'Hare meeting collections, Omaha, Nebr. ....	95.00	A. M. Eidsmore, Rice Lake, Wis. ....	11.50
J. C. Meadows, Collinsville, Ala. (Debs Fund) .....	.50	John Caputo, Waterman, Pa. (Proceeds from entertainment) .....	5.25	F. L. Johnson, Oakland, Cal. ....	8.50
J. E. Barcliff, Okla. City, Okla. ....	11.00	L. E. Fuldberg, Waterloo, Ia. (O'Hare coll. at Waterloo) .....	123.00	Fred Knevers, Sheboygan, Wis. ....	48.00
Samuel Albert, Boston, Mass. (Joint Board Amal. Clothing Workers) .....	100.00	H. T. Haybron, Demouise, Ia. ....	25.00	Ole A. Olson, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	65.52
Reuben R. Wier, Jasperville, Ind. (Jasenville Local) .....	21.50	J. W. Pierce, Pipestone, Minn. ....	1.00	Henry Kritlow, Hamburg, Wis. ....	8.40
W. H. Grove, Hooper, Wash. ....	6.00	J. M. Supper, Streator, Ill. ....	.50	E. E. Kehr, Menomonee Falls, Wis., Menomonee Falls Branch .....	16.69
Ewd. Moore, Atois, Wis. ....	5.00	Emil F. Koepke, Milwaukee, Wis. (21st Wrd Br.) .....	5.00	Oscar Junkinen, Gardner, Mass. (S. S. Osasto) .....	61.13
B. Holliday, Westwood, Mass. ....	5.00	Leslie Thompson, Manitowac, Wis. ....	.50	John Reshner, Horicon, Wis. ....	4.50
Henry Abrahams, Boston, Union No. 97) .....	16.00			Robert H. Howe, Chicago, Ill. (Cook Co. Campaign Conference) .....	500.00
				Aug. Total .....	\$ 6,173.74
				Total to Sept. ....	25,276.33

RETURNS ON PARTY REFERENDUM 1920

	Sec. 1.		REF. "B" SOCIALIST UNITY						REF. "C" Declaration of Principles				REF "E" International Relations			
			Sec. 2		Sec. 3		Sec. 4		Majority Report		Minority Report		Majority Report		Minority Report	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Alabama																
Arizona	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	2	0	2	1	1	2	2	2
Arkansas	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	0	21	10	11	11	10
California	93	3	85	7	81	6	89	3	41	45	57	33	44	33	38	41
Colorado	18	0	18	0	18	0	18	0	10	9	13	5	7	9	9	7
Connecticut																
Delaware																
Dist. of Col.	24	0	14	0	14	0	14	0	16	9	9	16	4	20	20	4
Florida	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0				
Georgia																
Idaho																
Illinois	380	6	368	8	364	11	370	5	152	256	381	76	135	343	410	60
Indiana	92	2	86	3	92	1	82	0	68	13	35	57	46	15	31	37
Iowa																
Kansas	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	12	1	1	6	10	0	0	6
Kentucky																
Louisiana																
Maine	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Maryland	59	0	59	0	59	0	59	0	28	0	45	0	28	0	41	0
Massachusetts	259	3	261	1	257	1	261	1	171	158	160	198	102	122	175	37
Michigan	48	0	48	0	48	0	48	0	30	17	17	30	31	15	15	31
Minnesota																
Mississippi																
Missouri	110	0	111	0	110	0	110	0	53	34	42	48	64	40	46	62
Montana																
Nebraska	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	8	3	3	8	7	4	4	7
Nevada																
New Hampshire	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	8	7	7	8	5	15	18	2
New Jersey																
New Mexico																
New York									150	209	249	222	406	181	287	216
No. Carolina																
No. Dakota																
Ohio	70	0	70	0	70	0	69	1	41	35	44	36	38	38	42	37
Oklahoma	111	1	111	1	111	2	111	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	1
Oregon	14	0	13	0	22	0	19	0	1	10	14	0	0	9	14	0
Pennsylvania																
Rhode Island																
So. Carolina																
So. Dakota	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	2	0
Texas	8	0	8	0	8	0	8	0	8	0	0	8	7	0	0	2
Tennessee																
Utah																
Vermont																
Virginia																
Washington									0	0	11	0	0	0	11	0
West Virginia									1	5	4	2	1	5	5	1
Wisconsin	47	0	47	0	47	0	47	0	39	20	86	24	30	30	87	259
Wyoming																
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1521</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>1481</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1481</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1481</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>829</b>	<b>1181</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>1039</b>	<b>613</b>	<b>1021</b>	<b>858</b>

# The Socialist Party and Poland

## National Executive Committee Resolution

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting in Pittsburgh, August 21, 22, 23rd, received a letter and manifesto from the Polish Socialist Alliance of America calling upon the Socialist Party of the United States to render moral support to the Polish forces, now battling against the Russian Soviet Troops. The Polish Socialist Alliance was formerly the Polish Federation of the Socialist Party of the United States. In 1915, however, it was expelled from the Socialist Party of the United States, because it was raising money to arm and equip the Polish Legion under General Pilsudski, now president of Poland, then an officer in the Austrian army.

The Polish Socialist Party issued an appeal to the Socialists and the working people of the world through Warsaw, which the Polish Socialist Alliance of the United States translated and issued to the Socialists of the United States. In refusing its support, to the Polish cause, the Socialist Party of the United States said:  
To the Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Alliance:

"The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has received through you the appeal of the Socialist Party of Poland addressed to the Socialists and Workingmen's Organizations of the World. At your request we have given careful consideration to this appeal. We note the following allegation of facts submitted by the Socialist Party of Poland:

1. That during the first months of Polish independence the government was in the hands of the laborers and peasants.

2. That this government was overthrown by the reactionary classes.

3. That the Socialist Party of Poland has demonstrated for peace and against war.

4. Early in 1920 the Polish government began sending notes to the Soviet Government of Russia and followed this with an offensive against Kiev.

5. The Polish Socialist Party opposed an "aggressive war," did not doubt "the right of the Ukrainians to govern themselves" but you opposed other countries "interfering in the affairs" of Poland.

6. You claim to have done your duty as regards Socialism "from the standpoint of the solid patriotism of the working class, and our duty to your country."

7. You could not force peace from your ruling classes.

8. Russia is dominated by imperialist ambitions and her armies are led by the "generals of against Russia and you "began this war to save the late Czar." Russian leaders have forgotten the "right to independence of other peoples."

9. The Polish workers have risen in arms the independence of our land."

10. You appeal to the workers of all countries to support the Polish Socialist Party in its support of the Polish government.

In considering this appeal to the Socialist Party of Poland, we cannot avoid noting that the government of the workers and peasants was overthrown by the capitalist and land-owning classes and that the Polish Socialist Party is now supporting this reactionary government in the name of Polish "patriotism." What follows in this appeal indicates that the Polish Socialist Party has completely forgotten its aims to reconquer its lost position in Poland and is lending its aid to the Clerical-Junker-Capitalist clique that rules in Warsaw.

This fact is sufficient to condemn the Polish Socialist Party as a chauvinist tool of reactionaries which has forgotten whatever Socialism it may have professed.

On the basis of this appeal the conduct of the Socialist Party of Poland towards the Ukraine has also been shameful. You opposed "aggressive" war against the Ukraine, whatever that may mean. Did this take the form of active protest against the Kiev offensive? Your own Pilsudski's approval of the Polish offensive against the Ukraine gives the answer. Some of the imperialist diplomatic partners of the Polish ruling classes gasped at the Polish thrust at the Ukraine. They were embarrassed in attempting to explain this robber's raid on the Ukraine.

Yet the Polish Socialist Party appeals to the proletariat of Western Europe and America to support this reactionary Warsaw government!

The Polish Socialist Party adds to its betrayal of Socialism a distortion of history. It asserts that it has joined in Pilsudski's war against Russia to preserve the independence of Poland. The Polish imperialists urged the Versailles peace conference to give Poland the Russian frontier of 1772. It is a notorious fact that this frontier would include large areas with a large majority of non-Polish peoples. Even the Entente imperialists, anxious to make of Poland a tool of western imperialism and a buffer between Russia and Germany, could not acquiesce in the frontiers of 1772.

Balked by their patrons and allies at Versailles, the Polish ruling classes launched an attack upon Russia, invading Russian territory nearly 200 miles. This attack was a naked and shameless attempt to conquer non-Polish territory and bring its people under the domination of the Warsaw reactionaries. Yet the Polish Socialist Party has the effrontery to appeal to us in the name of "this war to save the independence" of Poland!

The one count the Polish Socialist Party makes against the Soviet government is the presence of former Czarist officers in the Soviet armies. Is it not known to the Polish Socialist Party that the

families of these Russian generals are held as hostages for good behavior at the front? Is it not now known that revolutionary committees in the armies also review the plans of the generals to insure that no revival of Czarist ambitions shall endanger the masses of Russia and other countries?

The Polish Socialist Party also distorts history when it charges the Russian government with having forgotten the "right to independence of other peoples." It was the first to act upon this principle by recognizing self-determinism of Finland, Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania and Ukraina. It has signed peace with a number of these countries on this basis while American imperialism, through Woodrow Wilson, recognizes self-determination only for Finland and Poland.

The terms of peace offered Poland by Soviet Russia are very moderate and without any trace of imperialist aims. Guarantees are asked against any further attacks by Poland by reducing the Polish army, to an annual contingent of 50,000 men. The frontier offered Poland is even more generous than what was conceded by the Allied peace conference at Versailles. Therefore it is sheer hypocrisy to assert that Russia is dominated by imperialist ambitions.

Why is it that Polish imperialism is receiving the support of the most reactionary governments in the world while the organized masses of the world are opposing it and supporting Russia? Why do the organized workers of Germany, France, England, Italy and the United States, wherever they have spoken, oppose the shipment of munitions to Poland or extension of aid to Poland?

You ask us for "understanding and a just ap-

preciation." We frankly give it. The Socialist Party of the United States regards the Socialist Party of Poland as an organization that is serving the chauvinist regime in Warsaw which in turn is a tool of French bankers. There can be no understanding with such an organization that has so grossly betrayed the ideals of International Socialism. It has become a tool of the imperialist victors of the Entente and is a disgrace to working class solidarity.

The Polish Socialist Alliance of the United States, in sending this Warsaw appeal to us, asks us to abandon principles for which we have sacrificed so much during the past three years. To give a favorable answer would be to betray the fighters for freedom who are imprisoned in American jails and to forfeit the confidence of the American working class.

We have opposed our native imperialism at home and have suffered for it. The Polish Socialist Alliance owes it to the American Socialists and the Socialists of the world to repudiate the imperialist government of land owners in Poland and its chauvinist Socialist lackeys in Poland. It is a disgrace to the Socialist movement of any country to be enmeshed in an alliance with the reactionary governments that seek the destruction of Russia or that aid the imperialist aims of Pilsudski, Dwamshi and other leaders of Polish imperialism.

We hail the action of the workers of France, Italy, Germany and Great Britain against the Polish Junkers as a sign of that working class solidarity that will put an end to such regimes as that which rules Warsaw and that excludes the treachery implied in the conduct of the Polish Socialist Party.

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## PARTY PLANS AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN

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The National Executive Committee made final plans for the National Campaign of the party at its last meeting in Pittsburgh, August 21-23. In addition to the tours of Kate Richards O'Hare and Seymour Stedman, who will be accompanied by Eugene Wood of New York, a number of well-known Socialists will tour the country under the auspices of the National Office.

Irwin St. John Tucker, Lilith Martin and Mary McVicker are now in the field, and George R. Kirkpatrick, Jacob Panken, Scott Nearing, Ross D. Brown, Charles Sehl, Florence Wattles, Esther Friedman, Winnie E. Branstetter, W. R. Snow, May Harris Mainland and others will shortly take the field.

William H. Henry will make the Stedman tour one week in advance of the Vice-Presidential candidate. The meetings that are now being held in different parts of the country are highly successful, the National Secretary reported. The people seem eager for the Socialist message.

The electoral ticket of the Party will appear on the ballot in nearly every state. In Idaho, South Dakota and Wyoming the election laws will make it absolutely impossible for a Socialist ticket to appear, while in eight other states there is still a chance for the ticket not being permitted to stand. The Debs and Stedman electoral ticket, however, will appear on the ballot in about forty-three states.

The work of reorganizing the Party where persecution and internal controversies have disrupted the organization, is proceeding rapidly. In the Solid South, Joe Rhoden, district organizer, has been organizing locals in all the states of the South. He has organized five locals in Florida and other locals in North Carolina and Louisiana. Alabama and Georgia likewise have flourishing organizations.

At the Pittsburgh meeting, the National Secretary reported that all the changes in the National Constitution proposed at the New York convention, were carried, as were the two Majority re-

ports on International Relations and on Declaration of Principles the Platform and the resolutions on Socialist Unity and Economic Relations.

Fifteen leaflets have been published for use in the campaign, and millions of them will be distributed. Two new pamphlets, one by Irwin St. John Tucker and one by Scott Nearing have just been struck off the press.

The committee, in accordance with the resolution passed at the Chicago Emergency Convention and reaffirmed at the New York Convention, undertook the publication of leaflets on Industrial Unionism for distribution among union members, explaining the position of the Socialist Party to the organized workers. Several well-known Socialists were requested to prepare material for use among the union men and women, among them being Joseph Schlossberg, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; A. J. Muste of the Amalgamated Textile Workers, James Oneal, Victor L. Berger, Gustave T. Frankel, Gustave A. Hoehn, Joseph E. Cohen, Arturo M. Giovanitti and James H. Maurer.

The International position of the Socialist party was strikingly brought out when the committee received a communication from the Polish Socialist Alliance of Chicago, transmitting an appeal from the Polish Socialist Party of Warsaw calling upon the working class to support the Polish cause in its present struggle with Soviet Russia. The committee replied in a manifesto that gives the position of the Socialist party and the workers of the world, explaining why they cannot support the plans of the Polish junker aristocracy.

The committee voted to undertake the publication of a brilliant pamphlet entitled, "The Salaried Man," an appeal addressed to the workers in offices and counting houses, and a new pamphlet by Morris Hillquit.

A beautiful oil painting of Eugene V. Debs has been reproduced and printed by the National Office. It was voted by the committee to sell the picture for one dollar, and to offer it as a prize to any comrade who would send in a contribution list of \$10, or a subscription list for the New Day of at least \$10.

Among the resolutions of the committee was one that was received by wire from that brave

fighter for Suffrage, Harriot Stanton Blatch, and the committee's resolution on winning of Womans Suffrage.

During one of the recesses of the committee's sessions, the members were driven through the Pittsburgh steel district, saw the ugliness and hideousness of applied capitalism of the Monongahela Valley, and visited that brave fighter for freedom, Father Kozinsky, the priest who held his church open for meetings of strikers from beginning to end of the late steel strike, and who refused to be browbeaten by the officials into shutting the doors of his temple to his fellow workers. The priest greeted the Socialists warmly, and addressed them as "comrade."

The committee voted that the National Campaign Committee of the party would meet in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 2nd.

A telegram from Comrade Eugene V. Debs, sent by Comrade Tucker who was visiting Debs on this date, was read as follows:

"My love and greetings to all my comrades in the great cause. I am more confident and cheerful in the certainty of victory than I have ever been before. The people now know what is wrong, and what is needed. We must show them how to get it, and in the clearest possible terms making no compromises, withholding nothing to gain votes; let us not be timid or pattern after the capitalist politicians whom I utterly detest and despise. In strong and simple words our message will be the gospel of deliverance to millions of hearts; encourage the faint hearts and cheer the fearful. Comrades, I am with you in spirit, and it is the spirit that counts."

EUGENE V. DEBS.

The Secretary sent the following reply:

"The National Executive Committee speaks for every party member and hundreds of thousands of sympathizers in sending love and greetings and a pledge of untiring efforts for the early release of all class war prisoners. The principles and tactics of the Socialist party have not changed. We recognize the class struggle as a fact, and realize that only a straightforward, uncompromising campaign on that basis does justice to our great cause and to yourself as our candidate. We feel that such a campaign will appeal to the workers as never before, and that we win on November 2nd, regardless of the number of votes received. However, we will have electoral tickets in practically all states and we expect a record-breaking vote for Debs and Socialism."

National Executive Committee,  
Socialist Party

## The World of Books

THE world of books is a vast and varied one, and it is one that is constantly changing. The books that we read today are different from the books that we read yesterday, and they will be different from the books that we read tomorrow. This is because the world is constantly changing, and the books that we read are a reflection of that change. We can see this in the books that we read today. We can see the books that are written by people who are living in a world that is different from the world that we lived in yesterday. We can see the books that are written by people who are living in a world that is different from the world that we lived in tomorrow. This is why it is so important for us to read books. It is important for us to read books that are written by people who are living in a world that is different from the world that we lived in yesterday. It is important for us to read books that are written by people who are living in a world that is different from the world that we lived in tomorrow. It will be our task to examine as much of the day's

literature as possible and display it from the standpoint of Socialist theory.

### SOME THINGS ABOUT WAR

What a brew what a war is. If we don't know no fact of the long war, we know more about it today. But there's a danger in all this. One thing that interests me who don't get it, the war is a—just a war. How do the men take it? What's the danger? Do not become savages—of what?

The latest—and in many ways, the greatest—of the war books is that of Phillip Gibbs, greatest of war correspondents, who wrote in a book,

(Continued on page 16)



## YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT

### N. Y. YIPSELS REORGANIZE

Reaffirming its allegiance to the Socialist party organizations of the nation and the state, the New York State Young People's Socialist League, at a two-day conference held September 5 and 6 at the East Labor Lyceum, in Buffalo, laid plans for the organization of a state-wide Yipsel movement, to be put into effect at once.

Between sessions devoted to a survey of the conditions for propaganda among the youth of the state, the delegates, representing young people's organizations of Buffalo, Jamestown and New York, adopted resolutions condemning imperialistic attacks on Soviet Russia, favoring amnesty for political prisoners, and denouncing the system of militarism which is being foisted upon the State of New York.

#### Send Message to Debs.

The following telegram to Eugene V. Debs, Socialist candidate for President, was sent shortly after the conference convened:

"Greetings from Young People's Socialist League of New York State (affiliated with the Socialist party) in conference at Buffalo. Your candidacy is an inspiration to the youth of this country. Have taken uncompromising Socialist stand and working for the release of all political prisoners."

Telegrams greeting the conference and wishing it success were received from Circle 7 of New York and the Gene Debs Circle.

Irving Schnabel, representing the Buffalo circles, reported that the Yipsel movement in Buffalo is growing rapidly, and that during the winter several more circles will be organized. M. Novik and Walter Karp, representing the New York City circles, declared that four circles are in operation and more are being organized.

As the first step to a stronger Yipsel movement, Utica and Ithaca were chosen as two centers in which immediate reorganization work could be undertaken, reports having been received from young Socialists in those cities declaring that the field is ripe for such organization work.

A drive for \$2,500 to finance reorganization work throughout the

state was decided upon, and Schnabel was designated as the temporary state treasurer. A pamphlet on reorganization work will be written by Schnabel, and the Socialist party will be asked to print it for distribution. Karp, New York, was asked to write a pamphlet on "Principles of Socialism."

Directing the work in the state is to be a state organizer. It was decided to urge upon the Socialist party state executive committee to appoint such a director at once, and that Schnabel be recommended for the position.

#### Manifesto to Socialist Youth.

The manifesto adopted by the conference which will go to the Socialist youth of the state, for the purpose of enrolling them as organizers of circles, reads as follows:

"The Y. P. S. L. of the State of New York, in general conference assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles and aims of international Socialism, the Socialist party of America, and the Socialist party of the State of New York.

"The national convention of the Socialist party has completed its labors. With regard to the Y. P. S. L., the convention took the following stand in part: 'The work among the young in the national field shall be under the jurisdiction and direction of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party.' The state convention took a similar stand.

"A little history will suffice to show the reasons for the stands the two conventions took. About six years ago the Socialist party, at the request of a few young Comrades, organized the Young People's Socialist League. The work ran along smoothly, and an organization was built up which was feared and hated by the capitalist class. The party spent thousands of dollars on organization work and on the Young Socialists' Magazine, asking nothing in return save an increased interest in international Socialism. Then came the split in the Socialist movement. A few of the younger Comrades, influenced by the older ones, who were opposed to the

Socialist party, tried to bring the party differences into the Y. P. S. L. Instantaneously, the Y. P. S. L. was turned into a battle-ground, where the whole 'left-wing' controversy took up the time of the organization. Instead of fighting capitalism, the comrades fought themselves.

#### Some Take Neutral Stand.

"A few members, seeing the harm that was done to the organization, took the position of neutrality. They formed an 'Independent Y. P. S. L.' but this 'independence' was merely a guise under which a group of Communist leaders could put through their aims. The organization was independent in name only, but not in fact. The denunciation of the Socialist party by the leaders of this so-called 'Independent Y. P. S. L.' is enough evidence of this. Those who were sincere in independence have failed; you know they have failed. The Y. P. S. L. was not intact, it was not unified, it was not saved. The experiment has been a failure largely because those who are opposed to the Socialist party refused to let the Yipseles solve their own problems.

"A few members saw that this 'independence' idea would lead to the ruin and disruption it actually did lead to. They took up the work on the basis of affiliation with the Socialist party and have to a great extent succeeded in reviving the dead organization. We of the Y. P. S. L. of New York State, in conference, reaffirm this attitude and declare that it our intention to remain affiliated to the Socialist party. We heartily indorse the action of the national convention of the Socialist party in this matter, and also that of the New York State Convention of the Socialist party. We hail the nomination of Eugene V. Debs and Seymour Stedman as an inspiration to the youth of America and pledge our utmost support to the national campaign.

"Yipseles! We call upon you to respond to the call for unity by the Prisoner of Atlanta. Join with us in a united Socialist movement. Down with fragmentary independent organizations! Long live a unified Socialist movement!"



## THE WORLD OF BOOKS

(Continued from page 14)

"Now It Can Be Told" (Harpers) what he wanted to tell while the war was going on, but what he couldn't. Gibbs is not a Socialist, but he saw war at first hand, and he hates it. He hates it with every fiber in his body, and so do all the soldiers, he says. His book is a masterpiece of description, but it is more than horror poled on horror, for the sake of piling up horrors. It discusses things that troubled us all—why is there war? Who wished this awful thing on mankind? There's nothing about the Manhood and the Nobility of war in his book. It is all one hideous, unadulterated crime against humanity, and what Gibbs wants to know is how to end it for all time.

It is interesting to compare Gibbs' book with a screed that was written in 1913. *Das Menschenschlachthaus* ("The Human Slaughter House"—Stokes, N. Y.) by William Lamszus, a German school teacher who wrote this book as his contribution to the celebration of the Kaiser's 25th anniversary. William didn't appreciate the compliment, and had the author fired from his job. The writer imagined what the insane militarism of Germany would lead to. His book (just lifted off a dusty shelf, where it has lain for seven years) indicates that his imagination was pretty good prophesy.

But there are other sides to war. For example, there are military and diplomatic sides of it, the conventional "history" book. This is what the schoolboys of tomorrow are going to "study" (unless the Socialists get hold of the schools and teach the teachers how to teach history.) As good a school history as has come across in a long time, with the conventional ideas of the "cause" of wars, and the description of the outwardness of the diplomacy of it is that of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University. "A brief History of the Great War." Macmillan. Professor Hayes' early radicalism crops out occasionally in his treatment of the peace treaty, but in general, we have a fine, solid, substantial school "history," guaranteed to survive the acid test of almost any Board of Education passing

upon books for the High School course in Current History.

But then, there is the diplomatic side of war and here we have a great little book, "How Diplomats Make War," (Huebsch) by Francis Neilsen. Neilsen was a member of the British parliament when he wrote the book in 1915, and it had to appear anonymously (although he doesn't explain the why of the must.) This is the third edition, and every one who is interested in knowing whether the Socialists tell the truth about Capitalist diplomacy should read the book at once.

Then, we want to know what effect war has upon the soul. There was a glorious spirit in America, Randolph Bourne, with a body sadly and cruelly crippled, lame, hunchbacked, deformed—but with the mind of a genius and the soul of an angel. He died—killed by the cruelties of Capitalism—but not before he had joined the Socialist party and not before he put into permanent form his "Untimely Papers" (Huebsch) in which he told what war meant to one with a mind and a soul like his. His kind comes once in a while, and we usually cannot appreciate them. It was his untimely death that taught many people what some of us already knew, that there was a rare soul among us, battered and crushed by conditions.

That isn't all there is to war. War awakens lively controversy among the Socialists. Especially when that war leads to revolution, and the Socialists want to know what to do with revolution. Karl Kautsky, the faithful old thinker of the Socialist movement, doesn't believe in what the capitalist press calls "bolshevism"—that, is, in the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (National Labour Press, Ltd., London) and he says so, and explains why, in this interesting and thought provoking book. J. Ramsay Mac Donald, who has earned the right to speak for Socialism by his loyalty and uncompromising stand for internationalism during the war, thinks as Kautsky does, and he says in "Parliament or Revolution" (Thos. Seltzer, N. Y.) an interesting discussion of the machinery and the methods of the coming Socialist revolution. Mac Donald and Kautsky both stand for Democracy rather than Dictatorship.



# Why I Joined The Socialist Party

Harriot Stanton Blatch

(The name of Harriot Stanton Blatch is known and honored by all intelligent Americans for her life-long service in the cause of Woman Suffrage. As her mother, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, fought for the abolition of chattel slavery as well as for the emancipation of women, so the daughter has always taken a keen interest in the Labor question as well as the question of sex equality. The Woman Suffrage fight is now won. Some suffragists might think it right to rest on their laurels. Not so Mrs. Blatch. Just at the moment when every effort was being made to crush the Socialist movement, she joined the Socialist Party and has thrown herself actively into its work. In this article she gives some of her reasons for taking this step.)

Why did I join the Socialist Party? Because I believe in its fundamental tenets. It is the only party striking at the root evils—at capitalism, which permits of men harvesting where they do not sow, at the wage and salary system which sets worker against worker of both hand and brain, in wasteful competition. And it is only the Socialist Party which proposes through state pensions to free that usually forgotten and neglected toiler, the housewife and mother, from "sordid economic dependence." Those are the outstanding reasons of my allegiance to Socialism.

And why I joined the party just now instead of merely voting the Socialist ticket and letting my allegiance end at that, is another and more personal question. And here's the answer to that query:

By inheritance I have a lot of Revolutionary and Anti-Slavery blood in my veins. Not the sort of blood that praises a cause when the battle is won but fights for it in the darkest days on the firing line. When there's war on, I must get into the fray.

And there is war on. Socialism cannot amble along as in the days before 1914. The enemy is up and at us. It will crush every radical effort, if it can. My place then is out in the open on the radical side. I must declare myself right out loud in meeting as a Socialist.

That's one reason for my stand—now here is another: One of the attacks being made on the cause I have at heart, is that the Socialist Party is un-American, alien. I think that is an accusation just cooked up for the occasion, but it must be met as if made in good faith. I want to help the Party meet it, and so I place my one-thousand per cent Americanism at its disposal. Every American who believes in Socialism and who is descended from the founders of his country, should feel in honor bound to join the party. And if he is a red blooded American with sand in his gizzard, he will do exactly that. I have red blood, not water, in my veins and sand in my gizzard so I take my stand with the revolutionaries of 1920, just as my great grandfather did in 1776.

And just here may I slip in a word of wisdom

from the days of our forefathers. Old Ben Franklin used to say to his co-revolutionists, "We must all hang together, or we will all hang separately." A deal of common sense in that counsel, and applicable withal to the radicals of today. Suppose we let our shibboleths slide, and try to dwell on our big and important agreements. Suppose we hang together and arrive somewhere, instead of arriving nowhere and all hanging separately.

But to return to that matter of Americanism: Our opponents fall into hysterics on discovering that we include aliens in our membership. Well some Western states permit aliens to vote, if they have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States six months before election day. And every suffrage state except New York, permits an alien woman to exercise the franchise, if she has married a few months previously, an American citizen. In view of these facts, before trying to get rid of the mote in the Socialist eye, the patriots had better cast out the beam in their own optic.

And before I turn to the reasons I am a Socialist, I want to refer to another subterfuge of the enemy which acted as a spur to my joining the Socialist Party. Our critics jumped with both feet on the idea of a Socialist candidate signing a resignation to be used at any time by his party should he, when elected, fail to stand by his platform pledges. Is not the recall, a political reform which many a man in the old parties advocates? Did not the highly respectable Progressive Party under the leadership of Roosevelt, and Colby, now Secretary of State, put the recall of officials in their platform? The old, signed resignation of the Socialist office holder was a fore-runner of the recall now written in many state constitutions and destined to be written in all. While awaiting the curb bit of the recall in full constitutional form, I welcome the gently restraining rein of the signed resignation. The Socialist Party believes in holding its servants to its platform, and so I am for the Socialist Party.

I am for it, too, because I believe in the necessity of political action. Government, if rightly ordered, is the universal stabilizer. It unifies and equalizes. The whole of life is not industry. Even industry plus the professions and experts will not cover the whole of human desire and need. A wise government will soft pedal over-emphasis of this or that. Some persons are inclined to scorn as a weapon for attaining human freedom, political power; others scorn industrial action. Suppose we scorn nothing.

Every Socialist Party member should be interested in organization of the workers. He should see how in a co-operative organization the aver-

age worker is learning to run big business, he should see how the average man and woman in such an organization as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for instance, is learning to change a profit making owner into a profitless manager, is learning bit by bit to grasp the intricacies of modern business, is learning in the school of experience what capitalism could never teach the worker. the value of honesty and efficiency. No wise Socialist will underestimate the role which non-political activities have to play in the evolution of society.

In the same way, those who are concentrated on edging capitalism out of our economic life, will, if wise, recognize political action as a fellow soldier in the contest. To possess a universal stabilizer is as important as to dominate an industry.

And now as to why I am a Socialist. It is not so much because capitalism can no longer devise a spur to prick human beings to do their best, not so much because the state control which even the enemy admits is necessary has become so complicated that neither private owner nor community knows in what relation they stand to each other, it is not so much for such reasons that I want Socialism with its public ownership and workers control in factory and mine, on railroad and trolley, to triumph, but because the wage system with its hot appeal to competition, and the profit system with its encouragement to greed, have stamped out all joy in work, all beauty in product.

I am opposed to the present method of getting a living because it has given us a joyless, ugly world. Suppose I hire out to do a certain piece of work in a factory, at once it becomes the aim of my boss to make me work hard enough, and pay me poorly enough to enable him to skim a profit off my labor. He tries running the machinery faster and faster, and of course I have to move faster and faster. Then he divides up the work—this machine makes button holes, that runs seams, this punctures a hole, that jams in the metal eyelet. His specialization, as he calls it, has turned creative labor into dull toil. I have lost all sense of making, moulding anything. I am a drudge at the beck and call of a machine. Capital wants me to shut up and hurry up. My mission is to make a profit for some one else.

Then capital wants us all to buy lots and lots of things. It makes things as cheap as possible, shouts about its wares from the house-tops. It

tempts us, debauches us with mountains of useless things. Capital does not want us to get one beautiful object and rejoice in it. It is the interest of capital to make quick and constant turn-overs, and the cheap and bizarre, serves its purpose best. 'Tis an ugly, joyless world that capitalism has given us. I am against such a system.

One big item that set me thinking and made me into a Socialist, was the condition in which I found such workers as doctors and engineers. The present plan of each man for himself and the devil take the hindermost, actually makes it the interest of the doctor to have us all ill. In an individualistic state, the medical man cannot get into a true relation to the well-being of the community as a whole. He will never be an efficient guardian of health until his profession is socialized.

And the engineer—poor soul, how our present economic system has ground him under its heel! An investigation showed a few years ago that the average civil engineer after five years experience on top of his college degree was earning only \$1,200 a year. If he is in one of the big corporations, he has signed a contract not only to serve it, but to give to the company any invention he makes. He is sold, body and soul, to his employer. Worse than that, he finds his discovery or invention patented and held back because the company is interested in pushing some less efficient process. Capitalism kills individuality originality, initiative. It is the interest of the community that the engineer, the doctor, the teacher, should do their best. Only under Socialism, can the people get efficient service.

The economists who supported the wage and salary system promised us "the greatest good of the greatest number." Their promise has not been fulfilled. The vast majority is badly housed, poorly clothed, undernourished. The old parties offer no program to meet the situation. The Socialist Party presents an immediate, working plan. It would give local governments the power to buy land and build houses for rentals sufficient to cover upkeep and replacements only. It would open public markets, with food products brought direct from the farms and sold at cost. It would establish industries so that the people could be clothed without enriching profiteers.

Such are the immediate and practical promises of the Socialist Party. I believe they will be fulfilled and so I shall support the Socialist ticket.



## Report on National Referendum, closing August 27, 1920

Submitted by Executive Secretary Franstetter to the National Executive Committee at the Meeting held in Pittsburgh, August 21, 1920.

The National referenda conducted as a result of the national convention closed on August 17th. There was no particular controversy over any of the matters submitted except the Declaration of Principles and the resolution on International Affiliation, upon which both majority and minority reports were submitted.

### Referendum "A."—National Platform.

The National Platform was submitted by sections seriatim, all propositions being adopted by a vote ranging from 1800 "yes" to 6 "no" on Section 1 of Political Demands to 1734 "yes," to 46 "no," on Section 1 of the Foreign Relations plank.

### Referendum "B."—Resolution on Socialist Unity.

Submitted seriatim, all sections being adopted by votes ranging from 1811 "yes," to 16 "no" on Section 4 to 1919 "yes" to 29 "no" on Section 2.

I desire to call the attention of the committee to the fact that this resolution on Socialist Unity just adopted by referendum is in effect a repeal of Sections 3 and 9 of Article IX of the party constitution. The question arises as to whether or not it should be so considered and the constitution changed in accordance therewith.

### Referendum "C."—Declaration of Principles.

Both the Majority and the Minority reports were submitted to referendum. Following the custom of the National Office, provision was made for "yes" and "no" votes on each report, the result being for the Majority Report, 1576 "yes," 829 "no." For the Minority Report, 1181 "yes," 982 "no." According to this result both reports were adopted. The custom has been established in the National Office of considering only the "yes" votes on two alternative resolutions. Under this rule, the result would be reported as 1526 for Majority, 1181 for Minority, the Majority Report being adopted by a majority of 345.

No reports were received from Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, or Virginia.

Reports from Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and from several locals in unorganized states, and report from New York on Referenda "A," "B," "D" and "F" received too late to be counted. The vote of these states as reported would have made no difference in results.

It is recommended that hereafter when

two opposing resolutions or reports are to be submitted that the ballot shall contain no blanks for voting "no."

The submission of resolutions in the present form results in a great deal of misunderstanding and confusion and, invariably the adoption of both such opposing measures. Such resolutions should be submitted in the following form:—

### For Majority Report



### For Minority Report



### Referendum "D."—National Constitution.

The amendments proposed by the National Convention were submitted seriatim. All proposed amendments were adopted by votes ranging from 1583 "yes" to 37 "no" on Section 9 of Article XI, to 962 "yes" to 653 "no" on the motion to strike out Section 7 of Article II. Section 2 of Article II also showed a difference of opinion and was adopted by a vote of 1159 "yes" to 483 "no."

These amendments to the constitution all go into effect on October 16th. I desire to call the attention of the committee to the fact that the Agenda system for National Conventions has been provided for with the adoption of Section 12 of Article VIII.

By the adoption of Section 1 of Article X, actions of the National Conventions will not hereafter be submitted to referendum of the membership except upon the conditions set forth in the newly adopted amendment.

Some ruling should be made by your committee as to the effect upon Sections 3 and 9 of Article IX, of the adoption of the Unity Resolution mentioned above.

The adoption of Section 10, Article IV, provides that fifty cents of the party dues shall be applied to the member's subscription for The Socialist World, removing all obstacles to sending this publication to all party members. A report on the means of getting the Socialist World to all party members in accordance with this section will be submitted in connection with my report on publications.

### Referendum "E."—International Relations.

Both Majority and Minority Reports of the National Convention were submitted on this referendum. The vote was as follows:—On the Majority Report, 1339 "yes," 919 "no." On the Minority Report, 1301 "yes," 858 "no." This resulted in both reports being adopted in accordance with statement made regarding Referendum "C." The

Majority Report is considered as adopted by a vote of 1339 to 1301, a majority of 38.

In view of the adoption of the Majority report, this committee should consider the advisability of actively cooperating with the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany and the Socialist parties of France, Switzerland, etc., in the calling of a conference as has hitherto been suggested.

### Referendum "F."—Economic Relations.

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 1262 to 40. The resolution carries with it instructions that the National Secretary "have prepared a series of handy pamphlets and leaflets on industrial unionism for sale and free distribution among the workers." Instructions should be given by your committee regarding the preparation of material for such pamphlets and leaflets and also regarding the number of titles and quantities of each to be printed, taking into consideration both the financial condition of the organization and the need of such propaganda material.

It may be well to call attention of the committee to the shamefully small number of votes cast on the referenda, being less than 2800 on such important propositions as International Affiliation and the Declaration of Principles. This vote, however, is not exceptionally small in proportion to our present membership, being at least ten percent. It has always been the case that only a small minority of the membership avails itself of the opportunity to vote on national referenda. The percentage on various referenda in the past has run from ten to thirty percent. The wastefulness of this system has been called to the attention of committees at conventions repeatedly in the past, but has never been felt so keenly as this year. The expense to the National Office of submitting these referenda was approximately \$1800, and considerable additional expense in time and labor, as well as postage was necessarily incurred by the various state organizations.

Considering the expense incurred by the various state and local organizations, it is a safe estimate to say that it has cost the party approximately \$2,500, or nearly a dollar per member of the membership voting. This is one of the reasons why the regular income of the National Office from dues is not and never was sufficient to defray the expenses of the National organization. In view of these facts, it is especially gratifying that the constitutional amendment abolishing mandatory submission of all actions of the conventions has been adopted.

# OUTLAW UNIONISM

Joseph E. Cohen

No sooner did the convention of the American Federation of Labor take a very pronounced stand against "outlaw" strikes than the railroad men proceeded to take matters into their own hands. In at least one district, the ballot submitted by the officers to the shopmen's union was so worded that a strike was inevitable.

From this it should not be taken for granted that the threatened strike of the railroad men was in the nature of a direct challenge to the conservative control of the American Federation of Labor. In another sense, however, this is entirely true.

That is to say, so long as the old guard dominate the Federation, there is bound to be insurgency of a stringent character; there are sure to be unauthorized strikes and secessionist movements.

Insurgency means that the old body refuses to give before changing circumstances. That was what happened with the Knights of Labor and brought forth the autonomous union. It paved the way for the success of the federation idea, as against the unfortunate use of the "one big union" idea of the Knights of Labor.

The autonomous union, however indispensable where craft lines are distinct, in turn bred and breeds endless jurisdictional disputes. Worse than that, it makes each international a sovereign organization, with aristocratic assumptions and domineering tendencies.

As a consequence, not only does each international seek its selfish ends and hinder growth whether internally or by coalition with other internationals which are engaged in the same or dependent industries, but, more important, engages in a purely political horsetrade to secure the Federation offices instead of forming specific alliances or one general alliance for defensive and aggressive measures against the common enemy.

The present chaotic condition of loose organization in the Federation is the principal cause of outlaw strikes and secessionist movements. It is the root evil from which follow many others, industrial, political and social.

The industrial consequences have been the splitting away of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with its marvellous success, the rupture of the International Pressmen's Union, the dissension in the Machinists' Union, the disintegration of the Cigar Makers' Union,

the collapse of the administration forces in the International Typographical Union, the discontent in the United Mine Workers' Union, the formation of the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union, and the disaffection everywhere in the so-called conservative unions.

It explains the long list of unauthorized strikes since the war ended, and the growing indications of still more to come.

The political consequences have been quite as serious. It is the division of labor's forces on the political field, due to the Federation policy, first of "no politics in the union," and secondly, the misnamed non-partisan one of backing either one of the two old parties of capitalism, that is responsible for the shearing away of labor's civic rights by the injunction and abuse of war-time legislation, and the usurpation of jurisdiction by the courts in interpreting the Sherman Anti-trust law against labor exclusively and rifling union treasuries.

And finally it has tragic social consequences, both with regard to domestic and foreign affairs.

In our home affairs, the Federation has been so entirely reformist, so insistent upon the permanent nature of wage-labor and profit-taking, that the employers have had no difficulty in using their swollen dividends and power to maneuver the unions into a position where they are engaged in a losing struggle for their very existence against the open shop, the distorted view of collective bargaining and compulsory arbitration.

It would flatter Mr. Gompers too much to say that the nomination of Harding and Coolidge, the anti-strike and, pro-slave labor ticket, by the Republican party was meant as an answer to his demand that his power be recognized. But the fact is there in unmistakable colors.

Just as it is a sorry spectacle to find the Federation at its convention demanding that the war of the Democratic administration against the American people be declared over, that political liberties be restored and the labor men in jail for labor's constitutional rights be released.

Possibly if Mr. Gompers had not laid his mind alongside that of President Wilson, there would not have been such dire consequences to labor, and Mr. Gompers would not have to trot out to San Francisco to ask Mr. Palmer's party to ab-

dicate from its autocratic rule.

And internationally, the Federation policy has brought a two-fold result. It has placed the organization in the first line trenches of the reactionary forces contesting against the workers' government in Russia. This would be very comical were it not so sad, considering that hundreds of enterprising capitalists, including such thoroughgoing reactionaries as the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, have sent committees to the State Department, asking that Soviet Russia be recognized. And, more than that, it has made for distrust between American and European unions, so that concerted action is well nigh impossible, and international capitalism and imperialism have a free hand.

What should be the inevitable result of such colossal and criminally wrong tactics? What except outlaw unionism?

Mind you, no one more than the Socialist who was farsighted enough to know what would be the rotten fruit of the corrupt tree, has tried to prevent the miserable harvest of secessionist movements. Because no one more so than the Socialist feels the imperative need of unity and solidarity on the industrial field—no less than on the political field.

The fault for the disintegration of the American Federation of Labor through outlaw strikes and outlaw unionism rests entirely upon the machinations of the group in control of the Federation. That this disintegration has not gone at a faster pace speaks well for the patience of the rank and file of the bodies and of their constructive sense, in trying to renew the vigor and spirit of their unions without splitting asunder. But the old leaders must be blind indeed if they do not realize that not a capitalist controlled organization, but a class-conscious working-peoples union will soon be constituted out of the American Federation of Labor.

While the old guard of the Federation are trying to ride the horses provided by the stable of conservatism and capitalism, the masses are learning through actual bitter experience the need for closest solidarity on the industrial and political fields in order not only to retain their present very inadequate standards, but to prepare themselves to assume complete charge of their own lives by directing the industries upon which they depend for their sustenance.